

The Medieval and Renaissance Transmission of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* Patrick Gautier-Dalché

Translated by W. L. North from the Italian “La trasmissione medievale e rinascimentale della *Tabula Peutingeriana*,” in *Tabula Peutingeriana. Le Antiche Vie Del Mondo*, a cura di Francesco Prontera. Florence: Leo S. Olschki 2003, pp. 43-52.

The *Tabula Peutingeriana* has been studied primarily as an image of the Roman Empire and, in particular, of its network of roads; the identification of place names and of the itineraries represented there have been the object of innumerable studies. Yet one all too often forgets that it was also a document of the Middle Ages and Renaissance that can be examined as such from the perspective of cultural history. Although it may be difficult to evaluate its significance with precision, the *Tabula* certainly influenced several works of descriptive geography produced during the Middle Ages, and it is really thanks to a medieval copy that we are familiar with it. From the time of its discovery by Konrad Celtes, and despite his own desire to make it rapidly available to the public, it was used by German humanists only in a sporadic and limited way until the edition of M. Welser, which appeared in 1598. It has not been noted, however, that even before Celtes' discovery, there was already an exemplar of the *Tabula* that was known from a direct witness and from a partial copy. The history of the *Tabula's* reception is therefore much more complex than has been thought and often far from the ingenious reconstructions formulated starting in the XVIIIth century on the basis of what were, for the most part, unfounded hypotheses.

I. The Medieval Influence of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*

Some time ago close correspondences were discovered between the content of the *Tabula* and a very unusual text composed in the eighth century, the *Cosmographia* of the Anonymous of Ravenna. This treatise describes the whole of the world largely in the form of a list of *ciuitates*, which present numerous analogies with the *Tabula* as far as the drawing, the order of exposition, and even the vignettes.

The Anonymous cites many sources, among which there appears a certain Castorius, which is mentioned dozens of times in passages in which the use of a map of roads is clearly evident. Konrad Miller deduced from this that this

Castorius was the author of the *Tabula*, which he dated to the fourth century.¹ The problem is to determine whether the persons mentioned by the Anonymous are real authors or he invented them to give more weight to his words, which is much more likely. Today, Miller's hypothesis has been abandoned. Nevertheless, among all those cited, Castorius has the greatest claim to be considered a real author. The large number of references can lead one to think that a person of this name composed a description of the world using a map similar to the *Tabula* but more complete and less deformed.² But it would have been the text of Castorius which the Ravenna author would have used, and not the map, for it would otherwise be impossible to explain several glaring mistakes: for the most part, routes close by to one another, which are distinct on the *Tabula*, have sometimes been confused. Castorius could be identified —but in a purely conjectural way— with the *notarius* and *diaconus* mentioned in the correspondence of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) or with a bishop of Rimini of the same name (592-595).³ To wish to introduce other details on his work means to enter into the realm of pure speculation.⁴ It is likewise mistaken to attribute to the Ravennate author a knowledge of all the “philosophers” whom he cites: it has already been shown that in most cases we are dealing with quotations from ancient authors that have been poorly interpreted by the Ravennate author.⁵

There is another area in which one can easily affirm that a map like the *Tabula* exercised a lasting influence: the *mappaemundi* which, during the whole of the Middle Ages, were used to represent the known world. Konrad Miller, the first scholar to be interested in these medieval maps in a systematic and deep way, had already observed this, when he asserted that all *mappae mundi* derived from the map which he attributed to Castorius.⁶ In fact, there are clear analogies in the legends and, in some cases, in the vignettes, but they are not such as to produce such a neat conclusion. But the fact remains that many *mappaemundi* possess legends similar to those of the *Tabula*. Here we shall only offer a few examples. The informative remarks on India: *In his locis elephantium nascuntur* (In

¹ *Mappaemundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten, VI. Rekonstruierte Karten*, Stuttgart: Jos. Roth'sche Verlagshung 1898, p. 36; *Itineraria Romana*, Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder 1916 (repr. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider 1964), pp. xxvi-xxxvi.

² L. Dillemann, *La Cosmographie du Ravennate*, Collection Latomus 235, Brussels: Revue d'études latines 1997, pp. 38-40, 52-53.

³ K. Miller, *Mappaemundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten VI*, p. 36.

⁴ P. Arnaud, “L'origine, la date de rédaction et la diffusion de l'archetype de la table de Peutinger,” *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de France* (1988), pp. 302-320 at 315-316.

⁵ Dillemann, *La Cosmographie du Ravennate*, pp. 53-58.

⁶ Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. xxxvi ff; *Mappaemundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten, I. Die Weltkarte des Beatus (776 n. Chr.)*, Stuttgart: Jos. Roth'sche Verlagshung 1895, pp. 52, 54, 56.

these places elephants are born) and *In his locis serpentes nascuntur* (In these places serpents are born); those pertaining to the *Desertum ubi quadraginta annis errauerunt filii Israel ducente Moyses* (the desert where the children of Israel wandered for forty years with Moses as their leader); and to the *Saline immene que cum luna crescunt et descrescunt* (Immense salt flats that rise and fall with the moon) are all found to be almost identical on the most complete (and hence closest to the archetype) of the maps transmitted in the text of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* which the Spanish monk Beatus of Liébana composed in 776 (fig. 1).⁷ One might of course think that, to the contrary, such legends were added to the *Tabula* over the course of its medieval transmission, perhaps in order to imitate a *mappamundi*. But such an explanation does not hold when the correspondences also include place names without particular significance. This is the case for the most fully elaborated *mappamundi* of Beatus where dozens and dozens of place names, insignificant for an inhabitant of eighth-century Spain, correspond to those of the *Tabula*.⁸ The similarities with the map of Beatus do not seem to be accidental, and one is therefore justified in concluding that Beatus used a map which was very much like the *Tabula*, at least in content.⁹ This is not the only example. On the *mappamundi* described by Hugh of St Victor around 1130-1140 some cities on the coast of Africa present the same form as those of the *Tabula*: *Circacolis* and *Capsacolim* are the interpretations of a medieval scribe of *Cirta col[onia]* and *Capsa col[onia]* which must have appeared in a copy of the *Tabula* to designate *Cirta Constantina* in Numidia and *Capsa* of Bizacena; the *Tabula* has *Capsa colonia* and *Cirta colonia*.¹⁰ In addition to the numerous place-names like those of the *Tabula*, the map described by Hugh of Saint-Victor also preserved traces of an *itinerarium pictum*, which are visible in the succession of cities in northern Italy and, in particular, in the sequence *Regium-Placentia-Papia-Mediolanus-Augusta*.¹¹ The type of vignette that could be described as a circle of walls from a bird's-eye point of view is found in another *mappamundi* of the eleventh century which is, without question, closer in form and structure to the Roman cartographic tradition (British Library, Cotton Tib. B V, f. 56v).¹²

⁷ Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. xxxvii.

⁸ Miller, *Mappaemundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten, I. Die Weltkarte des Beatus (776 n. Chr.)*, p. 67.

⁹ E. Schweder, "Über eine Weltkarte des achten Jahrhunderts," *Hermes* 24 (1889): 586-604 (pp. 594-603 concern the relationship with the *Tabula*); H. Gross, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der *Tabula Peutingeriana*," Diss. Berlin 1913, pp. 68, 90ff.

¹⁰ P. Gautier-Dalché, *Le «Descriptio mappe mundi» de Hugues de Saint-Victor. Texte inédite avec introduction et commentaire*, Paris: Études augustiniennes 1988, p. 66.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

¹² A. & M. Levi, *Itineraria picta. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana*, Rome: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider 1967, p. 63.

A systematic examination would surely reveal a rather larger number of correspondences, but it would be naive, given the actual state of our knowledge, to wish to formulate more precise conclusions. The number of late antique and medieval texts which copy each other or which are transcriptions from maps is too high for neat and clean lines of dependence to emerge from this mass of place-names. Furthermore, the transmission of *mappaemundi*, beginning with graphic and textual models going back with certainty to late antiquity, is too complex ever to be able to hope to sum it up in a genealogical stemma. Nonetheless, it is certain that one or more maps of content and perhaps even an appearance similar to that of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* influenced the cartography of the *mappae mundi*.

II. The Medieval Transmission

That the *Tabula* had its own life in the Middle Ages may be deduced, obviously, from an examination of the copy that has come down to us by way of Konrad Celtes. Just as with any product of the medieval *scriptoria*, it deserves to be considered on its own terms, as evidence of intellectual activity and not as the simple reproduction of an original intended to inform historians of antiquity. Unfortunately, on this point there have been few studies because the conditions of transmission and conservation have never allowed a full and accurate investigation of the entire document.

The script and the methods of reproduction

A physio-chemical analysis of the pigments and the inks would allow a more precise dating of the copy. For a long time it has been placed in the XIIIth century but only because of an erroneous identification of the author, as we shall have occasion to show. Although the script has never been subjected to an in-depth paleographical examination, at present the inclination is to consider it a late caroline minuscule, which is not later than the beginning of the XIIIth century and stems from the region of Alemannia (Swiss-German) and Bavaria.¹³ Several differences in the production might lead one to imagine the collaboration of many different hands, but the calligraphy remains the same throughout, as A. and M. Levi have rightly observed: for example, it seems that folio IV had

¹³ B. Bischoff, cited by E. Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana. Codex Vindobonensis 324*, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt 1976, p. 11 and by H. Lieb, "Zur Herkunft der Tabula Peutingeriana," in *Die Abtei Reichenau. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des Inselklosters*, ed. H. Maurer, Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag 1974, p. 31. Bischoff has never given the reasons for this claim.

vignettes that were more consistently drawn than those of folio IX.¹⁴ Nonetheless, it is possible that the copyist was different from the draftsman, as often happened in the *scriptoria* of the Middle Ages.

It is certain that the folia of parchment were not filled individually and that the copyist worked on the entire strip that had been assembled from folia attached one to another. Indeed, there is no break in continuity between the drawn elements on one folio and those which complete it on the next: roads and place-names are written down without interruption.¹⁵ The copy was probably produced by beginning from the outlines of the regions and continents; on the rest, the opinions of scholars diverge. One claims that the vignettes were drawn first, and only at a second stage were the lines which represent the roads added. Then, the mountains and rivers were incorporated, and in a third phase, the place names with the annotations on distances, the later perhaps transcribed by a second copyist: in fact, some streets have been omitted, while the corresponding distances do appear. The names of the peoples would have been included last.¹⁶ But all the oddities observed in the *Tabula* as it has reached us could have been found already on the model. According to another scholar, it was created in the following order: the coastal outline, the islands, the mountains and the rivers, then the vignettes, and finally the itineraries.¹⁷ The principal argument seems weak: if the itineraries had been drawn first, nothing would have in fact prevented the copyist from locating the name of a river near a station of the same name.

Modifications to the model

As in any copy, it is necessary to suppose that its creation brought with it some changes with respect to the model; these, nevertheless, turn out to be difficult to identify with precision. And since we cannot use the model, we cannot reach certain conclusions on this point. Therefore with all the necessary precautions we shall try now to divide up these alterations into three categories: actual errors in the drawing, additions, and changes in the vignettes.

a) various errors and omissions¹⁸

¹⁴ A. and M. Levi, *Itineraria picta*, p. 160.

¹⁵ L. Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana. Una descrizione pittorica del mondo antico*, Rimini: Maggioli Editore 1983, pp. 36, 167.

¹⁶ Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, p. 20.

¹⁷ Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana*, p. 36.

¹⁸ See, in general, Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. xviii-xix.

It has already been noted that certain place-names are not found in their proper place, that is to say, where the lines that indicate the itineraries show an interruption; sometimes the indication of distance is also missing. Some place-names are badly separated, such as *Divo. Durimedio. Matricorum* is written *Divoduro Mediomatricorum* (III, 1), or they are transcribed badly; it has also been noted that some routes are repeated.¹⁹ More interesting are the corrections because they seem to attest to the fact that the copy was made with care and was trying to reproduce the model as faithfully as possible. Certain areas are erased, such as the final piece of the Tiber, near Rome (V, 5), and a watercourse that links the *fl. Ticenum* and the *fl. Ambrum* (IV,2).²⁰

b) More or less certain additions

Some vignettes do not correspond to the system of conventional signs. The *crypta neapolitana*—the subterranean passage that allowed one to go from Naples to Pozzuoli—is depicted with a cupola where two openings correspond to the two entrances: it is possible that we are dealing with a medieval addition.²¹ The question of the Christian legends is more complex. First of all, as has already been mentioned, a lesson concerning Sinai is also found in the map of Beatus; near it there is another one of them: «Hic legem acceperunt in monte Syna». The only Christian element, however, is the basilica of San Pietro, placed in the region of Rome and marked by the vignette for a sanctuary and, most of all, by the rubricate label, which is written in a script usually reserved for place-names and important legends. These traces of Christian influence are not numerous, and they could have been introduced into the map as much in Late Antiquity as in the Middle Ages. Finally, it has hitherto not been observed that the names of the “barbarous” regions located in the extreme north of Europe, beyond the Rhein, could not have been placed in this form in Antiquity; where we would expect *Franci, Suevi, Alamanni*, just as for all the other peoples noted on the map, we have *Francia, Suevia, Alemannia*. The use of these regional names in the Middle Ages begins long after the definitive settlement of the barbarians, and only a medieval copyist can have transformed these peoples into regional names. But the fact that this change involves only these names can probably offer useful information for localizing the copyist in an area inhabited by these same peoples (Swabians or Alemanni), that is, in southwest Germany or in Switzerland.

¹⁹ Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana*, pp. 170-171.

²⁰ Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana*, p. 37 and note 44; fig. 21, p. 84; fig. 13, p. 57.

²¹ Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana*, p. 132.

c) probable alterations

These last modifications concern, in the first place, the vignettes. The majority of scholars have seen in the various types—buildings with two towers, polygonal town walls with towers, temples, thermal complexes—a system that must originally have served the practical use of the map. A. and M. Levi have isolated the cases in which the relatively sober drafting, which is that of the major part of the vignettes, takes on a different appearance. Thus, some of the roofs of buildings with two towers are not depicted with the usual triangle, for example *Cosedia* (II,2), *Curua Cesena* (V, 1), *Ad Horrea* (VI, 2) or *Megara* (VII, 5). In other cases the variations in the drawing produce an aberrant result in comparison with the usual type, as in, for example, the building which corresponds to *Aquis Tatelis* (III, 4-5).²² Thus several vignettes present a pronounced decorative appearance which seems to have been determined by a particular taste for ornament, a taste opposed to the end achieved through the use of conventional symbols (see in particular *Ad Matricem* (VI, 5). That a medieval copyist could pass with ease from one type of symbol to another is further indicated by the example of *Cabillione*, where one clearly sees that a vignette with two towers has been easily transformed into a “temple” vignette (II, 5).²³ It is also commonly agreed that the personifications of the cities are among the alterations introduced by the medieval copyists: the androgynous symbols of Rome and Constantinople recall more the figure of a medieval emperor than that of the ancient *tychai*.²⁴

A second type of modification has undoubtedly left its mark much more on the appearance of the *Tabula*. As has been mentioned, the *Cosmograph of Ravenna* used the textual description of a similar map but with a substantial difference: it seems that his had some Greek legends or, in any case, derived from a model with legends of this kind.²⁵ We can imagine that the scholar or scholars who created the copy of a similar model strived to remove the traces of a Greek origin which were considered pointless. Now, as we shall see, we have documentary proof that an ancient copy of the *Tabula* included some legends in Greek. On the other hand, if the *Tabula* was altered in just this way, it happened

²² A. and M. Levi, *Itineraria picta*, p. 159; Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana*, p. 171.

²³ This observation is from Arnaud, “L’origine, la date de rédaction et la diffusion de l’archetype de la table de Peutinger,” p. 306 and note 10; Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana*, fig. 14, p. 63.

²⁴ A. and M. Levi, *Itineraria picta*, p. 156.

²⁵ Arnaud (“L’origine, la date de rédaction et la diffusion de l’archetype de la table de Peutinger,” p. 316 and note 42) has rightly emphasized this aspect, even we cannot accept the gratuitous hypothesis of a Castorius, author of a geographical description created based on this model.

in all probability in the Carolingian period, in the VIIIth or IXth century, as the names of peoples were being transformed into regional names.

A Model at Reichenau in the IX-XI centuries?

A carolingian phase in the transmission of the *Tabula* has already been postulated.²⁶ The preceding observations on changes to the model offer therefore a point of departure for examining the hypothesis that the immediate model for the copy discovered by Konrad Celtes was located in the IXth century in the library of the monastery of Reichenau on Lake Constance.²⁷ Two arguments have been put forward. First, the unusual mention of the Black Forest (*silua Marciana*, IV, 5-V,1), which is attested in Antiquity only in Ammianus Marcellinus in a slightly different form (*siluae Marcianae*), is used again in chronicle of Reichenau from the XIth century.²⁸ Second, the catalog of the library of Reichenau, redacted in 821/22, mentions a «*mappa mundi in rotulis II*» (or «in rotulo I» according to another version),²⁹ which might correspond to the appearance which the *Tabula* must have had. This is the only truly compelling argument. Although it was not read in the Middle Ages, manuscripts of Ammianus Marcellinus were available in the monasteries of Fulda and Hersfeld, which were in contact with Reichenau; yet the mention of the *silva Marciana* could have reached the author by a completely different route which remains unknown to us. Furthermore, some circular *mappae mundi*, painted on different pieces of parchment, could have been rolled in the same way when they were not being used in teaching, for which one does not need to demand much explanation. Some indications, in texts from the VIIIth and IXth centuries arising from Franconia and Bavaria, could also make one think that the map or its model were located at that time in these regions; but we are dealing with trivial

²⁶ L. Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1964, p. 38; Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, p. 22.

²⁷ Lieb, "Zur Herkunft der Tabula Peutingeriana," in *Die Abtei Reichenau. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des Inselklosters*," ed. H. Maurer, pp. 31-33.

²⁸ Hermannus Contractus, in MGH SS V, p. 121: ...*cum Ernst... eiusque complices ... praedis circa siluam Marcianam infestarent...*

²⁹ *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* I, München 1918, p. 248.

According to K. Preisendanz ("Erkundliche Spuren im Kloster Reichenau," in *Festgabe der Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe zur Begrüßung des XXII. deutschen Geographentages*, Karlsruhe: Badische Landesbibliothek 1927, p. 9), the differences in number might be due to the fact that the monastery at a later time acquired another *mappamundi*.

details.³⁰ All in all, it would be imprudent to exclude the possibility that a copy of the *Tabula* was located on the imperial island; but this has not, in fact, been proven.

By and large, we can only make posit hypotheses of a general character on the reasons which lead to the creation of the exemplar which has come down to us (or its Carolingian model). A fundamental characteristic of medieval geography is the idea, repeated by many authors from the Carolingian period on, that the world had already been perfectly described by the Roman geographers, since their military conquests stretched across the entire *orbis terrarum*.³¹ A document like the *Tabula* demonstrated the reality of this perfection: the itineraries that extended to the limits of the *oikoumene* were the concrete proof of the extent of the name of Rome. From this perspective, the existence of a copy in the Carolingian period is very likely. The *Tabula* corresponded to the ideology of the *renouatio imperii*, in presenting the enormous extension of the empire as an ideological model of the universal dominion over space and undoubtedly also as an image of power.³² The suppression of the model's Greek forms, in this hypothesis, would be perfectly comprehensible, given the rivalry between Charlemagne and the empire of the East.

A conjecture to discard: the «monk of Colmar»

Notwithstanding definitive criticisms, scholars continue to repeat from time to time, with K. Mannert, that the preserved copy of the *Tabula* was probably copied in 1265 in the Dominican convent of Colmar by the author of the *Annales Colmarienses*.³³ It is therefore necessary to examine in detail this thesis to

³⁰ H. Koller, "Der mons Comagenus," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 71 (1963): 237-45, esp. 243-245; except for the arguments based on place-names, the arguments offered by the author are of no value.

³¹ See P. Gautier-Dalché, "Principes et modes de la représentation de l'espace géographique durant le haut Moyen Age," in *Uomo e spazio nell'alto Medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 50, Spoleto 2003, I: 139-141.

³² It is clearly excessive to speak of the "enormous success" with respect to its ancient and medieval diffusion (Arnaud, "L'origine, la date de rédaction et la diffusion de l'archetype de la table de Peutinger," p. 319).

³³ K. Mannert, *tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana, primum aeri incisi et edita a Franc. Christoph de Scheyh MDCCLII, denuo cum codice Vindoboni collata, emendata et nova, Conradi Mannerti introductione instructa, studio et opera Academiae Literarum Regiae Monacensis*, Lipsiae: Libraria Hahnania 1824, p. 9; E. Desjardins, *Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine*, IV, Paris: Hachette 1893, p. 73. For Bosio (*La Tabula Peutingeriana*, p. 167), this hypothesis is the most "alluring"; it is considered as "possible" by A. and M. Levi (*Itineraria picta*, p. 22) but also refuted by them elsewhere (p. 162). It has, however, been rejected in a manner that must be considered definitive by Miller (*Mappaemundi III*, p. 151 and *Itineraria romana*, p. xivff, and then by R. Hotz, "Beiträge

demolish it once and for all. In 1265 the author writes: *anno 1265 mappam mundi descripsi in pelles duodecim pergameni.*³⁴ The reference to twelve folia of parchment has immediately led scholars to think of the twelve folia that the *Tabula* must have originally included. A simplistic argument seemed to confirm this view: the Vosges (*silua Vosagus*) and the Black Forest (*silua Marciana*) were the only places that appeared with trees (which were stylized): these would have been the ones that the “monk of Colmar” saw from the window of his cell, as has sometimes been naively argued! Let us observe, first of all, that the date does not correspond to the script, which is closer to caroline than to gothic. This would already be enough to discard the hypothesis. But when we continue to read the *Annales*, we learn that the author, in 1276, corrected (without further specification) the same *mappamundi*. Besides, even supposing that the quoted passage was referring to the *Tabula*, it is through an error that Mannert and his followers concluded from this that it was copied at Colmar. As the author himself informs us, he spent the years 1265-1277 in the Dominican convent in Basel before being transferred to Colmar in 1278. The manuscript of the *Annales*, from the XVIth century, was copied from an older Colmar manuscript containing two texts that described Alsace and Germania. These are probably by the very author of the *Annales* and they also talk about a *mappamundi*. But this *mappamundi*, which must therefore have been located in the Dominican convent of Colmar in the XIIIth century, has nothing to do with the *Tabula*. In particular, it says: *Teutonia is located on the coast of the ocean, between the Rhine and the Elbe, as is depicted on the mappamundi, and it is placed near the wind which is called circinus or thracia*” (which means to the northwest).³⁵ This observation could refer only to a circular *mappamundi* with the twelve winds around it as points of reference—of which numerous examples are known—and not to the *Tabula*.

As we shall see, the fact that in the XIIIth century the *Tabula Peutingeriana* was placed in the area of Basel would fit perfectly with what can suppose from the circumstances of its discovery. Unfortunately, the information furnished by the Dominican of Colmar must be considered absolutely irrelevant to the problem and therefore useful for any further clarification on this point.

III. Renaissance Transmission

zur Erklärung und Geschichte der Peutinger Tafel,” *Mitteilungen für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 7 (1886): 218-219.

³⁴ MGH SS XVI, p. 186.

³⁵ *Sita est Theutonia in littoribus Oceani, inter Rhenum et Albam fluuios, ut in mappa mundi depingitur, et apponitur uento, qui circinus seu Tracia nominatur...* (MGH SS XVII, p. 238).

Studies on the history of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* have always mentioned only one copy: that which, going back to the end of the XIIth century or the beginning of the XIIIth century, was discovered by Konrad Celtes, given to Peutinger, and edited by M. Welser before it then passed into the collections of the Imperial Library of Vienna. Now, between 1431/1449 and 1481, there existed another copy that was older and more complete and perhaps even the model going back to Late Antiquity, of which only a partial copy is preserved today. At issue is information that has already been published – although only partially – the importance of which has until now not been recognized nor its links with the *Tabula* studied in detail.

The copy of Jacopo Zeno: from the Council of Basel (1431-1449) to the bishopric of Padua

In the first autograph volume of the *Historiae Ferrarienses*, the humanist Pellegrino Prisciani (†1518) includes on a double page his own copy of a «*Cosmographiae quaedam antiquissima*» which depicted the space from Verona to Ravenna, bounded by the lower course of the Po.³⁶ We are discussing a map wholly similar to the *Tabula*, with very few differences (fig. 2): it presents the addition of two tributaries on the left and one on the right. The succession of place-names and the distance references are the same. At the halfway mark between *Hostilia* and Ravenna, at the confluence of the tributary on the right with the Po, is found *Forum Alieni*. The indication of the distance between *Hostilia* and Ravenna, which is clearly incomplete on the *Tabula*, is completed here: *Ab Hostilia per Padum (the Tabula [IV, 5-V, 1] stops here) LIII; item ab Foro Alieni per Padum Ravennam LIII*. In two boxes at the bottom of the page and in the margins of the manuscript, Pellegrino Prisciani repeatedly furnishes precious details on the appearance of this map: “it is difficult to read in different places and is written in Greek letters in many of its parts.” These letters, just as the

³⁶ Modena, A. S., Manoscritti 129, f. 44v-45r. The copy was noted, and the texts published in part, in the good monograph of A. Bondanini, *Contributo per la storia della cartografia ferrarese. Cinque studi*, Atti e memorie della Deputazione provinciale ferrarese di storia patria, series 3:29, 1981, pp. 33-34, although the importance of this document beyond the topography of Ferrera was not perceived. In contrast, in a set of general reflections on the cartographical activity of P. Prisciani, this copy was not noted (T. Bacchi, “Pellegrino Prisciani e la sua vocazione cartografica,” *Schifanoia* 6 (1988): 187-191). A recent study of the *Historiae Ferrariensis* limits itself to note that “Prisciani “had discovered a most ancient cosmographia”, without further details (G. Zanella, “Le *Historiae Ferrariensis* di Pellegrino Prisciani,” in *La storiografia umanistica*, Messina: Ed. Sicania 1992, pp. 253-265). I summarize here a fuller study in press (*Revue d'histoire des textes* 33 (2003) on the value of P. Prisciani's evidence for the history of the *Tabula*).

fuller content of the part copied by Pellegrino Prisciani, lead us to think that we are dealing with a different *Tabula* different from that which has come down to us, older and partially in Greek, and this accords with the hypothesis formulated above on the basis of the preserved copy and its analogies with the Cosmographer of Ravenna. Among his many activities—antiquary, astrologer, cartographer, administrator, and ambassador—Pellegrino Prisciani was archivist and librarian of the House of the d'Este from 1488 on;³⁷ he was, without question, capable of evaluating correctly the age of this «*cosmographia vetustissima*».

Of course, in the age of Annius of Viterbo, we cannot completely exclude the possibility that we are dealing with a forgery. We might imagine that Pellegrino Prisciani, when informed of the existence of Celtes' copy, planned in fact to make use of it and to complete it in order to demonstrate the identification of Ferrara with the obscure *Forum Alieni* mentioned by Tacitus.³⁸ This is, however, not very likely, given that he makes only occasional use of the map and moreover giving precise and circumstantial information on its origin. This map was attached to the antechamber of the bishop of Padua. Several Venetian ambassadors had received it as a gift at the Council of Basel (1431-1449) thanks to the authority and mediation of Pope Eugenius IV. Later it had been given to the bishop of Padua Jacopo Zeno (1460-1481) who left it to the bishopric upon his death. Unfortunately, we then lose all record of it. Jacopo Zeno, prelate and humanist of Venetian origin, owned a very rich library which numbered a thousand volumes. After his sudden death,³⁹ the majority of the books disappeared, and his successor Pietro Foscarini succeeded in reassembling only a few more than 300 which he gave to the chapter in 1482; the map does not appear there, nor in the inventory of books in the possession of Pietro Barozzi, bishop from 1487-1507.⁴⁰ At present, we do not possess any evidence of the gift of the map to the bishopric.

³⁷ See A. Rotondò, "Pellegrino Prisciani (1435-ca. 1518)," *Rinascimento* 11 (1960): p. 70; G. Bertoni, *La biblioteca e la coltura ferrarese ai tempi del duca Ercole I (1471-1505)*, Torino: Loescher 1903, pp. 31-33.

³⁸ See *RE*, XIII, cols. 63-64; *Foralieni* is present in the Cosmographer of Ravenna (J. Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana, II: Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis geographica*, Stuttgart: Teubner 1940, p. 67).

³⁹ Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV*, I, ed. L. Frati, Bologna: Romagnoli-Dell'Acqua 1892, p. 208: *...eo defuncto. depredantibus necessariis externisque episcopium...* (dedicatory epistle of Santo Veneri to the *Vite summorum pontificum* of Jacopo Zeno, in Città del Vaticano, ms. Vat. lat. 5942, f. 1v); G. Degli Agostini, *Notizie storico-critiche intorno la vita e le opere degl scrittori viniziani I*, Venezia 1752, p. 303.

⁴⁰ E. Govi, "La biblioteca di Jacopo Zeno," *Bollettino dell'Istituto di patologia del libro* 10 (1951): 34-118; *Eadem, Patavinae cathedralis ecclesiae capitularis bibliotheca librorum XV saeculo impressorum index*, Padua: Typografia Antoniana 1958, pp. 143-170.

Celtes (1459-1508) and Peutinger (1465-1547)

This evidence leads us to reconsider the “discovery” made by the German humanist Konrad Celtes and the role of his friend Peutinger. In truth, we do not know its circumstances. All that we know derives from the humanist’s will, dated 24 January 1508, which reads: “I leave to Konrad Peutinger the Itinerary of Antoninus Pius, which is currently in his possession; I nonetheless wish and request that after his death it be made available to the public, for example in a library.”⁴¹ Notwithstanding the expression used by Celtes, he must have been referring to the map and not to the *Itinerarium of Antoninus*, as is shown clearly by the inventory of Peutinger’s library where concrete details are provided which leave no doubt: the itinerary left by Celtes is described as “in charta longa.”⁴² We do not know anything about the occasion on which Celtes left the *Tabula* with Peutinger.⁴³

Beginning in 1493, Celtes had been charged by the Emperor Maximilian I to acquire manuscripts to establish a library; furthermore, he was interested in ancient geography and maps. But, just like Peutinger, it is precisely at Padua that he would have been able to learn about the copy displayed in the antechamber of the bishop. For, during the years of his education, Celtes had in fact journeyed to Italy, from 1487-1489, and in fact passed right through Padua.⁴⁴ As for Peutinger, he had enrolled at the University of Padua already before 14 April 1482. His period of study in Italy ended at the beginning of 1488, and in 1491, on the occasion of an official visit to Rome, he took the examination necessary to obtain the title of doctor in civil law in the presence of the vicar general of the successor of Jacopo Zeno, since the bishop was the chancellor of

⁴¹ H. Rupprich, *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtes*, München: C. H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1934, n. 338, p. 606; reproduced in Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, p. 9, Abb. 1.

⁴² *Antonini Itinerarium B 90 charta 84 et infra charta 46. Hoc idem in charta longa a Celti nobis testamento legata* (cited in *ibid.* Abb. 2; F. C. von Scheyb, *Peutingeriana tabula itineraria quae in Augusta bibliotheca Vindobonensi nunc servatur....*, Vindebonae: ex Typographia Trattneriana 1753, p. 33).

⁴³ It occurred perhaps in 1507: according to a letter of Pirckheimer to Johannes Trithemius on 1 July of that year, Celtes was staying in Augsburg (cf. von Scheyb, *ibid.*, p. 34).

⁴⁴ D. Wuttke, “Konrad Celtes Protucius (1459-1508). Ein Lebensbild aus dem Zeitalter der deutschen Renaissance,” in *Philologie als Kulturwissenschaft. Studien zur Literatur und Geschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für K. Stackmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, edd. L. Grenzmann, H. Herkommer, D. Wuttke, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht 1987, p. 276.

the University.⁴⁵ We may also legitimately suppose that one or the other of the two men had different opportunities to become informed on the conditions of the discovery of this *cosmographia antiquissima* during the Council of Basel, obtaining precise details on the place in which it was preserved, without doubt not far from the city. When he returned to Germany, Celtes could then have known of the existence of a copy and, then, have acquired it.

Regarding the place in which Celtes found this copy various hypotheses have been formulated but all of them are valueless and it is therefore pointless to linger over them.⁴⁶ We have already examined the hypothesis that it was discovered at Colmar. There have been other proposals: Tergensee, for reasons of Bavarian patriotism⁴⁷ and Worms, on the basis of a letter of Trithemius of 12 August 1507 which spoke of a "*orbis terrae marisque et insularum ... pulchre depictus*" which was then for sale in that city.⁴⁸ But the locality that has received the greatest favor is Speyer, thanks to two pieces of evidence. In the *Commentariolus de Gallia Belgica*, Hermannus Nuenarius, prior of Cologne (+1530), writes of having noted that *Asciburgum* is found between *Novesium* and *Vetera Castra* in two itineraries: one *Itinerarium Theodosianum* of the library of Speyer and an *itinerarium vetustissimum* belonging to Peutinger.⁴⁹ Since *Asciburgum* does not appear in the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, it has been supposed that the two mentions both refer to the *Tabula*, in which the localities are arranged in the same way. Nuenarius, in short, would have seen the *Tabula* initially in Speyer, then in Peutinger's collection, without realizing that they were the same thing.⁵⁰ But since the author later cites placenames from his *Itinerarium Theodosianum* that do not appear in the *Tabula*, this explanation is without value.⁵¹ Yet the title *Itinerarium Theodosianum* refers, in fact, to a document rediscovered in the XVth

⁴⁵ E. König, *Peutingerstudien*, Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte IX.9, Freiburg i. B: Herder 1914, pp. 3-7; Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana*, p. 14.

⁴⁶ Here I limit myself merely to noting the hypotheses which are not based on documents: thus, Reichenbach is mentioned by F. Wawrik, s. v. *Tabula Peutingeriana*, in the *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Kartographie* II, Vienna: F. Deuticke 1987, p. 802; Corvey is indicated without any further detail on an Internet site for lovers of the Middle Ages.

⁴⁷ See Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. xiv.

⁴⁸ *Epist. Familiares* XLI (J. Trithemii... *opera historica*..., Ilm Frankfurt 1601, p. 533); according to A. and M. Levi (*Itineraria picta*, p. 21), Celtes found the *Tabula* in Worms; this "*orbis terrae*" has been interpreted as a terrestrial globe: cf. K. Arnold, *Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516)*, Würzburg: Kommissionsverlag F. Schöningh 1971, p. 197.

⁴⁹ Plantin 1584, p. 15.

⁵⁰ von Scheyb, *Peutingeriana tabula*, pp. 32-33; H. Grössing, *Humanistische Naturwissenschaft. Zur Geschichte der Wiener mathematischen Schulen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Baden-Baden: V. Koerner 1983, p. 195, 297, note 20.

⁵¹ Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. xiv.

century in the cathedral of Speyer which was well known to humanists of the time and contemporary philologists: a carolingian manuscript (written at the beginning of the Xth century) contained various geographical works including the *Itinerarium Antonini* along with a treatise from the beginning of the IXth century, Dicuil's *De mensura orbis terrae*. The latter work records repeatedly the measurements taken in all the provinces of the empire by the agents of the Emperor Theodosius II.⁵² The learned carolingian attributed this undertaking to Theodosius because he deduced it from the verses which close a late antique work of geography, the *Divisio orbis terrarum*.⁵³

An analogous error has been committed, originating from a work of Felix Malleolus (Hemmerlin) (1388/1389-ca. 1460), a canon of Zürich. In his *Tractatus de nobilitate*, several passages drawn from an *Itinerarium urbis Romae* can at first sight lead one to think of an itinerary map, and people have not failed to see the *Tabula* in this *Itinerarium*.⁵⁴ In reality, the passages are drawn from a late antique text, the *Cosmographia* of Pseudo-Aethicus (and this is the same in the *Speyerensis*).⁵⁵ We must therefore be content to remain in ignorance of where Celtes discovered the *Tabula*. Nothing allows us to claim with certainty that this happened along the banks of the Rhine, although the hypothesis of Reichenau remains at present the least improbable. But this does not exclude the possibility that one day this can be overcome through the discovery of new documents.

The Tabula passes to Peutinger

⁵² On the ms Spirensis, see P. Schnabel, "Der uerlorene Speirer Codex des Itinerarium Antonini, der *Notitia dignitatum*, und andere Schriften," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Kl., Berlin 1926, pp. 242-257; P. Lehmann, *Erforschung des Mittelalters II*, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann 1959, pp. 186-228; two folia of the Spirensis have been found which reproduce the *Itinerary of Antoninus* (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. I.2, 2^o 37; they have been reproduced in *Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. Wertvolle Handschriften und Einbände aus dem ehemaligen Oettingen-Wallersteinschen Bibliothek*, Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag 1987, n. 4, p. 40.

⁵³ Most recently, L. Bieler, J. J. Tierney, *Diculi liber de mensura orbis terrae*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 6, Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1967, p. 23; P. Gautier-Dalché, "Tradition et renouvellement dans la représentation de l'espace géographique au IXe siècle," *Studi Medievali* 24 (1983): 126 (repr. in *Géographie et culture. La représentation de l'espace du VIe au XIIIe siècle*, Collected Studies Series, Ashgate: Variorum 1997, n. IV).

⁵⁴ von Scheyb, *Peutingeriana tabula*, pp. 31-32; Hotz, "Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte der Peutinger Tafel," pp. 219ff.

⁵⁵ On this text, see P. Gautier-Dalché, "Les «quatre sages» of Jules César et la «mesure du monde» selon Julius Honorius, II: La tradition médiévale," *Journal des Savants* (1987): 184-209 (repr. in *Géographie et culture. la représentation de l'espace du VIe au XIIIe siècle*, Collected Studies Series, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishers 1997, No. I).

Initially, Peutinger had intended to have the map published according to the wishes of Celtes. In the 1511, he sought a privilege to be able to have it printed. As a means of proof, he had produced two different partial copies of the first folium; it would seem that the project would have required 18 folia.⁵⁶ In 1531 Christoph Scheurl related to Peutinger the desire of Johannes Eck that an edition make available to the public this *Germanicam chartam*, and this designation is interesting.⁵⁷ But various commitments prevented Peutinger from completing the project; the edition was not done and the page-proofs were not printed by Michael Walser until 1598.⁵⁸

In the meantime, an acquaintance of Peutinger's, Michael Hummelberg, was involved, at the request of the Alsatian humanist Beatus Rhenanus, in the production of an exact copy of the so-called *Itinerarium Celticum*. Peutinger had agreed to provide him with the manuscript on condition that produce a transcription of it "*ad usum publicum*" that was faithful to the original to the point of reproducing obvious errors. On 5 May 1526 this copy was almost finished and Michael Hummelsberg was hurrying to have it printed in Augsburg,⁵⁹ but he died one year later, before bringing his edition to completion. In 1912, Konrad Miller saw in a manuscript of the Museo San Martino di Napoli five double folia representing the part of the *Tabula* from IV.4 to IX.5 and identified them as coming from this copy.⁶⁰ Unfortunately these fragments have not been published and studied in a manner that would allow one to define exactly their place in the history of the *Tabula's* transmission.

Two late additions to the *Tabula* (Regenspurg, Salzpurg [IV.4]) derive from the hand of Peutinger himself; some other corrections have been attributed to him but, in truth, these assignments are without much substance.⁶¹ In Peutinger's own works, in fact, very few traces of his consulting the *Tabula* can be found. In an essay on the origin of the name of the city Th rouanne (in northern

⁵⁶ In a letter to Beatus Rhenanus (2 November 1525) M. Hummelberg, to whom we owe these details, explicitly claims: "...*ab incepto desistit, sic XVII reliquae chartae sub praelum nondum venere.*" (A. Horawitz, K. Hartfelder, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner 1886, n. 244, p. 341).

⁵⁷ E. K nig, *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*, M nchen: C. H. Beck 1923, p. 461; Peutinger's correspondent thought that the *Tabula* had perhaps been stolen from Celtes.

⁵⁸ *Fragmenta Tabulae antiquae in quis aliquot per Romanas provincias itinera, ex Peutingerorum bibliotheca...* Venice 1591; reproduced in Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Abb. 3 and 4.

⁵⁹ See the letters of Beatus Rhenanus nn. 250 (13 January 1526), 256 (6 April 1526), 257 (20 May 1526) (*Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, pp. 352, 364, 366).

⁶⁰ The manuscript had the signature R 35, and the paper had a watermark with an ass surrounded by a circle topped by a B or by a R (*Itineraria Romana*, pp. xxi-xxii).

⁶¹ Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, p. 9.

France) that remained incomplete, Peutinger mentions the *Itinerary of Antoninus* and the “manuscript itinerary, a copy of venerable antiquity, which the poet Konrad Celtes left to us in his will,”⁶² along with Ptolemy, Strabo, and other ancient geographers.

This manuscript in Peutinger’s library drew the attention of scholars outside German lands. Based on a letter of Michael Hummelberg to Beatus Rhenanus, the ambassador of the king of France at the imperial court supposedly offered 60 crowns for it. Peutinger refused, declaring that he would not sell it any price,⁶³ thereby meriting the compliments of Emperor Maximilian. Probably in 1530, on the occasion of the Diet of Augsburg, Peutinger wrote to Matteo Casella, guest of the Duke of Ferrara, in which he assembled all that he had been able to discover in ancient texts and itineraries about the *via Emilia* and its extensions as well as on the antiquity of the city of Modena, the duke’s possession of which the pope was contesting.⁶⁴ From the letter we learn what Peutinger thought of the map. In his view, the *Tabula* was a copy “*satis vetusto caractere*” of the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, whose original form had been lost. He gave its dimensions: almost a foot in width and more than 22 feet in length; he noted that it showed “the streets and the itineraries starting from Rome, with the aid of red lines and distances expressed in miles in a fairly careful manner, though not with extreme precision but more as an approximation, in the manner of the ancients.”⁶⁵ He then cited these itineraries: Rome-Aquileia, Ravenna-Bologna-Tortona, Pisa-Genova, Genova-Tortona, and Genova-*Vada Sabatia* (Vado Ligure).

Although the existence of the “*Itinerarium Celticum*” was therefore rather well known perhaps, the citations which bear witness to direct consultation of it remain very few.⁶⁶ In the works of some of Peutinger’s humanist contemporaries from first half of the XVIth century, allusions to an ancient *Itinerarium* can be found but only in two cases are we in fact dealing with the *Tabula*. The

⁶² *Epistola de Morinis* (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Hist. 2^o 248, ff. 62-63; cited by König, *Peutingerstudien*, p. 60).

⁶³ *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, p. 352.

⁶⁴ *Peutingers Briefwechsel*, p. 446ff; was it at this time, in Ferrara, that the connection was made between the map owned by Peutinger and the exemplar found in Padua in the antechamber of Jacopo Zenò?

⁶⁵ *Peutingers Briefwechsel*, p. 453.

⁶⁶ In 1509 the humanist Blasius Hölzl, secretary of Maximilian, wrote to Peutinger to ask when he would be able to obtain “the maps”, in its actual or reduced dimensions, so that he would be able to use it for a military campaign (E. von Oefele, “Briefe von und an Konrad Peutinger,” *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akad. der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Kl. 2 (1898), p. 443; Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. xv); it is very implausible that this map was the *Tabula* and that the secretary considered using it for military purposes.

“clarissimi viri Conradi Peutingeri, Protonotarii Augustensis civitatis aliud itinerarium vetustissimum”, mentioned by Hermannus Nuenarius in his *Commentariolus on Gallia Belgica* is probably something different from the *Tabula*: the forms of the place-names does not correspond to those of the *Tabula* and we know from M. Hummelberg that Peutinger also possessed a “vetustum quoddam itinerarium” which he had lent to Beatus Rhenanus and which we wanted to recover: but it was a text, not a map.⁶⁷ The same situation pertains in the case of the *Exegesis Germaniae* of Franciscus Irenicus (1518) who refers to two itineraries: “Antoninus or, more accurately, the *Itinerary of Antoninus* and an *Itinerarium Augustanum* or *nuper Augustae repertum*.”⁶⁸ Beatus Rhenanus, who, at the time, was working on his *Res Germanicae* on the origins of the Germanic peoples, was informed by M. Hummelberg about the nature of this work, although the question remains if he was talking about the *Tabula* or another map like it. According to Peutinger himself, the adjective *Augustanum* added by Irenicus was explained by the fact that the itinerary had been written by the emperor (*augustus*) Antoninus Pius.⁶⁹ A little while later, Beatus Rhenanus’ correspondent concluded that “the itinerary referred to by Irenicus is not, in fact, that of Celtes.”⁷⁰ In reality, the place-names studied by Irenicus are not all present in the *Tabula*, while those in common with it often have a different form.⁷¹ On the other hand, Irenicus says explicitly that this itinerary “reached him recently”: this implies direct consultation, which is impossible in the case of the *Tabula* because it never left Peutinger’s residence.

The only two authors whom we know without question to have consulted the *Tabula* directly were Gerard Geldenhower of Nijmegen (1482-1542) and Beatus Rhenanus. In his *Historia Batavica*, which appeared in 1530, Geldenhower mentions for only one place-name (*Castra Herculis* [II, 4]) the «charta illa vetustissima» shown to him by Peutinger in which he saw a

⁶⁷ *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, n. 244, p. 341.

⁶⁸ *Antoninus in Itinerario ac Itinerarium nuper Augustae repertum (Germaniae Exegeseos volumina duodecim* IV, 33, Hagenaë: Th. Anshelm 1518, f. cxvii v: *Pervenit nuper ad nos Itinerarium quoddam, ut antiquum, ita festivissimum, quod Augustanum vocabant, ubi repertum fuisse dixerunt.* (IX, 7, f. clxxxviii r); the same mention also recurs in books XI and XII (f. ccix and ccxxiv).

⁶⁹ *Peutingero scripsi tuo iussu, sed noram tacito. Nihil is de eo novit. Putat vero Irenicum id, quod est Antonini est, Augustanum vocare, quod ab Augusto illo Pio sit conscriptum.* (*Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, n. 244, p. 341).

⁷⁰ “Celticum ®*≡4B≡Δ46€< omnino non est, quod Ω4Δ0<46€H®allegata (*Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, n. 352, p. 352).

⁷¹ *Arae Ubiorum* (IV, 33), *Cheniteri* (XI), *Solidurnium* (XII), *Traiana legio* and *Hellum/Heluetum* (IX, 5) are not on the *Tabula*; *Bregetomagnum* corresponds, for example, to *Borgetomagi* of the *Tabula*.

document for military use.⁷² But the only one to use the *Tabula* critically was Beatus Rhenanus, who knew of the existence of the «*vetustissima Peutingeri charta*» since 1523.⁷³ After the failed undertaking of Michael Hummelberg, the humanist of Sélestat had the opportunity to see it in Augsburg in Peutinger's possession. In his *Res Germanicae* he informs us that the «*charta provincialis*» or «*charta itineraria*» found by Celtes in «*in quadam bibliotheca*» was created under the last emperors. In his attempt to make sense of the migrations of the Germanic peoples and to identify their original settlements, Beatus Rhenanus used a particular sector of the map on two occasions— that on which, beyond the Rhine, are written the words *Francia, Alemannia, Suevia*— to define the territory of the Swabians, Alemanni, and Franks.⁷⁴ The *Tabula* is thus associated, in these investigations of historical geography, with other authors who have discussed these same questions, namely Caesar and Tacitus. One may note in particular the precision with which the erudite Rhenanus describes the sector which interests him (he furnishes the exact location of the place-names) and criticizes it. In his opinion, the painter placed *Suevia* next to the *silva Marciana* instead of in its proper place, but he did so for two reasons. One was material: the lack of space; the other was intellectual: Germany was of very little interest to him, while his principal preoccupation was to describe the «*provinciae*», that is to say, the Empire.⁷⁵

For Beatus Rhenanus the *tabula* preserved in Peutinger's house was thus revealed to be the best aid to the research in historical geography to which the German humanist dedicated himself, following the example of Konrad Celtes, in order to give historical and cultural legitimacy to the Germanic nations. And it is all the more strange that it was, all in all, so little used. The principle reason for this was the absence of an edition that would render it more easily available for consultation. Peutinger's death in 1547 provoked its unexpected disappearance; its rediscovery occurred in two phases. The rediscovery (1587) by Marc Welsler, a distant relative of Peutinger, and then the edition (1591) of the two folia printed on his initiative, rekindled in scholars the desire to have access to the entire work

⁷² *Horum castrorum fit mentio in charta illa vetustissima, quae itinera Romanorum militum ex provinciis nonnullis depicta continet. Hanc mihi ostendit clarissimus vir clarissimus Conradus Peutingerus, utriusque iuris doctor, patricius ac cancellarius nobilis Augustae Vindelicorum...* (I. Bejczy, S. Stegeman, M. Verweij, *Gerard Geldenhouwer van Nijmegen (1482-1542) Historische Werken*, Hilversum: Verloren 1998, p. 142.)

⁷³ A letter of M. Hummelberg, dated 19 April 1523, contests the identification of a place-name with the help of the *Tabula* which is so described (*Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, n. 230, p. 317).

⁷⁴ *Beati Rhenani Selestadiensis rerum Germanicarum libri tres*, Basel: Frobenius 1531, pp. 35-51f.

⁷⁵ *Sed posuit in latere pictor ille quod trans sylvam melius locasset, ni vetuisset angustia membranae, et Germanica velut aliena duxisset modice attingenda, prouincias tantum describens.* (*Rhenani Selestadiensis rerum Germanicarum libri tres*, p. 52).

available to them. In 1597 Marc Welsler rediscovered the original while making an inventory of his library and Abraham Ortelius produced an edition of it which appeared on the turning of 1598, after his death, at the press of J. Moret, heir of Plantin.