

AUGUSTINUS TYFERNUS AND HIS EPIGRAPHIC MANUSCRIPTS

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AUGUSTINUS TYFERNUS

The oldest printed books containing Roman inscriptions from Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria are *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* of Petrus Apianus and Bartholomeus Amantius (1534)¹, and *Commentariorum reipublicae Romanae ... libri* of Wolfgangus Lazius (1551)². However, manuscripts containing copies of Roman inscriptions from Italy and elsewhere, notably also from the hinterland of Aquileia, are known from the 15th and the early 16th century. Among the most important of the latter are the surviving apographs of the epigraphic collection of Augustinus Tyfernus in the Vienna National Library (*Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung*), which predate Apian's *sylloge* for a few decades (CVP 3528, fols. 17-74; 3492, fols. 1-26; 3540, fols. 1-16). Indeed, Apian's *Inscriptiones* contain several inscriptions first recorded by Tyfernus. In 1864, nine years before the appearance of *CIL* III, Richard Knabl published an article in the *Mittheilungen des historischen Vereins für Krain* about the Carniolan part of the inscriptions from two of the three mentioned Vienna codices (CVP 3528 and 3540)³. He

introduced his study with a short survey of the earliest publications and manuscripts in which Roman inscriptions discovered in Carniola were documented for the first time. Epigraphic collections contained in the mentioned codices are even earlier, and Knabl correctly emphasized their value. In his opinion, the first codex would have been composed by Augustinus Tyff, who finished it in 1507 at Parthenope (Naples). Knabl wrongly ascribed to him an Italian origin, either Umbrian or Samnitic ("... Augustinus Tyff von Tifernum, entweder umbrischen oder samnitischen Gebiets...", p. 19). The authorship of the second manuscript was erroneously attributed by Knabl to Cyriacus of Ancona (Ciriaco de' Pizziccolli).

Knabl was not aware of the identity of the humanist Augustinus Prygl or Prug(e)l, who named himself Tyfernus after the German toponym of his native town of Laško (Tüffer) in Styria. He is often referred to as Tyffernus, although he himself preferred the form Tyfernus, no doubt because it bore closer resemblance to Tifernum in Umbria. He was first identified by Theodor Mommsen as the author of the epigraphic collection preserved in the three Vienna codices⁴. Mommsen even called him "der Vater der Epigraphik in Deutschland"⁵. Tyfernus was a humanist scholar and seemingly the first serious and competent collector of Roman inscriptions in Carniola, Carinthia, and his native Styria; moreover, he also copied Roman inscriptions in Italy and elsewhere in central Europe. Some details about his life are contained in *Orationes duae*, pronounced at the Vienna University in 1519 by Lucas Capher and Andreas Endlichius in honour

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1. APIANUS, P.; AMANTIUS, B., *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis non illae quidem Romanae, sed totius fere orbis summo studio ac maximis impensis Terra Mariae. conquistae feliciter incipiunt*, Ingolstadii 1534. I would like to thank Dr. Stanko Kokole for having kindly read my text, suggesting some corrections and many improvements.

2. LAZIUS, W., *Commentariorum reipublicae Romanae illius in exteris provinciis bello acquisitis constitutae libri duodecim*, Basileae 1551. The Frankfurt edition with a slightly different title: *Reipublicae Romanae in exteris provinciis, bello acquisitis, constitutae, commentariorum Libri duodecim*, Francofurti 1598, seems to have a different pagination.

3. KNABL, R., "Die ältesten Copien römischer Inschriften des Herzogthums Krain", *Mitt. Hist. Ver. Kr.* 19, 1864, 19-28.

4. MOMMSEN, TH., in: *CIL* III, pp. 478-479.

5. In *Monatsberichten der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften aus dem Jahre 1865*, Berlin 1866, 375.

of the bishops of Ljubljana and Trieste, Christoph Raubar and Pietro Bonomo. Tyfernus contributed a foreword for these orations and also edited them, adding some biographical data concerning both bishops⁶.

Data concerning Tyfernus's life are relatively scarce. He was born in the eighth decade of the 15th century; in 1496 he was enrolled at the University of Vienna. However, as he himself mentioned, he studied in Padua together with Raubar, where they both stayed until 1501. Raubar's career was distinguished, as in addition to the Bishopric of Ljubljana, he held *in commendam* the Diocese of Seckau and the Benedictine Abbey of Admont. He was one of the commanders in Maximilian's war with Venice (1508-1516), held governorship of Lower Austria, and was sent on several diplomatic missions⁷. Tyfernus was his secretary and trusted collaborator, who accompanied him on his diplomatic and other travels; he was an antiquarian, epigraphist, man of letters, and, according to his own words, an architect (*post illud Patavinum contubernium proximo toto decennio quum in privatis tum publicis rebus a secretis ac magister ab epistolis et architectus omniumque peregrinationum atque itinerum suorum terra et mari domique et militiae perpetuus comes et assecla*)⁸. In 1504/5 he travelled to Rome with Raubar, who was the emperor's envoy, and in 1506/7 to Naples, again with the bishop, who was sent as diplomatic agent to the king of Naples, Aragon and Castille, Ferdinand the Catholic. During the years 1513-1519 he is attested as the secretary to the bishop of Vienna, Georg Slatkonja (Jurij Slatkonja, Georgius Chrysippus); in Vienna, Tyfernus also held the parish of St Peter. In 1521 he returned to Carniola

and Styria and spent his last years mainly at his parish at Slovenj Gradec. As his "architectus", he supervised the building of Raubar's palace in Ljubljana in 1512, after the earthquake of 1511, and may have also been in charge of the rebuilding of bishop's residence at Gornji Grad, and perhaps even the construction of Slatkonja's residence in Vienna⁹. At Stari trg near Slovenj Gradec, he constructed a presbytery and crypt.

As Raubar's secretary, Tyfernus travelled widely and collected inscriptions in various places, particularly in Italy (Campania and Rome), Carniola and Styria, but also in Carinthia and southern Germany. During his stay in Naples, and due to his various interests, he had lively connections with members of the Academia Pontaniana in Naples. His acquaintances there included Pontano's successor, the poet Pietro Summonte, and the bishop and poet Giovanni Battista Valentini-Cantalicio. He knew several illustrious prelates and humanists of his time, such as, in addition to Raubar, Slatkonja and Bonomo, also Matthaeus Lang, Bishop of Gurk (Krka), later Archbishop of Salzburg and a cardinal, the provost of Xanten Luca de Renaldis, and perhaps the famous architect and epigraphist fra' Giovanni Giocondo da Verona (Iucundus Veronensis), through whom he may have acquired some Roman inscriptions from the *sylloge* of Cyriacus of Ancona (CVP 3492, fols. 9^r-19^r; 9^r: *Epigrammata latina comperta a Kyriaco Anconitano vetustatis superioris saeculi diligentiss. indagatore*)¹⁰. One of Tyfernus' acquaintances was also the Austrian antiquarian, diplomat and court historian of Maximilian I, Dr. Johann Fuchsmagen (1450-1510), with whom Tyfernus exchanged copies of Roman inscriptions. Their correspondence, which included the epigraphic material, is attested by a fragment of Tyfernus' letter to Fuchsmagen, preserved in one of Tyfernus' manuscripts (CVP 3492, 13^v-14^r). Probably through Fuchsmagen, Tyfernus' epigraphic collection(s) reached Konrad Peutinger, as well as Apianus and Amantius¹¹. However, there is

6. *Orationes duae luculentissimae ab illustri gymnasio Viennensi in susceptione r. principum ac episcoporum Laibacensis Seccoviensisque et Tergestini anno MDXVII habitae, in quibus mirae ac rarissimae laudes eorum succinctius explicantur*, Vienna 1519.

7. More about Raubar in SIMONITI, P., *Humanizem na Slovenskem (Der Humanismus in Slowenien und slowenische Humanisten bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts)*, Ljubljana 1979, 61 ff.; KOKOLE, S., "Totius antiquitatis egregius admirator: Christophorus Raubar zwischen Kampanien und Krain", HÖFLER, J.; TRÄGER, J. (edd.), *Bayern und Slowenien in der Früh- und Spätgotik: Beziehungen, Anregungen, Parallelen (Erstes, 175-197, 287-294; slowenisch-bayerisches kunstgeschichtliches Kolloquium)*, Regensburg, Ljubljana 2003; KOKOLE, S., "From the Adriatic Rim of the *Stato da Mar* to the Southeastern Tip of the Holy Roman Empire: Collecting Ancient Artifacts, 1450-1530", *Collecting Sculpture in Early Modern Europe. Symposium National Gallery of Art, Washington 7-8 Febr. 2003*, forthcoming.

8. From *Orationes duae* (cit. in n. 6), cited from SIMONITI, P., s. v. "Tyfernus", GSPAN, A.; MUNDA, J.; PETRÈ, F. (edd.), *Slovenski biografski leksikon* 13, Ljubljana 1982, 262-265, citation on p. 262.

9. More in SIMONITI, P., "Der Architekt und Antiquar Augustinus (Prygl) Tyfernus in seinen Beziehungen zu den Bischöfen Slatkonja und Raubar", ANTONICEK, T.; HILSCHEK, E.T.; KRONES, H. (edd.), *Die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle I: Georg von Slatkonja und die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle*, Wien, Köln, Weimar 1999, 75-90.

10. SIMONITI, *Humanizem...*, o.c., 95. On Tyfernus' copies of Cyriacus' inscriptions see also BODNAR, E.W., *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens (Coll. Latomus 43)*, Brussels 1960, 93-95; he emphasized that there are very many epigraphical manuscripts of the late 15th and early 16th centuries containing inscriptions from Cyriacus and that it is extremely difficult to determine their interrelationship.

11. *CIL* III, p. 479; SIMONITI, *Humanizem...*, o.c., 103; cf. GREINEGGER, D., *Augustinus Tyfernus, Jean Jacques Boissard und die*

no direct evidence that Peutinger had personally known Tyfernus. Peutinger had more complete manuscripts at his disposal than those preserved in the Vienna codices, since, according to Mommsen, he included 17 inscriptions from Celeia which certainly originated from Tyfernus' collection, although they are missing in the Vienna codices¹².

VIENNA CODICES ATTRIBUTED TO AUGUSTINUS TYFERNUS

Tyfernus' collection is preserved in two transcriptions from the 16th century, in the mentioned codex 3528, and in two codices 3492 + 3540, which together form a whole. The foreword to his collection was written in Naples on February 27, 1507, when he was perhaps preparing the edition for printing (CVP 3528, fol. 17^r), but in fact only edited the *Libellus de mirabilibus civitatis Puteolorum et locorum vicinorum*, first published in Naples in 1475 by Francesco de Accoltis (Franciscus Aretinus) and three decades later almost unavailable, since Tyfernus had great difficulties in acquiring a copy of it. *Libellus* was a prose composition written by an unknown author, but based on the poem of the mediaeval poet Pietro da Eboli, *De balneis Puteolanis*. Christoph Raubar and Luca de Renaldis, who were both at the time at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, showed great interest for a new edition. Tyfernus rewrote it adding much of his own ("for the '*Germani nostri*' who are more than others interested in antiquities"), such that the little book well resembles a Renaissance tourist guide to Campania¹³.

D. Greinegger gives a short survey of those sections in the three Vienna codices which go back to Augustinus¹⁴. CVP 3528 has over 200 fols., written in one hand and containing historical, epigraphic, astronomic and astrological texts of the 15th and 16th centuries. CVP 3492 (38 fols.) and 3540 (19 fols.) are epigraphic sylloges, written by three and

two hands respectively. There are several correspondences between them and each of them contains explicit references to Augustinus, as, for example, "*Hic sequuntur quae Capuae inveni emendatissime transcripta*" (CVP 3540, fol. 13^v). In several instances when a copyist either could not read the original, or considered it too long or superfluous, he shortened it by adding "*etc.*", such as in the anecdote concerning an altar dedicated to *I. O. M.* from the monastery of Rein near Graz; the abbreviated words were interpreted by the prior as "*I(ntroitus) o(mnium) m(onachorum)*", and when Tyfernus told this to the then Bishop of Gurk, Matthaeus Lang, he broke out in roaring laughter (CVP 3528, fol. 66^r = 3540, fol. 15^r: "... *quam rem quum R. D. Ioanni [recte Matthaeo] Lango episcopo Gurcensi rettulissem, in tantum risum solutus est etc., ut etc.*").

CVP 3528 (fols. 17^r-74^v, 2-3) contains Roman inscriptions from Italy, particularly from Naples, Capua, Ostia, and Rome, further from Styria and Carniola, one from Actium, a few from Trento, Carinthia, and Germany.

CVP 3492 contains Roman inscriptions from Italy (particularly from Naples and Rome), from Carniola, Styria, and several inscriptions from the collection of Cyriacus of Ancona (Dalmatia, Istria, Greece, Byzantium), as well as a fragment of Tyfernus' letter to Fuchsmagen (13^v).

CVP 3540 contains inscriptions from *Puteoli*, Naples and Capua, further from Styria and Carniola, as well as from Trento, Carinthia and Germany.

THE PROBLEMATIC IDENTITY OF ANTIQVUS AUSTRIACVS

According to Theodor Mommsen, Augustinus Tyfernus was not the first collector of the Roman inscriptions in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. Some years earlier a nameless antiquarian with epigraphic interests, whom Mommsen named *Antiquus Austriacus*, would also have collected Roman inscriptions in these same regions. His transcriptions were, according to Mommsen, very reliable, as much as those of Tyfernus, and both collections would have been complementary. Mommsen reconstructed the hypothetical *sylloge* on the basis of the more recent collections of Peutinger, Choler, and Apianus - Amantius (CIL III, p. 479: *Insunt denique Austriaca permulta et optime descripta ... Nam versuum ordinem nexusque diligentissime reddunt et locum diligenter indicant, ut*

älteste Überlieferung norischer Inschriften. Wien 1994 (unpublished M. A. thesis), 70. She is currently working on a dissertation and will prepare a publication.

12. CIL III, 5209; 5224; 5234; 5238; 5245; 5249; 5252; 5255; 5256; 5257; 5258; 5262; 5264; 5267; 5268; 5269; 5272. Cf. SIMONITI, *Humanizem* (cit. in n. 7), 101; GREINEGGER, *Augustinus...*, o.c., 58; cf. 134-138.

13. As can be read in the introductory letter of TYFERNUS to the printer Sigismund Mair, which is published as a foreword to his new edition: *Libellus de mirabilibus civitatis Puteolorum et locorum vicinorum: ac de nominibus virtutibusque balnearum ibidem existentium*. Neapoli 1507, fol. A 1 r.

14. GREINEGGER, *Augustinus...*, o.c., 51-56.

nec minus curiosam nec minus fructuosam operam patriis titulis Augustinus iudicandus sit impendisse quam impendit Austriacus Antiquus).

Although it is not entirely clear who was the intermediary (if an intermediary should at all be postulated), there is no doubt that Apian's *sylloge* contains many inscriptions collected by Tyfernus. In addition to other indications, this is corroborated by the fact that three inscriptions from the vicinity of the castle of Žovnek (Saneck) near Celje (CIL III, 5113; 5114; 5453) appear among the Neapolitan inscriptions as they do in Tyfernus' manuscript CVP 3528 (Fig. 1), although the preceding and the following inscriptions from Naples do not correspond to those that precede and follow the three Celeian inscriptions in Tyfernus¹⁵. On p. 113, e.g., the Naples inscriptions are printed in the same order as they appear in CVP 3528 (fol. 26^v-27^r), and there are other cases, in which Tyfernus' particular sequence of inscriptions has been observed.

Recent scholarship has seriously questioned Mommsen's hypothesis regarding *Antiquus Austriacus*; one of the first who doubted *Antiquus'* existence was Paul Uiblein, who studied the work of the earliest antiquarians in Austria (... während wir ... über die Persönlichkeit des "Antiquus Austriacus" aber gar nichts wissen)¹⁶. In 1979, Primož Simoniti cogently argued for the identification of *Antiquus Austriacus* with Augustinus Tyfernus¹⁷. Mommsen's hypothesis had been challenged even earlier, but mostly with inconclusive results¹⁸. Simoniti analyzed the structure of both collections and came to the conclusion that the first, attributed by Mommsen to *Antiquus Austriacus*, could be at most ten years older than that of Tyfernus; considering the provenance of the inscriptions *Antiquus* collected, he most probably must have been a native of Lower Styria or southern Carinthia. According to Mommsen's judgement, he was an accurate and experienced transcriber who paid attention to the division of lines and observed ligatures (*Quicunque eam fecit, accuratus fuit et peritus; archetypa*

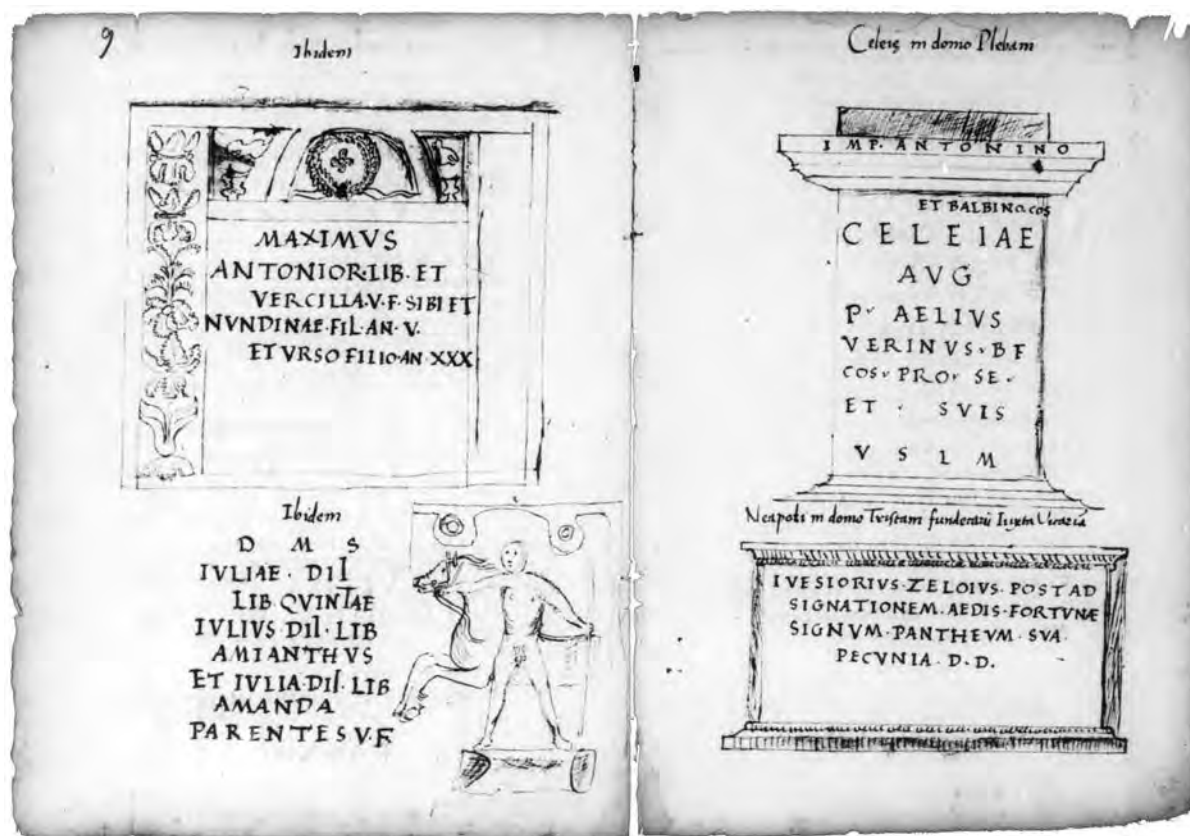


Fig. 1: Inscriptions from the area of Celeia in codex CVP 3540 (after Augustinus Tyfernus).

15. APIANUS; AMANTIUS, *Inscriptiones...*, o.c., 111-112 = CVP 3528, f. 25v, 2-26r, 1-2.

16. UIBLEIN, P., *Geschichte der Altertumsforschung in Oesterreich vor W. Lazius*. Vienna 1950 (unpubl. diss.), 59-65; the citation is on p. 65.

17. SIMONITI, *Humanizem...*, o.c., 83-112.

18. See the references in SIMONITI, *Humanizem...*, o.c., 83-112.

exempla patet etiam versuum divisionem constanter retinuisse et litterarum contignationes expressisse, CIL III, p. 477). These were exactly the characteristics, which Mommsen also ascribed to Augustinus Tyfernus. Both collections have eight inscriptions in common, four from *Poetovio* and four from *Celeia*, but on the whole they are complementary. Moreover, Mommsen suspected that Tyfernus knew the other collection (*Tyffernus, qui scripsit c. a. 1507, huiusce syllogae notitiam aliquam iam videatur habuisse*, ib.). The complementary nature of both collections would, contrary to Mommsen's opinion, either point to a single identity of "both" authors, or indicate that they were collaborators, which is nowhere mentioned. It is much more plausible to argue that in 1507, when Tyfernus edited the *Libellus de mirabilibus civitatis Puteolorum*, he was also planning to print his own epigraphic collection, on which he had begun to work years ago, as his various postings led him to various places and lands. It is known that most of the inscriptions that appear in his collection, originated in the regions where he lived or was active. He knew "the other" collection because it was actually his own, earlier, one.

Simoniti stressed the fact that it would be most unusual if either Styria, Carinthia or Carniola had produced two collectors of Roman inscriptions of equal excellence, who would both have been active at almost the same time and within, broadly speaking, the same geographical area, and, it must be added, each of them copying *different* inscriptions at the *same* sites. The evidence presented by Simoniti, which is definitely more convincing than Mommsen's arguments, suggests that *Antiquus Austriacus* and Augustinus Tyfernus are one and the same individual. Lately, the three manuscripts of Tyfernus were thoroughly analysed by Doris Greinegger, and she is also inclined to accept Simoniti's arguments, adding a few valid observations of her own¹⁹. Nonetheless, she granted that the suggested identity of *Antiquus Austriacus* with Tyfernus may leave some doubt open.

Tyfernus' important collection remained in manuscript form. However, it was used by many later antiquarians and historians who also dedicated some of their attention to the Roman inscriptions. It contains several Roman monuments from Styria, Carniola and elsewhere that are not mentioned in the earliest printed collec-

tions of inscriptions, notably by Apian or by Lazius. Knabl copied 39 Carniolan inscriptions out of Tyfernus' manuscripts, whereas Lazius listed only 21 of these monuments.

THE EARLIEST COPIES OF ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE HINTERLAND OF AQUILEIA

In the hinterland of Aquileia, the first epigraphic *syllogae* were probably composed in the mid 15th century. Inscriptions of Tergeste and some other towns in Istria were first collected, according to T. Mommsen, by the so-called *Antiquus Tergestinus*, who may, in the opinion of A. Degrassi, well have been Cyriacus of Ancona²⁰. An argument in favour of this hypothesis is also the fact that some of the inscriptions from Koper/Capodistria (*Ins. It. X 3, 1; 4; 14; 23; 29*) figure in manuscript CVP 3492, f. 17^r of Augustinus Tyfernus²¹, among those from Cyriacus of Ancona. It is interesting to note that Bernardino Parenzano from Poreč/Parenzo, who towards the end of the 15th century painted frescoes in the "Chiostro Maggiore" of the Benedictine monastery of S. Giustina in Padua, may have had an early collection of Roman inscriptions from Istria in his hands — unless he copied them himself — since he included in his paintings a great number of inscriptions from Poreč/Parenzo (Parentium) and its surroundings²², as well as three from Koper/Capodistria (*Aegida/Capris?*)²³. The total number of Roman inscriptions attested in the latter town in the 15th century thus amounts to eleven. Such an early evidence of Roman inscribed monuments in Koper/Capodistria represents a strong argument in favour of the identification of the town with *Aegida/Capris*, since it is clear that no one would have brought them from elsewhere and would have then let them lie around²⁴. The study of the earliest copies of Roman inscriptions is not merely most important in the case of lost

20. DEGRASSI, A., *Inscriptiones Italiae. Vol. X: Regio X. Fasc. III: Histria septemtrionalis*, Roma 1936, xi.

21. DEGRASSI, erroneously cited CVP 3528 f. 17.

22. BILLANOVICH, M.P., "Una miniera di epigrafi e di antichità. Il Chiostro Maggiore di S. Giustina a Padova", *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 12, 1969, 197-292.

23. BILLANOVICH, M.P.; MIZZON, G., "Capodistria in età romana e il pittore Bernardino Parenzano", *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 14, 1971, 249-289.

24. BILLANOVICH; MIZZON, "Capodistria...", o.c., 265 ff.; ŠAŠEL, J., "Koper - Capodistria", *Koper med Rimom in Benetkami - Capodistria tra Roma e Venezia. Prispevki k zgodovini Kopra - Contributi per la storia di Capodistria*, Ljubljana 1989, 5-14 (= *Opera selecta*; Ljubljana 1992, 680-689).

19. GREINEGGER, *Augustinus...*, o.c., 57-75.

inscriptions, but also in terms of topography and the correct assessment of archaeological sites.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM CELEIA: SANTONINO AND TYFERNUS

More than half a century earlier than the *Inscriptiones* of Apianus and Amantius are the transcriptions of a few inscriptions in the *Travel Journal* of Paolo Santonino, the secretary of the Aquileian patriarch, who visited Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia (1485-1487) and stopped in Celje in 1487. Among his observations, which are important for the cultural history of these regions in that period, he remarked that the newly built town walls of Celje, the ancient *Celeia*, were full of Roman inscriptions, reliefs, and statues²⁵. An analogous situation may be expected in other, formerly Roman, towns as well. The inscriptions from Celje copied by Santonino, must have undoubtedly been well visible and easily accessible at the time, since otherwise Santonino would not have bothered to transcribe them, and it is interesting to see who copied them after Santonino, and particularly, if they were also transcribed by Tyfernus²⁶.

The first is a marble tombstone with two portraits, erected by a freedman of the town of Celeia, Ti. Claudius Favor to himself, his wife Pusilla and the rest of his family, which he saw at the southern entrance to the town (*CIL* III, 5227 + p. 1830; *AIJ* 48; *ILLPRON* 1593)²⁷. The tombstone is kept in the Regional Museum at Celje (inv. no. L 25). It is most interesting to note that this inscription (*Fig. 2*), which must have been visible to everybody, does not figure in the extant codices of Augustinus Tyfernus, although he was born at Laško (Tüffer) near Celje and copied inscriptions from Roman *Celeia*. On the other hand, it is included in the syl-



Fig. 2: Tombstone *CIL* III, 5227 from Celeia (Celje).

loge of Konrad Peutinger and in the *Inscriptiones* of Apianus (*Fig. 3*) and Amantius, and, according to Mommsen, allegedly originates from *Antiquus Austriacus* ("Antiquus Austriacus apud Peutingerum cod. 527 f. 55', *Cholerum* f. 137', Apianus, *Inscriptiones*, 374, 1"). It is much more plausible to suppose that Tyfernus' earlier epigraphic collection has not been preserved; with it we lost copies of several inscriptions from Styria, Carinthia, and also Carniola. Could Mommsen's spurious *Antiquus Austriacus* indeed be somebody else than Augustinus Tyfernus?

The second is a marble funerary stele, broken above, with two eagles holding a festoon, depicted below the inscription. It was erected by Pompeius Agilis for himself, his wife Pompeia Primigenia, and for their children Pompeia Spectata, Couria, and Vitalis, as well as for Sextia Suputa, whose relationship to the family is not noted (*CIL* III, 5262 + p. 1830; *AIJ* 56; *ILLPRON* 1715)²⁸. Santonino saw it above the entrance to the cemetery of the parish church of St Daniel, whence it was later brought to the National Library in Vienna. According to Mommsen,

25. See *ILJug* 399-403; MERCATI, G., "Una visita a Cilli del 1487", *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara raccolti in occasione del suo LXX anno*, Città del Vaticano 1937, 263-273, pl. XXIX; KASTELIC, J., *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* 23, 1942, 95-96; EGGER, R., *Die Reisetagebücher des Paolo Santonino*, Klagenfurt 1947, 181-183; see also the Slovenian translation by SIMONITI, P.; SANTONINO, O.P., *Popotni dnevniki 1485-1487*, Ljubljana 1991, 88-89.

26. Santonino's text was edited and commented upon by VALE, G., *Itinerario di Paolo Santonino in Carintia, Stiria e Carniola negli anni 1485-1487* (*Studi e Testi* 103), Città del Vaticano 1943; the text concerning the Celje inscriptions is on pp. 260-262. Cf. SANTONINO, O.P., *Itinerario in Carinzia, Stiria e Carniola (1485-1487)*, Ed. italiana con testo latino, trad. GAGLIARDI, R., note FLORAMO, A.; KRAHWINKLER, H. et al., Pisa, Roma 1999.

27. Cf. *ILJug* 401 (without text); WEDENIG, R., *Epigraphische Quellen zur städtischen Administration in Noricum (Aus Forschung und Kunst* 31), Klagenfurt 1997, C 17.

28. Cf. *ILJug* 403 (without text); GROAG, E., *Die römischen Inschriftsteine der Hofbibliothek*, Wien 1913, 12 f.



Fig. 3: Tombstone CIL III, 5227 first published in Apianus, *Inscriptiones*.

Peutinger would have gotten this inscription from among the copies of Tyfernus (*Peutinger cod.* 527 f. 67 *inter Augustiniana*; *Antiquus Austriacus vel qui copias eius auxit apud Cholerum f.* 139 *et Apianus, Inscriptiones*, 375, 2").

The third one is no longer preserved. Santonino saw it near the northern gate to the town, again at a site where it was not possible to overlook it. It was a tombstone which Iulia Vera erected for her son D. Castricius Verus, a *decurio* of Celeia (CIL III, 5226 + p. 1830; *ILLPRON* 1686)²⁹. Mommsen again ascribed its transcription to *Antiquus Austriacus* (*Antiquus Austriacus apud Peutingerum cod.* 527 f. 55 *et Apianus, Inscriptiones*, 373, 2"). Again, it is hardly possible to imagine that Tyfernus would not have copied a beautiful inscription in the town near his place of origin, particularly a well accessible one, when he more or less systematically copied inscriptions from Puteoli, Naples, Rome, Carniola, as well as Styria.

29. Cf. *ILJug* 400 (without text); WEDENIG, *o.c.*, C 16.

The fourth is a tombstone of white marble, erected by one Flavia Valeria to her husband Aurelius Adiutor, who is described as *civis Afer negot(ians)*. Santonino saw it in a private house, without mentioning the name of the owner, who, however, must no doubt have been an eminent man and perhaps a collector of antiquities, since Santonino also saw in the same house the next inscription that he transcribed. As early as the 16th century, the tombstone of Afer was already immured in the gate with antiquities: *ad S. Ursulam*, at Gosposka Street no. 16 (CIL III, 5230 + p. 1830; *ILLPRON* 1689)³⁰. Actually, the reference to a private house in Santonino may be identical to the so-called "gate with antiquities" in Gosposka St. In this case, Santonino saw the inscription immured in the outer side of the gate of the house, which means that it was visible to everybody. However, a major earthquake occurred in 1511, during which many buildings were destroyed, thus this hypothesis must be viewed with reserve. The tombstone is still preserved and is currently in the Regional Museum at Celje (inv. no. L 167). Mommsen again ascribed its earliest record to *Antiquus Austriacus*, without allowing for the possibility that the text would have been copied by the "local" humanist and epigraphist Tyfernus (*Antiquus Austriacus apud Peutingerum cod.* 527 f. 55', *Cholerum f.* 138', *Apianus, Inscriptiones*, 375, 1").

The fifth and last inscription copied by Santonino was seen by him in the same house as the previous one. It is an altar, which P. Ursinius Maturus and Cassia Censorina dedicated to Genius Augusti and Lares (CIL III, 5158 + p. 1830; *ILLPRON* 1619); it was formerly thought to be in the Regional Museum at Celje, but the present location is unknown³¹. This one, too, was according to Mommsen supposedly copied by *Antiquus Austriacus*, while the findspot and the site where it was originally kept make it almost certain that it was copied by Tyfernus (*Duo exempla extant, alterum Antiqui Austriaci apud Peutingerum cod.* 527 f. 55', *Cholerum f.* 138, *Apianus, Inscriptiones*, 374, 3 ... *alterum in Picturis f.* 39 *et apud Boissardum ms. p.* 487. 521, 2").

30. Cf. *ILJug* 402 (without text); KOLŠEK, V., *Celeia - kamniti spomeniki (Kulturni in naravni spomeniki Slovenije - Zbirka vodnikov 7)*, Ljubljana 1967 (German edition: *Celeia - Steindenkmäler [Kultur- und Naturdenkmäler in Slowenien. Führersammlung 7]*, Ljubljana 1967), 36, fig. 32.

31. Cf. *ILJug* 399 (without text); SCHERRER, P.G., *Der Kult der namentlich bezeugten Gottheiten im römerzeitlichen Noricum*, Wien 1984 (unpubl. diss.), 71.

As is evident from a description of Celeian antiquities in the *Chronicle of the Counts of Celje*, completed in the second half of the 15th century — which makes it almost contemporary to Santonino's *Travel Journal* — the town must have been at that time full of Roman marble stone monuments, mainly architectural blocks, lying scattered around, no doubt also including many inscribed monuments (“... *das Cilli die stadt die zeit so mechtig ist gewesen, das priff man noch heutiges tags wohl an den starcken mauren und an den grossen marmelstein, die man da findet, ... Und dieselben leuth hetten ihn gern ewig gedechnus gemacht und jeder lies ihm sein zeichen und nahmen mit hauptpuechstaben graben in die herten marmelstein. Derselben leuth doch nun gantz und gar vergessen, wann der stein noch etlich zerbrechen seindt, und ob man sy nun lesen kan, so weis doch niemandt von ihnen zu sagen.*”)³². With great probability it may be supposed that Santonino copied merely the best visible and legible inscriptions, such that could hardly escape notice of any visitor to the town, and least of all somebody with antiquarian interests.

This short analysis of the five Roman inscriptions from Celeia copied by Paolo Santonino

(incidentally, these are the only transcribed Roman inscriptions that figure in his *Travel Notes*), studied in terms of comparison with other early transcriptions of these texts, has shown that it is not at all plausible to introduce another humanist who would have been engaged in copying Roman inscriptions in Styria (almost) at the same time as the relatively well known and accurate Augustinus Tyfernus. “Very accurate” also applies, according to Mommsen, to *Antiquus Austriacus*, and that in itself additionally disputes his existence. Even Mommsen's seemingly weighty argument in favour of the existence of two different collectors, i.e. the differences in copies of those inscriptions which appear in “both” collections, could easily be refuted by the fact that no autograph manuscripts of Tyfernus are preserved. Due to different copyists, differences may also be detected in transcriptions of the same inscriptions appearing in different Tyfernus' manuscripts. Moreover, Tyfernus may have occasionally improved his earlier readings³³. To conclude, there is no satisfactory explanation why Tyfernus, in copying Celeian inscriptions, would leave out precisely those, which were quite legible and easily accessible.

32. KRONES, R.; v. MARCHLAND, F., *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli*. II. Teil: *Die Cillier Chronik*, Graz 1883, 62-63.

33. GREINEGGER, *Augustinus...*, o.c., 73.