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978-1-107-68575-8 - Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered

Richard J. A. Talbert

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## ROME'S WORLD: THE PEUTINGER MAP RECONSIDERED

The Peutinger Map is the only map of the Roman world to come down to us from antiquity. An elongated object full of colorful detail and featuring land routes across Europe, North Africa, and the Near East, it was mysteriously rediscovered around 1500 and then came into the ownership of Konrad Peutinger, for whom it is named. Today it is among the treasures of the Austrian National Library in Vienna. Richard J. A. Talbert's *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered* offers a long overdue reinterpretation and appreciation of the map as a masterpiece of both mapmaking and imperial Roman ideology. Here, the ancient world's traditional span, from the Atlantic to India, is dramatically remodeled; lands and routes take pride of place, whereas seas are compressed. Talbert posits that the map's true purpose was not to assist travelers along Rome's highways, but rather to celebrate the restoration of peace and order by Diocletian's Tetrarchy. Such creative cartography, he demonstrates, influenced the development of medieval mapmaking. With the aid of digital technology, this book enables readers to engage with the Peutinger Map in all of its fascinating immensity more closely than ever before.

Richard J. A. Talbert is William Rand Kenan, Jr., Professor of History and Classics at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, where he has taken the lead in establishing the Ancient World Mapping Center. He is the author of several books, including *The Senate of Imperial Rome* and the collaborative *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*.

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Frontmatter

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Mezzotint of Franz Christoph von Scheyb in an aristocratic pose as Secretary for Lower Austria, a post he occupied from 1739 onward. Here we see him proudly unrolling his full-size engraving of the Peutinger map, published in 1753, so that Vienna (*Vindobona*) rather than Rome occupies the central position.

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ROME'S WORLD  
THE PEUTINGER MAP  
RECONSIDERED

RICHARD J. A. TALBERT  
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

*in association with* Tom Elliott,

*assisted by* Nora Harris, Gannon Hubbard,  
David O'Brien, and Graham Shepherd

*with a contribution by* Martin Steinmann



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Frontmatter

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*This book is dedicated to the memory of my parents,*

*John (d. September 2, 2007)*

*and Susan (d. September 25, 2007),*

*who did not live to see its completion*

Cambridge University Press

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Richard J. A. Talbert

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

## CONTENTS

<i>List of Plates, Figures, and Table</i>	<i>page xi</i>
<i>Preface and Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xvii
<b>INTRODUCTION . . . . .</b>	<b>I</b>
Presentation of the Map	8
<b>I THE SURVIVING COPY: HISTORY, PUBLICATION, SCHOLARSHIP . . . . .</b>	<b>10</b>
1. Discovery and Bequest to Konrad Peutinger	10
2. Publication (Mid-16th to mid-18th Centuries)	14
(a) Welser (1591)	14
(b) Welser and Moretus (1598)	19
(c) Reuse of the 1598 Plates	23
3. Changes of Ownership, Real (1714–1738) and Threatened	25
4. Publication (Mid-18th Century to the 1870s)	30
(a) von Scheyb	30
(b) Mannert	36
(c) Vodnik	41
(d) Cristianopoulo	46
(e) Katancsich	50
(f) Fortia d'Urban	51
(g) Desjardins	56
5. Publication (1880s to the Present)	62
6. Konrad Miller's <i>Itineraria Romana</i> (1916)	68
7. Scholarship Since 1916: Overview	71

2	<b>THE SURVIVING COPY: THE MATERIAL OBJECT AND ITS PALEOGRAPHY . . . . .</b>	73
1.	Material, Condition, and Conservation (Coauthored with Martin Steinmann)	73
2.	Paleography (by Martin Steinmann)	76
	(a) Drawing	76
	(b) Scripts	77
	(i) Types and Their Functions	77
	(ii) Forms	78
	(c) Exemplar	80
	(d) The Copyist	82
	(e) Date and Place of Production	83
	(f) Postmedieval Adjustments	84
3	<b>THE DESIGN AND CHARACTER OF THE MAP . . . . .</b>	86
1.	Fundamentals of the Map's Design	86
	(a) Shape and Scope	87
	(b) Landscape Base	89
2.	Mapmaking Practice	95
	(a) Orientation	96
	(b) Scale	97
	(c) Color	97
	(d) Line Work	98
	(e) Lettering and Its Placement	100
	(f) Numerals	101
3.	Components of the Map	102
	(a) Coastlines	102
	(b) Rivers	103
	(c) Open Water (including Lakes)	105
	(d) Islands	105
	(e) Mountains	106
	(f) Peoples and Regions	107
4.	Route Network	108
	(a) Content and Planning	108
	(b) Presentation	112
	(c) Pictorial Symbols	117
5.	The Integration of Cartography and Art	122
4	<b>RECOVERY OF THE ORIGINAL MAP FROM THE SURVIVING COPY . . . . .</b>	123
1.	Copyists' Initiatives	124
2.	Names and Figures	125
3.	Route Line Work	127
4.	Copyists' Flaws in Perspective	131



Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-68575-8 - Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered

Richard J. A. Talbert

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

5	THE ORIGINAL MAP . . . . .	133
	1. Authorship and Date . . . . .	133
	2. Sources . . . . .	136
	3. Context and Purpose . . . . .	142
	CONCLUSION: THE MAP'S PLACE IN CLASSICAL AND MEDIÆVAL CARTOGRAPHY . . . . .	162
	1. The Map in Relation to Classical Cartography . . . . .	162
	2. Lost Copies of the Map . . . . .	163
	(a) Ravenna Cosmography . . . . .	164
	(b) Beatus, <i>Commentary on the Apocalypse</i> . . . . .	165
	(c) A Version Sketched by Prisciani . . . . .	166
	(d) Misidentification in Trier . . . . .	170
	3. Medieval Cartography in Relation to the Map . . . . .	170
	APPENDIX 1. Latin Text Appended to the 1598 Engraving of the Map . . . . .	173
	APPENDIX 2. English Translation of J. Kastelic, "Vodnikova kopija Tabule Peutingeriane" (trans. Gerald Stone) . . . . .	175
	APPENDIX 3. Reflections on Vodnik's Copy of von Scheyb's Engraving . . . . .	179
	APPENDIX 4. Vodnik's Latin Summary of Heyrenbach's Essay (National Library of Slovenia, Ljubljana, MS 1443) . . . . .	181
	APPENDIX 5. Miller's Reconstruction of the Map's Western End . . . . .	189
	APPENDIX 6. Wyttenbach's Claim: A Lost Piece of the Map Discovered . . . . .	193
	APPENDIX 7. User's Guide to the Database and Commentary . . . . .	196
	APPENDIX 8. User's Guide to the Map (A) and Overlaid Layers . . . . .	201
	APPENDIX 9. User's Guide to the Outlining of Rivers and Routes on <i>Barrington Atlas</i> Bases (C–F), with Associated Texts: (a) Antonine Itinerary ( <i>ItAnt</i> ) Text with Journeys Numbered as on Map E, and (b) Bordeaux Itinerary ( <i>ItBurd</i> ) Text with Journeys Lettered as on Map F . . . . .	203
	<i>Notes</i> . . . . .	287
	<i>Bibliography</i> . . . . .	333
	<i>Index and Gazetteer</i> . . . . .	347

## ONLINE CONTENTS

[www.cambridge.org/9780521764803](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521764803)

## MAPS

x  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Contents

- A Peutinger map: seamless whole, in color, with overlaid layers prepared by Nora Harris (*use with Appendix 8*) eleven parchments as taken at full size by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in 2000 (the components of Map A)
- B (i) Peutinger map: monochrome photographs of each of the eleven parchments as taken at full size or more in 1888 by Carl Angerer and Alexander Göschl  
 (ii) Peutinger map: digital color photographs of each of the
- Outlines on *Barrington Atlas* base (*use with Appendix 9 and Figure 7*):
- C Peutinger map Rivers  
 D Peutinger map Routes  
 E Antonine Itinerary (*ItAnt*) Journeys  
 F Bordeaux Itinerary (*ItBurd*) Journeys

## DATABASE

Peutinger map names and features, with Commentary (*use with Appendix 7*):

## FEATURES AND NOTICES

- Complete list by grid square  
 Complete alphabetical list  
 Names and notices in red ink  
 Complete list by reference number

## LISTS BY FEATURE TYPE

- Networked names, no symbols  
 Complete alphabetical listing  
 Alphabetical listings by initial letter
- Networked symbols, named  
 Complete alphabetical listing  
 Alphabetical listings by initial letter
- Networked symbols, unnamed  
 Listing by reference number
- Unnamed or illegible features  
 Listing by reference number
- Isolated names  
 Complete alphabetical listing  
 Alphabetical listings by initial letter
- Isolated symbols, named  
 Complete alphabetical listing
- Isolated symbols, unnamed  
 Listing by reference number
- Islands  
 Complete alphabetical listing  
 Alphabetical listings by initial letter  
 Listing by reference number

## Mountains

- Complete alphabetical listing  
 Listing by reference number

## Peoples

- Complete alphabetical listing  
 Alphabetical listings by initial letter

## Regions

- Complete alphabetical listing  
 Alphabetical listings by initial letter

## Rivers

- Complete alphabetical listing  
 Alphabetical listings by initial letter  
 Listing by reference number

## Special features and notices

- Complete alphabetical listing

## Water, other than rivers

- Complete alphabetical listing  
 Alphabetical listings by initial letter  
 Listing by reference number

## SYMBOL CLASSIFICATION

## WORKS CITED

## CONCORDANCES OF REFERENCES

NAMES AND FEATURES NOT NOTED IN  
 THE BARRINGTON ATLAS AND DIRECTORY

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-68575-8 - Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered

Richard J. A. Talbert

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## LIST OF PLATES, FIGURES, AND TABLE

*In asterisked instances, where a Plate comprises several images, only one appears in the printed book.*

## PLATES

1.	Extract from Celtis's will made on January 24, 1508	page 11
2.	Inventory entry made by Peutinger	13
3a,b.	The two sketches published by Welser, 1591	16
4.*	The 1598 engraving of the entire map half-size printed by Moretus, with SPECTATORI S. text (transcribed in Appendix 1)	20
5.	Leipzig journal page with the "notice" about the map, 1715	26
6.	Prince Eugen's letter dated September 20, 1717	29
7.*	Von Scheyb's engraving, published in 1753 (12 plates)	32
8.*	Von Scheyb's engraving as copied by Vodnik in 1809 (ten individual scans and a seamless whole); see further Appendixes 2 and 3	42
9.*	Vodnik's Latin summary of Heyrenbach's essay, written in 1809 (transcribed in Appendix 4)	45
10.	Plate V of von Scheyb's engraving as copied and published by Cristianopoulo in 1809	48
11.	Plate V of von Scheyb's engraving as copied and published by Katancsich in 1825	52
12.*	Lapie's set of nine individual maps of the Roman Empire, and their composite, published in 1845	55
13.	Plate IV of Desjardins's lithograph, published in 1869	58
14.	Desjardins's map <i>Gaule</i> , published in 1874	61
15.	Plate V of Miller's lithograph, published in 1888	64

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-68575-8 - Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered

Richard J. A. Talbert

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

	16.	Lost Western end of the Peutinger map as reconstructed by Miller in 1898 and discussed in Appendix 5	66
	17.	Aula of Diocletian's place, Split (basement level)	146
	18.	Arch of Galerius (detail), Thessalonica	147
	19.	Barberini (sixth-century?) ivory diptych	150
xii	20.	Porphyry statue of the four Tetrarchs, Basilica San Marco, Venice	151
—			
<i>List of Plates, Figures</i>	21.	Codex-Calendar of 354, Constantius II	154
<i>and Table</i>	22.	Codex-Calendar of 354, Gallus	155
	23a,b.	<i>Signa imperii</i> (scepter and orbs) associated with the self-proclaimed Tetrarch Maxentius	156
	24.	Prisciani's sketch made at Padua, probably in 1495	168
	25.	Settlements, routes, and rivers on the Gough map	171
	26.	Map fragment from Trier misidentified in 1835 as a lost part of the Peutinger map	195

## FIGURES

1.	Overlapping of the map's eleven parchments	75
2.	Placement of Rome and Italy (shaded area) within the original map, assuming Rome to be its center point	89
3.	The map's coverage from the Atlantic to India set against a modern map outline, assuming the loss of three parchment segments, or equivalent, at the left	91
4.	Basement level of Diocletian's palace, Split: ground-plan detail	145
5.	Horizontal division of the globe into zones (Greek <i>klimata</i> )	148
6.	Globe-map image imagined within the apse of a Late Roman <i>aula</i> (sketch by Daniel Talbert)	149
7.	Locator Outline of <i>Barrington Atlas</i> maps forming the bases for Maps C–F	205

## TABLE

1.	Comparative listing of routes in Italy by the Bordeaux Itinerary ( <i>ItBurd</i> ), Antonine Itinerary ( <i>ItAnt</i> ), and Peutinger map	158
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Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-68575-8 - Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered

Richard J. A. Talbert

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiii

## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Experience and accident mixed with frustration and optimism have combined to launch this study. I probably read about its object first in one of my schoolbooks, the 1961 revision of *Everyman's Classical Atlas* introduced by J. Oliver Thomson (“As a map this ribbon is absurd, but its aim is only to give roads with their stations . . .”), and over time I grew accustomed to the illustrations of one segment or another seen in publications of all kinds about Roman history and culture. Once I became seriously engaged with cartography from the 1980s, my awareness of the importance of the Peutinger “Table” or Map sharpened correspondingly. As the *Barrington Atlas* took shape during the 1990s, I witnessed at first hand the heavy dependence that many contributors laid upon this “absurd” survival for place-names and routes across the entire Roman world. At the same time, when I ventured into the emerging debate about Romans’ “map consciousness” or the lack of it, colleagues’ widespread preference for excluding this item from consideration on the grounds that it should be viewed as a diagram rather than a map came to seem less and less justifiable. I was for a long time incredulous that no full-scale presentation and analysis of it had appeared since World War I. Although color photographs had eventually been published in 1976, many scholars had still not abandoned their reliance upon the more accessible nineteenth-century lithographed drawings. In addition, the map’s segments continued to be numbered in two different sequences, while any system of reference for individual features had yet to be devised. Above all, a new evaluation of the map was lacking; no alternative had been proposed to the age-old dismissal encapsulated in Thomson’s pithy summation of 1961.

By the late 1990s, therefore, I was convinced that the challenge of attempting to present the Peutinger map afresh and to rethink its character and purpose might repay the inevitable risks. Now, a decade later, with the work ready for publication at last, I dare to think that the struggle has been justified. To imagine that my conclusions will meet with universal

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-68575-8 - Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered

Richard J. A. Talbert

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv

---

*Preface and  
Acknowledgments*

acceptance would be unrealistic, but if nothing else the new approaches on which they are based may deter scholars from persisting complacently with the claim that the map is a mere road diagram of minimal cartographic or cultural significance. Issues of its design, context, purpose, and impact raised here can no longer be ignored. A rich, layered context now emerges for the map. This identification leads in turn to a refined grasp of the map's long-term impact and its importance in the history of cartography. Moreover, tools are developed that permit everyone to study the map closely and to refer conveniently to each of its components.

From the outset, the creation of these tools has demanded collaboration, skills, and labor on an extensive scale. As has become painfully clear to those who have dared to work with the map over the centuries, it is the most exacting of taskmasters, but at the same time an unfailingly alluring one. In the twenty-first century, as I soon came to realize, it would be less practical and less affordable than ever to present the map in print as a single item, especially at full size and in color. Once some formidable technical obstacles were overcome, however, electronic publication has proved itself well suited to the purpose. In this connection, no one has done more than Tom Elliott to demonstrate to me the extraordinary potential of digital technology and to overcome the countless obstacles arising from its application. His vision and persistence are beyond praise; it is hard to imagine how this work could have been accomplished without them, and I am deeply grateful to him. I am keenly aware, too, that electronic publication of the map is contingent upon authorization from the Austrian National Library to reproduce its scanned images; lasting thanks are due to the library for its alacrity in granting this request. No less is Princeton University Press to be thanked for permitting the use of geo-registered raster images of a substantial "mosaic" of maps from the *Barrington Atlas*. Cambridge University Press is to be thanked above all. I am especially grateful that my editor, Beatrice Rehl, and her colleagues have shared my enthusiasm for a hybrid format, which allows the book's text matter to be presented both electronically and in a printed volume for readers' convenience.

To an embarrassing degree, completion of this book has depended upon collaborative effort and support from individuals and institutions on both sides of the Atlantic. I welcome the chance to thank them all at last, however inadequately. An appropriate order can hardly be determined, but without doubt the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, should be mentioned first, in particular for generous financial support, for its outstanding libraries, and for its sponsorship of the Ancient World Mapping Center, where almost all the digital work on the map was done. At different stages over several years, Nora Harris, Gannon Hubbard, David O'Brien, and Graham Shepherd played key roles in this exacting, complex activity

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Richard J. A. Talbert

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

at the Center under Tom Elliott's direction; assistance was also rendered there by Jeffrey Becker, Andrew Hull, Joshua Moffitt, Elizabeth Robinson, Brian Turner, and Sarah Willis. David O'Brien's work was supported by an award from the Loeb Classical Library Foundation. I realize that it can seem invidious to name only certain staff members within Chapel Hill's libraries when all have been so supportive; at the same time, it is impossible for me not to mention Sellers Lawrence, Celia Pratt, and John Rutledge for their exceptional service. Among academic colleagues over the years at Chapel Hill and at Duke nearby, I thank especially Robert Babcock, Tolly Boatwright, David Ganz, George Houston, Terence McIntosh, Michael McVaugh, Fred Naiden, Francis Newton, Grant Parker, William Race, Werner Riess, Philip Stadter, and Siegfried Wenzel; among my former students I thank Ricky Law and Sonia Wilson.

Beyond Chapel Hill, an ever-widening circle of friends and colleagues across a range of disciplines has generously informed, influenced, corrected, and sustained me in multiple ways: Emily Albu, Gregory Aldrete, Pascal Arnaud, Peter Barber, Niccolò Capponi, Brian Campbell, Martin Cropp, Raymond Davis, Gianluca Del Mastro, Catherine Delano-Smith, Adelheid Eubanks, Patrick Florance, Patrick Gautier Dalché, Helen Hardman, Paul Harvey, Nicholas Horsfall, Keith Lilley, Natalia Lozovsky, Michael Maas, Neil McLynn, Eckart Olshausen, Michael Rathmann, Gerald Stone, Jennifer Trimble, John Wilkes, and the late, much lamented David Woodward. Again, gratitude demands that a few individuals be singled out for special mention. Ekkehard Weber, a new friend, could not have been kinder or readier to help a less senior colleague who aimed to supersede his own invaluable work on the map. Nor could Kai Brodersen, an old friend, have been more supportive, despite the growing divergence in our estimation of Romans' worldview. Benet Salway, too, has been the most perceptive and tactful of critics, ever ready to join in appraising and modifying fresh approaches and ideas, however raw. A lead from Marjeta Šašel Kos transformed my understanding of significant, ill-documented episodes in the map's history during the early nineteenth century, and she and her husband, Peter Kos, made my visit to Ljubljana in this connection a most memorable and productive one. Expertise of a different character has been offered by Martin Steinmann, who agreed to evaluate the map from a paleographer's perspective, thus illuminating an aspect of fundamental importance that has been woefully neglected and lies beyond the capacity of a historian; without Steinmann's exemplary and unselfish contribution, this book would not be complete. Its value would also have suffered if it had not been possible for the technology supporting the presentation of the map as a seamless whole (Map A) to be skillfully upgraded in 2009 by Tom Elliott and Sean Gillies with joint hosting by New York University's Institute for the Study of the Ancient World and the Digital Library Services Team.

xv

—  
*Preface and  
 Acknowledgments*

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-68575-8 - Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered

Richard J. A. Talbert

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xvi

*Preface and  
Acknowledgments*

Thanks are due to several libraries, above all to the National Library of Austria, Vienna, and to the successive directors of its Handschriften-sammlung, Ernst Gamillscheg and Andreas Fingernagel, for granting the privilege of three visits to inspect the map itself, two on my part and one by Martin Steinmann. Other libraries (and in some instances individual staff members) to be thanked are: Library of Congress, Washington, DC; New York Public Library (Alice Hudson); Widener Library, Harvard University (David Cobb); Newberry Library, Chicago (James Akerman); British Library, London; Royal Geographical Society Library, London (Francis Herbert); Bodleian Library, Oxford (Nick Millea); John Rylands University Library, Manchester; Robinson Library, University of Newcastle; Bibliothèque de l'Université Mons-Hainaut, Belgium (Christine Gobeaux); Stadtbibliothek, Trier, Germany (Reiner Nolden); Universität Basel Library, Switzerland; American Academy in Rome Library (Christina Huemer); Slovenian National Library, Ljubljana (Jasna Hrovat); also the National Museum of Slovenia, Ljubljana (Polona Bitenc).

Fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies, the J. S. Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and the National Humanities Center (Goheen Fellowship) played a vital and much appreciated role in the launching of my research for this book; a Harley Research Fellowship in the History of Cartography, held in London, advanced its completion.

I could never have reached the point of completion, however, without the support, patience, and skills of my wife, Zandra, and our two sons, Daniel and Patrick. Responsibility for any shortcomings remains mine alone. Unlike some of the map's previous editors, I lack the confidence to claim that all slips in its presentation have been eliminated, despite my best efforts.

Chapel Hill, NC  
July 2009



## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>BAtlas</i>	R. J. A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World</i> , with <i>Map-by-Map Directory</i> (Princeton [NJ] and Oxford, 2000)
<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et belles-lettres</i> (Paris)
<i>FGH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–)
<i>GGM</i>	C. Müller (ed.), <i>Geographi Graeci Minores</i> , 2 vols. and maps (Paris, 1855, 1861)
<i>GLM</i>	A. Riese (ed.), <i>Geographi Latini Minores</i> (Heilbronn, 1878)
<i>Gött. gel. Anz.</i>	<i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
<i>HistCart</i>	<i>The History of Cartography</i> , vol. 1: <i>Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Mediaeval Europe and the Mediterranean</i> , ed. J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago, 1987); vol. 3: <i>Cartography in the European Renaissance</i> , ed. D. Woodward (Chicago, 2007)
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin, 1892–1916)
<i>ItAnt</i>	<i>Imperatoris Antonini Augusti Itineraria Provinciarum</i> . In O. Cuntz (ed.), <i>Itineraria Romana</i> , vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929); see also Appendix 9
<i>ItBurd</i>	<i>Itinerarium Burdigalense</i> . In P. Geyer (ed.), <i>Itineraria et Alia Geographica</i> , Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 175 (Turnhout [Belgium], 1965), 1–26; see also Appendix 9

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-68575-8 - Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered

Richard J. A. Talbert

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xviii

—  
Abbreviations

<i>ItMarit</i>	<i>Imperatoris Antonini Augusti Itinerarium Maritimum.</i> In O. Cuntz (ed.), <i>Itineraria Romana</i> , vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929)
<i>ItMiller</i>	K. Miller, <i>Itineraria Romana: Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana dargestellt</i> (Stuttgart, 1916)
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i>
Killy	W. Killy (ed.), <i>Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache</i> , 15 vols. (Gütersloh/Munich, 1988–93)
<i>LTUR</i>	E. M. Steinby (ed.), <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> (Rome, 1993–2001)
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome</i>
<i>NP</i>	<i>Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> (Stuttgart, 1996–2008); English ed., <i>Brill's New Pauly</i> (Leiden, 2002–)
<i>PIR</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III</i> , 2nd ed. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1933–)
Pliny, <i>NH</i>	Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis Historia</i>
Ptol., <i>Geog.</i>	A. Stückelberger and G. Grasshoff (eds.), <i>Ptolemaios: Handbuch der Geographie</i> , 2 vols. (Basle, 2006)
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1894–1978)
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>TAVO</i>	<i>Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients</i> (Wiesbaden, 1977–94)
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
Weber, <i>Kommentar</i>	Volume accompanying E. Weber, <i>Tabula Peutingeriana, Codex Vindobonensis 324</i> (Graz, 1976)