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A Manuscript Template for the *Inscriptiones Sacrosanctae Vetustatis*? Considering Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, MS Lat. qu. 102**

● *Abstract*

The little-known Ms. Lat. qu. 102 of the Frankfurt University Library has hitherto been attributed to Petrus Apianus and regarded as a template for his *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (Ingolstadt 1534). In reality, both manuscript and print stem independently from the materials amassed by the editors. The analysis of the inscriptions in the manuscript that are absent from the print shows that, in some cases, it represents one of the earliest sources, and it records a few better readings than those accepted in the *CIL*. The date, authorship and purpose of the manuscript are discussed, and its full content is described in the Appendix.

Keywords: Petrus Apianus, Bartholomaeus Amantius, epigraphic manuscripts, antiquarianism.

1. Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, MS Lat. qu. 102 and Petrus Apianus

The Frankfurt University Library holds a short manuscript (I + 32 + I fols.; 31 x 20.5 cm) containing a collection of inscriptions attributed, both in Kristeller's *Iter Italicum* and in the library catalogue, to the mathematician and astronomer Petrus Apianus (1495-1552)[1], coauthor (together with Bartholomaeus Amantius) and editor of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis non illae quidem Romanae sed totius fere orbis* (Ingolstadt, Petrus Apianus, 1534; henceforth *Inscriptiones*), the first world corpus of Roman inscriptions to appear in print.[2]

The manuscript itself is not signed and has no title or any other kind of indication of its authorship. Its binding is modern, but the content has not been altered, since all 32

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[1] Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. Lat. qu. 102 (henceforth Frankfurt); digital copy available at https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hebis:30:2-47870 (accessed 12 March 2024). See P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. Volume 3 (alia itinera I): Austria to Germany*, London/Leiden 1983, p. 380; G. Powitz, J. Hager, *Die neueren Handschriften der Gruppe Manuscripta Latina, Teil I: Allgemeiner Bestand* (*Kataloge der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main*, Bd. 6), Frankfurt am Main 1988, pp. 25-26. On Petrus Apianus, see K. Röttel (ed.), *Peter Apian. Astronomie, Kosmographie und Mathematik am Beginn der Neuzeit*, Eichstätt 1995.

[2] On the printing process and the reception of the *Inscriptiones*, see now G. González Germain, *Printing, Reading and Owning Apianus and Amantius's* Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis *(With a Worldwide List of Known Copies)*, in *Antiquarian Literature in the Sixteenth Century. Archaeology and Epigraphy in Printed Books and Manuscripts*, ed. by J. Carbonell, G. González Germain, Berlin/Boston 2024, pp. 79-116.

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folios bear an ancient numeration. The only indication of the manuscript's origin is found in a flyleaf at the beginning of the book, which contains three consecutive notes by the theologian and librarian Georg Veesenmeyer (1760-1833), the first one dated in July 1804:

> Dieser Band ist aus dem leider ganz vernichteten Nachlaß des jüngeren Apianus gerettet [sc. Petrus's son, Philipp Apian (1531-1589)]; mir fand sich auch noch das prächtige Original des Comitivs für den ältern Apian [sc. Petrus Apianus] v. Karl V. aber sehr zerstümmelt[3].

In 1804, Veesenmeyer informed us only that the manuscript came from the estate of Petrus's son, Philipp Apian. Later (as attested by a change of ink), Veesenmeyer added that 'all the inscriptions were printed in Apianus's and Amantius's book'[4], which he later confirmed in a final addition dated in 1827. Thus, despite noting the relationship between the two collections, Veesenmeyer did not attribute the manuscript to Apianus; this may have been a deduction by the librarians at Frankfurt. The editors of the printed catalogue of 1988 went a step further, and identified this manuscript as the same work as the printed *Inscriptiones* – only the latter was of course much expanded. The only two studies that have made use of the Frankfurt manuscript follow this same line of thought, describing the manuscript as a preparatory work for the printed edition, specifically as templates for the drawings of statues and epigraphic monuments (and therefore dating the manuscript prior to 1534)[5].

The aim of this paper is to question this interpretation, to describe for the first time the full contents of the manuscript and to shed light on the actual relationship between this manuscript and the printed *Inscriptiones*.

2. Similarities and differences with regard to the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*

A first appraisal of the manuscript already leads to the conclusion that it could hardly have served as any kind of preliminary stage towards the printed edition. Whatever its many faults, the 512-page long *Inscriptiones* displayed its numerous texts following a geographical distribution, and drawing from its many sources one or two at a time. In contrast, the manuscript contains a selection of 94 unsorted inscriptions (plus a few drawings of Roman statues), interspersing texts from Italy, Germany, Spain, Greece or Asia in no particular order, and sometimes even omitting their location notes. As far as the drawings of monuments and statues are concerned, they are not simple sketches, but appear completely finished – many of them even coloured in red, yellow and blue ink –, and these represent but a fraction of those published in the *Inscriptiones*. In short, both collections differ not only in format and size, but also in nature: the manuscript was conceived as an anthology, whereas the edition was intended as an all-encompassing corpus.

[3] The text is transcribed in Powitz, Hager, *Die neueren* cit., p. 26.

[4] Frankfurt, f. Ir: "Ohne Zweifel stehen alle diese Inschriften abgedruckt in P. Apians & Barth. Amantii Inscriptiones sacros. vetustatis totius fere orbis, Ingolst. 1534, fol."

[5] Röttel, *Peter Apian* cit., pp. 271 and 291; K. Halbauer, *Der Reuchlin-Gedenkstein aus dem Kreuzgang der Stuttgarter Dominikanerkirche*, «Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte», 76 (2017), pp. 389-400 (395-397).

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Apianus's authorship of the manuscript must also be brought into question. We know of a handful of autograph documents from Apianus, some in German and some in Latin, and all of them are very short (see e.g. Fig. 1)[6]. However, the hand that writes the Frankfurt manuscript bears no particular resemblance with any of these documents, and certain letters clearly set it apart[7]. From the current evidence at our disposal, Apianus's attribution should be excluded.

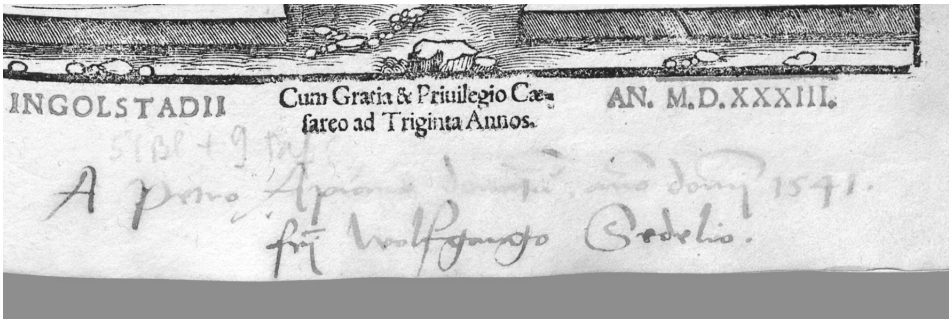

Fig. 1. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 2034, frontispiece (bottom); autograph from Apianus dated 1541.

On the other hand, the content of the manuscript is clearly related to the *Inscriptiones* – as Veesenmeyer already realized in the 19th century. Most drawings of statues are found in the book (both amid the inscriptions and in the final appendix with Raymund Fugger's statuary collection). It reveals the same taste for real, fake and modern inscriptions alike, for imaginary drawings of monuments, and for epigraphs (hardly found in any other collection) coming from very distant parts of the Roman world.

In cases like this, the explanation is often that the manuscript is a copy of the printed text, and not the other way around: we know of such a copy of the *Inscriptiones* preserved at Bologna, and the same is true for the so-called 'Archinto' manuscript collection and the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome, ed. Jacobus Mazochius, 1521)[8]. Here, however, this possibility must be ruled out. A comparison between the two collections shows that the manuscript contains fourteen inscriptions and three drawings which are absent from the *Inscriptiones*. And, for several inscriptions that do appear in the edition, the manuscript still provides a better text or a more precise location.

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[6] K. Röttel, *Handschriftliches von Peter Apian*, in Röttel, *Peter Apian* cit., pp. 53-58 (53-56).

[7] For instance, Apianus appears to always incline the letter 'd' leftwards, and to draw a short tail on the upper side of the letter 'p'; two features that are never found in the Frankfurt manuscript.

[8] For the Bolognese manuscript (Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, ms. A.1212) with a copy (dated c. 1590) of the *Inscriptiones*, see M. P. Marchese, *Il manoscritto A.1212 della Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna: le iscrizioni*, in *Studi di antiquaria ed epigrafia per Ada Rita Gunnella*, ed. by C. Bianca et al., Roma 2009, pp. 153-165 and ill. 47-62; G. Capecchi, *Il manoscritto A.1212 della Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna: le immagini*, *ibid.*, pp. 167-190 and ill. 63-107. X. Espluga (*Scavi negli Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*, in *The Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis (1521) and Its Influence on European Antiquarianism*, ed. by J. Carbonell and G. González Germain, Roma 2020, pp. 19-39 [31-32]) has argued, convincingly, that the Archinto collection was a copy of the printed *Epigrammata*, and not the other way around, as had been considered until then.

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A B C

Fig. 2. A: *Inscriptiones*, p. 461; B: *CIL* XIII 6460 (© Archäologisches Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg; Photo by Ortolf Harl). C: Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. Lat. qu. 102, f. 32r.

Three examples of this latter case will suffice to prove this point. A funerary inscription (*CIL* V 3767)[9] from Parona, near Verona, is located in the manuscript 'in Parona on the walls of a church', thus concurring with all previous sources, whereas in the *Inscriptiones* it is surprisingly located 'in the Egyptian city of Parona, where there is a harbour of forty stadia' (*Paronae Aegypti civitate ubi portus XL stadiorum*), apparently a mistake made by the editors themselves when trying to locate the city of Parona[10].

A preserved inscription from Meimsheim (Baden-Württemberg) provides a more interesting example (*CIL* XIII 6460; Fig. 2). Hitherto, the *Inscriptiones* was the only sixteenth-century source to record it – now paired with the Frankfurt manuscript. In the edition, the text is reproduced within a very ordinary plaque[11]. In the manuscript, the inscription is accompanied with the exact same location note, but here both the *tabula ansata* (with the fourth line of the inscription entering at each side) and the line division of the original stone are faithfully reproduced.

For a third and final example, let us consider a lost inscription from Rottenburg (*CIL* XIII 6366; Fig. 3), for which current editions rely on two transcriptions, namely the *Inscriptiones* and a regional

[9] Frankfurt, f. 14r; *Inscriptiones*, p. 512.

[10] The mistake must derive from Strabo (17, 14), who gives this measure for the port of the Egyptian city of *Paraetonium* (Mersa Matruh): "Paraetonium civitas est, et portus ingens XL fere stadiorum" (according to the Latin edition published by Valentinus Curio in Basel in 1523, p. 540).

[11] Frankfurt, f. 32r; *Inscriptiones*, p. 461.

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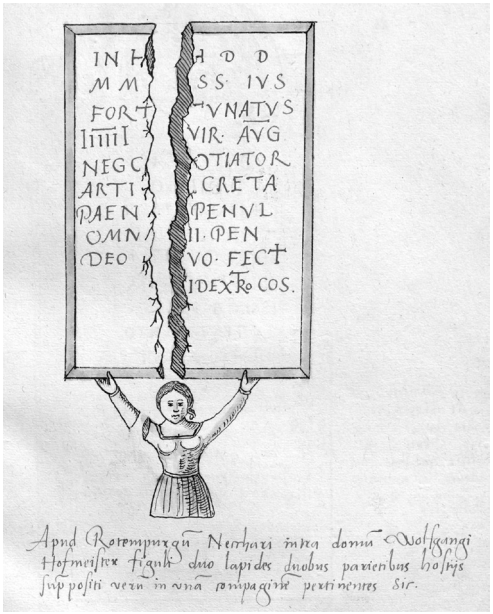

Fig. 3. Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. Lat. qu. 102, f. 17r (*CIL* XIII 6366).

chronicle by Christoph Lutz von Lutzenhart, dated in 1609[12]. The Frankfurt manuscript portrays two *nexus* on lines 9-10 (*fecît* and *dextro*), absent from the *Inscriptiones*[13]; Christoph Lutz reflected – despite additional mistakes – these two *nexus*, but for some reason the *CIL* only accepted and edited one of them (*dextro* on line 10). With the support of the Frankfurt manuscript, it is now evident that the *nexus* on *fecît* (line 9) was also present on the stone.

3. Materials not found in the edition

Let us turn our attention to the texts and drawings from the Frankfurt manuscript which are absent from the printed *Inscriptiones*:

Fol.	Inscription / drawing	Provenance	Location note in the Frankfurt manuscript
1v	*drawing of Mercury*	—	Mercurius
4r	*drawing of a chariot*	—	
4v	*CIL* IX 3107	Sulmona	In Pelignis inventa a Pontano
6v	*CIL* VI 317	Rome	Romae inventum apud scholam Graecam ubi erat templum Herculis
7v	*CIL* VI 1314	Rome	—
12v	*CIL* VI 1231	Rome	Romae in regione Parionis

[12] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, ms. hist. fol. 764, f. 14r. See *CIL* XIII, 2, p. 217; I have not seen this manuscript.

[13] Frankfurt, f. 17r; *Inscriptiones*, p. 462.

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13v	*CIL* V 3433	Verona	Veronae apud S. Sebastianum
15r	*CIL* VI 5a*	[*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*]	—
15v	*archaeological drawing*	Rottenburg am Neckar	Haec structura reperta est apud Rotemburgum Necchari in fossa civitatis
17v	*CIL* XIII 6534	Murrhardt	In coenobio Murrhat, quod miliare a Backnang distat, sacellum est monte situm ubi Walterichus sepelitur. Hic lapis est positus super sepulchrum illius Walterichi primi abbatis, et pendet millo suffultus, lapide seu alio adminiculo, ita ut tactus ad omnia latera sese moveat quasi aere volans, neque etiam ad aliquem (!) partem declinare videtur sed <ad> normam iacet. Fuit hic Walterichus primus abbas huic cenobio datus a Ludovico Pio Caroli Magni filio, qui Ludovicus fundavit hoc monasterium. Anno autem DCCCXVI obiit ille Ludovicus. Huc tandem a monachis abbati incisum est epitaphium non ita elegantibus ut superiores aparent literis.
21r	*CIL* VI 18378	Rome	—
22v	*CIL* VI 5k*	[*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*]	—
23r	*CIL* VI 18324	Rome	—
24v	*CIG* 2277a = *IDélos* 1560	Delos	—
28r	*CIL* VI 1c*	fake	Breviarium rerum gestarum Sicinii Dentati
29v	*CIL* VI 5f*	[*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*]	—
31v	*CIL* XIII 6483	Bad Wimpfen	Wimpinae

Inscriptions and drawings from the Frankfurt MS not found in the *Inscriptiones* (1534)

Of the three drawings, the first (f. 1v) is a young Mercury looking leftwards, nude but for a cloak fastened on his right shoulder, holding a small sack on his right hand and the caduceus on his left, and accompanied by a small cock to his right. There are three woodcut illustrations of Mercury throughout the *Inscriptiones*, but this is clearly different from all three[14]; it is not impossible, however, that the drawing in the manuscript is a loose ad-

[14] *Inscriptiones*, pp. 230, 422 and 464.

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aptation of two of them[15]. The second drawing (f. 4r) is that of a charioteer (seated backwards) on a three-horse chariot, and appears to be incomplete on the left[16]. Its origin might be different from the rest of the materials, since it is the only element in the whole manuscript that does not represent an inscription, a statue, a relief or some archaeological remains. The third drawing (f. 15v) is described very vaguely as a 'structure' – supposedly Roman, since it was included in the Frankfurt manuscript – found in a trench in the city of Rottenburg; since there was no inscription in it, its absence from the *Inscriptiones* is not surprising. As we have already seen, Apianus and Amantius included inscriptions from Rottenburg not found in earlier collections, so they may have known this drawing.

As for the fourteen inscriptions not present in the edition, Apianus and Amantius could very well have known them all. One from Sulmona was explicitly taken from Giovanni Pontano's *De aspiratione*[17]. The other six (authentic) inscriptions from Italy were all present in the manuscript tradition prior to 1534. A Greek inscription from Delos came from the tradition of Ciriaco d'Ancona[18]. A fake inscription seems to derive, from both its text and location note, from the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*[19]. Three more forgeries come from the famous novel *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice 1499)[20]: this is especially relevant because the *Inscriptiones* was one of the very few epigraphic collections to include these literary fictions as ancient inscriptions (without, of course, naming their source). The Frankfurt manuscript contains up to twelve of these spurious texts copied from the *Hypnerotomachia*: nine of them are also present in the *Inscriptiones*, but the other three are not.

This leaves two inscriptions for which the manuscript appears to be the earliest attested source – and both come from Germany. The first one (*CIL* XIII 6534), now lost, came from the Murrhardt Monastery (Baden-Württemberg)[21]. According to the manuscript [Fig. 4],

[15] The relief of Mercury from Augsburg in p. 422 (taken from C. Peutinger, *Inscriptiones vetustae Romanae et earum fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum*, Mainz 1520) is perhaps the one with the closest resemblance: there Mercury has a young face, holds a caduceus and what can be interpreted as a sack, and is accompanied by a cock; on the other hand, Mercury has a winged helmet, his cloak is not fastened, his posture is quite different, and there is also a goat. The Mercury in p. 464 (from *CIL* XIII 6488) holds a caduceus and a sack and has no helmet, but the cloak and the cock are missing and he has a bearded, old face.

[16] The drawing was reproduced, with no description or analysis, in Röttel, *Peter Apian* cit., p. 271 fig. 14/4.

[17] J. Pontanus, *De aspiratione*, Naples 1481, f. [20v] (*editio princeps*); Id., *Opera omnia soluta oratione composita. Vol. 2: De aspiratione libri duo*, Venice 1519, f. 18v.

[18] *IDélos* 1560 = *CIG* 2277a; see O. Riemann, *Inscriptions grecques provenant du recueil de Cyriaque d'Ancône. I. Manuscrit 996 de la bibliothèque Riccardienne à Florence*, «Bulletin de correspondance hellénique», 1:1 (1877), pp. 81-88, 134-136 and 286-194 (p. 86 No. 28).

[19] *CIL* VI 1c* = *Epigrammata antiquae urbis,* Rome 1521, f. 18v.

[20] On the imaginary inscriptions of the *Hypnerotomachia*, see Ch. Mitchell, *Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy*, in *Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. by E. F. Jacob, London 1960, pp. 455-483 (463-468); F. Vuilleumier Laurens, P. Laurens, *La rêverie épigraphique dans l'*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili *de Francesco Colonna*, in *L'âge de l'inscription: La rhétorique du monument en Europe du XV^e^ au XVII^e^ siècle*, Paris 2010, pp. 67-88.

[21] See, besides the *CIL* schede, F. Haug, G. Sixt, *Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs*, Stuttgart 1900, p. 309 No. 404. The EDCS database (No. 11000561) contains a black-and-white photo of an inscription slightly different from the modern copy displayed at the Carl-Schweizer-Museum in Murrhardt. In fact, this appears to be an older photo of the same copy, before it was added the interpunction, the nexus ÂELIA (instead of ELIA) and a new ornamental support. I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Manfred Clauss and Sascha Weiler (Universität Trier) for their help.

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it hung over the tomb of the first abbot of the monastery, Walterich. The first sources for the inscription known until now were Georg Widmann (1486-1560), author of a manuscript *Chronika* of Schwäbisch Hall and its surroundings, dated 1550[22]; and the French antiquarian Jean-Jacques Boissard (1528-1602)[23], in the second half of the century. The Frankfurt manuscript provides the earliest of the three attestations, and takes into account the monument, many of its *nexus* and the disposition of the text.

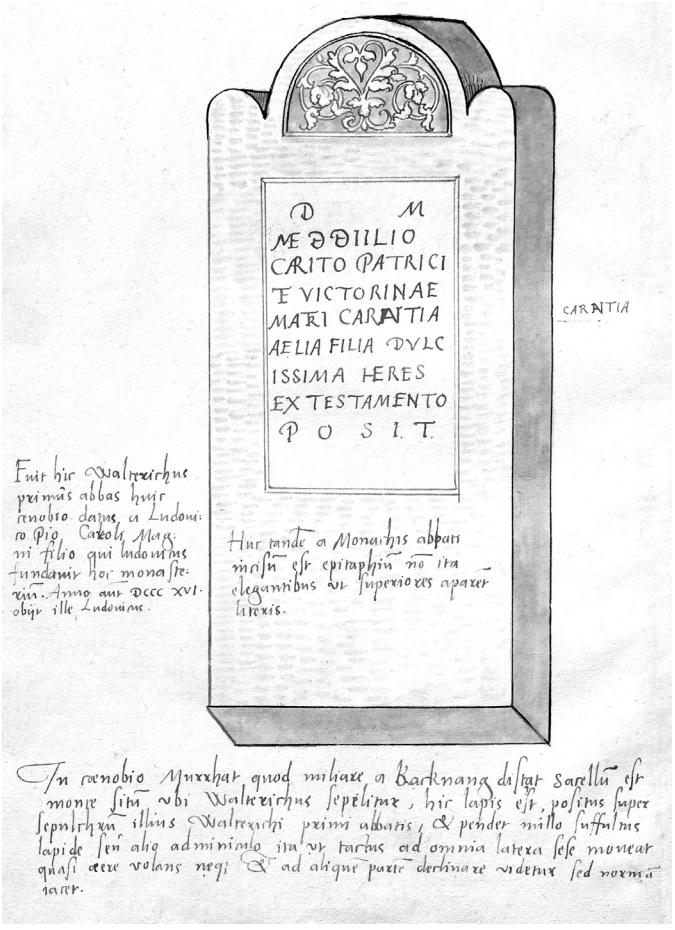

Fig. 4. Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. Lat. qu. 102, f. 17v (*CIL* XIII 6534).

[22] The original manuscript seems to have been lost, but several 17th-century copies survive. The text is edited in Ch. Kolb, *Geschichtsquellen der Stadt Hall. 2: Widmanns Chronica* (*Württembergische Geschichtsquellen*, 6), Stuttgart 1904 (p. 144 for the inscription). From Widmann's *Chronika* derived the first edition of the text in M. Crusius, *Annales Suevici sive Chronica rerum gestarum antiquissimae et inclytae Suevicae gentis*, pars II, Frankfurt 1595, p. 24.

[23] See, e.g., Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12509, p. 546.

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Lastly, another lost inscription from Bad Wimpfen (*CIL* XIII 6483), some 40 km northwest from the previous location, has been known through only two sources: a clergyman from Speyer named Jacobus Beyel (or Beyhell), who composed a short collection of inscriptions that has been dated around 1540[24]; and again Jean-Jacques Boissard[25]. The Frankfurt manuscript now provides an independent autopsy [Fig. 5]. The *CIL* followed Boissard's line division, but with the warning that the true division was unknown; since the Frankfurt manuscript is quite reliable in that regard, it may also portray the actual line division. Similarly, in a divergent reading on the third line (*suscepto* in Boissard, *succepto* in Beyel) the Frankfurt manuscript agrees with Beyel, and therefore his should be considered the original form.

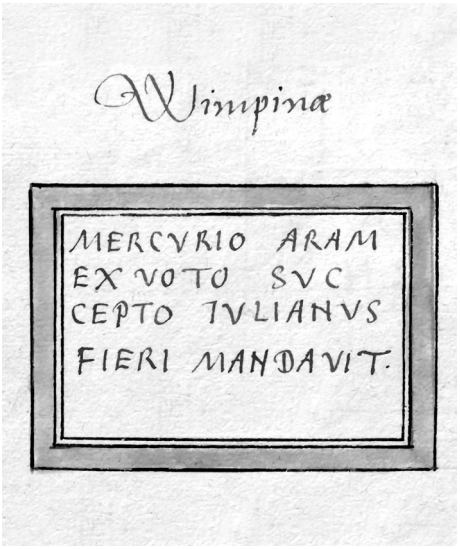

Fig. 5. Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. Lat. qu. 102, f. 31v (*CIL* XIII 6483).

It is very much plausible that Apianus knew these two inscriptions. In his edition, he included a different stone from the Murrhardt Monastery[26], which the Frankfurt manuscript also displays beside the other. Moreover, the *Inscriptiones* is the first attested source for some inscriptions close to Bad Wimpfen, such as the aforementioned plaque from Meimsheim (*CIL* XIII 6460), only 18 km south of Wimpfen.

4. Conclusion

Finally, we must address the matter of the exact relationship between the printed *Inscriptiones* and the Frankfurt manuscript. As should be clear by now, neither could have been the genesis of the other. At the same time, the additions in the manuscript are very much in accordance with Apianus's sources; they do not seem later, spurious additions, but rather texts at Apianus's disposal that – for whatever reason – did not end up in the edition. Maybe it was a lack of space, a simple oversight, a conscious omission or (in some

[24] Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, ms. C 13, f. 2r. This collection was first edited by K. von Barth, *Adversariorum commentariorum libri LX*, Frankfurt 1648, cols. 2422-2430 (2428). In 1901, O. Clemen (*Handschriften und Bücher aus dem Besitze Kaspar von Barths in der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek*, «Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen», 38 (1921), pp. 267-289 [267]) found the original manuscript in Zwickau. In 1916, Hirschfeld included this information in the *addenda* of *CIL* XIII, pars IV, pp. 87 (for the manuscript) and 99 (for the inscription). Jacobus Beyhel is also mentioned in a letter from Ulrich Zasius to Bonifacius Amerbach, dated February 3, 1547; see B. R. Jenny (ed.), *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, vol. VI, Basel 1967, pp. 392-401 No. 2906 (p. 395 line 126); and *ibid.*, vol. IX, Basel 1982, p. XXXVIII.

[25] See e.g. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12509, p. 543.

[26] *CIL* XIII 6533 (*Inscriptiones*, p. 458; Frankfurt, f. 18r).

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cases) he may have known them too late – we may never know. What we can deduce is that both manuscript and print were products that emerged from Apianus's workshop, derived from the very same sources.

This conclusion, however, does not entail that the manuscript must predate the edition. In fact, it is perfectly plausible that the manuscript was prepared either concurrently or subsequently. In any case, the assembling of the different materials used in the *Inscriptiones* does limit the time frame for the writing of the Frankfurt manuscript: it could not have been drawn up before 1533, and it is hard to imagine that Apianus – who did not carry out any other antiquarian activity – would have preserved all his different manuscript sources together for many years after the edition.

While the manuscript was probably not penned by Apianus himself, as we have argued, it must have been prepared with his consent, if not indeed at his request. The manuscript, which lacks any kind of introduction or proper bindings, seems to have remained in Apianus's library, since it was passed down to his son Philipp – as was also the case for one of the sources used for the *Inscriptiones*, the deluxe epigraphic manuscript compiled by Johannes Fuchsmagen (c. 1450/5-1510)[27].

It remains unclear, however, what the exact purpose of the Frankfurt manuscript was. It might have been a dedication copy conceived for a patron (possibly Raymund Fugger, since the manuscript begins with a group of statues, mirroring the appendix of the *Inscriptiones* with Raymund's statuary collection), that for whatever reason (perhaps his death on December 3, 1535?) was left unfinished. Or it could have been prepared, from the beginning, for Apianus himself, as a token of the time he took part in the antiquarian field.

5. Appendix. Contents of Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, MS Lat. qu. 102

This is the complete list of contents of the Frankfurt manuscript, with its correspondence in the edited *Inscriptiones*.

Fol.	**inscription / drawing**	***Inscriptiones* (1534)**
1r	statue of Laocoön	f. tt1r (appendix)
1r	statue of Asclepius	p. 156
1v	statue of Mercury	—
1v	statue of Isis	p. 136
2r	statue of Bacchus	f. tt2r
2r	statue of Pan	f. tt2r

[27] Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, ms. XIII. G. 14. See D. Marth, *Der sogenannte* Antiquus Austriacus *und weitere* auctores antiquissimi. *Zur ältesten Überlieferung römerzeitlicher Inschriften im österreichischen Raum*, Wien 2016, pp. 162-227 and 305-326.

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2v	*CIL* XIII 6324	p. 456
3r	*CIL* XIII 267*	p. 170
3v	*CIL* XIII 6388	p. 464
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[28] See K. Bursian, *Die Antikensammlung Raimund Fuggers*, «Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München», 4:1 (1874), pp. 133-160 (152-154); E. Löwy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, Leipzig 1885, p. 327 No. 496.

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[29] See S. G. Mercati, *La stauroteca di Maestricht ora nella Basilica Vaticana e una presunta epigrafe della chiesa del Calvario*, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Battista de Rossi* (Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Serie III, Memorie I, Parte II), Roma 1924, pp. 45-63 (45-49).

[30] See Th. Koutsogiannis, *Ancient Greek Figures in Renaissance Germany via Italy: Cyriacus of Ancona's Drawings and their Distorted Perception*, «Ikon. Journal of Iconographic Studies», 13 (2020), pp. 149-164 (153-155 and Figs. 5-8).

[31] See Halbauer, *Der Reuchlin-Gedenkstein* cit.

[32] This is in fact another literary fiction taken from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice 1499, inscription on f. x6v and depiction of the amphora in f. x7r); the Frankfurt manuscript follows closely its source on the depiction of the amphora's details, which have been deleted in the *Inscriptiones*.

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[33] See P. Thomsen, *Die lateinischen und griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem und ihrer nächsten Umgebung*, Lepizig 1922, pp. 51-53 No. 60-61. Two of the inscriptions, deriving ultimately from the Psalms, are taken from John Mandeville's *Book of Marvels and Travels*.