

L A T I N A U T H O R S

JUVENALIS, DECIMUS JUNIUS

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PREFACE.

COMPOSITE EDITIONS.

1. 'Cornutus.'
2. *Ex abrupto*.
3. *Guilelmus de Conchis*.
4. ms. Bern 666.
5. mss. Cologne 199 and Munich CLM 22309.
6. ms. Dresden Dc 153.
7. ms. Bodl. Auct. F 6.9.
8. ms. Bern 539.
9. ms. Laur. 91 sup. 31.4.
10. ms. Ricc. 635.
11. ms. Nice 85.
12. ms. Bodl. Addit. A 165.
13. ms. Pisa 690.
14. ms. Corsin. 43 F 13.
15. ms. Vat. Regin. lat. 1718.
16. *Gaspar Veronensis*.
17. *Guarinus Veronensis*.
18. *Omnibonus Leonicenus*.
19. *Christophorus Landinus*.
20. *Peregrinus Allius*.
21. *Martinus Phileticus*.
22. *Baptista Guarinus*.
23. *Franciscus Philelphus*.
24. *Petrus Philippus Pandolphinus*.
25. *Angelus Cneus Sabinus*.
26. *Domitius Calderinus*.
27. *Georgius Merula*.
28. *Georgius Valla*.
29. *Angelus Politianus*.
30. *Joannes Baptista Cantalycius*.
31. *Bartholomaeus Fontius*.
32. *Antonius Mancinellus*.
33. *Jodocus Badius Ascensius*.

34. Johannes Britannicus.
35. Caelius Secundus Curio.
36. Theodorus Pulmannus.
37. Petrus Pithoeus.
38. Eilhardus Lubinus.

COMMENTARIES NOT TRACED.

SATURAE XVI

Preface. The Ancient Commentary

The first commentary on Juvenal for which there is any evidence was compiled from various ancient sources by a lesser contemporary of Servius, about A.D. 400. It is represented only by excerpts through various lines of transmission: in a single leaf of a 4th century Bobbio Ms. (Vatican, lat. 5750), to which scholia were added in the 6th century; in Pithou's Lorsch Ms., Montpellier 125, of the late 9th or early 10th century (Comm. 37); in the 10th century Aarau fragments; and in a 9th century codex at St. Gall, Ms. 870 (D 476), which has a consecutive version and selections, both derived from a lost codex of the same library. A further example was the lost Ms. from which George Valla derived the scholia he ascribed to the grammarian Probus (Comm. 28). Many glosses from the ancient commentary also survive in combination with mediaeval materials in others MSS.; notable examples are B. M. Addit. 15,600, s. IX/X, and Leiden, Bib. Pub. 82, s. XI (both Comm. 1 B). Wessner's definitive reconstruction of the older scholia from these sources, and his classification of the more significant MSS. for this purpose supersedes earlier studies and makes further discussion of the ancient commentary unnecessary here.¹ The 6th century, in which the Bobbio scholia and probably the lost archetype of the Pithoean collection were copied, was a

time of considerable interest in Juvenal, when many of the errors and contaminations in the later transmission originated.

The Heiric-Remigius Commentary: In the Carolingian Age the remnants of the ancient commentary were combined with new material. It is now generally agreed that a commentary compiled by Remigius of Auxerre (c. 841 to after 908) from the lectures of his master Heiric (c. 841-876), formed the essential basis of later mediaeval commentaries on Juvenal. No actual copy of the Heiric-Remigius commentary has been discovered, but it was listed in the catalogue of an unidentified German library in the 11th century and in that of Glastonbury in 1247.² The most significant individual notes that point to these two scholars as originators of the commentary are that on I 44 which derives *Lugdunum* from the Celtic *dunum*, as in Heiric's *Vita S. Germani* I 297 (*MGH, PLAC III* 483); the direct citation of the same poem on I 78: *unde in Vita S. Germani legitur 'cessit praetexta togae'* (I 98, *PLAC III* 441); the note on IX 37, which incidentally shows that Heiric's text of the old commentary did not preserve the Greek words as the archetype of the Pithoean scholia did: *unus pes deest versui Greco, quem Magister Hircus (Heiricus, variously misspelled) diu exquisitum invenire non potuit...*; and that on XVI 57: *pulchro labore. id est militiae; ita enim Alcuinus (or Alchonus, Albinus, etc.) militiam diffinit. 'Quid est militia? Ingenua et pulchra servitus.'*³ The characteristic final

1. P. Wessner, *Scholia in Juvenalem vetustiora* (Leipzig 1931) v-xiv; briefer summary in *Juvenal*, ed. S. G. Owen (2nd ed. Oxford 1949) vii-xii. See also U. Knoche, *Die Ueberlieferung Juvenals, Kleine Philologische Studien* 6 (Berlin 1926), esp. ch. 6; and Knoche's review of Wessner in *Gnomon*

10 (1934) 590-603.

2. Wessner, *op. cit.*, pp. xxix-xxx; Manitius *GLL* I 502-13; idem, 'Geschichtliches aus Mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen', *Neues Archiv* 22 (1906/7) 681-82.

3. Perhaps a variant of *Pippini...disputatio cum*

comments in MSS. of Commentary 1 on XVI 60, *phalerae* and *torques*, reproduce definitions that appear more than once in Remigius' other commentaries. Other striking parallels with his expository methods are too numerous to list here. A further note of Carolingian origin is often found on I 141 : *apros, animal propter convivia natum*, which cites the five uses of sheep and four of the ox, with the corresponding penalties for their theft, in contrast with the single extravagant purpose served by the boar ; this reflects Capitulary VI 18 of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, in which, however, the stated values of the two animals are reversed⁴.

Cornutus : These comments and others whose language or content betrays their Frankish origin occur very commonly in the examples I have listed under Commentary 1 ; in Commentary 2, they are often cited, in MSS. of the 12th century and later, as the opinions of 'Cornutus.' Study of numerous instances has convinced me that these two types, differentiated by characteristic *incipits*, which Wessner did not record, as they are clearly not of ancient origin, represent the two main branches of the vulgate ; and that Commentary 1 was based more directly than 2 on the work of Remigius, and was already attributed to 'Cornutus' when the original of Commentary 2 was compiled, or at latest when the 12th century MSS. of this type were written. The highly selective use of the basic material both in these two groups of commentaries and in the more individual cases is illustrated by the fact that we rarely find more than two of the four significant comments men-

Albino scholastico : Quid est militia ? Murus imperii, timor hostium, gloriosum servitium ; *PL* 101, 979.

4. *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. S. Baluze (Paris 1780) ; cf. Exodus 22 : 1.

5. On the *accessus*, cf. R. W. Hunt, 'The Introductions to the *Artes* in the Twelfth Century,' *Studia mediaevalia in honorem...R. J. Martin* (Bruges 1948) 85-112.

6. Servius' quotation of *Sat. XVI* 42 in his comment on *Aen. II* 102 is often cited to defend the authenticity of this satire. How far the Servian

tioned above in any one Ms. Remigius, or Heiric, seems also to have provided the basis for the *accessus* which often precedes the commentary in MSS. of the 12th century and later, which, with all its variations, conforms in general plan to the Servian model.⁵ 9th century scholars held that Juvenal lived in the reign of Nero ; this dating, though often disputed by later commentators, removed the chronological obstacle to attributing a Juvenal commentary to Persius' tutor. The frequent combination of the two satirists in a single Ms. and in the school curriculum doubtless fostered the error. Possibly the references to Cornutus in Servius' commentaries on Virgil, where Juvenal is often cited, did likewise.⁶ In any case, Cornutus, whose name was attached to the vulgate commentary on Persius by the 10th century, was well established as author of one on Juvenal by the 12th, and the notes cited under his name in Commentary 2 show that Commentary 1 was specifically assigned to him, despite the general similarity of the two types and the infinite variations in selection and wording of comments, and in additions to the vulgate in the various codices.⁷ A characteristic feature of many MSS. is a *Vita* of Juvenal, a largely imaginary construction, the most common version of which was probably compiled by the 4th century commentator, and was transmitted with the old scholia, to be prefixed to the text in glossed MSS., incorporated in the *accessus*, or included in the initial comments on *Satire I* ; several variants are also found⁸.

Glossaries : Juvenal's *Satires* furnished a rich source for compilers of glossaries ; to

echoes in Juvenal commentaries are due to the ancient commentator, and how far to Carolingian and later scholars would be difficult to say.

7. For a recent summary of the 'Cornutus question' cf. J. P. Elder, 'A Mediaeval Cornutus on Persius,' *Speculum* 22 (1947) 240-48.

8. In descriptions of the MSS. I have numbered the *Vitae* according to Jahn's system in his edition of Juvenal (Berlin 1881) 386-90, supplemented by J. Dürr, *Das Leben Juvenalis* (Ulm 1883) 22-38. See also G. Highet, 'The Life of Juvenal,' *TAPA* 68 (1937) 480-506.

the examples studied by Goetz should be added the *Commentum in Juvenalem* in Ms. Advocates 8.5.10, s. XII ex., in the National Library at Edinburgh, which, like the other 'commentaries' in the volume is actually a glossary with very few comments on the lines quoted for vocabulary purposes.*

Individual commentaries: The wide popularity of Juvenal both in the school curriculum and as a source of ethical precepts, freely cited in religious as well as in secular works, helps to account for the great number of glossed texts and consecutive commentaries of more or less individual character, all dependent on the Heiric-Remigius commentary. The active scholarship of the 12th century left its mark on the transmission of this material, and as we would expect, the MSS. of this period are both more numerous and more extensive than their predecessors. The single case of a mediaeval commentary by a known scholar, that of William of Conches (Commentary 3), only partly preserved, belongs to this time. The mediaeval commentaries continued in use till the late 15th century alongside of the productions of individual humanists. The first humanistic commentary preserved under its author's name is that of Gaspare Veronese, dated 1449 (Commentary 16). Other notable Italian scholars rapidly followed his example, and the publication in April 1475 of Calderini's commentary, which achieved a popularity denied to the work of his rival Angelo Sabino, published in August 1474, marked a new period in this history. Editions of the commentaries that gained the immortality conferred by the printing-press were very numerous. Around the turn of the century the commentaries of Mancinelli and Britannico, and of Badius Ascensius show the trend away from scholarly research to works primarily designed for the use of younger students. The 16th century witnessed the transfer of commentary-making from Italy to northern Europe. While scholars gave much attention to *cruces* in text and inter-

pretation of the *Satires* in their miscellaneous studies, they no longer produced consecutive commentaries on Juvenal; after Britannico's work, published in 1501, we have only the brief marginal commentaries of Curio (1523) and Pulmann (1565) before Pithou's epoch-making edition of the *scholia vetera* in 1585. Lubin's commentary, dated 1603, is included here as more nearly related to the 15th-16th century tradition than to the more modern 17th century products of Farnaby, Grangaeus and others, which lie outside the scope of this study.

Note: In the following lists, dated MSS. precede undated MSS. in each century; undated commentaries of known authorship are placed according to the most logical estimate of their date, in view of the author's career, etc. Spelling, punctuation and capitalization are standardized except for titles and subscriptions enclosed in quotation-marks. In some cases the microfilms or photostats used for MSS. not studied at first hand cover the significant first and last portions only. The great number of MSS. and the lack of adequate data in printed catalogues and inventories make an exhaustive listing impracticable; I have done extensive work on the Juvenal MSS. in the British Museum, the Bodleian, Paris, and the Italian libraries, with the assistance of a Fulbright fellowship in 1950. For the rest I have had to depend on printed accounts supplemented by photostats and microfilms and by the generous aid of European curators of MSS. and other interested scholars. Many MSS. with marginal glosses were so worn that they could not be classified without undue expenditure of time and eyesight. Hence the MSS. listed under Commentaries 1 and 2, and the individual anonymous commentaries described must be considered only as characteristic examples, to which many more might well be added.

Composite Editions of Juvenal with Commentaries

Editions of Juvenal with commentaries are listed in: A. N. L. Achaintre, *Decimii Junii Juvenalis Satirae ad codices Parisinos recensitiae* (Paris 1810) II 51-74; in *D. Junii Juvenalis opera omnia... in usum Delphini* (London 1829) III 1177-1260; and in Juve-

* G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum I* (Leipzig 1923) 382-90. Advocates' Ms. studied in photostats.

nal, ed. Ruperti (3rd ed. Glasgow 1825 [earlier editions Leipzig 1800 and 1819-20]) I ciii-clxvi, a revision of Achaintre's list. References are given here to Ruperti's list.

Group I. *More than one author and more than one commentator:*

(*) 1492, Venice: Petrus Johannes de Quarengis. Juvenal with comm. of Calderini and Merula; Persius with comm. of Britannico and Fonzio. H 12742; Ruperti I cviii; Fabricius, BL II 166 substitutes Valla for Merula.

1551, Basileae (Basel): A. Froben, N. Episcopius. Juvenal with comm. of Britannico and Curio's scholia (Comm. 35.II); Persius with comm. of Badius Ascensius, Britannico and others. Some scholars listed on title-page are only cited within these comm. Ruperti I cxviii; Schweiger II 509; BM; BN. (MH).

1565, Antverpiae (Antwerp): C. Plantin. Juvenal and Persius with Pulmann's comm. and with Curio's *Adnotatiunculae* (comm. 35. I) in margins. Ruperti describes these as the notes of Hadrianus Junius, whom Pulmann often cites. Ruperti I cxix, cxxxv; Schweiger II 509; De George, *La Maison Plantin* (1878) 64; BM; BN. (MH).

Reprints: 1566, 1585, (*) 1587, (*) 1590, Antwerp: C. Plantin; (*) 1590, Leyden: C. Plantin. Ruperti I cxix-cxx.

1637, Parisiis (Paris): J. Libert. Juvenal and Persius with comm. of Mancinelli and Calderini. BN.

1648, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden): F. Hackius. Juvenal and Persius, ed. Cornelius Schrevelius; includes Pithou's *Scholia vetera*, and all or parts of the comm. of Britannico, Calderini, Mancinelli, Pulmann, G. Valla, with selections from miscellanies etc. of Alciati, P. Beroaldo, Brodaeus, Canter, Doussa, Gyraldi, Hadrianus Junius, Lipsius, M. A. Muretus, Politian, Rodigino, Jos. Scaliger, Turnebus, and the 17th c. commentaries of Lubin, Farnaby, Grangaeus. Harles 487; Ruperti I cxxv. (MH).

Reprints: (*) 1658, (*) 1664, (*) 1671, (*) 1684, Leyden; 1684, Amsterdam: I. H. Wettsten. BM has 1648, 1658, 1671 edd. and 1684, Amsterdam. (MH, 1684 Amsterdam).

Doubtful or rejected editions:

(*) 1486, Brixiae (Brescia): Jacobus Britannicus. Persius with comm. of Britannico, Juvenal with comm. of Merula. Ruperti I cvii; apparently two separate vols. bound together.

(*) 1495, (Venice). Juvenal and Persius 'cum commentariis variorum.' H 9719.

(*) 1602, (Amsterdam). Persius and Juvenal with comm. of Lubin and Pulmann. Morgan, *Bibliography of Persius* (Harvard 1909) no. 212. Preface of Lubin's comm. is dated 1603, however.

(*) 1603, (Lyons). Persius and Juvenal with comm. of Lubin and Pulmann. Ruperti I cxxii; Morgan, no 216, describes as reprint of the supposed 1602 ed.

Group II. *More than one author; one commentator:*

1478, between March 15 and May 6, Venetiis (Venice): Gabriel Petri. Comm. of Merula on Juvenal, with Merula's treatise against Calderini's comm. on Martial, Merula's comm. on Cicero, *Pro Ligario* and on *Ep. ix Ad Lentulum*. Ruperti I cvi; HC 11090; St M 430; BMC 5. 202.

1478, May or later, Tarvisii (Treviso): Bartholomaeus de Confaloneris. Contents as in 1478 Venice ed. Ruperti I cv; HC 11091; St M 431; BMC 6. 893; Pol. 2676.

(*) 1503, (Brescia). Juvenal and Persius with comm. of Britannico. Ruperti I cxii.

1532, Lugduni (Lyons): H. and G. Trechsel. Juvenal and Persius with *Adnotatiunculae* of Curio. Schweiger II 508; BM. (MH). Frequent reprints; see entry on Curio.

1585, Lutetiae (Paris): Mamercus Patissonius. Persius, Juvenal and Sulpicia, with Pithou's *Scholia vetera*. Harles 485; Ruperti I cxx sq.; Schweiger II 509; Renouard, *Estienne* 186; BN. (MH).

Reprints: (*) 1590, Antwerp. Ruperti I cxx; Krebs I 380; BM; (*) 1590, Geneva. Ruperti I cxxi; 1590, Heidelbergae (Heidelberg): Officina Santandreana. Ruperti I cxxi; Schweiger II 509; Morgan, *Bibliogr. of Persius*, n. 197. 1590, Lutetiae (Paris): Mamercus Patissonius. Ruperti I cxxi (MH); (*) 1610, [Heidelberg]: Morgan, *op. cit.*, n. 231.

Doubtful editions:

(*) 1601, (*) 1615, s. l. et t. Juvenal and

Persius with Curio's *Adnotatiunculae*. Nicéron 5, 56.

Group III. *Editions of Juvenal with more than one commentary:*

1491, Venetiis (Venice) : Theodorus de Ragazonibus. With comm. of Calderini and Valla. HC 9704 ; St J 593 ; BMC 5.477 sq. ; Pol. 2399.

(*) 1498, March 8, Venetiis (Venice) : Bonetus Locatellus. With comm. of Calderini and Valla. HC 9705 ; St J 594 ; BMC 5.439 ; Pol. 2400.

1492, July 5, Mediolani (Milan) : Uldericus Scinzenzeller. With comm. of Calderini and Valla. HC 9706 ; Schweiger, II 500 ; St J 595. Giulieri, *Il Propugnatore* 6.2 (1873) 202 wrongly substitutes Merula for Valla.

1492, Dec. 2, Venetiis (Venice) : Johannes de Cereto de Tridino. With comm. of Mancinelli, Calderini and Valla. HC 9709 ; St J 598 ; BMC 5.527.

1494, Taurini (Turin) : Nicolaus de Benedictis, Jacobinus Suigus. With comm. of Calderini and Valla. Maittaire II 328 ; HC 9707 ; Schweiger II 501 ; St J 596 ; BMC 7.1058. Reprint of 1492 Venice.

1494/95, Jan. 28, Venetiis (Venice) : Johannes de Cereto de Tridino. With comm. of Mancinelli, Calderini and Valla. HC 9710 ; St J 599 ; BMC 5.529.

1495, May 18, Lugduni (Lyons) : Johannes de Vingle. With comm. of Calderini and Valla. H 9708 ; St J 597 ; Pol. 2401.

[c. 1496/97], Venetiis (Venice) : Symon Bi-vilaqua. With comm. of Calderini, Merula, Valla. HC 9712 ; St J 601 ; BMC 5.521 ; Pol. 2402 ; Giulieri, *Il Propugnatore* 7.2 (1874) 240. Reprint of 1492 Venice.

1497, Dec. 6, Norimbergae (Nürnberg) : Anton Koberger. With comm. of Mancinelli, Calderini and Valla. Maittaire I 347 ; HC 9711 ; St J 600 ; BMC 2.443 ; Pol. 2402.

(*) 1497, Venetiis (Venice) : s.t. With comm. of Merula, Calderini, Mancinelli and Valla. H 9713 ; Giulieri, *Il Propugnatore* 6.2 (1873) 246.

1498, Jul. 24, Venetiis (Venice) : Johannes Tacuinus de Tridino. With comm. of Mancinelli, Calderini, Merula, Valla. H 9714 ; St J 602 ; BMC 5.533 ; Pol. 2403.

1498, Nov. 18, Lugduni (Lyons) : Nicolaus Wolf. With comm. of Badius Ascensius and

Mancinelli. Maittaire I 355 ; HC 9716 ; St J 592 ; BMC 8.329 ; Pol. 2404 ; Renouard, *Badius* II 537.

1501, May 11, Lugduni (Lyons) : Johannes de Vingle. With comm. of Badius Ascensius and Mancinelli. Ruperti I cxii ; Panzer VII 276.3 ; Baudrier XII 209 ; Renouard, *Badius* II 537 sq. ; reprint of 1498 Lyons. (MH).

(*) 1501, Aug. 17, Mediolani (Milan) : Johannes Angelus Scinzenzeler. With comm. of Mancinelli, Calderini, Merula, Valla. Proctor 13524.

1501, Dec. 10, Venetiis (Venice) : Johannes de Cereto de Tridino. With comm. of Mancinelli, Calderini, Merula, Valla. Ruperti I cxii ; Schweiger II 501 ; Panzer VIII 341.36 ; reprint of 1498 Venice. (MH).

(*) 1505/06, apud Parrhisios (Paris) : Badius Ascensius. With comm. of Badius Ascensius and Mancinelli. Panzer VII 512.106 ; Schweiger II 501 ; Renouard, *Badius* II 538 ; reprint of 1498 Lyons ; the first ed. printed by Badius.

(*) 1512, Lugduni (Lyons) : Bernardus Rosier and Johannes Thomas. With comm. of Mancinelli and Badius Ascensius. Panzer VII 303.219 ; Schweiger II 502 ; Renouard, *Badius* II 540 ; BN ; reprint of 1498 Lyons.

(*) 1513, Parisiis (Paris) : Guillelmus Rubeus. With comm. of Badius Ascensius and Mancinelli. Schweiger II 502 ; Renouard, *Badius* II 540 ; BM ; BN. Pirated as from an ed. of 1507 Paris. .

1514, Mediolani (Milan) : Alex. Minutianus. With comm. of Britannico and notes, f. 2, excerpted from Politian, P. Beroaldo, Battista Egnazio. Ruperti I cxiv ; Panzer VII 394.130 ; Schweiger II 502 ; BM ; BN. Based on 1512 Venice ed. of Britannico. (DLC).

1515, apud Lugdunum (Lyons) : Joannes Clein. With comm. of Mancinelli and Badius Ascensius. Ruperti I cxiv ; Panzer VII 309.271 ; Renouard, *Badius* II 540. (MH).

(*) 1517 (Lyons) : Laurent Hilaire. With comm. of Mancinelli and Badius Ascensius. Delandine, I, n. 1755 ; Renouard, *Badius* II 541 ; reprint of 1515 Lyons.

(*) 1518, Mediolani (Milan) : ex Minutiana officina. With comm. of Badius Ascensius and Mancinelli. Sander 3738 ; Renouard, *Badius* II 541 ; BN.

(*) 1519 (Paris) : Badius Ascensius. With

comm. of Badius and Mancinelli and notes from Politian, Beroaldo, Egnazio as in 1514 Milan. Panzer VIII 54. 1078; Renouard, *Badius* 541; Schweiger II 502 questions date.

1522, Venetiis (Venice) : Joannes Tacuinus de Tridino. With comm. of Britannico and Badius Ascensius. Sander 3739; BN. (MH).

1523, June 2, Venetiis (Venice) : Jo. Franciscus, Jo. Antonius de Rusconibus. With comm. of Britannico and Badius Ascensius. Panzer VIII 479.1185; BM.

1523, Oct. 3, Lugduni (Lyons) : Simonis Vincentii sumptu. With comm. of Mancinelli and Badius Ascensius. Maittaire II 640; Panzer VII 334.479; Schweiger II 502; Renouard, *Badius* II 542; BM.

1539, Venetiis (Venice) : Bernardinus de Bindonis. With comm. of Britannico and Badius Ascensius. Schweiger II 503; Renouard, *Badius* II 542; BN; reprint of 1523 Venice.

1548, Venetiis (Venice) : Fr. Bindonis, Mapheus Pasinus. With comm. of Britannico and Badius Ascensius. Schweiger II 503; Renouard, *Badius* II 543; reprint of 1523 Venice. (MH).

(*) 1552 (Paris) : Claude Morell. With comm. of Britannico and brief scholia of Curio. Juvenal, ed. Hennin, 406 sqq; based on 1551 Basel (Group I).

1602, Lutetiae (Paris) : C. Morell [some copies printed 1603, and some by Marc Orry]. With comm. of Britannico, Curio's brief scholia, Pithou's *Scholia vetera* and Pulmann. Maittaire III 842; Ruperti I cxxii; Schweiger II 503; BM; BN. (MH).

(*) 1613, Lutetiae (Paris) : C. Morell. Maittaire III 863; Ruperti I cciv; BM; BN; reprint of 1602 Paris.

1685, Ultrajecti (Utrecht) : Rudolph a Zyll; ed. H. C. Henninius; based on Schrevel's *variorum* edition with additions from the library of Comte de Hoym (Paris, dispersed 1738). Preface includes some critical discussion of the commentators; chief 15th-16th century comm. included in addition to Pithou's *Scholia vetera* are Calderini, Britannico with Curio's additional notes and the miscellanies excerpted by Schrevel. Hennin rejected Merula's comm. on the basis of

Politian's censure, and Sabino's on the ground that his best comments were included in Calderini's comm. BN.

Reprints : (*) 1695, Leyden : Petrus van der Aa. BM.

1697, London. With Persius and Casaubon's comm. on Persius; BM.

Doubtful or rejected editions :

1479, Pinerolii (Pinerolo) : Jacobus de Rubeis. Text only. HR 9668; St J 579. The copy in Pierpont Morgan Library has the misleading notation in a 15th century hand: 'Juvenalis liber cum reprehensionibus Domitii Calderini'; Ruperti I cvi and Achaintre II 52 describe the volume as 'Juvenalis cum comm. Ge. Merulae et notis aliorum.' Brunet III 628, attributed the error to a volume in which the 1478 ed. of Merula was bound with the 1479 Pinerolo text.

(*) 1479 (Rome). 'Juvenalis cum commentariis.' Maittaire I 403; Audiffredi 283 (from Maittaire); H 9718.

(*) 1486 (Brescia) : Jacobus Britannicus. With comm. of Calderini, Merula, Mancinelli. Zeno, *Diss. Voss.* II 68.

(*) 1493 (Venice). 'Cum commentariis Sabini, Merulae, et aliorum.' Ruperti I cviii.

(*) 1493 (Venice) : with comm. of Calderini, Merula, Mancinelli. Maittaire I 567; Schweiger II 501 lists from Maittaire as doubtful.

(*) 1494 (Paris). With comm. of Mancinelli and Badius Ascensius. Maittaire I 789; H 9715; Schweiger II 501 lists as doubtful.

(*) 1496 (Venice) : Jo. de Cereto. With comm. of Mancinelli, Merula and Calderini. Orlandi 353.

(*) 1498 (Lyons). With comm. of Sabino, Merula, Mancinelli. Juvenal, ed. Hennin, prologue, sec. 4; apparently three vols. bound together.

(*) 1498 (Paris). 'Cum Merulae et aliorum notis.' Ruperti I cx.

(*) 1499 (Lyons) : Johannes de Vingle. 'Cum commentariis variorum.' Panzer I 555.219; Giuliani, *Il Propugnare* 7.1 (1874) 250 cites as containing 'comm. variorum et Dom. Calderini.'

(*) 1501 (Brescia). With comm. of Britannico and Calderini. Hoffmann, 148; probably two vols. bound together.

(*) 1507 (Leipzig). 'Cum Merula et aliorum notis.' Ruperti I cxiii.

(*) [1507 (Paris) : Badius Ascensius]. With comm. of Badius and Mancinelli. Renouard, *Badius* II 538 sq., assumes this edition as the source of the ed. pirated by Guillaume le Rouge, 1513 Paris.

1614, Parisiis (Paris) : R. Fouet. Harles 486 ; Ruperti I cxxiv ; Schweiger II 503 ; BM ; BN. The comm. of Grangaeus, Autumnus, and Calderini in this volume were printed separately.

MEDIAEVAL AND ANONYMOUS
15th CENTURY COMMENTARIES

1. 'Cornutus'

The commentary to which the name of Cornutus came to be applied is characterized by an initial statement that appears in its full form chiefly in MSS. of the 10th and 11th centuries, without the first sentence from the 10th to the 15th centuries, and in even more abbreviated form chiefly in the 15th century. In other examples the initial statement is omitted or appears in modified form, though other elements clearly indicate their membership in this group. Wessner (*Scholia vet.*, xlvi) lists a number of 10th/11th century cases in his φ and χ classes, without mentioning the characteristic *incipit*. As he points out, the individual manuscripts exhibit countless variations in spelling, wording and selection of comments. They usually incorporate many of the old scholia, in a tradition independent of the existing manuscripts of that class; notable examples are B. M. Addit. 15,600, s. IX/X (Wessner's Z) and Leyden, Bib. Pub. 82, s. XI (Wessner's L). Prior to the 15th century this commentary was usually written in the form of marginal scholia. Many of the characteristic comments, some of which have been mentioned in the introduction to this study, in connection with the Heiric-Remigius commentary, are quoted *verbatim* in manuscripts of Commentary 2, often as citations from 'Cornutus.' The most characteristic notes derived from the Heiric-Remigius commentary appear commonly, but rarely more than two or three of them in a single case. The formal type of *accessus*

characteristic of Commentary 2 in its later form rarely appears in this group, but one or more of the *Vitae* of Juvenal, with brief notes on his name, on satire, and on tragedy and comedy, are common.

A. [Inc.] : (Ms. Vienna. 131, s. X) In hoc exordio voluntas scribendi ostenditur, ab indignatione autem coepit, quod saeculi vitia ferre non posset. Cum, inquit, omnes luxurientur in scribendis carminibus, numquid *ego semper* tacebo, et *nunquam* scribam? Et bene a sui ipsius redargitione incipit, ut per hoc ostendat quod nulli debeat parcere. Inde enim poematis satirici scriptura hunc titulum accepit, quod personis factisque satiata abundare videtur.

Reponam. Id est scribam, ut Horatius...

[Expl.] : (XVI 60) *Ut laeti phaleris.* Phalerae sunt proprie equorum ornamenta, quae Graece esipia [sic, in some MSS. more correctly *efippia* or *ephippia*] dicuntur; torques autem sunt [sc. *colla* as in Vatican Urb. lat. 342] insignia. Torquibus vero aureis et phaleris donabantur milites.

Manuscripts :

(*) St. Gall, Stiftsbib. 871 (D 236), s. X (glosses on I-II 16 and X 267-XIV 198) and s. XI (on III 25-X 256); glosses end XIV 198.

(Photost. ; Wessner, *Scholia vet.*, p. xxv ; Scherrer, 301-302).

Vatican, Palatinus lat. 1701, s. X; glosses on I-II 22 and XVI 50-57 only. *Vitae* I and II; brief notes on the name *Iunius*, *satira*, *histriones* and *tragedia*.

[Expl.] : (XVI 57) *Pulchro labore.* Id est militiae. Ita enim Alchonus [sic] definit: Quid est militia? Ingenua et pulchra servitus.

—, Urbinas lat. 342, s. X, followed by fragments of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. *Vitae* I and II; notes on *Iunius*, *quinque partes satiarum*, *satira*, *tragedia*.

(*) Vienna, Nationalbib. 131, s. X, fols. 15v-99v. (Photost. ; Endlicher, ccix ; *Tabulae* I 19).

London, B. M., Addit. 30 861, s. XI. Initial statement followed by note on *tragedia*. Numerous lacunae, ends XV 145. (*Cat. Addit. MSS.*, [1876] 122; Wessner, *Schol. vet.* xxv, dates s. XII; Winstedt, *Classical Review* 16 [1902] 43).

Paris, B.N., lat. 8070, s. XI, fols. 1-16v,

'Glosae super Iuvenalem' to VI 164; 17-17^v, *Vitae* I and II; 17^v-124, text with marginal glosses from VI 164, continuing the commentary.

[Expl.]: (XVI 60) *Et torquibus omnes*. Fecit pulchram conclusionem, ut sitis omnibus ornamentiis militaribus decorati.

Following the text, in a smaller version of the same hand, the epistle of Luper Ser-vatus to Fredilo on *ceroma* (cf. Juvenal VI 246), which also appears in Leyden, Bib. Pub. 82, s. XI. (See M. Manitius, *GLL* I 488).

— B.N., lat. 9345, s. XI, fols. 105^v-125^v, Juvenal I-VI 400. The subscription of Epi-carpius now recognized as an accidental survival from an earlier manuscript, without significance for the recension. *Vita* I. 11th century notes end at VI 367, comments on the next 33 lines are added in a much later hand. (*Bib. de l'École des Chartes* 23 [1862] 306; Wessner, *Schol. vet.*, xxiv).

Vatican, Vat. lat. 3288, s. XII

Accessus. [Inc.]: Iuvenalis iste Aquinas fuit [Vita I]... In exordio voluntas scribendi ostenditur. Ab indignatione autem incipit... In hoc opere tria sunt requirenda [actually the usual five are given, followed by a brief note on *satira*]... Cum igitur tot in fabulis studentes videat, cum quadam indignatione sic incipit: *Semper ego*, etc. Hic ostendit cur prius velit scribere, deinde cur debeat satiricus esse. Tragedia dicitur a trago... Intentio istius satirae est poetas Romanorum malis moribus faventes redarguere et colentes vitia eorum denotare. Ita descendendum est ad litteram. Verba [Vero?] poetae sunt reprehendendi inutilia dictantes, et hoc per me ipsum comprobo. Nam ego sum *vexatus*... Bene ab ipsius redargitione incipit, ut per hoc ostendat nulli esse parcendum. Et sciendum est quod satirorum est ab indignatione incipere.

[Expl.]: (XVI 60) *Torquibus*. Torquibus aureis et phaleris ornabantur milites, et ponuntur pro omni ornamento.

(*) Wolfenbüttel, Gudianus lat. 156, s. XVI, fols. 1-58. Juvenal with marginal commentary. *Vitae* I, II and III, with notes on *Iunius*, *Decimi*, *satira*, *histriones*, *tragedia*.

(Photost.; Heinemann IV 171).

Oxford, Canon. lat. 37, s. XIII. *Vita* III. After the note on I 1: *Reponam*. Id est

scribam; is inserted: In hoc opere tria sunt requirenda: materia, utilitas, causa intentionis, quare... cui parti philosophiae, titulus; and a brief note on *satira*. *Satires* XV and XVI are reversed. (Oxford, *Quarto Catalogue* III 126-127).

Rome, Bib. Corsini 43 E 38 (Nic. Rossi 135), s. XV; commentary only.

Accessus [Inc.]: *Semper ego*, etc. Et hoc fecit cum indignatione, quod mos est satiricus quod ab indignatione inchoent. Ideo autem hanc materiam scribere voluit, ut notaret quasi figurate Claudi Neronis tempora. Et sic fit descensio ad litteram: Vero poetae sunt reprehendendi quia inutiliter dictantes frequenter recitabant, et hoc per me ipsum comprobo. Nam ego sum vexatus...

[Expl.]: (XV 174; XV and XVI reversed) *Non omne legumen...* Nam ille non indulxit, id est non dedit omne legumen ventri suo, id est, ea unde homines non multum curant manducavit, et quae eis sunt cara sprevit.

B. [Inc.]: (Ms. Leiden, Vossianus lat. Q 18). Cum, inquit, omnes luxurientur in scribendis libris, numquid *ego semper* tacebo et nihil scribam? Et bene a sui ipsius redargitione coepit, ut per hoc ostendat quod nulli debeat parcere...

[Expl.]: (XVI 60) *Phaleris*. Phalerae sunt proprie equorum ornamenta quae Graece ephippia dicuntur. Torques autem sunt collis insignia. Torquibus vero aureis et phaleris donabantur milites.

Manuscripts:

London, B.M., Harl. 2772, s. IX/X, fols. 75-90^v. Fragments of a glossed text, containing XI 153-XIV 110; V 49-VI 103; IX 1-XI 146. Identified as belonging to this group by its close resemblance to B.M. Royal 15 A iv, s. XII.

(Winstedt, *Cl. Rev.* 16 [1902] 41; Cat. II 711).

—, B.M., Addit. 15600, s. IX/X; text glossed to X 183 in original hand, but sparsely from VIII med. *Vita* I and brief note on *satira*; lacks identifying *incipit* but has many comments in close agreement with Leiden, Bib. Pub. Lat. 82, together with some distinctive material. (E. M. Thompson, *Cat. Ancient MSS.*, II 71; *Cat. Addit. MSS.* [1845], 30; Wessner, *Schol. vet.*, xxxvii; copious citations in W. G. C. Wagner, *De*

deteriorum Iuvenalis codicum memoria [Utrecht 1902] 12-72).

(*) Leiden, Vossianus lat. F 64, s. X : marginal scholia only on I 1-III 38 ; V 225-X 166 ; XIII 124-151. *Vita I*, brief notes on *Iunius, satira, histriones*, followed by *Vita II* and note on *tragedia*. Very extensive commentary.

(Photost. ; Wessner, *Scholia vet.*, xxiii).

(*) —, Vossianus lat. Q 18, s. X ; with Persius. Copious commentary.

(Photost. ; Wessner, *Scholia vet.*, xxiii ; Goetz, *CGL*, I 384).

Vatican, Vat. lat. 2810, s. X/XI. *Vitae VII* and *I* ; brief notes on *satira* and *Decimi*.

[Expl.] : (XV 174 ; XV and XVI reversed) *Non omne legumen... Sensus est inflare ventrem ideoque non illa vescuntur.*

(Wessner, p. xxvi).

(*) Vienna, Nationalbib. 277 (Philol. 387), s. X, fols. 1-40 ; *Vitae I* and *II*, notes on *Decimi* and *satira*.

(Endlicher, xxxii ; *Tabulae I* 39 ; excerpts in D. A. G. Cramer, *In Juvenalis satiras commentarii vetusti* [Hamburg 1823] 567-616).

Florence, Laurentianus 34, 42, s. X/XI. *Vita I* and note on *satira*. Has the Nicaeus subscription at end of *Sat. V*, which appears at beginning of *VII* in Leiden, Bib. Pub. 82, but lacks the selections from the older commentary found in the latter Ms.

[Expl.] : (XVI 33, last leaf missing) *Paganum*. *Paganus dicitur villanus ab eo quod a pago, id est villa, venit.*

(Bandini II 159 ; Wessner, *Scholia vet.*, xxvi).

(*) Leiden, Bib. Pub. lat. 82, s. XI, fols. 14v-86. *Vita VII* ; brief notes on *satira* and *Decimi* ; Nicaeus subscription at beginning of *Sat. VII*.

[Expl.] : (XVI 33) *Paganum*. *Paganus dicitur villanus ab eo quod est pagus, id est villa ; venit ergo pagus ab eo quod est pige, id est fons, quia villa fontibus potantur (sic).*

Letter of Lupus Servatus to Fredilo on *ceroma* follows, as in B.N. lat. 8070 (cf. Comm. 1 A).

(Photost. ; Cat. III 44-45 ; Wessner xxvii, emphasizes mixture of old and later scholia with individual material).

Milan, Ambrosianus S 53 sup., s. XI. Belonged to Pier Candido Decembrio. Apparently copied from a Ms. with XV and XVI reversed, as subscription. 'Explicit Iuvenalis' appears at end of XV, followed by XVI.

Vatican, Urbinas lat. 661, s. XI. The two parts of this Ms. are contemporary but in different hands and format. I : *Vitae I* and *VII*, and text of Juvenal with a few marginal glosses, usually brief, apparently minimum teaching aids. II, fols. 62-133^v, commentary on I-VIII 227, and f. 134 on XI 1-62, the latter almost illegible. The word *Probus* at the beginning of this commentary, in a contemporary hand, and the 15th century title inspired by it : 'Probi expositio in Sat. I' led some 19th century scholars to exaggerate its value.

(Stornaiolo II 172 ; C. Hosius, 'Symbola ad poetas latinos,' *Rh. Mus.* 66 [1891] 287-91 ; Wessner xxv).

London, B. M. Royal 15 A iv, s. XII. Fol. iv, in a late 16th c. hand : 'Probus Birthius [sic, for Berytius] antiquissimus grammaticus edidit commentum in Iuvenalem, cuius haec esse fragmenta videntur, vel potius Cornuti.' Fols. 2-24^v, comm. only ; first and last leaves worn and illegible. *Vita IIIc*, note on *satira*.

[Expl.] : (XV 174, XV and XVI reversed) *Non omne legumen... fabam non comedit propter vermem, unde Pithagorici ...*

Brief summaries of the satires follow.

(Warner II 142 ; Winstedt, *Cl. Rev.* 16 [1902] 93).

Florence, Laurentianus 34, 36, s. XIV. A very full commentary with notable additions to the traditional material, e.g., mention of the attack of Giovanni da Ravenna (1343-1408) on the authenticity of *Sat. XVI*, and, in the *accessus* following the glossed text, mention of the mediaeval historians Ricobaldus of Ferrara and Sicardus of Cremona as authorities for dating Juvenal in the reigns of Trajan and Domitian, respectively.

[Expl.] : (XV 174, XV and XVI reversed) : *Non omne legumen... et casu posset contingere quod haberent animam alicuius servi pravi vel alterius cuiusvis sui consanguinei, et ideo abstinebat ab eis.* Fol. 72, *accessus*

based on that often found with Comm. 2, but setting Juvenal's exile in *Scolia*, not Egypt, and freely reworded. [Inc.] : Iunius Iuvenalis Aquinas poeta fuit, qui ad medium fere vitam declamavit... sic satira [satirae?] reprehensio prius urit per vitiorum redargitionem, postea sanat per virtutum infusionem. Haec extra litteram generaliter dicta sufficiunt. Nunc ad litteram descendimus.

Semper ego. Ad cuius notitiam est sciendum quod Iuvenalis more satiricorum omnium incipit ex abrupto et in iram prorumpens ut ceteros atque alios reprehendere possit, callide se ipsum et homines suae professionis, poetas scilicet, primitus reprehendit, ubi in reprehensione poetarum de triplici peste eos instat, scilicet de inutilitate scriptorum... [continues, with comments on I 1-8].

A second, briefer *accessus* follows, on *materia, satira, Juvenal's exile in the reign of Nero, tragedia and commedia*.

(Bandini III 157).

—, Laurentianus 34, 30, written A. D. 1458 by Antonius de Paglino de Tridino. Some comments in later hands; almost none on the later satires. At end: 'Literatissimi domini Johannis Andreeae Vigevii versus' — a dedicatory poem by Giannandrea de' Bussi (d. 1475), for his edition of a glossed Juvenal. There is no evidence whether this Ms. is a copy of his work, which he describes as a compilation of the best readings discoverable and of glosses 'multis petita locis.'

(Bandini II 155; on Bussi, see Tiraboschi VI [1824] 240-42).

Poppi, 210, s. XV.

A full commentary, fairly close to Laurentianus 34, 36, but with occasional rewording and additions; opinions often stated in the first person; has Guarino's arguments on II, VIII and XII-XVI.

[Expl.]: (XVI 60; XV and XVI reversed). *Torquibus.* Ornamentis argenteis quae portabant milites circa collum et brachia. Unde cum Manlius civis Romanus quendam superrasset Gallum, et in signum victoriae sibi torquem arripuisse pro spolio, Torquatus ab omnibus vocatus est. [Cf. Comm. 21, Filetico].

[Expl.]: (XV 174) *Non omne legumen.* Id est non vescebatur omnibus leguminibus,

sed tantum illis quae nec vermes nec aliud animal procreant.

(Mazzatinti VI 142).

C. Five 15th century MSS., almost identical, present the shortest form of the *incipit*. Of these all but the Ambrosian are identified by title or subscription as the commentary of Cornutus. Marchesi noted the close relationship of the three Florentine cases, and Sabbadini and Wessner that of the Ambrosian and Vatican copies, but the relationship of the entire group has not heretofore been noted. Two earlier versions of this type are mentioned below. The 15th century examples, except the Ambrosian, use the extensive *accessus* that commonly appears with Commentary 2, and all are followed by the 'Scolii Fiorentini' on Persius, dated 1416.

Accessus (Ms. Laurentianus 52, 4) : Iunius Iuvenalis Aquinas, id est de Aquino oppido oriundus extitit, qui ad medium fere vitam ... [Vita II a; for fuller excerpts from this *accessus* cf. Comm. 2] nec illis qui sunt sui ordinis et suae professionis parcere velit. [A sentence omitted from the section on *satira* was added at the end after the preface was completed in the original copy, and was kept in that position in these five MSS., hence the apparent end of the *accessus* is: ...hoc testatur in prima decade Livii circa finem]. Nunc ad litteram accedamus.

[Inc.]: *Semper.* Bene sic ipse poeta a redargitione poetarum scribere incipit, cum per hoc ostendat quod nulli parcere debeat, et sciendum est quod mos est satricis ut ab indignatione incipient. XVI 60 (XV and XVI reversed) : *Laeti phaleris.* Id est ornamenti equorum *gaudeant omnes et torquibus*, id est monilibus militaribus.

[Expl.]: (XV 174) *Non omne legumen.* Cum ab omnibus animalibus abstineret, faba etiam abstinuit propter gurguliones quos generat.

Manuscripts:

Florence, Laurentianus S. Marco 234, s. XI. Glossed text. *Incipit* as above. IX 37 : *Sollicitent.* Hic quod unus pes deest versui Graeco, quem magister Eriicus scire non poterat, suppletum est Graecitatem sciente domino nostro Brunone, qui addiderat... [the Greek is written under the Latin translation, more legibly than usual].

This is apparently a unique case of emendation of this line by a contemporary student of Greek].

[Expl.]: (XVI 57) *Pulchro labore.* Id est militiae. Sic enim Albinus militiae [read: militiam] definivit: ingenua et pulchra servitus.

Brief *accessus* follows in the same hand, incomplete:

[Inc.]: Materia istius libri sunt vitia. Intentio sua est reprehendere Romanos nobiles... cum sibi non parceret inferre dedecus; vel secundum alios dicitur quod ...

(Wessner) xxiv, classes this Ms. as intermediate between his two mixed classes, and notes that it also contains much original material).

Pistoia, Bib. Communale Forteguerri 30 (A 36), s. XIII in.; glossed text.

Inc. and *Expl.* as in the above Ms. No *accessus*. Formerly property of Sozomenus.

Florence, Laurentianus 52, 4, s. XV. Comm. only, followed by comm. on Persius written by Bastianus Pistoriensis. Fol. 133: 'Explicit expositio Cornuti super toto libro Juvenalis.'

(Bandini II 547-548. On this and the two next MSS. cf. C. Marchesi, 'Gli Scholiasti di Persio,' *Riv. di Fil.* 40 [1912] 193).

—, Laurentianus 53, 23, s. XV. Comm. only, followed by comm. on Persius, written by Franciscus de Oricellariis, 1463, and by Alberti, *De triviis senatoriis* with anon. comm. and an oration of Donato Acciaiuoli, all in the same hand. Fol. 146v: 'Expositio Cornuti super toto libro Juvenalis.'

(Bandini II 618).

—, Riccardianus 664, s. XV; comm. only, followed by comm. on Persius; fol. 100: 'Explicit expositio Cornuti super toto libro Juvenalis.'

(Lamius 253).

Milan, Ambrosianus C 50 sup., s. XV, fols. 53-151. Preceded by comm. on Seneca's tragedies and followed by comm. on Persius. Lacks *accessus* and subscription.

(On this and the following Ms., cf. Sabbadini, 'Spogli Ambrosiani Latini,' *Studi Ital.* 11 [1903] 202-203; Wessner, in *Bursians Jahresber.* 139 [1908] 103).

Vatican, Urbinas lat. 664, s. XV. Comm. only, followed by comm. on Persius; sub-

scription: 'Cornuti Grammatici commentum in Satiras Juvenalim' [sic].

(Stornaiolo II 174-175).

D. A few examples follow of the many glossed texts that conform in general to this type, but lack the identifying *incipit*:

Vatican, Vat. lat. 5204, s. XI-XII. *Vita* reworded from I; notes on the five types of satire, and on the Muses, all added s. XIV.

[Inc.]: Hic ostendit sibi esse difficile satiram non scribere, reprehendendo Crispinum...

[Expl.]: (XVI 60) *Phaleris.* Phalerae sunt proprie equorum ornamenta, quae Graece ephia [sic] dicuntur. Torques autem sunt colli insignia. Torquibus vero aureis et phaleris donabantur milites.

On a leaf added at the end of the volume is a 16th century note of ownership: 'Juvenalis est mei Petri Victurii,' followed by a statement that the owner had received it from his father Petrus, who in turn had it from his father Daniel, 'qui omnes hoc vetusto Juvenale usi sunt.'

(*) Wolfenbüttel, Gudianus lat. 2^o. 53, written A.D. 1384; 'Explicit Glosulae Juvenalis excerptae de Cornuto cum addi[ta]mento quarundam sententiarum factarum Parisiis, regentibus scholas ibi M. Petro J. et Theodorico et Guillermo Acensi, regnante Ludovico rege Francorum. Hoc opus Junii Juvenalis satyrici fuit Gregorii notarii de Clericatis de Vincentiis, quod scribi fecit per domnum Andream rectorem ecclesiae de Marano, in MCCCLXXXIV, septimae inductionis.' Multiple comments are very common, usually combining notes drawn from the Cornutus commentary with original interpretations, or those from other sources.

[Inc.]: *Numquamne reponam.* Id est numquam ero nisi tantum auditor quod non reponam quod audiam. Satira est genus lancis ad reprehensionem vitiorum inventum...

[Expl.]: (XVI 60) *Phaleris.* Phalerae sunt proprie ornamenta equorum, quae Graece ephippia dicuntur. Torques autem dicuntur colli insignia, huiusmodi autem rebus donabantur milites.

(Photost. ; Heinemann IX 113 sq. ; Sabbadini, *Scoperte* II 217-218).

Paris B.N., Lat. 8076, s. XV. Relatively few notes, conforming in general to this type.

[Inc.] : *Semper ego.* Ab indignatione incipit quia saeculi vitia ferre non potuit.

(Catal. Bibl. Regiae IV 425).

Pistoia, Bib. Comunale Forteguerri A 35, before 1458. Comm. only, freely reworked from Comm. 1. The introduction deals with various types of poetry; in the commentary each satire is outlined in detail. Subscription : 'Ego Franciscus Iure notarius operam feci.' Many of the marginal glosses are identified by the Greek monogram of Sozomenus (Zombini or Zonini), a noted Pistoian canon and scholar, to whose library the book belonged, and whose death in 1458 sets a *terminus ante quem* for its date. Sozomenus' notes are often closer to the Cornutus comments than are those of the commentary itself; sometimes they record his dissent or offer additional interpretations.

Introd. : Iunius Juvenalis Aquinates Romanorum vitia in suo poemate aggressus, namque eos nimium luxuriose vivere videns, redarguere intendit et ab illicitis dissuadere, utilitatem ita amplectens ut Romanorum semotis vitiis ad virtutes humana natura profici scipiat. Cum enim multos poetas diversa poemata scribere videret, satiricum carmen sibi assumpsit, nam satirici poetae dicti sunt quod pleni sunt omni facundia... Ex his quattuor allegorica fabula dignior est. Horum insigniores sunt: Homerus ille magnus... et Hesiodus Aschraeus.

[Inc.] : *Semper ego.* In hac prima satira Romanos intendit poetas malos reprehendere. Et primo de malis scripturis. Incipit ergo per locum indignationis propositum ostendere suum...

IV 2 : *Ad partes.* Id est ad materiam huius operis. Apud antiquos satira inter comedias deputatur, quae in quinque partes dividebantur, et ideo dixit *ad partes*. Vel quia haec satira in quinque partes partita est. [Marginal note of Sozomeno: 'Non probbo.'].

V, pref. : ...unde introducit quandam Trebium parasitum... [Sozomenus: 'melius est dicere buffone'].

[Expl.] : (XVI 60) *Phaleris.* Ornamenta equorum sunt, et *torquibus* ornamenta sunt equi [sic].

(Mazzatinti I 244; On Sozomenus, cf. Tiraboschi (1824) VI 936-93; F. A. Zacc-

ria, *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis* [Turin 1752] 29-49).

Rimini, Bib. Gamba lunga 32 (D II 33), s. XV. Guarino's arguments for I-III and VI-VIII.

[Inc.] : *Descensio ad litteram.* Ego coactus multis de causis proposui in mente describere et innito [read: invito?] describere. Num autem *semper ero auditor* quando tot vitiosi sunt et tot vitia, et multi scribunt. Ergo cur *ego semper ero auditor...*

[Expl.] : (XV 174, XV and XVI reversed) *Non omne legumen...* ideo non comedebat legumina in quibus sunt gurguliones quae animas habent. Philosophi dicunt fabam habere sensum et inflare ventrem, ideo non vescuntur illa.

Vita based on III C, note on the five parts of *satira* and brief *accessus*, [Inc.] : In hoc opere... quattuor sunt requirenda... ethicae supponitur quia de moribus hominum loquitur, follow the text.

(Mazzatinti II 146).

Naples, Bib. Nazionale IV F 36, c. A.D. 1400. A very free version of the Cornutus commentary, in which the 'cum omnes luxurientur' theme is stressed both in introduction and notes. Mention in the versified subscription of the writer's name as *Johannes* led to the theory that this was the commentary of Giovanni Tortelli, which was disproved by Mancini both on palaeographical grounds, which date the Ms. c. 1400, and because of the banal character of the commentary.

Introd. : In hac autem prima satira qua utitur auctor loco prologi ostendit quid scripturus sit, quare satiram, et causas assignat cur potius hoc quam aliud genus poeticum intendit scribere, arguens et notans poetas inutiles scribendis libris luxurientes... Tribus assignatis causis ad scriendum se concitat et confirmat recitationibus tacitus respondens... nam primo super suo silentio admiratur, et indignatur cum alii poetae inepti et inutiles assiduo in scribendo luxurientur, dicens :

[Inc.] : *Semper ero ego.* Quasi dicat : Solus semper ero silens inutilium scriptorum auditor et numquam scribam aliquid, cum omnes alii fere luxurientur in scribendis libris inutilibus et vitiosis...

[Expl.] : (XVI 60) *Torquibus.* Demum ponit unum commodum speciale militiae, scilicet remunerationem militum per duces eorum; et sic compleat hanc satiram ironice descriptam in laudes militiae, in qua bene pugnantes a summo duce remunerantur, cui laus et honor in saecula sit. Amen. Amen. Amen.

(Jannelli, 198-199, n. 284; G. Mancini, 'Giovanni Tortelli,' *Archivio Storico Italiano* 78 [1920] 235, n. 2; E. M. Sanford, 'Tortelli's Commentary on Juvenal,' *TAPA* 72 [1951] 213).

2. *More omnium satiricorum ex abrupto incipit...*

The most popular commentary on Juvenal in the 15th century is similar in general to the Cornutus commentary, but in many cases notes from this collection are cited as the words of Cornutus, showing that the two compilations were considered distinct. Jahn thought the commentary in Ms. Bernensis 223, s. XV, of this group, almost identical with the 'expositio Cornuti' in Ms. Laurentianus 52, 4, though the two actually are very unlike in detail except for the passages designated in the Bern codex as derived from Cornutus. Examples before the 15th century are comparatively rare. The earlier copies have no *accessus*; the characteristic detailed introduction appears first, as far as I know, in Ms. Gudianus 155, s. XIII/XIV. The predominance of this commentary in the 15th century is shown not only by the number of manuscripts, which further investigation would doubtless extend, but by its use by individual Renaissance commentators; Guarino Veronese, Battista Guarini, Tortelli in his article *s.v. prologus*, Ognibene Leoniceno, Landino, Calderini, in the first version of his commentary especially, George Valla, Mancinelli and Britannico, as well as many anonymous commentaries, all echo its phrasing repeatedly. In two cases this commentary is described as 'edited' or 'excerpted' from Cornutus, i.e., Pisa 690, A.D. 1452, and Vatican Reginensis 1828, s. XV, but in these as in the others, Cornutus is cited as an external authority in the text itself.

Introd. (Ms. Gudianus 155, s. XIII/XIV): Iunius Iuvenalis Aquinas fuit, id est de Aquino oppido oriundus...taedio et angore vitam finivit [Vita II a]. Haec de illius vita ad praesens sufficient. Nunc ad ea quae circa hunc librum sunt inquirenda accedamus, haec scilicet: quae sit causa compositionis operis, quae materia, quae intentio, quae libri utilitas, cui parti philosophiac supponatur, quis titulus. Causa igitur compositionis operis talis est, quod cum Iuvenalis iste tempore Domitiani Romae studens ibi videret virtutem subiacere, vitia dominari, et nullum existere correctorem, mentem suam ad scribendum hunc librum applicuit. Materia illa communis omnium satiricorum, scilicet vitium. Intentio similiiter generalis satiricorum propria, scilicet vitium reprehendere et virtutem persuadere. Sunt autem secundariae intentiones per singulas distinctiones quas satiras appellamus, et eas in locis suis exponemus. Intentionem vero suam sequitur finis, qui idem est quod et utilitas, scilicet sordium depositio et morum instructio. Et ideo ea quae in hoc libro de moribus aguntur ad ethicam spectant quod tractat de moribus. Talis est titulus... Satira est carmen reprehensorium. Dicitur satira a satira, quadam lance scilicet... et hinc satiram dici putant, quod hominum diversa vitia quasi imitatur reprehendendo. Hac prima satira utitur pro prologo in qua ostendit quid velit scribere et quare velit, quasi vexatus, et quid sit satira et quare magis satiram quam aliud. Causas assignabat diversas, et in hac satira etiam reprehendit poetas de tribus: scilicet de scriptorum inutilitate, de peste iactantiae, de multitudine eorum. Et callide poetarum reprehensionem praemittit, ideo scilicet ne videatur eis in vitiis suis consentire, et ut alii super suis vitiis minime sperent veniam dari, cum nec suae professionis hominibus parcere velit. Nunc autem ad litteram accedamus.

[Inc.]: *Semper ego.* More omnium satiricorum ex abrupto incipit, non enim ex aliqua delectatione, ut Virgilius, Lucanus, Ovidius, Statius, ceterique poetae, ab delectatione quapiam exorditur, sed ex abrupto exorditur, ut Persius, Horatius, et ceteri satirici, dicens: *Semper ego auditor*, id est inuti-

lium scriptorum, et hic reprehendit eos de scriptorum inutilitate...

[Expl.]: (XVI 60) *Et phaleris.* Per haec ornamenta equorum intellige. *Torquibus.* Ornamenta sunt colli. Per haec ornamenta militis intellige.

Manuscripts:

London, B.M., Royal 15 B XVII and 15 B XVIII, s. X-XI. These MSS. are very similar; both are badly worn, especially the first and last pages, and both have some later glosses as well as the original marginal commentary. No *accessus*, but the text is followed by *Vita I*, and a brief note on *satira*. Both have the Alcuin note on XVI 57. In 15 B XVIII there is a sparse selection of comments except on *Sat. I* and VI.

(Warner II 159; Winstedt, *Ci. Rev.* 16 [1902] 42; U. Knoche, *Gnomon* 10 [1934] 592).

Paris, B.N. lat. 16698 (formerly Sorbonne), s. XIII. 'Commentum Juvenalis,' first part lost, begins II 144. Citations from Corntus are very numerous, usually as supplements to the first comment on a lemma.

(L. Delisle, *Bib. de l'École des Chartes* 31 [1870] 159).

Vatican, Palatinus lat. 1706, s. XIII. Comm. only. *Accessus* as in Gudianus 155. [Inc.]: as in Gudianus, but with the addition, as in some other MSS., after the name *Statius*, of this statement: Virgilius dicit 'Arma virumque'; Lucanus, 'Bella per Ema- thios'; Ovidius, 'In nova fert animus'; Statius, 'Fraternas acies...'.

[Expl.]: (XVI 60) *Torquibus.* Ornamenta sunt colli; per haec ornamenta militis intellige. Per phaleras ornamenta equorum. [This order is found in some other MSS. also].

(*) (Micro.) Wolfenbüttel, Gudianus 155, s. XIII/XIV, fols. 96-129^v, 'Expositio super Juvenalem.' Fol. 86, col. 2, in upper margin, the same hand has added: Et bene a sui ipsius redargutione scribere incipit, ut per hoc ostendat quod nulli parcere debeat, iuxta illud quod iam [sc. qui] sibi non parcit, mihi vel tibi quomodo parcer? [Cf. Comm. 1].

(Heinemann IV 170 sq.; Ebert 99, no. 503).

Paris, B.N., lat. 8073 (Colbertinus), A.D. 1307. Subscription: 'Iste liber qui senato-

rius vocatur fuit scriptus per me Nicolaum olim de Perusio, anno Domini MCCCVII... tempore Domini Clementis Papae... et fuit compilatus quoad lecturam per nobilem et illustrem virum dominum Gentilem de filiis Ursi, tempore eius senatus sixti.' The form of this commentary is unusual; successive blocks of the text are followed by explanatory paraphrase, incorporating much of the usual material, and additional comments, often substantial, are given in the margins in the same hand. The *accessus* has been cut to a few lines, following lines 1-6 of the text, and ending:

In prima ergo satira reprehendit scriptores de tribus... Ex abrupto incipiens, non delectatione motus, sed indignatione vitiorum commotus. Et dicit: *Semper ego, etc.*, quasi dicat scriptores inutiliter scribunt...

XIII 208: *Peccandi sola voluptas.* Bern'. [Bernardus; possibly a citation from Bernard of Chartres?] 'Sola voluntas facit hominem reum. Sola voluntatis forma moveat opus.'

[Expl.]: (XV 174, XV and XVI reversed): *Non omne legumen... et omnia legumina quod fortius et in ventrem ingerere retardabat.*

(Juvenal, ed. Ruperti, I xcvi sq.; Catal. Bibl. Regiae IV 425).

(*) (photost.) Wolfenbüttel, Gudianus 53, s. XIV. Fols. 1-1^v contain the *accessus*, and comments to I 19, from a very full commentary of this type, ending in the middle of f. 1^v. This leaf is apparently contemporary with the glossed text (Comm. 1), written in 1384, with which it is bound.

(Heinemann IV 113-114).

Bologna, Univ. 876 (500), written 1432/33; inherited by Giovanni Garzoni from his father Bernardus (cf. Guarino, Comm. 17). Fol. 87: 'Incepi scribere die iii Martii 1432 et finivi die Sabbati xxii eiusdem mensis, qua die Serenissimus Sigismundus Romanorum rex applicuit Parmam. Postea incepi glosare die xxviii eiusdem mensis et finivi die ultimo Aprilis 1432 in Parma, et dum essem Mutinae correxi textum cum quodam antiquo, incipiens die xv Augusti, et finivi die penultimo Septembris 1433.' Fol. 89^v, 'Ludovicus Lardus scripsit.'

The notes are more selective than in most

examples of this type ; the basis of selection is defined in a note f. 88^v ; after the *accessus*, which follows the glossed text : '...aliquas tam glosas quam postillas ex abundantia in utilitatem positas. Animadvertisse illas magis ad rudium intelligentiam quam peritorum positas esse ratione.'

(R. Sabbadini, 'Epistolario di Guarino Veronese,' *Misc. di Storia Veneta*, Ser. 3, 14 [1919] 438-439 ; L. Frati, 'Indice dei Codici Latini...di Bologna,' *Studi Ital.* 16 [1890] 279).

Pisa, Univ. 690, Roncionianus, written 1452. misc. ; I, fols. 1-193 : 'Lectura super satiras Juvenalis ex commentariis Cornuti copiosissime edita.' Fol. 193 : 'liber quintus et ultimus finit. Qui completus est A.D. Incarnationis MCCCCCLII, die xiii Madias' [sic]. Cornutus is cited by name several times.

(C. Vitelli, 'De cod. Roncioniano Scholorum in Juvenalem,' *Studi Ital.* 10 (1902) 29-39 ; Vitelli thinks this is the Ms. that Mansi described as belonging to Canon Martino of Lucca ; cf. Fabricius - Mansi I 397 ; Mansi however gives the date as 1442 and says the Ms. contains only *Sat. I-VIII*).

London, B.M., Royal 15 A XV (Bongars), written 1453 ; comm. only, with *accessus*, followed by brief notes on Pompey and Hadrian.

(Warner II 146 ; Winstedt, *C. Rev.* 16, [1902] 92).

Rome, Bib. Corsini 43 E 16 (Nic. Rossi 182), written 1462. fol. 58^v : 'Anno domini MCCCCCLXII die tertio mensis Ianuarii in hora xvii completus est Juvenalis iste per me dominum Nicolaum Antonii de Roccha de Cornu de Aquila.' The *accessus* following the glossed text is somewhat condensed, but closely related to others of this type ; the clause : *Et bene incipit in sui redargitione...* is incorporated in the initial gloss.

Vatican, Urbinas lat. 363, A.D. 1462 ; commentary only ; f. 96 : 'Hoc opus expletum fuit per me Baptistam Marcum de Tuderto 1462, die xxx Decembris, partim Cesis et partim Tuderto.'

(Stornaiolo I 334-335).

London, B.M., Addit. 33 795, A.D. 1473, fols. 83-192v. Commentary only. f. 193^v : 'Et in hoc commentum Juvenalis explicit

per me magistrum Johannem Alves in profecto Sancti Johannis Baptistae, anno MCCCC septuagesimo tertio, in felici studio Lovaniensi.' In 1473 Johannes Alves of Westphalia was still working as a scribe at the University of Louvain ; in December 1474 he began his famous press, and in 1475 printed a fine edition of Juvenal and Persius without commentary. Jahn, in his edition of Persius (Leipzig, 1843), p. cxvii, cited a letter of Elias Vinetus to Pierre Daniel (*Ep. 141*) mentioning the identity of notes in a Bern Ms. of Cornutus with those of Daniel's Louvain copy, and expressed his surprise that 'this ancient commentator' had appeared in print. I have found no trace of a Louvain edition of the commentary, though some early bibliographers mention it, perhaps partly due to this passage ; the source of the confusion may lie in the fact that Alves both copied this Ms. of Commentary 2 by hand and printed a text of Juvenal. The commentary is closely related to Gudianus 155 and others of this group.

(*Cat. Addit. MSS. [1888-93]*, 112 ; Winstedt, *C. Rev.* 16 [1902] 44).

(*) Bern, Stadtbib. 223, s. XV. Commentary on Juvenal, II 152 to end. The close resemblance that Jahn found between this commentary and Laurentianus 52, 4 is due chiefly to the many comments it cites on the authority of Cornutus ; actually the work is much closer to Ashburnham 263 and others of this group.

(Information from Dr. O. Homburger ; description with copious selections in Persius, ed. O. Jahn [Leipzig 1843] cxvi-cxxvii ; Hagen 502).

Florence, Laur. Ashburnham 263 (187), c. 1470/80. This commentary has a double *accessus*, each part covering the same topics in different order and wording. *Accessus I* [*Inc.*] : Iunius Juvenalis Aquinas fuit ex Aquino oppido natus... Postremo intendit auctor meliores accusando illorum vitia reddere viros, quod ad ethicam spectat... *Accessus II* is closer to that of Gudianus 155 and others of this group, with minor variations. A detailed commentary, with some individual features ; notes from Commentary 1 are commonly cited as the words of Cor-

nutus; parallel passages are drawn from the Pentateuch and Gospels as well as from classical Latin authors. Guarino's arguments are given for *Sat.* VIII and X.

I 6 : *Scriptus a tergo*. Id est a parte pili, in qua numquam scribere consueti erant antiqui, quippe qui tantum in parte carnis scribebant; ex parte vero pilorum personas et gesta minio depingebant...[This seems to be a description of the mediaeval *Exultet* rolls.]

I 15 : *Sullae*. Marius triumphato Iugurtha et profligatis Teutonicis et Francigenis... [This anachronism is found in other commentaries also; it may well have originated in the 9th century].

III 33 : *Et praebere caput...* Sub corona vendebantur quibus ramuscum arboris cuiusvis capiti imponebatur, sic et hodie fit in equis venalibus...

XVI 60 (XV and XVI reversed) : *Et torquibus*. Sunt enim torques circuli aurei a collo ad pectus descendentes, qui virorum ornamenta sunt sicut et bulli, feminarum vero monilia. Sic dicti torques quod sunt torti, hic torques vel torquis; per torques ornamenta militis intellige. Sane phalerae Graeco cadunt fonte.

[Expl.] : (XV 174) *Non omne legumen...* ab eis tantum abstinuit in quibus habitabant gurguliones, ut fabis et ceteris id genus leguminis [?]. Sane legumen est a legendō dictum, quasi electum. Veteres cum [enim?] meliora quaeque legebant vel [velut?] fabas, lenticulas, pisas. Sive quod manu legebantur, neque enim sectantur legumina.

(Ministero d. Pub. Istruzione, *Indici e Cataloghi* 8 : *Codici Ashburnhamiani*, I 4, 271; A. Gustarelli, 'Un Commento umanistico inedito alle Satire di Giovenale,' *Reale Accad. Peloritana, Rendiconti* [1907] 14-21; *Rivista Abruzzese* 24 [1909] 195-212, gives a full description with many excerpts, but overestimates the compiler's critical acumen through ignorance of other examples of this group).

—, Laurentianus 34, 24, s. XV. Juvenal with *accessus* abbreviated from this type; commentary on II 1-117, with scattering notes on I; Guarino's arguments for *Sat.* I-II; summaries for the satires conform to others of this group.

(Bandini II 153).

London, B.M., Harleian 3301 (113 B 15), s. XV; commentary only, followed by commentary on Persius I 1-34; has *accessus*. Marginal additions in later hand, chiefly on *Sat.* XV.

(*Harleian Cat.* III 15).

Paris, B.N., lat. 8075 (Colbertinus), s. XV; glossed text without *accessus*; scattering comments, generally brief, none on later part of XVI.

(Catal. Bibl. Regiae IV 425).

Poppi 210, s. XV. Commentary with *accessus*, fairly detailed.

(Mazzatinti VI 142).

(*) Prag, Univ. 1624 (VIII H 6), s. XV, fols. 46-126. Glossed text with *accessus*.

(Truhlář I 603; information furnished by Dr. Bohumil Ryba).

Rome, Bib. Vallicelliana E 31, s. XV, fols. 14-89. Glossed text written by Petrus Vita, I.U.D. Fanensis; brief introduction using *Vita* I; notes short, sometimes individually worded; XV and XVI reversed; no notes on later portion.

(*) (Micro.) Torino, Bib. Naz. F V 11, s. XV. Commentary only; this Ms. was badly damaged in the fire of 1904, and is only partly legible. *Accessus* and *explicit* as in Gudianus 155.

(Information from Dr. Luisa Nofri; Pansini II, cod. lat. CDLXXXVII).

Vatican, Ottobon. lat. 1471, s. XV. Glossed text, followed by Persius. Fol. 1, arguments for *Sat.* I-V, based on those of Guarino. *Accessus* differs somewhat in content and arrangement from others of this group.

[Inc.] : *Satyrus per .y. potest scribi et quem quoque faunum appellabat gentilitas est homunculus...* [Isidore, *Et. XI* 3.21, followed by description of satyrs, as in other MSS.]... Plures aliorum coniectationes occurserunt silentio dignae. Titulus talis est... Remainder fairly close to Gudianus 155. Commentary on I 1-11 given consecutively; the rest as marginal glosses, from f. 4.

[Expl.] : (XVI 60) *Torquibus...* Imperatoris est milites in exercitu suo ornatos habere.

Vatican, Reginensis lat. 1380, s. XV. Fol. 83 : 'Hic est finis commentarii Juvenalis Magistri Johannis Pontays.' *Accessus*

as in Gudianus 155, somewhat abbreviated. Variant ending, illegible at end (XVI 60) : *Torquibus*. Ornamenta uxorum sunt quae gerunt in brachiis, quod dicit ut naturam militum reprehenderet. Milites sunt bene ...

—, Reginensis lat. 1828, s. XV; with Statius, *Achilleis*, and Horace, *De arte poetica*, compiled, like the Juvenal materials, by Magister Petrus. Fols. 1-80^v, Juvenal from I 46, with a few glosses; 82-91, 'Commentum Juvenalis,' actually a working outline of the satires, with subscription: 'Et hoc tamen pacto universi libri Juvenalis divisiones confessae sunt, quas gravissimus vir Magister Petrus summus grammaticus et rhetoricae doctor in hoc breve litterarum corpus pro suo arbitratu collegit'; fols. 92-242^v, commentary, with subscription: 'Explicit commentum Junii Juvenalis Aquinatis decerp-tum a Cornuto cum addi[tal]mento [Magistri Petri, in erasure], followed by an *accessus*, partly original: Iste Juvenalis Aquinas fuit et vocatur Iunius, vel quia natus fuit eo mense... qualitas carminum notatur. metrum heroicum quod constat ex divinis humanisque personis, vera cum falsis conti-nens... Ethica est illa scientia quae docet virtutes appetere et vitia devitare. Utilitas est instructio morum. Sciendum est quod poetarum quidam tendunt ad utilitatem tantum, sicut Horatius et iste Juvenalis; alii ad delectationem, sicut Ovidius [cf. Ms. Munich 22 209, s. XIV]... ostendit se nolle parcere alicui.

Venice, Marcianus lat. XIII 122, s. XV. First leaf missing, the rest very similar to Ashburnham 263.

(*) (Photost.) Vienna, Nationalbib. 3114, s. XV. The introduction is an expansion of *Vita I*; the *accessus* is followed by summaries of the satires, grouped by books; at the end are metrical arguments, each beginning with the first word of the satire, which are also found in two MSS. at Prag, Univ. 2718, copied at Leipzig, April 15, 1492, and Bib. Capituli Metropolitani, L 93, written at Zittau in 1499, both of which have scattering marginal glosses.

Introd. : Pro accessu habendo in satiras Decimi Iunii Juvenalis advertendum quod causa efficiens earundem fuit Decimus Iu-nius Juvenalis de Aquino oppido oriundus...

In hac satira seu prologo primo ostendit quid scribere velit et quare, quia vexatus. Secundo quare satiram scribat causas subdit, ibi: *Cur tamen hoc potius*, etc. Quantum ad primum poetas de tribus reprehendit, de scriptorum inutilitate, de peste iactantiae, ibi: *Nota magis*, etc.; de multitudine eorum, ibi: *Frontonis platani*, etc.

[*Inc.*]: *Semper ego*. Interrogatione procedit, non captando benevolentiam, iuxta satiricorum consuetudinem. Ex diurno silentio accusat suam patientiam quod recitantes poetas ad medium fere aetatem audiverit sicut ipse testatur... [The second sentence is found in both the Prag MSS.]

[*Expl.*]: (XVI 60) *Torquibus*. Ornamenta sunt colli per quae ornamenta militis in-tellige, atque *phaleris*, per quae ornamenta equorum intellige.

(*Tabulae* II 199-200; Endlicher, no. ccxxvi; Truhlář, II 360; Podlaha II, no. 1347; information on the Prag MSS. furnished by Dr. Bohumil Ryba).

3. *Guillelmus de Conches*

A fragment of William of Conches' com-munity on Juvenal has been discovered by Dr. Raymond Klibansky in Ms. 448 of the Walters Art Gallery. This fragment, which extends only to the end of *Sat. II*, is the one extant mediaeval commentary on Juvenal definitely attributable to a known author. The compiler of Ms. B.N. 2904 used a fuller version of William's work, and cited the opinions of Bernard of Chartres and of William in his *accessus*; many of his comments on the first two satires are identical in word-ing with those of the Walters Ms., and some present William's ideas in more extensive form, but he also included much material of distinct origin. As the Paris commentary ends at VI 74, we have no evidence for Wil-liam's interpretation of the later satires.

Manuscripts:

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 448 (W 20), s. XII. Text of Juvenal with interlinear glosses, and on fols. 1-3, 4-5, commentary of William of Conches to II 170, omitting I 12-30, and II 1-34.

[*Inc.*]: In ista prima satira agit Juvenalis duo; in principio reprehendit poetas inuti-

liter scribentes, deinde ostendit quare plus hoc genus carminis scribat quam aliud. Sed ut ostendat nemini se parcere, reprehendit se ipsum de nimia taciturnitate, quia qui sibi non parcit, mihi vel tibi quomodo parcet? Dicit ergo: *ego auditor tantum eorum* quae vito scripta cotidie recitantur. *Auditor tantum* est qui numquam respondet. *Et numquam reponam.* Id est numquam vicem reddam in reprehendendo garrulos illos, et nota quod nimis mordaciter dicit *reponam*. Reponere enim proprie parturientium est, ostendit igitur per hoc verbum se concepisse quod contra istos nihil possit parcere. Deinde subiungit iustum causam esse reponendi quia saepe vexatus est illorum garrulitate. Ergo inquit: *Vexatus.* Bene post *reponam* ponit *vexatus*; solent agasones equas in tempore partus vexare ut apertis poris ex calore facilius pariant. Per hoc igitur quod dicit *vexatus* ostendit se paratum esse ad reprehendendum, sed ne putaverit aliquis quod honesta re esset vexatus subiungit quo sit vexatus, scilicet *Theseide rauci*. [Cf. the comment in Paris 2904, below; also Laurentianus 34, 36, s. XIV (Comm. 1 B): *Reponam*. Id est dicam vel parturiam; supple aliquid; and B.M. Addit. 33745, s. XV (Comm. 2): *Reponere proprie est parturientium, unde est illud 'imposuit ei praesepio,' ita ut istud quod diu in mente habuerat volebat reponere].*

I 8-9: *Antrum Vulcani*. Id est Aetna quae dicitur antrum a concavitate Vulcani quia ibi est perpetuus ignis... [This long note, given in still fuller form in Paris 2904, is characteristic of William's interest in natural science; it incorporates Isidore's definition (*Et. VIII* 11) which is often used in comments on this line, but adds details not found in other commentaries. The next note on *Quid agant venti*, closely resembles *De phil. mundi*, III xv (Migne, *PL* 172, col. 82)].

I 11: *Monychus*. Hercules dictus Monychus a singularitate unguis quem magnum habuit in altero pollice... Sed quid significat Polyphemus, quid Ulixes, in nostris glosulis super Boetium inveniret qui hoc scire voluerit.

I 44: *Lugdunensem*. Lugdunum est civitas Galliae, quasi lucidum dunam [*sic*], id est lucidus mons. Dunam enim in Graeco [*sic*] mons est in Latino...

I 47: *Pupilli prostantis...* At hic dicet aliquis: 'Nonne lex damnat spoliatores pupillorum?' Respondeatur: 'Ita, sed nihil nocet hodie illa damnatio...' [The dialogue form is characteristic of William's other works].

I 53: *Mugitum labyrinthi*. Id est mugientem in labyrintho, id est minotaurum. Pasiphae uxor Minois regis taurum fertur adamasse... Cuius rei ita est veritas. Minos habebat cancellarium nomine Taurum quem Pasiphae adamavit... [This rationalization of the myth recalls Servius on Aen. VI 14; cf. also Remigius' commentary on Prudentius, *Apotheosis* I 53 (ed. J. M. Burnam, *Commentaire anonyme sur Prudence* [Paris 1910] 203).]

II 161: *Orchadas ac minima contentos nocte Britannos...* In parte Britanniae quae continet Galliam [i.e., Scotland] et vicinas insulas non habetur nox nisi brevis circa festum beati Iohannis, neque dies circa Natale...

[Expl.]: (II 170) *Artaxata*. Ad illum locum Armeniae per quem omnia loca extranea et peregrina intelligit.

(S. De Ricci, *Census* I 833; R. Klibansky, 'Report on the Progress of the *Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi*', *Warburg Inst. Annual Report* [1946-47] 12; *Proceedings of the British Academy* 34 [1948] 9; a full description of the Walters Ms., by Dr. Klibansky, is to appear in *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*).

Paris, B.N. lat. 2904, s. XII ex., misc., fols. 221-239, comm. only.

Introd.: Unde et qualiter et qua utilitate et causa agat iste auctor et cui, si alicui, philosophiae parti supponatur, et quis titulus primo nobis considerandum est. Agit igitur de Romanorum vitiis, ex quo et ipsa eius materia esse dinoscitur. Quia unde aliquis agit id eius materia est. Agit ergo hoc modo reprehendendo ipsa vitia. Hac utilitate ut auditorem retrahat a vitiis. Causa vero compositionis huius operis talis est. Juvenalis iste natus de Aquinate oppido tempore Neronis Romam venit... et ideo in Egypto exul mortuus est. Sunt qui quaerendum existiment et in hoc et in aliis auctoriibus cui parti philosophiae subponantur. Magister vero Bernardus [Carnotensis] dicebat

hoc non esse in actoribus quaerendum. cum ipsi nec partes philosophiae nec de philosophia tractant. Magister Wilelmus de Conchis dicit auctores omnes quamvis nec partes sint philosophiae, nec de ipsa agant, philosophiae supponi, propter quam tractant, et omnes illi parti philosophiae supponi propter quam tractant. Utraque ergo lectio vera est: auctores supponuntur philosophiae, id est propter ethicam quae pars est philosophiae (*add*: quam) tractant, ut scilicet moraliter comparent instructionem. Et actores non supponuntur philosophiae, id est non sunt partes eius. His executis, de titulo videamus... Quid sit satira et unde sit dicta videamus. Satira igitur est reprehensio metrice composita, et distat inter satiram et invective; satira enim metrice sed invectio prosaice scripta est reprehensio... Satira per quosdam dicitur a satyris, diis nemorum, eo quod in proprietatibus omnibus pares convenient [This passage is very close to the account of *satiri* in Comm. 2.]... Non tamen habet veritas deos aliquos esse huius modi, sed in rei veritate sunt quaedam animalia in silvis habitantia quae, quod saltando incedunt et cum in uno loco videantur, statim inde ubi videntur stulta antiquitas pro deis venerata est... Et hac [read: haec] de causa huius nominis satira secundum diverso [read: diversos] auctores scripta inveniuntur.

[*Inc.*]: In hac prima satira duo facit: primum enim reprehendit poetas inutiliter scribentes, ut licet omnes alios reprehendant, qui non eis qui suae professionis sunt parcit. Deinde ostendit quare potius satiram scribat quam aliud genus carminis. Unde et haec satira quasi quidam est prologus operis. Sed ut liberius consortes suos reprehendant, se ipsum in principio de nimia taciturnitate reprehendit. Et ita se nulli in hoc opere parcere insinuat; quod qui sibi non parcit, mihi vel tibi quomodo parcat? Et ita more satirico ex indignatione clamando incipit.

Semper ego. Nota quod esse auditorem non est vitium, sed esse semper tantum. Nota et illud, quod interrogative possunt legi isti duo versus...

Reponam. Quod reponere proprium est parturientium, *numquam*, id est non parturiam. Quasi dicat: ego iam concepi in ani-

mo, et hoc bene sequitur. *Vexatus.* Quod mos erat agasonum ante partum equas vexare ut ex calore aperirentur pori et facile parerent.

I 11: *Monychus.* Monychus nomen est Herculis a Graecitate humanae ungulae... Vel melius, Monychus dictus est Polyphemus, ab unitate oculi... Et hoc quippe quod de Polyphemo legitur fabulosum est, non fabula, subestque veritas argumento. Polyphemus enim quasi puerilis mens superbia est, quod videtur puero quod multa et sciatur et videat, unum solum oculum habens, scilicet solam temporalium considerationem, et illum habet in fronte, et in ostentatione, quod pueri omnia ad ostentationem et iactantiam faciunt...

I 44: *Lugdunensem.* Lugdunum civitas est prima sedes Galliae et dicitur Lugdunum quasi lucidus mons, sicut Laudunus laudatus mons et Castrundum [Castrodunum, i.e. Châteaudun] castri mons. Dunum enim mons est...

II 161: *Minima contentos nocte Britannos.* Non per totum annum sed circa festum Beati Iohannis, quod fit obliquitate hemisphaerii. Et cum sol ex hac parte eis occidit, sine mora ex alia parte oritur.

III: *Quamvis digressu... multa Romanorum vitia commemorat, de quibus legendi litteram dicemus.* [Note the lecture-phrasing here].

III 31: *Conducere.* Rerum aliae sunt privatae, aliae sunt generales, aliae publicae. Privatae sunt uniuscuiusque; generales quae multis aut omnibus populis sunt communes, multis ut Secana, omnibus ut sol, aer et huiusmodi; publicae quae unius civitatis tantum populo sunt communes, ut erat Capitolium Romanum. Privatas res licet nos locare, generales non, et publicas nequaquam, sicut neque Romanis licebat, et tamen illiciter [?] transgredientes publica locabant et generalia locabant, Capitolium, flumina, portus; et hoc vitium notat Umbricius hoc loco his versibus. [Hauréau cited as evidence of the French origin of the commentary this mention of the Seine, Secana].

III 40: *Iocari.* Quod hic est ludus fortunae, modo extollere, modo deprimere, unde haec apertius verba in Boetio *De consolatione legis*: 'Hunc continuum ludum ludimus, ro-

tam volubili orbe rotatam, infima summis,
summa infimis mutare gaudemus.'

III 193 : *Tibicine*. Id est furcae. Et nota quod Cornutus super hunc locum dicit : Haec tibicinis, huius tibicinis, pro furca non tamen alibi se invenisse.

III 204 : *Ornamentum abaci*. Mensa morea abacus est, ut Cornutus refert, mensa geometricalis in qua super glaucum pulvrem virgas geometricales gladio depinguntur. [These are the only citations of Cornutus in the commentary ; both are comments commonly found in Comm. 1, and as quoted from Cornutus, in Comm. 2].

[Expl.] : (VI 75) *An expectas*. Non huius modi homines amantur, sed sapientes.

(B. Hauréau, *HL XXIX* 572-573 ; Catal. Bibl. Regiae III 350).

Biogr. :

Willemus de Conches (William of Conches, Guillaume de Conches). Was b. at Conches near Evreux, Normandy, c. 1080 ; d. at Paris c. 1154. Nothing is known of his early life. He probably studied at Paris before he went to Chartres, where he gained a reputation second only to that of Bernard in the grammatical and philosophical studies of that center. In 1139/41 he taught and directed a school at Paris ; John of Salisbury, his pupil, testifies to his fame as a scholar and teacher. He tutored Henry Plantagenet. The chronicle of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines mentions him as a great philosopher at the time of King Stephen's death in 1154.

Works : He commented on Boethius, Juvenal, Plato's *Timaeus*, and Priscian. He wrote *De philosophia mundi*, formerly attributed to Bede, Honorius Augustodunensis, and William of Hirschau ; *Dragmaticon philosophiae* ; *Moralis philosophia de honesto et utili*, formerly attributed to Hildebert of Lavardin ; *Secunda* and *Tertia philosophia*.

Bibl. : *HL XII* 455 sqq. ; Manitius *GLL III* 215-20 ; A. Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres au Moyen Age* (Paris 1895) 181 sqq. ; V. Cousin, *Ouvrages inédits d'Abélard* (Paris 1836) 646-57 ; C. Jourdain, 'Des commentaires inédits de Guillaume de Conches et de Nicolas Treveth sur...Boëce,' *Not. et Extr.* 22.2 (1865) 40-82 ; C. Ottaviano, *Un brano inedito della Philosophia di Guglielmo*

de Conches (Naples 1935) ; J. M. Parent, *La Doctrine de la Création dans l'École de Chartres* (Pub. de l'Institut d'Études médiévales d'Ottawa 8 [1938]).

4. *Mss. Bernenses 666 and A 61,* *s. XII/XIII*

(*) (Photost.) *Mss. 666, s. XII/XIII and A 61, s. XIII* of the Stadtbibliothek at Bern, contain the same commentary, but 666, formerly the property of Pierre Daniel, has only the latter part, from *Sat. X* 99. The introduction in A 61 is a reworking of that found in Commentary 2 ; parts are almost identical in wording with the parallel section of Bodleian Auct. F 6.9 (comm. 7). The individual character of this commentary is well illustrated by the initial comment on *Sat. XVI*.

Introd. (Ms. A 61) : Materia istius auctoris vitium est et quidem vitium vitare per totum librum admonere intendit, et haec intentio est generalis. Sunt autem speciales intentiones in singularibus satiris, ut per singulas currendo ostendemus. Satira est quasi satira, id est lanx qui in sacrificiis habebatur... Prima satira quasi prooeinium sequentis operis videtur... Deinde ostendit se velle satiram scribere et quare magis satiram ; incipit quibus de causis omnes communiter reprehendit... vero ipsius sui ordinis vel suae professionis parcere recusat [?]. . . [?] veniam minime sperare valeant. In hac vero prima satira in primis de inutilibus scriptis poetas reprehendit, deinde de iactantia, ubi dicunt se sapientes fore, postea de multitudine eorum, in omnes communiter. Sic ad litteram accedamus.

[Inc.] : Applicui me ad scribendum in quo quidem voluptas vel delectatio non commovit sed intolerantia impulit me. Nam ego auditor inutilium scriptorum istorum et numquam eis reponam, id est rescribendo [?] vicem reddam?...

XVI (A 61 and 666) : *Quis numerare*. Iniquitatem militum in hac satira intendit auctor reprehendere quod iniuria eos afficiunt quos tueri debent. Sed in principio magis eos in fortitudine et divitiis confidere quam in viribus aut propria qualibet qualitate. Constituta enim in primo tempore

civitas a philosophis fuerat ex tribus generibus hominum, ex colonis, ex mercatoribus, ex militibus... Milites autem non habebant proprias uxores quia solliciti essent circa eas et minus iuvarent rem publicam. Quando autem volebant, ibant ad tribunum, quaerebant ab eo ut faceret sibi habere uxorem quam vellent. quo vero fiebat ut communes essent, quia quisque laborabat ad hoc ut subveniret alii, putantes enim esse filios suos maiores, sed minores iuvabant maiores, quod sperabant esse patres suos. Et hoc facit quasi Gallo praemia militiae recitare.

[Expl.] : (XVI 60) Phalerae ornamenta equi sui sunt, torques militis praemia. [In A 61 notes on the Muses, rhetorical figures, etc., follow].

(Hagen, 87 ; 498).

Naples, Bib. Nazionale IV F 44, s. XII/XIII.

This manuscript, which I have examined only hastily, contains a commentary with no introduction, but with the same *incipit* as Bern A 61. It is of interest for the evidence of its history; written by Hugo Vallensis, its flyleaf bears the record of its sale in March 1264, and its ownership by Philippus Bagarottus of Piacenza; it was bequeathed to Antonio Seripando by Parasio.

(Jannelli 203-204, n. 292).

5. *Mss. Cologne, Dombibliothek 199, s. XII, and Munich, CLM 22 309, s. XIV*

A. (*) (Photost.) Ms. Cologne, Dombibliothek 199, s. XII, fols. 39-58. Contains a commentary on Juvenal that was apparently compiled, like those on Lucan, Macrobius and Persius in the same volume, for school use in Lorraine, perhaps at Liège, which is mentioned in the commentary on Lucan. It is well planned to help students follow the text and profit by its moral values, which are often explained in Christian terms. Frequent use of the phrases *Nota quod* and *Sic continua* illustrate the teacher's method. Latinized Franco-German terms are common; fables and historical and literary allusions are carefully explained, subject to the limitations of the compiler's knowledge, and on a level suited to imma-

ture students. The comments show some interest in natural science, but sheer ignorance of geography. The compiler used a copy of Commentary 1 selectively, abbreviating, rewording, or omitting much of the characteristic material, and often substituting his own interpretations. There is a garbled citation of Cornutus on XVI 8.

Introd. : Materiam habet Iuvenalis et modum et intentionem communem omnibus satiricis. Materia satiricorum sunt vitia, non singulariter alicuius determinatae personae, sed potius populi communiter. Videndum quid sit et unde dicatur satiricus, id est reprehensor... Causa vero intentionis in hoc et in aliis talis est, ut visa laude virtutum et vitiorum vituperatione cognita, fugienda fugiamus, virtutes appetamus. Nunc autem quia hortando ad virtutes docet nos virtus fugere, patet quod ethicae supponitur. His igitur visis restat primae satire intentionem discutere. Reprehendit itaque in hac inutiles et vitiosos poetas, quorum suo tempore non [sc. parvus] erat numerus, qui cum nihil valent, praesumptuose tamen quaelibet scribenda suscipiunt. Est quoque haec prima satira quasi prologus. Proponit [?] enim [sc. se] scripturum satirice non esse malevolentia vel detractione sed quasi necessitate compulsum. Ita enim ex omni parte iniquitatem videt abundare quod ipse qui sua et aliorum saluti debet invigilare non potest reticere sed oportet eum clamare. Visus est autem iste ab indignatione quasi nolens ferre tot vitia sic incepisse. Cum, inquit, in hac urbe tot sint vitiosi, qui tamen ab inutilibus poetis non reprehenduntur, qui etiam multi sunt, numquid ego tacebo et numquam scribam? Ubi bene a sui ipsius redargutione coepit, ostendens nemini se velle parcere.

[Inc.] : *Numquamne reponam?* Id est scribam. *Vexatus.* Infinite provocatus ut corrigerem librum quem facit Cordus de Theseo...

I 44. *Lugdunensem.* Lugdunum oppidum Italiae ubi ara sapientiae habebatur...

IV 9 ; VI 50, 489 : [Moniales is his word for priestesses].

VII 16 : *Altera... Gallia.* Dicit quia duae Galliae sunt, nostra, et altera in Galatia.

X 5-6 : *Cupimus.* Vere nihil cupimus ratione quia paenitet nos. *pede,* id est via vel devotione; pes vero ponitur pro devotione,

quia sicut pes est sust[ent]amentum corporis,
ita devotio debet esse firma et stabilis.

XI 111-114 : *Templorum quoque maiestas...*
Gallis venientibus. Vere Romani boni erant
quia in tantum quod ipse Iuppiter excitavit
Romanos contra Sennones Gallos, *maiestas*
deorum *praesens*, id est ipsi dei praesentes
sunt cum illis, et vox Iunonis vel Iovis.
Gallis. Id est Sennonibus...

XVI 8 : *Ne te pulsare.* Ne, id est ut non ;
vel lege si, sibi sit [?] pronomen secundum
Cornutum.

[Expl.] : (XVI 58-60) *Ipsius ducis.* Id est
pertinet ad summum ducem remunerare mi-
lites *phaleris*, id est aureis circulis quos pone-
bant in capitibus. Explicant Glosae.

(B. Hauréau, *HL* XXIX 568 sq. ; Jaffé
and Wattenbach 86-87 ; excerpts, 142-50 ;
U. Knoche, *Gnomon* 10 (1934) 592, cites as
an independent commentary not directly re-
lated either to the old scholia or to the Ca-
rolingian redaction).

B. (*) (Micro.) Munich, Bayerische
Staatsbib., CLM 22309, fols. 251-278.
Contains a commentary written s. XIV,
which, from the middle of *Satire* III, is
derived from a common source with the
Cologne commentary ; some comments are
identical in the two, more are given in ab-
breviated form in the Munich Ms., and in
some cases, e.g., the comments on VI 70
and VI 118, the Munich copy gives the better
reading. The *accessus* is partly illegible ; it
is a free reworking of the traditional material.

Introd. : ... In prooemiis librorum inqui-
rere solebant. Nos autem quorum ingenia ...
ad detrimentum debilitantur tria requirere
solemus... Priusquam autem ad intentio-
nem veniamus, dignum est ut de vita eius
aliquid dicamus. Auctor iste Juvenalis dic-
tus est Aquinas quia de Aquino natus fuit ;
bonus et religiosus, Christianitati subiacens
non fuit. Studuit autem Romae, et hunc
librum ad communem utilitatem composuit,
videbat enim in Romana civitate vitia pre-
valere, et virtutes subiacere. Quia scriptum
est : 'Si caput dolet, membra dolent.' ti-
mens ne si Roma, tenens quattuor climata
mundi, vitiis corrumperetur, ceterae par-
tes ab illa exemplum traherent, ad scriben-
dum hoc opus animum impulit... dicen-
dum est de materia quod alia utilis tantum,

alia delectabilis tantum, aliaque utrumque ;
utilis tantum ut Horatii et istius [Juvenalis],
delectabilis tantum ut Ovidii, utrumque ut
historiographorum. Videndum est quid sit
satira... Cum sit autem sua intentio per
totum librum traducere vitia et plantare
virtutes, redarguendo maxime in hac satira
inutiles poetas reprehendit, qui cum claves
scientiae tenere dicuntur, per suum nomen
notantur. *Sophus* enim Graece sapiens di-
citur Latine. Sed causa evitandi arrogantiam
nolunt dici sapientes, sed sapientiae ama-
tores, et cum Romanos vitiosos deberent
reprehendere non reprehendunt, sed de fa-
bulis scribunt.

[Inc.] : Descensus ad litteram. Isti phi-
losophica deberent scribere utilia, scribunt
inutilia, et pauciar [sic, for patiar] ego is-
tud ? Et bene est quod dicit : *Semper ego...*
auditor tantum, auditor qui semper silet,
quod dicit : Ego ego auditor tantum ? Non.
Et quia posset non esse auditorem [?] cum
et posset consentire, ideo dicit *Numquamne
reponam*.

III 176 : *Aediles.* Vocantur nobiles cus-
todientes Capitolium. [Identical in the two
Mss.]

III 204 : *Abaci.* Poeta fuit qui illam scien-
tiā invenit. [Colon. : fuit ille poeta qui
illam scientiam invenit].

IV 55 : *Rem fisci.* Vocat rem pretiosam.
Fiscus est allodium. [Colon. reads *propriam*,
otherwise identical].

V 82 : *Asparagis.* Id est parvis piscibus.
[Colon. adds : et tamen invenies pro boletis
in subsequenti].

VI 70 : *Quintilianus.* Quidam rhetor bo-
onus. [Colon. omits *rhetor*].

VI 118 : *Nocturnis cucullis.* Id est pillos
quibus utuntur monachi, vel capa. [Colon. :
... quibus utuntur manci].

[Expl.] : (XVI 57-60) as in Colon.
(Catal. CLM II 4, p. 42).

6. Ms. Dresden Dc 153. s. XII

(*) Ms. Dc 153 oft he Landesbibliothek
at Dresden was written in the Matthias
Kloster at Trier by a single hand, with glosses
added in four different hands, showing re-
current use to the 16th century. It is an in-
dividual compilation containing many ex-

cerpts from the older scholia as well as characteristic mediaeval comments, and distinctive notes that embody Frankish terms and customs, suggesting fuller use of the Heiric-Remigius commentary than is commonly found.

Introd.: In hac satira intendit Juvenalis reprehendere tam probos quam improbos poetas; probos autem quia scribebant cum nullum penitus inde fructum remunerationis acciperent, improbos autem quia vitiose scribebant. Sed notandum est quia nemini parcet vitioso cum etiam homines sui ordinis, i.e., poetas reprehendat. A quibusdam prologus haec satira dicitur quia in ea dicit et quid et quare haec scribat. Sed prologus non est, quia in ea similiter reprehendit.

[*Inc.*]: *Auditor*. Vel vitiorum vel nugarum quas scribunt poetae cum tanta sint vitia...

[*Expl.*]: (XVI 60) *Phaleris*. Ornamentis equorum. *Torquibus*. Quod est indicium honoris.

(M. Manitius, 'Lesarten und Scholien zu Juvenal aus dem Dresdensis Dc 153,' *Rh. Mus.* N.F. 66 [1905] 202-28; Schnorr von Carolsfeld, I 324).

7. Bodleian, Auct. F 6.9, s. XII

(*) (Micro.): Ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. F. 6.9, s. XII, fols. 1-33 (fols. 86-118 of the original manuscript). Formerly the property of N. Heinsius, contains *Glosa in Juvenalem*, written at the Abbey of St. Victor, Paris. Both the extensive *accessus* and the comments present many parallels with those of Paris B.N. 2904, as well as with Comm. 2. There are two citations of Cornutus. The compilation reflects the scholarly standards of the school in which it originated, e.g., in the frequent use of Priscian.

Introd.: Ante adiacentis litterae istius operis expositionem quaedam inquisitione digna videntur, quibus expositis [et] post intelligentiam memoriae infixis, totius libri series ad retinendum erit facilior; quae sint illa ergo videamus. Imprimis, quis sit auctor, et unde sit, postea quae sit materia operis, quae auctoris intentio, et quae earundem utilitas. Ad ultimum, quis sit titulus,

cui parti philosophiae supponatur, et quo genere carminis utatur, et quare hoc potius, cum ipse sapiens vel hoc vel aliud potuisse describere. Haec omnia singillatim ex ordine exponenda. Auctor operis est Juvenalis [Vita based on III a]... Cui parti philosophiae supponatur satis patet, cum de moribus loquatur, ethicae videlicet... Videndum est quid sit satira et unde dicitur. Satira est nemini parcens vitiorum nudata reprehensio... Haec prima satira... facit quasi prooemium sequentis operis... Et sciendum est quod nulli parcit cum sui ordinis suaeque professionis omnes reprehendit. Quod ceteri videntes aliquam veniam minime sibi sperare valeant. In hac prima vero reprehendit poetas hoc ordine, primum de inutilibus scriptis, deinde de iactantia, ubi dicunt se sapientes fore, postea de multitudine eorum, in omnes communiter. Quia nec voluntas nec delectatio sed intolerantia et indignatio impulit ad scribendum, ponit quaestionem, in qua membrum alterum subintelligitur, cum in omni sint duo, ita exclamando ex auruto [sc. abrupto] cum indignatione:

[*Inc.*]: *Semper ego*. Quasi diceret, ego semper auditor tantum, *reponam numquam*: an numquam reponam?

I 16: *Consilium Sulla*... Notat se esse rhetoricum. Vel aliter secundum Cornutum: Sulla fuit imperator et dictator...

I 43: *Lugdunensem*... Lugdunum erat civitas in Gallia ubi fiebant consilia Romano-rum... Vel aliter, Lugdunum dicitur quasi lucis dunus, id est lucis mons... Vel aliter, Lugdunum erat quasi secundus locus in dignitate... [Offers the Heiric note as one alternative, with two others commonly found in the commentaries].

III 293: *Cuius conche tumes*. Quidam dicunt hic *concha*, et sic *conche* est ablativus, et secundum eos ablativus primae declinationis erit brevis, poetica licentia. Et hoc placet Cornuto qui Juvenalem exponit. Priscianus vero *conchis*, -*chis* dicit, et est genus leguminis...

[*Expl.*]: (XVI 35) *Emolumenta*. Id est lucra. [Last line of text is XVI 37; last leaf missing].

(R. W. Hunt, 'A Fragment of a Ms. from the Abbey of Saint Victor at Paris,' *Bodleian Library Record* 4, [1952], 124-26).

8. Ms. Bernensis 539, s. XV

(*) (Micro.) Part II, fols. 61-63, of the miscellaneous manuscript 539 in the Stadtbibliothek at Bern contains, together with Persius, a fragment of an extensive humanistic commentary on Juvenal, extending only to I 49. The compiler cites Latin authors freely, especially Justin. The introduction is in the form of a *praelectio* to lectures on the *Satires*, and gives especial attention to the vexed question of Juvenal's date.

Introd. : In exponendo Iuvenale haec videntur potissimum requirenda : vita poetae, titulus operis, qualitas carminis, scribentis intentio, numerus et ordo librorum, et quae in hoc opere continentur. Alia praeter haec adduci solent quae minime videntur ad rem pertinere... Hic vir fuit ingenii acutissimi doctrinaeque praestantissimae, quantum ex eius satiris comprehenditur elegantissimis et quibus tanto ornamento tantaque verborum elegantia et facundia et sententiarum ubertate, tum vero proprietate usus est ut apud maiores summo pretio habitus fuerit, apud nos vero tanto honore habeatur, ut nemo sit qui poetarum nostrorum quempiam sibi proponat in documentorum multitudine ac rerum diversarum copia et earum quidem quae non apud nos omnes qui litteras profitentur cognita sunt. Non hic poeta scelera dicit, sed vitanda praecipit, parcens profecto nemini, nec etiam ipsi imperatori sub quo floruit. Floruit enim sub Domitiano... Reprehendit potissimum eos qui fuere suo tempore male viventes, aut qui male vixerunt eo puer et ante eum, nam vidit ea quae facta sunt sub Nerone, quia natus est sub Claudio qui fuit imperator ante Neronem, nam in pueritia fuit sub Claudio vitrico Neronis, adulescens sub Nerone, vir sub Domitiano. Reprehendit mortuos ut etiam male viventes suo tempore, et non solum quos nominat sed etiam alios similes, ut puta sub persona Marii reprehendit Domitianum... Intentio scribentis est vitia mordere, vitiros increpare, virtutem persuadere et ad eam omnes accendere et a sceleribus detergere... Potest etiam dici quod unaquaque [sc. unaquaeque] satira sit unus liber. Matteriam operis ipse scripsit in prima satira, ibi : 'Quicquid agunt homines,' etc. [I 85].

[Inc.] : *Semper ego... reponam.* Id est scribam. Horatius : 'Si fronte reponis Achilem,' id est scribis...

I 11. *Pelluculae.* Quia Iasonis virtus suspecta erat Pelliae, ab eo missus est Iason in Chalcim. De hoc lege Iustinum in libro duodecimo et multa praeclara videbis.

[Expl.] : (I 49) *Exul ab octava...* Alii dicunt diem incepisse a media nocte usque ad medium noctem sequentem, ut Pompeius Festus de feriis morum Romanorum libro secundo.

(Hagen 449 ; information from Professor O. Homburger).

9. Florence, Ms. Laur. 91 sup. 31.4,
A.D. 1456

This marginal commentary has no introduction ; it includes a fair range of parallel passages, including some from Xenophon. It is one of the earliest dated MSS. to use Guarino Veronese's verse arguments, which are given, without identification, for *Satires* II-V and VII-XVI. It is significant for the citation of Flavio Biondo on *Sat.* III 4. *Subscription* : 'Finis. Juvenalis Aquinatis ultimi satirarum libri feliciter explicit. Anno Domini MCCCCLVI, die xx Decembris hora quinta.'

[Inc.] : (I 2) *Codri.* Poeta malus fuit ; scripsit autem fabulam Thesei et Pirithoi qui amicissimi fuerunt...

III 4. *Substitit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam.* Blondius de Forlivio : Arcus vero veteres quos Romulus lateritos posuerit [posuerat?] et florentes postea opibus Romani numquam passi sunt in marmorea immutari, ne conditoris urbis suae memoria deperiret, aetate nostra collapsos fuisse. Ubi nunc est ecclesia Sanctae Mariae de Gratia et Sanctae Mariae de Inferno. Et eam viam iter cum raeda ad portam Appiam esse expeditissimam videtur.

[Expl.] : (XVI 33) *Paganum.* Pagani qui sunt in eodem pago, id est in eodem vico. (Bandini III 769).

10. Ms. Riccardianus 635, s. XV

Fols. 75-153 of the miscellaneous Ms. Riccardianus 635, s. XV, in Florence, contain

an extensive commentary on *Sat.* VI-XI 58 ; the author made full use of the traditional material, which he recast chiefly in order to point out to his pupils the ethical values of the work ; he was much interested in philosophy and considered *Sat.* X especially notable. He was also interested in natural science and in Roman antiquities, and often used vernacular definitions of Latin words.

[*Inc.*] : (VI) Secundus liber est satirarum quas noster poeta scripsit, et in hac prima satira proponit varia et multiplicita vitia mulierum a se narranda, ut primum alloquitur Ursidium... *Credo pudicitiam.* Est gravissimum atque artificiosissimum principium, nam vult ostendere numquam pudicitiam fere fuisse...

VI 162 : *Venusta* [for *formosa*]. Dicitur illa *ha una buona aria*, et dicitur in muliere venustas, dignitas vero est in viro, decens vero est in gestibus et moribus.

VI 292 : *Nunc patimur mala longae pacis.* Gravissima est sententia et a multis decantata.

VII 153 : *Occidit miseros magistros.* Nihil enim ferimus maiori taedio quam cum discipuli nesciunt cognoscere orationes.

X 7 : *Everttere domos totas optantibus istis.* Demonstravimus iam tum ex principio totius satirae quod omnia quae hoc congerentur ex summa philosophia essent deprompta. Ostendimus quod haec omnia penitus aurea esse...

[*Expl.*] : (XI 58) *Ganeo.* Apud Graecos dicitur meretrix. Latine autem illum significat qui meretrices sectatur et qui impedit operam gulæ.

(*Lamius* 253).

11. *Nice, Bib. Municipale, Ms. 85, s. XV*

In this manuscript Juvenal's Satires from I 36 (first leaf missing), with a marginal commentary by an anonymous humanist, are followed by Persius with interlinear glosses only. Guarino's arguments are given without identification. The comments are generally brief, but very numerous ; they incorporate much of the traditional material, usually reworded, and expanded by citations from Tacitus, Catullus, Propertius, the *Priapeia* and Festus, as well as many from au-

thors more commonly quoted. The compiler had some knowledge of Greek. The note on VIII 81 : *Phalaris* ends 'de quo late diximus in commentariis orthographiae,' which led Sabbadini to ascribe the work to Tortelli. The authors cited preclude a date earlier than c. 1480, however, and as I have shown elsewhere there is reason to conclude that Tortelli's article *Prologus* in *De orthographia* is the source of the tradition that he composed a commentary on Juvenal. His brief remarks on *Phalaris* in the *Orthography* are inadequate to justify the adverb *late*.

[*Inc.*] : (I 39) *Vesica beatae.* Ut per medium aulicae libertae Neronis divenit Otho ad amicitiam principis, deinde processit ad imperium.

[*Expl.*] : (XVI 45) *Lucernas* [for *lacernas*]. Id est deponente lucernas ob nimiam horam noctis, quod etiam hodiernis temporibus Romani observant.

(*Cat. Gen. Fr. Dept. Octavo* XIV 462-63 ; C. Beldame, 'Scolies inédites de Juvenal,' *Rev. de Phil.*, N.S. 6 [1882] 76-103, erroneously dates the Ms. s. XII ; G. Mancini, 'Giovanni Tortelli,' *Archivio Storico Italiano* 78.2 [1920] 234 ; R. Sabbadini, 'Uno Scoliate di Giovenale,' *Riv. Etnea* 1 [1893] 97-99 ; E. M. Sanford, 'Giovanni Tortelli's Commentary on Juvenal,' *TAPA* 82 [1951] 207-18).

12. *Ms. Bodleian, Addit. A 165, s. XV*

(*) (Micro.) Oxford, Bodleian, Addit. A 165, misc., fols. 113-126v. Has a fragment of an extensive commentary, based on Comm. 2, following the text of the Satires, and extending only to *Sat.* II 3. The compiler cites Diodorus Siculus and Strabo as well as Latin writers. Occasional notes are directly addressed to students, and there are individual touches intended to arouse the interest of the auditors. The *incipits* of the introduction and commentary seem to echo Ognibene's work, but the resemblance is not sufficient to justify the conclusion that the compiler was one of his students.

Introd. : In expositione poetarum quae-dam sunt necessario animadvertenda : titulus operis, scribentis intentio, qualitas carminis, numerus et ordo librorum, vita auc-

toris et explanatio... Vita auctoris satis est obscura, quippe quod paucissima de eo scripta sunt... Explanatio in ipsa lectione patebit. Non est praetermittenda utilitas operis, quae quidem non mediocris est, nam in hoc opere copia est sententiarum gravium et fabularum et historiarum, immo totius humanae vitae actio. Imitatus est poeta nosster Horatium Venusinum et Lucilium... de quibus [satyris] habetur mentio apud Hieronymum in vita Pauli primi heremitae.

[Inc.] : *Semper ego.* Ex abrupto incipit more indignantis hominis, et primo ut alios facillime reprehendat, se ipsum arguit, demonstrans se reprehendendum esse, si nihil componat, praesertim cum fabulas et historias et rhetoricae audiverit et declamaverit, dicit enim se totiens haec omnia audivisse ut loca ipsa recitationis scire videantur... *Numquamne reponam.* Reponere proprio positum est vocabulum, nam mos fuit apud Romanos opera probata in Apollinis templo reponere... Ceteri *reponam*, id est scribam, exponunt, reddentes obscurum vocabulum quod clarum est.

I 45 : *Quid referam quanta siccum iecur ardeat ira* [a long note, citing Pliny the Younger, *Ep. II 11*]... Si haec omnia consideraveris diligenter, de hoc Mario Prisco necessario confiteberis poetam intelligere.

I 128 : *Iurisque peritus Apollo.* Id est peritum templum Apollinis quod erat in Palatino, ubi erat bibliotheca publica quae-dam, tamen non infacete dicunt Apollinem iurisperitum quia iuxta eius templum essent cauponae, in quibus ius optimum, id est brodium, venderetur. Haec probanda non est, maxime cum Apollo legum inventor fuerit, et certe peritissimus.

[Expl.] : (II 3) *Curios...* optimi fuerunt Romani quos cum hypocritae aemularent existimabant se credi tales quales illi fuerant.

13. Pisa, Ms. Univ. 690, s. XV

Ms. Pisa, Univ. 690 (Roncionianus 11), fols. 199-222v. A brief and pedestrian commentary, which rewords the traditional material with unimportant additions and variations, a not uncommon type. Sat. XV is omitted.

[Inc.] : *Semper ego.* Iratus poeta contra vi-

tia ab interrogatione incipit, nam per interrogationem saepe maiori quadam vi in alios invehi solemus; ut melius interrogatione invehitur... *Semper.* Quasi se inter indoctos, ut facilius alios reprehendere possit, computat, nam maiori quadam licentia alios reprehendimus cum et nos ipsos reprehendere videamur...

[Expl.] : (XVI 26) *Pylades.* Tam amicus ut fuit qui pro amico mori cupiebat.

(C. Vitelli, 'De codice Roncioniano scholiorum in Juvenalem,' *Stud. Ital.* 10 [1902] 30).

14. Rome. Bib. Corsini, Ms. 43 F 13 (Nic. Rossi 400), s. XV

A running commentary, containing little that could not be deduced from the text, and extending only to Sat. VI 661. The author may have been a student of Gaspare Veronese, whom he cites on I 49 and 156 [Gaspare's commentary on Sat. I is not preserved]. He uses a fair range of Latin and Greek authors, and the introduction, in the form of a *praelectio*, shows a considerable interest in literary history. Parts of the introduction are illegible.

Introd. : Etsi me non fugiat [?], optimi adulescentes, eos qui ... auctores legere aggreduntur... Consilium suum est ut suos cives ad meliorem vivendi viam redigeret. Est enim finis satirae reprehendere, sed reprehendendo ita ut meliores efficerentur... Incipit textus. *Semper.* Et vitam et libri titulum, genus carminis et originem exposuimus. Nunc consilium est ostendendum. Ostendit se non invidia motus [sc. motum] hanc satiram suscepisse et genus deliberativum assumpsit... Utitur prooemio abrupto, in quo captat attentionem et docilitatem. Principium est abruptum, ut Horatius : 'Humano capit...'.

[Inc.] : *Semper ego auditor.* Utitur significis [?] verbis maximum pondus habentibus, et significantia est : *Semper ego...* semper quoniam scribunt inutilia...

I 44 : *Lugdunensem...* Vel dices Lugdunensem aram locum fuisse Romae ubi recitabant rhetores sive oratores qui in principio dicensi solent pallescere. De hac re non legi apud viros approbatos.

I 49 : *Exul.* Id est extra solum patriae, ut ait Gaspar Veronensis praestantissimus grammaticus.

I 156 : *Stantes...pedibus* ut dicit Gaspar praestantissimus grammaticus Veronensis.

IV. *Introd.* : Quanto artificio et ingenio poeta noster utitur in superioribus...

[Expl.] : (VI 661) *Victi ter...* Itaque et eo tempore fuerat victus et a Sulla et a Lucullo et a Pompeio.

15. Ms. Vatican, Reginensis lat. 1718, s. XV

Formerly the property of N. Heinsius. A formal *praelectio* by a Paduan master, followed by a glossed text, with rather few notes, and none on Satire XVI. The author cites the Bible, Boethius, Augustine, and Petrus Riga in addition to the usual classical authors, of whom Valerius Maximus, Seneca and Lucan are most used.

Introd. : Si praedecessores nostri cognita siluissent, Latinitas perpetuo damnata stetisset. Quicquid novimus, ab aliis audivimus, vel invenimus... Hinc est, domini et fratres utique venerandi, quod satirici Juvenalis succosam sententiam mihi longo et vigili studio aliquantis per cognitam instanti querundam amicorum caritati [read : caritate?] et legere et iuxta innumeros declarare disposui...

[Expl.] : (incomplete, the final leaf has been cut out) : Nunc ad tertiam et ultimam partem descendo, ubi scilicet denota mentis perpetuae timoris et dilectionis caritatem gloriosam quae ut quoddam corollarium ex praedictis duabus conclusionibus infertur. Et super hoc, domini, breviter aliquid...

[Inc.] : Intentio huius satirae est reprehendere imperatorem Domitianum et totam eius curiam, in qua erant tam viles et inepti aulici et officiales et nullus bonus...

Numquam reponam. Id est numquam ero nisi auditor tantum, quod non reponam quos audiam.

[No final gloss; comments taper off on last satires].

E. M. Sanford, 'Inaugural Lectures on the Classics,' *Cl. Journ.* 48, [1953] 266-267).

II. HUMANISTIC COMMENTARIES OF KNOWN AUTHORSHIP

16. Gaspar Veronensis

Comm. on Satire VI dated 1449 : cf. VI 24 : *Saeculum...* potest dici saeculum maius L annorum, in cuius fine fit celebratio iubilei... Sunt et fuerunt ipso anno mirabiles indulgentiae a pontificibus, et... in fine huius saeculi, id est quinquaginta annorum, qui finis erit ad annum, hoc est millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo, apparebit prudentia et scientia et sapientia Nicolai Quinti... The commentary on VII-VIII 16 and X-XIV 137 was composed between 1449 and the death of Nicholas V in 1455, probably before Gaspar's break with Tortelli in 1452. I have found no trace of commentaries on the remaining satires, except for two references by other commentators, which may have been derived from Gaspar's lectures : Ms. Corsini 43 F 13, anon., s. XV, cites 'Gaspar praestantissimus grammaticus Veronensis' on I 156, and Laurentianus Aedil. 198, s. XV, formerly the property of G. A. Vespucci, who added some marginal comments, identifies a note on IX 131 by the name 'Gaspare.'

Dedic. (Sat. VI : Ms. Vat. lat. 2710) : Beatissimo et sanctissimo patri et summo excellentissimoque Nicolao Quinto Gaspar Veronensis. Cum rediissem istoc autumno ex Neapolitano regno [sc. et] vidi sem quaedam tam eo pergens quam rediens quae maximopere videre cupiebam : Tusculum, Anagnam... et infinita paene oppida quae consulto praetereo. Cum rediissem, inquam, et Romam male affectam offendissem et tabe ac peste laborantem, decrevi ne omnino essem otiosus aliquid scribere. Legeram enim nonnullis Italies atque Britannis librum Juvenalis secundum in quo muliebria vitia asperrima [read : asperime?] reprehenduntur, cuius quidem libri interpretationem facere prorsus institui et tuo nomini dicare, pater sanctissime, quod quidem gratum religiosis et caelibem vitam diligentibus... Si mihi iniunxeris ut reliquum operis persequar, vel Ciceronem de officiis interpreter, aut Suetonii de Caesribus duodecim, tuo faciam iussu, et qui-

dem lubens, quod neutquam facerem si reliquorum hominum cogeret me totis viribus multitudo. Evidem quantum vigiliae et laboris sit in his commentariis conficiendis, ipse novi per pulchre, quo circa gratior erit sanctitati tuae libellus meus, non quidem quod egeat sanctitas tua, sed quo usui sit futurus alius potissimum qui Iuvenali quippiam delectantur... Ceterum ne te lateat, clementissime pater, me ita perscrississe praece velut meo in ludo litterario lectitavi, nil fere adiciens, nilque detrahens, et plano quidem sermone sum usus paene quotidiano et humili, pro iuvenum adolescentiumque clariori enodatiorique doctrina... memor esto mearum musarum, aspirant etenim tibi numina Olympi.

Introd.: Quae in libri primi initio quaerenda essent pleraque in huius secundi principio aperire decrevi, et ea quidem pernecessaria scitu. Nam supervacanea missa faciam. Solent enim nonnulli hoc loco edissere [read: edisserere?] quod a primordio voluminis inchoantes explicare deberent, ut puta Iuvenalem nostrum fuisse Aquinatem et beatissimi praedicatoris Thomae, viri sanctissimi, theologi acutissimi, compatriotam. Praeterea poetam ipsum imperatori sibi contemporaneo invisum militiaeque praefectum sicque urbe privatum sub honoris specie fuisse vitiis et vitiosis dum viveret acerrimum hostem, aliaque huiuscmodi quae impraesentiarum omittenda esse censeo. Atque alia multa multo nobiliora et ea quidem quae scire peropus est narrare scribereque proposui. Satira quamobrem sit dicta multi quaesivere... Quocirca satirum quemvis bonum vi rum esse oportet, quod quidem et in praedicatoribus nostris cotidie cernitur, qui et ipsi satiri merito possunt appellari, etiamsi nil litteris mandent... Iam fere actus est secundus eius [Nicolai V] pontificatus annus... denique non miror complures satiris praedicatoribusque detrahere, nam pauci admodum rectum iustumque neverunt; immo stultorum omnia plena sunt, ut inquit Cicerio, atque uti [nam?] non iniquorum sint omnia plenissima.

Concluding letter to Nicholas V: Ne essem otiosus, hos commentarios confeci quos dedicavi verissimo pontifici maximo Nicolao

Quinto, quem scio amatorem litterarum adeo ut maiorem minime neverim. Nec iussu aut hortatu cuiusquam principis interpretabor reliquos libros nisi ipsius eiusdem. Neque enim facile est hoc opus interpretari, propter infinitas fabulas, historias, facultates, et rerum plurimarum varietates. Quis est enim nisi forte Guarinus compatriota meus qui intelligat Iuvenalem, aut Carolus Arretinus vel paucissimi alii?... At quales amici sunt, certe viri optimi et scientia ornatissimi, ut Iohannes Campisius a secretis domini Tarrentini, cuius mores quanto magis magisque cerno, eo magis atque magis me delectant. Tanta scientia hominis. Quid dicam de Gaspare Volaterrano a secretis domini Graeci Bessarionis? Vix umquam saturarem hominem dilucidare. Quid de Bernardo Badia? Incredibile est quanta comitate, prudentia, scientia civili valeat. Non quaesivit a me Iohannes Arretinus [Tortellius], quapropter qui nequaquam egeat uti, nec illi quos modo dixi. Nec me composuisse nescierit, qui quidem opus orthographiae magnum et utilissimum nuper composuit. Nec arbitror meliorem esse rem factam quingentis annis hactenus, dico de operibus litterarum. Non quaesivit a me Iohannes Lamola rationibus eisdem, nec Trapezuntius itidem nec Petrus Lunensis, quos omnes mihi amicissimos homines habeo... Postremo nemo miretur sermonem adeo planum et maiorum non tantum incongruum aut barbarum, si [sed?] fortasse humilem et paene rusticum. Nam si locutus essem ut potuissem ornate, gravioriter, copiose et aliqua cum maiestate, intellexissent me perpauci. Nolo alias commentarios in meum, et qui me noluerit reiciat. Nam nihilominus sum cenaturus, summo Deo volente, et Domino nostro Nicolao Quinto.

[*Inc.*]: (*Sat. VI*) Omne huius primum propositum satirae est ut Postumum amicum absterreat amoveatque pro viribus ab re uxoria, quem trinominum facit Iuvenalis, Postumum Ursidum Lentulum. Omnes tamen hanc perlegentes satiram non difficile possunt a connubii proposito removeri etsi antea uxorem ducere proposuissent...

[*Expl.*]:...Alii a famulo intemputum ex iussu cuiusdam. Laus Deo.

Introd. to Satires X-XII: Satis est a me

explicatum in interpretamentis libri secundi quid sit satira, unde quo [undeque?] dicta, nec non quid inter comediam intersit et satiram. Succincteque dixi cuias Iuvenalis fuerit, et nonnulla alia quae in initiis librorum consueverunt inquiri. Nec est omnino niti atque minute pergere in hac expositione huius quarti libri, tres satiras continentis. Raro puerilia dicam, quod tamen in interpretamentis libri secundi non servavi. Illud erit satis si modo textus verba sensusque declaravero, cum historiis fabulisque necessariis. Ea enim taceri non possunt quae necessaria sunt cognitioneque dignissima. Nec sit qui aspernetur Iuvenalem, nam in his tribus satiris se verum philosophum fuisse demonstrat et quidem ethicum...[Expl.]: Perpessus sum in expositione huius tertiae satirae libri quinti, perpessus, inquam, sum non parvum dolorem laborum seu ilium ex minimo otio et vigiliis nocturnis et gelu. Maiora et incommoda paterer, modo possem obsequi sanctissimo domino nostro Domino Nicolao Quinto, cuius iussu aggressus sum hanc operam simul et opus; et Gasparem spero remunerationem laborum suorum gerere; haud parvi fuere. Oportet enim multa legisse, audisse, vidisse, eum qui sit Iuvenalem interpretaturus... Telos.

The commentary on VII, VIII 1-16, XIII and XIV 1-137 is less fully developed, with nothing notable in *incipits* and *explicits*.

Manuscripts:

Rome, Bib. Casanatense, 397, A.D. 1449. Autograph presentation copy, Sat. VI only. As in Vat. lat. 2710, several lines of the text are copied together, a general explanation given, and then specific comments with lemmata.

Vatican, Vat. lat. 2710, s. XV. Autograph apparently written for Gaspar's own use. Notes on XIV 1-137 have no indication of authorship and are in different format from the rest, but in the same hand, and the contents are consistent with Gaspar's commentaries on the other satires. Contains also, fols. 10-62, Filetico's comm. on Persius, with marginal additions by Gaspar; fols. 148-198^v, Ognibene Leoniceno's comm. on Juvenal I-XI 62, with marginal additions by Gaspar. Order of Gaspar's comm.: fols. 1-3^v, XIV 1-137 [fol. 4-9

missing]; 62-146, XIII, VI, VII, X-XII, VIII 1-16 [fols. 146^v-147^v blank].

(G. Zippel, *Vite di Paolo II*, Rer. Ital. Scr. III xvi [1904] xxxiii-xxxiv).

Biogr.:

Gaspar Veronensis (Gaspare Veronese). Was b. Verona c. 1400; d. Rome 1474. Probably studied at Verona under Guarino; studied at Bologna before 1426 and later at Florence, where he became acquainted with leading humanists. Tutored Stephen Porcari's brother Mariano at Florence and Rome; in 1431 toured France and England with Porcari, perhaps on a papal mission, and later accompanied him to Apulia. He became a Camaldolese monk in 1432, residing in the houses of the order in Bologna, Florence and Siena. By 1445, having left the order, he conducted a private school in Rome, with many English and Italian students. In 1449 he dedicated his commentary on Juvenal's sixth satire to Nicholas V, in the hope of a public appointment, which he secured. His friendship with Nicholas V and Tortelli was broken in 1452 by the attempted conspiracy of his friend Porcari. Under Calixtus III he was papal secretary; under Pius II he held the chair of rhetoric in the Studio Romano. In 1473 he retired to Viterbo and was succeeded by Filetico, but shortly before his death in 1474 he again taught Greek in the Studio. His position at the Studio involved him in rivalry with Lorenzo Valla, but he was less of a controversialist than many scholars of his time. Among his pupils were Marcantonio Sabellico, Aldo Manuzio, Giambattista Cantalicio, Martino Filetico, and Rodrigo Borgia.

Works: He commented on Juvenal; composed *Regulae grammaticales*, in which he used vernacular terms freely to explain the Latin; wrote *Chronicon de gestis Pauli II Pontificis* and many letters.

Bibl.: Fabricius-Mansi III 22; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 1629;

G. B. Giulieri, *Della letteratura Veronese* (Bologna 1876) 52 sqq., 106; Maffei, *Verona illustrata* II 233 sq.; Mancini, *Archivio storico italiano* 78 (1920) 219; Marini, *De gli Archiatri pontif.* (Rome 1784) 178; 359; F. Renazzi, *Storia dell' Univ. di Roma* (Rome 1803) I 234 sq.; R. Sabbadini,

Scuola e studi di Guarino, (Catania 1896) 44 sq.; G. Zippel, *Le Vite di Paolo II*, Rer. Ital. Scr. III xvi (1904) xxi-xl; idem, *Un umanista in villa* (Pistoia 1900).

17. *Guarinus Veronensis*

Since the commentary based on Guarino Veronese's lectures has not hitherto been identified, the evidence must be given in some detail. His interest in Juvenal is attested by the emphasis on the 'prince of satirists' in his son Battista's account of his curriculum (*De modo et ordine docendi et studendi*) ; by references in his letters and in the funeral oration of Ludovico Carbone ; by Gaspar Veronese's inclusion of his name as an authority on the satires ; and by Sabino's criticism of 'Praxiteles' for relying on 'nescio quo Cornuto' while he professed to be a student of Guarino. In 1444, shortly after the composition of his commentary on Persius, Guarino appealed to Costanza da Varano for a copy of *Cornutus* on Juvenal, which he had long sought in vain (Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino*, III 387, ep. 789). Giovanni Garzoni of Bologna inserted in his glossed text of Juvenal, Bologna, Univ. 876 (a copy of Commentary 2) the statement : 'Audivi hunc librum ego a disertissimo omnium Veronensem Guarino praeceptore meo, solle [sic] vertente sub anno domini 1449.' It will be noted that Guarino's lectures were based on commentary 2, rather than on 1, the 'Cornutus' type, which leaves the question open whether he had obtained a copy of the latter.

That the substance of Guarino's lectures circulated in manuscript is shown by the letter of Cornelio Vitelli to Guarino's former student Ermolao Barbaro, *In defensionem Plinii et Domitii Calderini contra Georgium Merulam* (ed. Gruter, *Thes. Criticus* I 584), charging that Merula's commentary on Juvenal was a mere compilation from those of Guarino, Ognibene, Sabino and Calderini. The significance of this statement has been obscured by Zeno, Nicéron and others, who substituted Battista Guarini's name for his father's in their citations of the passage. Sabbadini, after a long and fruitless search for Guarino's commentary, came to the

conclusion that the tradition sprang from the popularity of his verse-arguments to the satires, which appear in many manuscripts from 1456 to the end of the century, when they were superseded by those of Mancinelli. I have, however, found four copies, the earliest of which, Venice, Marcianus XII 19, was written in 1456, of a commentary that seems clearly to be based directly on Guarino's lectures. A fifth manuscript, Paris, B.N. lat. 16696, with a subscription ascribing it to Guarino, is a freer version, whose compiler occasionally opposes Guarino's interpretation. In addition, the first commentary in Ms. Poppi 210 (Comm. 1 B), incorporates in the summary of *Sat. XVI* a reference to Guarino corresponding to that given in these examples : . . . verumtamen nonnulli dicunt eum ironice loqui, quod et a Guarino viro clarissimo laudatur, praesertim quia mos satiricorum est vitia reprehendere, non autem malefica ut hic militum laudare. The Poppi commentary also gives Guarino's arguments for *Sat. II*, *VIII*, and *XII-XVI*. The identification is supported by the similarity of the initial statement of the *accessus* to that of his commentary on Persius, which is also derived from students' transcription rather than a formal edition prepared for publication ; compare the commentaries based on the lectures of Filetico, Politian, and Landino. The selections given here are taken from the Venice Ms., Marcianus lat. cl. XII 19, dated 1456 ; the others vary only slightly from this, except for B.N. 16696, a more independent revision, probably made by a scholar working from one of the Guarino manuscripts.

Introd. : In principiis librorum exponendis memini auctoris vitam solere proponi, deinde libri titulum, intentionem atque materiam, quod nunc attingemus. Postremo satirarum nomen adiungemus. Fuit autem hic vir Aquinas ex civitate Abrutiorum apud Paelignas gentes celeberrima, ex quo satis constat eum conterraneum fuisse beati Thomae doctoris Christiani, et Ovidii Nasonis ortu vicinum. Doctissimus quidem fuit in primis et eruditissimus. Aliquando operam rei militari dedisse traditur. Sub imperio Domitiani, iniquissimi quidem hominis, eum vixisse nullus dubitat... Unde materia est

satirarum vitiorum detestatio et commendatio virtutis. Satiras vero quibus Latini soli gloriantur multis modis sic nominatas putaverunt... Plerique satiram dicunt quasi saturam a saturitate ob varias res simul commixtas.

[Inc.]: In hac igitur satira prima, quae est loco prooemii, duo tantum annotanda sunt, scilicet quae sit totius operis materia et causa ipsa qua ad scribendum satiras impulsus est. Primo enim dicit cum totam Romanam civitatem scriptoribus novis plenam videret tam peritis quam imperitis, neque ullum tempus in recitandis voluminibus remitteretur, ad tantam necessitatem scribendi ita se coactum existimabat, ut vere illud proverbium Graecum de eo dici posset, videlicet : 'Aut bibe aut abi.' Itaque hoc declarat in hac prima satira causam scribendi, et materiam de qua velit scribere. Unde ille versus clari viri Guarini Veronensis loco rubricae sic dicit : 'Materiam et causas satirarum hac inspice prima.' Nam is celeberrimus vir singulis harum Juvenalis satirarum versum unum aut duos praeposuit, in quo summatim totius satirae sensus continetur. [In Ambrosianus A 121 inf., this statement follows the argument : Satira prima incipit ex eiusdem expositione].

Semper ego auditor. Bene morem satircum servat. Satirus [?] quippe mos semper fuit ex abrupto et ex quadam animi indignatione et exclamacione initium suspicere. Arguit enim ignaviam suam qua effectum est ut usque ad eum diem siluisse, cum omnes Romanae urbis anguli tum scriptoribus tum recitatoribus essent plenissimi, ideo sic indignabunde dicit...

I 40 : *Unciolam...deuncem...Praeclarissimus cuiusvis rei causa vir Guarinus Veronensis, omnium rerum peritissimus, utiles edidit versus quos alibi scriptos reperies.*

I 120 : *Panis fumusque domi.* Hoc est res pertinentes ad coquinam, sicut carnes, legumina, vel ut Guarino Veronensi placet pecuniae ad emenda ligna, quae interdum propter necessitatem ita viridia et humida sunt ut plus fumi quam ignis emittant. [Sabbadini, *Scuola di Guarino*, 96, mentions this reference as found in Ambrosianus A 121 inf., but discards the theory that the commentary as a whole stems from Guarino].

III 170 : *Veneto duroque cucullo...Cucullo*, id est caputio. *Veneto*, colore[m?] venetum habens. *Duro*, pannus durus tunc erat in pretio. Venetiam appellamus hanc partem in qua multae urbes sunt, Ferraria, Verona, Vicentia. Venetus color non est in pretio, quem dicimus *morello scuro*, aut ferrugineum. [Note the list of cities closely connected with Guarino's career].

VII 1 : *In Caesare tantum.* In solo Caesare et non in alio. Commentatores volunt Neronem intelligi sed profecto ut Guarino placet commodius Titum significat...

[Expl.] : (XVI 60) *Phaleris.* Ornamenta sunt equorum, praesertim capitum. Amen.

Manuscripts :

Milan, Ambrosianus A 121 inf., A.D. 1471 (with excerpts from Tortelli, *De orthographia*, and Leonardo Aretino's translation of Plutarch's Life of Brutus). Fols. 4-4^v, *accessus* and *vita* of Juvenal as in Estensis F. 8.18 (cf. Battista Guarini); fols. 5-125^v, commentary of Guarino on Juvenal. Subscr. : 'Expletum hoc opus per me B.P. Bononiae sub anno MCCCCLXXI, X kl. Octubris.' On IV 154 is a reference to 'Cornutus.' Satires XV and XVI reversed.

[Expl.] : (XV 174) *Non omne legumen.* Sicut fabas propter animaliola quae in eis sunt.

(Amelli, *Riv. d. Biblioteche* 20 [1904] 147).

Pesaro, Bib. Oliveriana, 50; s. XV. Formerly property of Ascanio Mignino; contains comm. on VII-XII 40, and XIV 10-XVI 60 only.

(Mazzatinti 29, 22).

Vatican, Ottobon. lat. 1146, s. XV (with comm. on Persius). On III 14, *Cophinus*, and IV 154, *Lamia*, refers to 'Cornutus.' In some other cases gives notes not found in Marcianus.

Venice, Marcianus lat. XII 19, A.D. 1456. Subscr. 'Finis 1456 die mensis Septembris xxiii hora fere media.' Formerly belonged to S. Giovanni di Verdara, Padua.

Variant : Paris, B.N., lat. 16696 (formerly Sorbonne 1767), s. XV, misc. Preceded by glossed text of Juvenal presented 1639 by Bouchard to Cardinal Richelieu, 'extra satiram posito': commentary, fols. 92-151^v, 168-170, with lacunas from X 333-XI 7 and XII 77-XIV 132. fols. 152^v-167^v, Persius

with extensive commentary on I and a few notes thereafter. Subscr. f. 170 : 'Finit Conventum [sic] Guarini supra Iuvenalem Telos. Laus Deo.'

Introd. : In exponentis satirorum libris potissimum consideranda videntur...[the order of topics differs from that in the other mss, and the material is somewhat abbreviated. Guarino's arguments are given without identification. Considerable variations in the comments, but general dependence on the Guarino commentary].

VII 1. *In Caesare*. Commentatores volunt Neronem intelligi. Sed profecto ut Guarino Veronensi placet commodius Titum significat... Sive potius ut mihi placet, et non Guarino, ironice loquitur et dicit de Nerone, et ad hoc melius sequitur totus textus inferius...

[Expl.] : (XVI 60) *Et torquibus*. Et insignibus habitis ex aliqua re ab eis bene gesta, ut sunt torques et coronae civiles vel murales et cetera huius modi quae ad gloriam faciunt, ad quam nos producit qui vivit in saecula, non tantum ad talem sed ad aeternam. Telos.

(Achainre in his edition of Juvenal, II 77, sought to identify the Guarinus of the subscription with Abbot Garinus or Guerneius of St. Victor, d. 1594 ; he published selected glosses 90-95 ; L. Delisle, *Bib. de l'École des Chartes* 30 [1870] 159, describes the ms. simply as 'Iuvenalis cum commentariis, s. XV.')

Lexicon to Juvenal, based on Guarino's lectures :

Venice, Marcianus lat. XIII 109, s. XV. Subscr., f. 28 : 'Vocabula Iuvenalis explicant... Et haec Guarinus Veronensis, quae interrupta sunt ab ordine suo propter illa quae superius dicta sunt.

Biogr. :

Guarinus Veronensis (Guarino Veronese, Varino). Was b. Verona 1374 ; d. Ferrara 1460. Studied at Verona, Padua and other Italian cities, at Venice under Giovanni da Ravenna, and Constantinople 1403-1409 under Manuel and John Chrysoloras. 1409-1414 lived at Verona, Bologna and at Florence, where he went on the invitation of Leonardo Bruni, and incurred the enmity of Niccolò de' Niccoli, whose work on ortho-

graphy he censured. 1414-19 lived at Venice under the patronage of Francesco Barbaro, in whose house he conducted a school. 1419-29 conducted a private school at Verona ; 1429 to his death in 1460, lived at Ferrara, where he tutored Lionello d'Este, acted as public orator and as ambassador, was professor of Latin and gave private lessons in Greek. His students, from many countries, included Ermolao Barbaro, Peter Luder, Robert Fleming, John Tiptoft, Giovanni Garzoni, and Ludovico Carbone who delivered his funeral oration. Less given to controversy than many of his contemporaries, he had many close friendships among humanists of his day. He attacked Poggio's claims that Scipio was a greater man than Caesar, and supported Biondo against Leonardo Bruni's thesis that the Roman plebeians spoke vulgar Latin. He is ranked with Vittorino da Feltre for his contributions to teaching methods, and he contributed greatly to Latin grammar and the editing of classical texts. He was succeeded at Ferrara by Battista, one of his twelve sons, and a monument was erected in his honor at Ferrara in 1468.

Works. : He edited works of Caesar, Cicero, Aulus Gellius, Plautus, the Plinies and Servius ; he translated Basil, two orations of Isocrates, Lucian's *Calumnia*, various works of Plutarch, and Strabo. He commented on some of Cicero's works, Juvenal, Martial, Persius and Valerius Maximus. He composed grammatical treatises including *Eretemata*, *Regulae grammaticales*, *Carmina differentialia*, *De arte punctandi*, *De diphthongis*. He wrote lives of Aristotle, Homer and Plato ; *Variae lectiones*, and many orations, letters, *Prolusioni*, and pedagogic and controversial treatises.

Bibl. : Bayle, VII 301 sq. ; Maffei (Milan 1825) II 142-62 ; Nicéron 27. 120-29 ; Rossi, *Quattrocento* (1945) 46-48 and *passim* ; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 1449-65 ; Vespasiano 495-7 ; Zeno, *Diss. Voss.* I 213-229.

H. Baron, 'Aulus Gellius in the Renaissance and a Ms. from the School of Guarino,' *Studies in Philology* 48 (1951) 107-125 ; G. Bertoni, *Guarino da Verona fra Letterati e Cortegiani a Ferrara* (Geneva 1921) ; G. B. Giulieri, *Della Letteratura Veronese* (Bologna

1876) 279-302 ; C. de Rosmini, *Vita e Disciplina di Guarino Veronese* (3 vols. Brescia 1805-6) ; R. Sabbadini, (*) 'Documenti Guariniani,' *Atti dell' Accad. d'Agricoltura di Verona*, Ser. 4, 18 (1916) 211-86 ; *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese* (3 vols. Venice 1915-19) ; idem, *Guarino Veronese e il suo Epistolario* (Salerno 1885) ; idem, *Il Metodo degli Umanisti* (Florence 1922), esp. ch. iv ; idem, *La Scuola e gli Studi di Guarino Veronese* (Catania 1896) ; idem, 'Vita di Guarino Veronese,' *Giornale Ligustico* 18 (1891) 4-40, 109-135, 185-206, 261-282, 321-348, 401-432 ; G. Saitta, *L'Educazione dell' Umanesimo in Italia* (Venice 1928) 91-104.

18. *Omnibonus Leonicenus*

Commentary dated between 1457 and 1461 (Sabbadini, *Antologia Veneta*, I [1900], p. 24). Title in several MSS. : 'Commentarioli in Iuvenalem.' Both *accessus* and notes are based primarily on comm. 2 ; Ognibene's additions emphasize rhetoric, grammar, and ethical values, and show a strong pedagogical interest. Paraphrase is often used ; alternative explanations are usually given with an indication of preference. Points of Roman history, law and antiquities are carefully explained, with especial reference to Suetonius, Lucan and Augustine. Fables are either briefly summarized or omitted as familiar. Guarino's argument for Sat. I is regularly given.

Introd. : (Ms. B.M. Addit. 22158) : *Omnibonus in Iuvenalem feliciter incipit.* [Title omitted in some MSS.]. Quoniam in expoundendis auctoribus quaeri solet de titulo operis, poetae vita, qualitate carminis, intentione scribentis, numero librorum, et explanatione, haec omnia diligent ratione in principio operis investiganda sunt... Intentio scriptoris est homines a vitiis deterrere et ad virtutem excitare, ex quo intelligitur quod morali philosophiae supponitur, quae docet quid sequi, quidve fugere debeamus. Numerus librorum etiam per se patet. Explanatio vero sola restat. Sane sciendum videtur unde sit satira et quid sit... ipsi primi satirarum fuerint auctores, quod nemo Graecorum fecisse traditur.

[*Inc.*] : *Semper ego. Satiricus sane sermo*

est ex abrupto cum indignatione quadam incipere, ut etiam Persius ait...

[*Expl.*] : (XVI 60) Hoc ad utilitatem militum et imperatoris videtur pertinere, ut fortidudo et felicitas adsit. *Ut laeti phaleris.* Ut equorum et militum ornamenta non desint.

Manuscripts :

Bologna, Bib. Univ. 2765 A.D. 1472 (formerly 114.40 of Mon. S. Salvatore, Bologna) ; taken to Paris by Napoleon and described as in Bib. Imperiale by Achaintre, p. 41.

(L. Frati, *Riv. d. Biblioteche* 2 [1889] 1-6 ; id., *Studi italiani* 17, p. 103, n. 1463).

Cesena, Bib. Malatestiana S. XXII 2, s. XV (before 1465). One of the MSS. copied for Malatesta Novello (d. 1465) for the library he founded 1452.

(Muccioli, II 147 sqq. ; Zazzeri 435).

London, B.M., Addit. 22158, s. XV.

(Cat. Add. MSS., 1845, 594 ; E. O. Winstedt, *Class. Rev.* 16 [1902] 43).

Oxford, Bodleian, Canon. lat. 35, s. XV. Satires XV and XVI reversed.

[*Expl.*] : (XV 173) *Non omne legumen... ut ne fabis quidem vesceretur propter quasdam gurguliones quas animas habere et vivere viderit.*

(Oxford, Quarto Catal. III 126, lists as anon. ; identified in reference copy in Bodleian).

—, Arch. Selden B 50, c. 1461 ; copy brought from Italy by John Tiptoft, who studied under Ognibene 1459-61.

(Madan II 1.614, n. 3352 ; R. Weiss, *Humanism in England* [Oxford 1941] 115).

(*) Sandaniele del Friuli, Bib. Comunale 89, s. XV.

(Mazzatinti IV 194 lists as anon. ; identified by Sabbadini, *Antologia Veneta* 1 [1900] 25).

Vatican, Vat. lat. 2710, s. XV (between 1449 and 1473) ; copied by Gaspare Veronese ; comm. on I 1-XI 62 only.

—, Reg. lat. 1724, s. XV ; apparently a student's copy ; some marginal additions ; more variations from the norm than other MSS.

Venice, Marcianus lat. XIV 240, s. XV ; formerly property of Jacopo Morelli. With funeral oration of Bernardo Giustiniani for Fr. Foscari.

(Sabbadini, *Antol. Veneta* I [1900] 25).

Biogr. :

Omnibonus Leonicenus (Ognibene Bonisoli da Lonigo). Was b. Lonigo (near Vicenza), c. 1412 ; d. Vicenza c. 1474. Studied under Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua c. 1423-1443, and succeeded him in the Giocosa at Mantua three years after his death. Also studied under Manuel Chrysoloras. Taught privately at Vicenza 1436 ; lived and probably taught at Treviso 1441. Held public teaching posts at Vicenza 1443-48 ; was invited by Ludovico Gonzaga to Mantua 1446, where he taught till 1453. 1453 to his death held public professorship at Vicenza. Made official journeys on behalf of Vicenza to Rome, Padua, and Venice. His commentaries were chiefly composed after 1457.

Works : He edited Quintilian and other classical authors ; commented on Cicero's dialogues, Juvenal, Persius, Sallust's *Catiniane* ; commentaries on Lucan and Valerius Maximus are falsely attributed to him. He translated Aesop, Hesiod, Plutarch's Life of Camillus, Xenophon's *De venatione, opuscula* of Athanasius and patristic Greek sermons. He composed treatises on grammar, rhetoric and education, including *De octo partibus orationis* and *De arte metrica* ; he wrote orations, letters and poems.

Bibl. : Bayle XI 236 ; Brunet III 985 sq. ; Fabricius-Mansi V 156 ; Rossi, *Quattrocento* (1945) 50, 124 ; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 1582-88 ; Trithemius 347 ; Voigt (3rd ed) I 429, 543 ; II 178, 391.

(*) Angiolgabriello, *Biblioteca e storia degli scrittori di Vicenza* (Vicenza 1772) I 135-165 ; R. Sabbadini, *Letttere inedite di Ognibene* [Lonigo 1880] ; id., 'Nuove notizie e nuovi documenti su Ognibene,' *Antologia Veneta* 1 (1900) 11-16 ; 176-189.

19. *Christophorus Landinus*

Comm. in Ms. Ambrosianus J 26 inf., dated July, 1462 ; copied by a student from Landino's lectures in Florence. Incomplete at beginning. Cites several patristic and mediaeval authors as well as the usual range of classical works. Landino's opinions are often stressed, and in the comment on IV 21, he refers to a statement made 'in extensis lectionibus.' Much detail on historical

points and on fables, but less use of allegory than one might expect from his other works. The introduction and numerous comments reflect his interest in literary criticism. Vernacular words and references to contemporary customs are frequent.

Introd. : . . . ostendere videtur. Pithius hic versus ante tempora Homeri dictus est quoniam Pitheae sacerdos [sc. sacerdotes] his versibus responsa consulentibus oraculum reddebant . . . mediocri [stilo] usus est Iuvenalis quippe qui videret materiam suam quae in usu quotidiano versatur, a sublimi abhorrese . . . De cuius expositione nonnulla ut a Landino accepimus nostro scribemus.

[*Inc.*] : Semper. Accommodatissimum quidem principium est . . . [illegible] sane perturbationem animi, nihil meo iudicio perturbationi animi aptius interrogatione esse . . .

[*Expl.*] : (XV 173 ; Satires XV and XVI reversed) Indulsit. Quasi dedit et praebuit non omne legumen, ut nunc de ipso memoravimus. Et haec ad expositionem Iuvenalis satis sint pro ingenio nostro a Landino collecta, in quibus K. P. Iulii extremam manum imposuimus Anno Domini MCCCCLXII. Finis.

Manuscript :

Milan, Ambrosianus J 26 inf., a. 1462.
(Amelli, *Riv. d. Biblioteche* 21 [1910] 186).

Biogr. :

Christophorus Landinus (Cristoforo Landino). Was b. Florence 1424 ; d. Prato Vecchio 1498. He studied under Angiolo da Todi at Volterra and from c. 1439 at Florence under the patronage of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici. In 1458 he became professor of poetry and oratory in the Florentine Studio, where he lectured on Petrarch and Dante as well as on classical poets. He was a member of Ficino's circle and active in the Platonic studies of the Florentine Academy. In 1467 he became chancellor of the Parte Guelfa, and later was chosen secretary of the Signoria, an office that he held till his retirement to Prato Vecchio.

Works : He composed comm. on Dante and Vergil ; he translated into Italian Pliny's *Natural History* and Giovanni Simonetta's *Sforziade*. He wrote four books of *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, three books

of Latin poems, and *Formulario di lettere volgari*.

Bibl.: Hoefer XXIX 350 sq.; Rossi, *Quattrocento* (1945) 333-336, and *passim*; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 1596-99; Trithemius 383.

A. M. Bandini, *Specimen literaturae florentinae sec. XV* (Florence 1747); (*) M. Barbi, *Della fortuna di Dante nel sec. XVI* (Pisa 1890) 150 sqq.; G. Bottiglioni, *La lirica latina in Firenze* (Pisa 1913) 11-32; F. Pintor, *Bull. d. Società Dantesca italiana* N.S. 7 (1899-1900) 271-273. C. Landinus, *Carmina omnia*, ed. A. Perosa (Florence 1939). A Perosa, "Una fonte secentesca dello 'Specimen' del Bandini," *Bibliofilia* 42 (1940) 229-256.

20. *Peregrinus Allius*

'Excerpta ex quodam commentario Pellegrini Allii.' These excerpts, on I 7-VI 584 only, were made from an earlier copy after the author's death (between 1467 and 1469) as the copyist added marginal references to comments of Bartolommeo Fonzio, who lectured on Juvenal in Florence in 1487. No dedication or preface. Cites a wide range of Greek and Latin authors, but no patristic or mediaeval writers. On II 148 there is an allusion to a supposed work of Carlo Aretino, and on III 159 to Plutarch's life of Cicero, revised by Leonardo Aretino. The comments are usually brief, showing much interest in the contrasts between ancient and contemporary customs, in the definition of words, for which vernacular equivalents are often given, and in rhetoric, but with relatively little detail on history and fables.

[*Inc.*]: (I 7-8) *Lucus Martis*. In quo expositi Romulus et Remus; vel asylum intelligit, nam Romulus consternuit quendam lucum Marti quem asylum fecit. Quidam Ariopagum Marti dedicatum iuxta Athenas...

[*Expl.*]: (VI 584) *Popisma*. Vox proprie blanda qua agasones mulcent quadrupedes.

Manuscript:

Ravenna, Bib. Comunale Classense, 237, s. XV, fols. 95-110^v (with Politian's commentaries on Vergil and Juvenal).

(Mazzatinti VI 142).

Biogr.:

Peregrinus Allius (Pellegrino degli Agli, or Allio).

Was b. 1440 at Florence; d. 1467-9. He lived at Ferrara, probably as bank clerk, 1457-1463, when he returned to Florence. 1464 he went to Rome, where he became a priest. He was a pupil of Francesco da Castiglione, and a friend of Ficino, who dedicated to him his treatise *De furore divino*, and of Lorenzo de' Medici.

Works: He translated the lives of Homer attributed to Herodotus and Plutarch, and commented on Juvenal. He wrote Latin poems, orations and letters.

Bibl.: Mazzuchelli I 1.187; Tiraboschi (1824) VI 561.

F. Flamini, *Peregrino Allio, umanista poeta e confilosofo del Ficino* (Pisa 1893); P. O. Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum* (Florence 1937) II 322 sqq.

21. *Martinus Phyleticus*

Comm. preserved in students' notes on Filetico's lectures at Rome, A.D. 1469-70, according to the subscription in Riccardianus 1190: 'Viri doctissimi Martini Phyletici Ferentinatis super Iuvenalem scripta fiunt. Per me Petrum Pacinum Pisciensem eius auditorem collecta Romae tempore Pauli Secundi anno eius sexto.' The four copies thus far identified are very similar, and some of the comments, in the same wording, were incorporated by Cantalicio in his marginal notes on Juvenal in Ms. Vatican. lat. 2716, without acknowledgement of their source. The commentary is very extensive, with many citations from classical authors, and a few from Augustine, Eusebius, Jerome, and Albertus Magnus; it shows considerable interest in history and antiquities, and examines critically the traditional interpretations of difficult passages. Ms. Riccard. 635 preserves one of his direct instructions to students in the comment on I 102...libertinus autem similiter dicitur quia manumissus est, sed semper ita appellari potest, sive vivat patronus aut patrona sive non; et non oblitisci hanc differentiam. Paraphrase and comment on obvious points are rare; he was evidently lecturing to ad-

vanced students. He rarely uses the vernacular. He often cites the opinions of others, expressing his dissent, or his preference for another interpretation. On IV 46-7 he says: *Hunc locum solum Cantalycium credo expiscatum fuisse — the only case I have found in which he cites another commentator by name.* Occasionally he quotes his own poems, as on Numa III 12.

[*Inc.*]: (Ms. Riccard. 1190): *Semper ego auditor. Facimus hanc satiram esse quadripartitam: dividimus enim ipsam in accusationem sui ipsius, in causas satirarum, in materiam ipsarum, in modum scribendi quem velle tenere se pollicetur. Principio autem se ipsum accusat quod tantum auditor aliorum extiterit, et numquam sit ausus aliquid litteris commendare... Sic igitur operi suo dedit initium... Reponere autem secundum poetarum consuetudinem posuit quod sua poemata Apollini Palatino afferre [sc. offerre] consueverunt, unde sic locutus est Horatius...*

[*Expl.*]: (XVI 60) *Torquibus omnes. His ornare collum milites consueverunt. Id [eo?] quoniam ornamenta Titus Mallius fortissimum militem superans lacertem [read: lacerto?] detraxit et suo collo imposuit Torquatus appellatus est.*

Manuscripts:

Florence, Riccardianus 1190, A.D. 1469-70 (cf. subscr. above), fols. 1-63v. Lacks XIII 140-XIV 53 (with Filetico's comm. on Persius).

(Morpurgo, *Mss. Riccardiani* I 252).

—, Riccard. 635, s. XV, fols. 21-73v. Comm. on I-IX only. Incomplete at beginning. [*Inc.*]: (I 1) *Reponere, id est scribere, ut hic: Numquamne reponam, idest scribere. Sic Horatius...* Some marginal notes express the copyist's dissent; the comments are sometimes briefer and sometimes longer than in Riccard. 1190, and on II 29 this copyist sees a reference to Domitian, whereas Ms. 1190 applies it to Claudius; Ms. 1190 interprets Satire VII as praise of Domitian *per quandam ironiam*, but ms. 635 says: ...nec intelligas de Domitiano, sicut praeceptor tuus qui harum rerum expers est, neque legas ironice, sed intelligas de Tito Vespasiani filio. Apparently the copyist of ms. 635 was not a student of Filetico, but worked from some one else's notes on his lectures.

(Riccard. Inventory identifies as a humanistic copy of Riccard. 1190).

Paris, Bib. Mazarine 3857, s. XV; no title. Very close correspondence with Riccard. 1190; comments sometimes fuller; otherwise very slight variations in wording.

Vatican, Ottobon. lat. 1256, s. XV, fols. 1-47v (with Filetico's comm. on Persius and Horace, and a list of Roman laws). [*Inc.*]: [first lines of heading cut off] ... obscurissimos locos hac extemporaria oratione claros fecit, cuius interpretationem ego Marianus inter alios innumerabiles scholasticos collegi.' *Subscr.*: 'Finis. Explicant collectae Juvenalis per me Marianum Praenest[inum] precipiti calamo dum auctor ex tempore dictaverit.' Close correspondence with Riccard. 1190.

(G. Mercati, 'Tre Dettati Universitari,' *Studies in Honor of E. K. Rand* [New York 1938] 221-230. Mercati does not mention the other Ms. The Ottobon. Inventory lists contents of this ms, but incorrectly ascribes the commentary to Marianus, as Mercati points out).

Biogr.:

Martinus Fileticus (Martino Filetico, incorrectly called Filezio). Was b. Filettino (on the Aniene in Latium) c. 1430; d. c. 1490 at Ferentino. Nothing is known of his early life. 1455-56 was called to teach Greek, Latin and philosophy at Pesaro; travelled widely in Italy and Greece, and was familiar with the leading humanists of his time; he greatly revered Gaspare Veronese whom he called 'doctor meus.' He taught Battista and Costanza Sforza at Pesaro, and accompanied the former to Urbino on her marriage to Federigo, and in 1461 to Rome where she delivered a Latin oration before Pope Pius II. C. 1467 he moved to Rome under patronage of Antonio Colonna, whose son he tutored. His membership in the Roman Academy is disputed. He became professor of Greek at Rome and began to lecture on Latin authors also, even before the chair of Latin was given him in 1473 as successor to Gaspare Veronese. C. 1483 retired to Ferentino where he lived till his death c. 1490. He bequeathed his property to found a school at Ferentino.

Works: He translated Theocritus and Isocrates, *De regno gubernando*. He commented

on Cicero's *De senectute*, *Paradoxa* and some letters; his comm. on Horace, Juvenal and Persius are preserved in lecture-notes taken by his students. He wrote two invectives against corrupters of Latinity, which aroused the enmity of Ognibene Leoniceno and Calderini. His Latin poems include an epitome of Roman history written for Battista Sforza, and an elegy on Battista.

Bibl.: Rossi, *Quattrocento* (1945) 318; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 1387.

Marini, *Degli Archiatri Pontifici* (Rome 1784) II 208; G. Mercati, 'Tre Dettati universitari dell' Umanista Martino Filetico,' *Studies in Honor of E. K. Rand* (New York 1938) 221-230; B. Pecci, *L'Umanesimo e la 'Cioceria'* (Trani 1913) 115-207; idem, 'Contributo per la Storia degli Umanisti del Lazio,' *Archivio d. Soc. Romana di Storia Patria* 13 (1890) 468-526.

22. Baptista Guarinus

Procacci, following Sabbadini's suggestion, showed that the second commentary in Ms. Ferrara II 103 was the work of Baptista Guarinus, and suggested that the commentary in Modena, Ms. Estensis lat. 331 (Alpha F 8. 15), which bears the faintly written ascription, 'Baptista Guarini,' was based on the Ferrara text. Since the Modena commentary and three closely related manuscripts that I have found are more extensive than the Ferrara version, and have the introductory material more fully worked out, I would suggest that these four manuscripts represent notes from Battista's lectures at a later date than that of the Ferrara manuscript. Both versions make much use of the traditional material, with additional parallel passages and many references to contemporary words and customs.

I. Ferrara II 103, commentary not dated.

Introd.: *Semper ego. Expositioni poetae huius plura praemittenda sunt. Et primo ipsius poetae mentio, qui dictus est Iunius Iuvenalis Aquinas, id est ex Aquino Apuliae civitate. Quidam opinantur temporibus eum Traiani, Antonini vel alias, maior et melior pars Domitiani temporibus fuisse eum affirmant. Nonnulli dicunt Domitiani temporibus scripsisse sed ab Antonino exu-*

lasse, quorum opinio in hoc reputatur insana, quod imperanti annos xv menses v Domitiano successit Nerva anno uno menses iv... cui successit Antoninus Verus quem Fronto docuit, quemque manifeste laudavit Aquinas... [The confusion here, which persists in the comment on I 12, *Frontonis*, is cleared up in the later version]... exilium interiit. Quem post usque ad Dantem Aldergerium aut Petrarcham Franciscum siluere camenae. Dum igitur Romae habitaret mores urbis dignatus satiris eos reprehendere constituit. Eos maxime arguit qui, cum ignorent, se scire ostendere moluntur, quod et facit ingenue Persius. Satirae autem dictae sunt quod more satirorum qui iugiter saltant de vitio in vitium saltum faciunt et modo huc modo illuc mordent. Vel dicitur a sacrificiis illis quae fiebant ex multi generis rebus quaeque satirae vocabantur. Titulus igitur libri est: Iunii Iuvenalis Aquinatis satirarum liber.

[*Inc.*]: *Semper ego. More satirico a clamore vel interrogatione orditur, sicut Persius...*

[Following line 21]: *Et incipit tangere materiam huius satirae quam complexus est clarus pater et genitor meus Guarinus hoc versu: 'Materiam et causas satirarum hac inspice prima...'*

Sat. II:... Materiam autem huius satirae Guarinus clarus vates meus genitor brevi versiculo comprehendit eleganter dicendo: 'Carpitur hac satira probitas simulata secunda' [Similar entry on III; Guarino's arguments for IV-VI are omitted, those on VII-XVI are given without identification].... [*Expl.*]: (XVI 60) *Torquibus*. Id est coronis donentur milites pro labore, quibus militibus solent poni torques ad collum. Haec omnia quae dicit Iuvenalis ironice ac vituperando malam vitam militum dicit. Iuvenalis explicit sexta decima satira et ultima. Telos.

Manuscript:

Ferrara, Bib. Civica II 103, s. XV; with excerpts from Merula's *Enarrationes in Iuvenalem*. Fols. 1-16 apparently in Battista's own hand, and the rest written under his supervision and corrected by him.

(G. Procacci, 'Index codicum... qui Ferrariae in civica bibliotheca adservantur,' *Studi italiani* 19 [1912] 28; idem, 'Scolii

a Giovenale di Battista Guarini in un codice Ferrarese, *'ibid.'*, 20 [1913] 425-37).

II. Commentary based on Battista Guarini's lectures :

Introd. (Ms. Estensis Alpha F. 8.18) : *Semper ego.* Priusquam voluminis huius attingatur expositio, necessario nonnulla praescienda videntur. Primo auctoris ipsius vita, deinde libri titulus, tertio materia satirae. Auctor ipse fuit Aquinas, veluti ex titulo in inscriptione patet et in fine satirae tertiae ipse innuit... Alii vero ipsum Antonini Veri imperatoris tyrannide Roma expulsum militiae velo volunt, idemque argumentis probare quam maxime conantur... Alii autem alio modo coniectionis senserunt Iuvenalem non in Antonini sed Domitiani imperatoris tempore Romae vixisse... Verum melius additur quod sequitur, ut probemus Iuvenalem temporibus Domitiani fuisse... Quod enim pateat Martialem in tempore Domitiani floruisse, Iuvenalem autem Martialis aetate, efficitur ut Iuvenalis Domitiani tempore viguerit... Collige itaque quod inter imperium Domitiani et Antonini sunt anni lxiii et menses vii. Et hoc expositum ad ipsius auctoris aetatem... Dicta autem lex satira ea quae quasi plures res faciendas continet... et sic de titulo hactenus. Materia autem vel argumentum satirae tertia pars praescienda ante textus expositionem, ut in primo diximus, ex versu infrascripto subtiliter edito dignosci potest, qui quidem talis versus est : 'Materiam et causas satirarum hac aspice prima.' Et sic visis auctoris vita et aetate, voluminis huius inscriptione, et satirae subsequentis argumento, etiam[?] pergamus ad rerum expositionem, visa ipsius auctoris intentione, quae est philosophica et moralis... Unde materia satirarum est vitiorum detestatio et virtutum commendatio. [In the other MSS. the argument is identified as that of Guarino, with a fuller statement, e.g., in Riccard. 538 :... ex versu infrascripto subtiliter per clarum virum Guarinum Veronensem edito dignosci potest... Eiusmodi adiumentum et reliquis in satiris idem vir clarissimus attulit nobis et posteritati; per eundem enim in versu singularium satirarum materiae et argumenta redacta sunt. Sed omnia suis locis aptius dicentur].

[*Inc.*] : *Semper ego.* More satirico ab exclamazione et indignatione incipit. Unde et Persius...

I 120 [*Cf.* Guarino's note on this line] : *Fumus.* Noluit dicere ignis, quia cum sicut pauperes non habent unde emant arida ligna, sed viridia quae non faciant nisi fumum, dicitque fumus, idem est ut fumosus.

[Guarino's arguments are given for each satire, sometimes with his name and either *clarus* or *clarissimus viri*].

[*Expl.*] : (XVI 60) *Phaleris.* Ornamenta sunt ad capita equorum, quae etiam solent donari ad milites. *Et torquibus.* Ornamenta sunt ad collum. Unde magna est laus imperatoris si sui milites sunt bene ornati ob merita sua, nam indicium est quod sui milites sunt boni et fortissimi, cum totiens meruerunt praemia. *Telos.* [A note on XVI 36, *sacramentorum*, follows].

Manuscripts :

Florence, Riccardianus 538, s. XV. *Accessus, incipit* and much of the commentary as in the other copies, but with numerous marginal additions, often introduced by the words *meo iudicio*, and sometimes indicating dissent, e.g., on I 152 : 'multa inepte exposita relinqu quia alibi quaerenda est veritas.' On VI 438, where the original comment ends : ...et hinc arguere possumus quod mulieres eo tempore erant doctae, the marginal comment reads : 'Saltem dixisses hoc esse argumentum quod eadem erat lingua apud vulgares quae apud doctos, cum mulieres etiam latine scirent' — a reference to the current controversy in which Guarino took part. Another hand has written above this : 'Est falsa.' The comment on X 248 is briefly characterized by the words 'Capo d'asino,' but that on VI 634 is endorsed : 'Ha credenza.' Evidently some scholar considered this commentary a good subject for critical revision.

Milan, Ambrosianus E 50 sup., s. XV. Very similar to the Estensis, with some abbreviation, and occasional variations in wording.

[*Expl.*] : (XV 174 ; XV and XVI reversed) *Et indulxit non omne.* Id est nullum *legumen* concessit *ventri*, scilicet suo. Numquam comedit Pitagoras animalia quanto magis abstinuit se a carnibus humanis, unde deno-

tat perfidiam Aegyptiorum. Et finis. Laus Deo et Virgini Mariae. Commentum super Iuvenalem finitum est per me Philippum Trexenum clericum Lauden [sem] sexto Idus Octobris.

Several notes from Calderini's commentary have been added in the margins on Satires VII and X.

—, Ambrosianus A 121 inf., A.D. 1471, fols. 4-4^v has the same type of *accessus*, lacking the initial sentence, followed by the commentary based on Guarino's lectures.

Modena, cod. Estensis lat. 331 (Alpha F 8.18; formerly VI E 6), s. XV. Fols. 1-28, Filelfo's commentary on Statius' *Achilleis*; fols. 29 to end, commentary on Juvenal, with 'Baptiste Guarini' written in upper margin, f. 29. At end, in a different hand, and therefore not to be taken, as Procacci assumed, as indication of date: 'Visus a me Gaspare Stilo [?] anno salutis 1497, die sexto mense novembris circa horam terciam noctis.'

(Sabbadini, *Scuola e studi di Guarino Veronese* 96; Procacci, 'Scolii a Giovenale di Battista Guarini,' *Studi Ital.* 20 [1913] 436 sq.).

Venice, Marcianus Zan. lat. 457 (1511), s. XV, misc., fols. 1-71. Comm. on Juvenal, with lacunae VI 493-X 277, and XIV 37 to end. Contains also several letters, and a nuptial oration of Gregorius Britannicus.

[Expl.] (XIV 36): *Ducunt reliquos. Scilicet filios si non ducunt hos duos, ducunt tamen reliquos.*

Biogr.:

Baptista Guarinus (Battista Guarini). Was b. Ferrara 1453; d. Ferrara 1505. He studied under his father, Guarino Veronese; taught at Ferrara 1453, when he delivered his lecture *De modo et ordine docendi et discendi*. 1455-57 taught at Bologna; 1460 succeeded his father in the chair of rhetoric at Ferrara. He had as students Pico della Mirandola, Gregorio Giraldi, Aldo Manuzio and Badius Ascensius. He was sent by Duke Borso as ambassador to France, and was given the title of senator by René, king of Naples. His translation of Plautus' *Menaechmi*, performed at the ducal palace at Ferrara, was widely acclaimed. Giuliani gives evidence for his death at Ferrara in 1505, not,

as was formerly believed, at Venice in 1513.

Works: He commented on Catullus, Cicero's letters, Juvenal, Lucan, and Ovid's *Fasti*; he translated some orations of Demosthenes, Dio Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen, and Xenophon's *Agesilaus* into Latin, and several of Plautus' comedies into Italian. He edited Theocritus and several other Greek poets, and Catullus, and prepared the first edition of Servius' commentary on Vergil, using his father's emendations; he wrote *De modo et ordine docendi et discendi* and other lectures, *De regentis et boni principis officiis*, a brief treatise on Priscian, Latin poems, dialogues and letters.

Bibl.: Bayle VII 302; Chevalier I 1904; Fabricius-Mansi III 114; Nicéron 29, 128 sq.; Rossi, *Quattrocento* (1945) 530 sqq.; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 1465-68 *et passim*; Trithemius 217.

G. B. Giuliani, *Il Propugnatore* 6.1 (1873) 224-29; Maffei, *Verona Illustrata* II 162-66; G. Procacci, 'Scolii a Giovenale di Battista Guarini in un Codice Ferrarese,' *Studi Ital.* 20 (1915) 425-27.

23. *Franciscus Philelphus*

Ms. Barberin. lat. 134, s. XV, fols. 69-72, contains notes on *Sat.* I-III 48, headed 'Haec omnia de mente Phylelphy in libris Juvenalis,' apparently a student's notes from Filelfo's lectures. The influence of Juvenal on Filelfo's own satires lends interest to these notes. Two other versions of Filelfo's comment on I 1, *reponam*, occur in MSS. based on the lectures of Guarino Veronese; in Venice, Ms. Marcianus lat. xii 19, dated 1456: Philelphus, *reponam*, referam, nam quemadmodum ipsi obtundunt me, ita obtundentur a me scribendo. Ms. Ambrosianus A 121 inf. Philelphus *ponere* pro reddere exponit, et allegat versus Senecae. These variants indicate respect for Filelfo's interpretations of Juvenal, as well as his habit of revising his lectures. In *Convivia Mediolanensis*, published 1477/78, Filelfo identified the Marius of *Sat.* I 49-50 with Sulla's contemporary, in his discussion of the name of Bacchus in Book II, and Fonzi, in his commentary on Juvenal, charged Filelfo with responsibility for this familiar,

though erroneous identification. But the Barberini Ms. gives the correct identification with Marius Priscus as the *melior sententia*. The comments are generally brief, emphasizing definition of words ; some give more extensive accounts of persons or places or ancient customs ; few deal with rhetoric or grammar, and alternative explanations are rare. Vernacular terms are often used, e.g. on II 53 : *Colyphium*. Est panis azymus prout nos dicimus *la cimilla*, et sunt rotundae, quae nostri villici faciunt in nuptiis de hac tempestate.

Introd. : Satira unde dicatur, a saturitate, alii a satira... Lucilius fuit omnium primus qui scripsit satiras apud Latinos.

[*Inc.*] *Reponam*. Reponere vicissim reffere, prout patet in secunda epistula Ciceronis...

[*Expl.*] : (III 48) *Algae*. Per illam herbam marinam [intellige].

Manuscript:

Vatican, Barberin. lat. 134, s. XV, fols. 69-72. Preceded by a glossed text of Juvenal with two *accessus* of familiar types ; followed, fols. 76-95v, by Vergil, *Eclogues*, with notes identified in table of contents as 'cura et studiis Philelphi.' The whole volume seems to have been compiled by one person.

Biogr.:

Franciscus Philephus (Francesco Filelfo). Was b. Tolentino (March of Ancona) 1398 ; d. Florence 1481. Studied at Padua under Gasparino Barzizza ; taught at Padua, Venice and Vicenza. 1421-27 held secretarial post for Venetian republic at Constantinople ; studied under J. Chrysoloras, whose daughter Theodora he married, and under Chrysococa ; collected many Greek MSS., and went on embassies to the Sultan of Turkey and the kings of Hungary and Poland. In 1428 was elected professor of eloquence and ethics at Bologna. In 1429 was called to Florence ; quarrelled violently with Carlo Marsuppini who was given Filelfo's chair in 1431 ; took part in a conspiracy against Cosimo and was exiled. 1434-40 taught at Siena, then at Bologna and Milan, where he received citizenship and enjoyed lavish patronage till the death of Francesco Sforza. On visits to Rome and Naples was honored by Nicholas

V and Alfonso ; held chair of eloquence at Rome under Sixtus IV ; returned to Milan till he was recalled to Florence by Lorenzo. Died shortly after his return to Florence in 1481 ; the date of his death is recorded in the *Annales* of Bartolommeo Fonzio, who succeeded to his chair. A popular teacher and brilliant scholar and author, but a bitter controversialist, he made many enemies, chief among whom were Marsuppini and Poggio.

Works: He translated two of Lysias' orations, four of Plutarch's lives, Xenophon's *Agesilaus*, *Cyropaedia* and *Lacedaemoniorum respublica* ; the attribution to him of a translation of Hippocrates is disputed. He wrote orations, Greek and Latin letters, poems, and treatises on grammar and education. Major works include *Commentationes Florentinae*, *Convivia Mediolanensis*, *Sforzias*, and *Satires*.

Bibl.: Bayle XII 18 sq. ; Fabricius-Mansi V 273 sq. ; Nicéron 6, 71-87 ; 10, 185-89 ; 42, 230-307 ; Rossi, *Quattrocento* (1945) 34-43 ; Sandys II 55-7 ; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 1506-25 ; Vespasiano 488-91 ; Zeno, *Diss. Voss.* II 275-305.

G. Benadduci, 'Contributi alla bibliografia di F. F.', *Atti e Memorie... delle Marche* 5 (1901) ; A. Calderini, 'Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di F. F.', *Studi Ital.* 20 (1913) 204-425 ; idem, 'I codici milanesi delle opere di F. F.', *Arch. stor. Lomb.* Ser. V 42 (1915) 335-411 ; (*) G. Zippel, *Il Filelfo a Firenze* (Rome 1899).

24. Petrus Philippus Pandolphinus

The *Commentariolus*, apparently compiled by Pandolfini for his own use, is preceded by notes on *Sat.* I 1-II 6. The order of the satires is confused by an error in binding, i.e. : I-VIII, XIV, XVI, XV, IX, 1-53, X-XIII, IX 54-149. The work is based on *Comm.* 2, with many revisions and additions, including citations of classical authors, a few references to Tortelli, and allusions to contemporary customs, the more notable of which are given below. Grammar and rhetoric are less stressed than in commentaries intended for school use. The work was probably compiled before 1473, in view

of Pandolfini's political activities by that date.

A. Notes on I 1-II 6 [*Inc.*] : Reprehendit tribus ex causis. scilicet garrulatione sive raucite, secundo festinatione, tertio prolixitate. *Semper ego auditor.* Deest *ero*; Vergilius 'Quos ego.' Verbis signatis usus est...

[*Expl.*] : (II 6) *Pittacon...* hic autem se amatorem sapientiae et non sapientem propter arrogantiam evitandam in conspectu Pittaci dixit.

B. *Commentariolus in Juvenalem.* [*Inc.*] : *Semper ego.* Haec satira loco prooemii est et invectivae modum sapit, nam statim incipit reprehendere, ut Crispus [Sallustius] in Ciceronem...

I 116 : *Concordia crepitat... et apud Thessalos capitale erat si quis ciconiam interfecisset... Hodie etiam apud Ferrarienses eadem causa capitalis est.*

III 11 : *Madidamque Capenam.* Capena porta est Romae, dicta hodie *Sancto Paolo*.

III 193 : *Tenui tibicine... [tibicines] enim appellantur quae vulgo sporto dicimus, id est gli sporti delle case.*

IV 13 : *Titio Seioque.* Bonis viris. Nomina haec sicut plurimum utuntur iurisconsulti cum volunt in testimonium adducere, ut hodie ita etiam *farebbono brutti* [sic] *a Pietro et Giovanni et Martino*.

V 82 : *Asparagis.* Species herbae dictus... nam coquebant pisces cum asparagis sicut nos etiam cum petrosillo.

VII 55 : *Communi ferial carmen triviale moneta.* Nam nostra quoque pecunia habet signum, et illud signum moneta appellatur, eo quod moneat, sicut est Florentina pecunia.

VII 110 : *Ad dubium nomen.* In libro mercatorum dicitur *la partita...*

XVI 60 : *Torquibus.* Monilia quibus collum circumdabant. Illi qui aliquid pro re publica pulchrum fecerant [?] donabantur a civitatibus vel regibus aliquo ... [illegible].

[*Expl.*] : (IX 149) *Illa de nave.* Nam Homerus dicit de erroribus Ulixis quod cum Ulices pervenisset ad sirenas, ne illarum carmine caperetur, aures cera obstruxit et ita senes iussi facere insidias illarum evitare.

Manuscript :

Florence, Riccardianus 663, s. XV. Auto-

graph of Pandolfini, followed by *Commentariolus in Persium* in same hand, extending only to I 15.

(*Lamius* 253).

Biogr. :

Petrus Philippus Pandolphinus (Pierfilippo di Messer Giannozzo d'Angelo Pandolfini), Florentine, was b. 1437 according to his own statement in the Catasto report of 1457, in which he gives his age as 20; d. after 1512. Studied under Giovanni Argiro-pulo; his learning and eloquence were highly praised by Ficino and by Vespasiano da Bisticci, but his career was primarily political. He became a member of the Signoria in 1473, and was described in 1481 as first citizen of Florence and the chief confidant of Lorenzo de' Medici. His correspondence with Lorenzo from 1465 is preserved in the Florentine Archives. He went on embassies to Milan, Naples, Venice, Genoa, and to the Emperor Maximilian; his last recorded embassy was in 1512. In 1492 he was made a *Cavaliere a spron d'oro* by Pope Alexander VI, and in 1495 was elected to the Dieci for the third time.

Bibl. : Vespasiano III 106; *Marsili Fi-cini Florentini Opera*, (Basel 1576) I 894, 918; E. Gamurrini, *Istoria genealogica delle famiglie nobili Toscane* (Florence 1685) V 116 sq.; Spreti, *Enc. Storico-nobiliare ita-liana* (Milan 1932) V 99; G. Volpi, 'Luigi Pulci,' *Giornale Storico* 22 (1893) 21, 23; information from the Florentine Archives furnished by Dr. Florence Edler De Roover.

25. Angelus Cneus Sabinus

First draft of comm. composed 1467; final version dated Rome, August 9, 1474.

Dedic., 1467 (ed. Rome 1474) : Ad Reverendum D. Nicolaum Perottum Pontificem Syponentinum per A. Sabinum poetam laureatum *Paradoxa in Juvenalem* incipiunt feliciter. Non indignum esse arbitror, Reverende Domine, ad te ipsum scripta nostra dirigere... [When Sabino had fled from Rome to Corese to avoid the plague]... venit ad me vir quidam religiosus, cognomine ut dicebat Praxiteles, sancti Franciscani ordinis, quaedam in Juvenali perdifficilia loca interpretari poscens. Is quamquam Guarini Ve-

ronensis Carolique Arretini discipulus se profitebatur, tamen nescio quo Cornuti commentario magis fretus, ceteris omnibus melius se Iuvenalem intelligere suisque sententiis reclamare nec quemquam posse existimabat... Auctoritate ergo summorum historiographorum divinorumque poetarum adeo omnes ipsius simul et Cornuti opiniones oppugnavi et confutavi ut se igni daturum Cornutum ipsum polliceretur, si quas opiniones ipse attulisset litteris mandarem... Quare, Reverende domine, ex variis summisque auctoribus divinas quasdam admirabilesque sententias collegi, ideoque *Paradoxa* dici volui, quas ad D.V. impraesentiarum mitto. Cui tantum equidem tribuo ut si ipse confirmaveris non aliis quicquam obincere possit, nostrumque opus — neque enim virtute ingenii mei sed summorum virorum auctoritate mihi placebo — nullo pacto periturum videatur; sed iam rem aggrediamur.

Second dedic. (for the printed edition, 1474) : Ad... Nicolaum Perottum... Scripsoram olim, ut tibi R.D. notum est, *Paradoxa in Iuvenalem*, necnon postquam me in urbem Romam recepi eius poetae lectionem aggressus fui, in quo multa memoratu digna et plerisque incognita visus sum explicasse, quae omnia quae sita diu cum tandem in invidi hominis [Calderini] manus devenissent, eiusdem auctoris lectionem invasit, namque aliter licet temerarius nequaquam legere potuisse. Itaque ex alienis laboribus expositionem tanti auctoris exceptit et litteris mandare ausus fuit. Hanc cum quidam ex communibus auditoribus ad me tulisset, agnosceremque mearum arborum fructus, dolui sane ac debui. Quin impressoribus opus meum committendum censui ut poma quae ille ex agris meis surripusset omnibus paterent pariterque ea quae sterilis eius campus atque arbor produxisset, apparerent. Conatus est suis ineptis opinioribus fructus meos inficere et pro suis recitare. Quare opus fuit, ut altius multa repererem suisque scripta confutarem et errasse in plerisque ostenderem, ad iudiciumque tuum referrem quo nullum, inquam, eisdem de rebus dignius existimavi. Vale, et quod recte scriptum erit tutari non desinas.

Third letter to Perotti (following text) : Statueram R.D. nec amplius aliquid de ami-

co [Calderino] scribere. Verum quia impellor hoc me addere oportuit. Nam vix *Paradoxa* nostra impressoribus commissa fuerant cum quidam ex communibus amicis ad me venerunt suadentes ab incepto desistrem, eiusdem amici suasu... Verebatur enim amicus noster ne opere impresso fulta ipsius detergerentur; mox cum videret me incepsum opus nequaquam deserturum, cum aliquibus claris viris locutus, non se mihi sed me sibi abstulisse praeclaras super Iuvenali opiniones asserebat, nescius palam fieri omnibus septimum iam agi annum, ex quo eadem *Paradoxa* at te scripsoram. Itaque quoniam pacto ei auferre potuisse qui [?] longe antequam ipse suas litteris opiniones meas mandasse, et exempla multa extarent. Fato tamen me a septem annis quibus opus illud conficeram [i.e., confeceram] multa mutasse, nonnulla adiunxisse, ut solent scriptores, quae in manus amici venire non potuerunt; hinc commentaria eius depravata diminutaque apparent... Legeris interea in Iuvenali *Paradoxa*, quae si non penitus mentem tuam implebunt, intellexeris tamen non melius ea scribi potuisse, nosque non sine ratione in easdem opiniones descendisse. Vale.

[*Inc.*] : *Semper ego.* Non possum non mirari, pater optime, ipsius Cornuti quem ait negligentiam, qui Iuvenalem vult alios dum de se loquitur reprehendentem, nam huius heredes, praeceptrors, haec non intelligendo faciunt ut nihil intelligent... [Dialogue form, phrased as the words of Sabino to Praxiteles].

[*Expl.*] : (XVI 60) Et sic satirae simul et libri finis habetur, in quo breviter militum commoda aperuit urbanorum et paganorum quibus se miscuit, et incommoda magna cum adversus milites agunt dixit... Haec mihi visa sunt scribenda, paternitati autem tuae directa sunt, quia tempestate nostra studiosiorem diligentioresque existimavi neminem, quique poetarum maiestatem magis coleret et intelligeret mihi nusquam visus est.

Manuscripts :

Perugia, Bib. Comunale 500 (C 89), s. XV. Lacks concluding letter to Perotti; no contemporary indication of authorship, but the authorship is suggested in a letter from Vermiglioli to Canali, dated 1807, inserted in the Ms.

(Mazzatinti V 139, lists as anon.).

Vatican, Ottobon. lat. 2850, s. XV; apparently Sabino's autograph; has commentary from I 50-X 17 and XV 2-XVI 60 only, with the final comment incomplete.

(Mercati, *Studi e Testi* 90 [1939] 22, n. 2).

Edition:

1474, Roma (Rome): Georgius Sachsel de Reichenhal et Bartholomaeus Golsch de Hohenbart; (Comm. only) HC 14063; St S 514; BM; BN.

Doubtful or rejected editions:

(*) 1471, Rome, Sachsel de Reichenhal. *Biblioteca Smithiana* (Venice 1755) 498; description identical with 1474 ed., except for date.

(*) Group III: 1493, Venice.

Biogr.:

Angelus Cneus Quirinus Sabinus, de Curiibus (Angelo Cneo Sabino of Corese). Dates of birth and death uncertain. His chief activity was in Rome; he was a friend of Perotti and a bitter rival of Calderini, especially in their lectures and commentaries on Juvenal. He was poet laureate, and composed a poem on the Flemish War, published shortly after the fall of Liège in 1468 and dedicated to Pope Paul II, which, according to Sabellico, was severely censured. In 1467 he began his *Paradoxa in Juvenalem*, at Corese, where he had gone to escape the plague. He lectured on Juvenal at Rome thereafter, but according to Calderini in a private school only, and in 1474 published his *Paradoxa*, dedicating the work to Perotti, and retailing his conflict with Calderini in the dedicatory letters. Calderini refers to Sabino and Perotti as Fidentinus and Brotheus in his commentary on Juvenal, and in the *Defensio adv. Brotheum* which regularly follows it in the MSS.

Works: He edited Ammianus Marcellinus, Lactantius and Terence; he commented on Juvenal, and composed *Poema de excidio civitatis Leodiensis* in six books.

Bibl.: Brunet V 6 sq. : Martène IV 1379; Moss II 165 sq.; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 1385 sq.

G. Mercati, *Ultimi Contributi alla Storia degli Umanisti* (*Studi e Testi*, 90 [1939]) 17-23.

26. *Domitius Calderinus*

I. An early version of Calderini's commentary is preserved in a single manuscript; Bandini's entry does not differentiate between this and the later version. It lacks most of the prefatory material and all the attacks on Sabino, Perotti and Tortelli. Some comments, including the final one, are closer to the text of Commentary 2 than the corresponding entries in the printed commentary. Date not indicated, but presumably between Calderini's appointment as professor of rhetoric at Rome in 1470 and the final version dated September 1474.

Introd. (Ms. Laur. Gaddianus 165): D. Calderini viri clarissimi interpretatio super Iuvenalem satirum bono sidere incipit. *Poetae vita.* Iunius Iuvenalis libertini locupletis [Vita I]... Haec in antiquis monumentis de Iuvenale tradita sunt. Hunc temporibus Domitiani floruisse nimis otiosa disputatione alii tradiderunt; id enim apertissimum est.

[*Inc.*]: *Semper ego.* Iuvenalis quasi e medio recitantium poetarum strepitu in haec verba ex abrupto exit; seque carpit quod diu tacuerit cum mores Romanorum corrupti satiricae censurae indigeant. *Reponam.* Reponere est quod amissum est resarcire et quod alteri dederis reparare...

[*Expl.*]: (XVI 60) *Torquibus.* Torques militares erant sumpto more a Gallis, et in collo gestabantur. Telos. Laus Deo.

Manuscript:

Florence, Laurentianus Gaddianus 165 (formerly Bib. Naz. Magl. VII 703), s. XV (comm. only).

(Bandini, *Suppl.* II 169).

II. The definitive version, based on Calderini's public lectures at Rome, is a revision of the earlier work, marked throughout by violent attacks on Calderini's rival, Angelo Sabino, and his patron Perotti, here referred to as Fidentinus and Brotheus. Comm. dated: Rome, Sept. 1, 1474. In manuscripts and printed editions this subscription regularly appears: 'Editi Romae quom ibi publice profiteretur Kal. Septembris MCCCCLXXIII.'

Dedic. (ed. Venice 1498): Ad... Iulianum Medicem Petri Cosmi filium Florentinum.

Etsi multa de prudentia, humanitate, virtute tua olim mihi saepe afferebantur, Iuliane, tamen cum superiore anno istic [Florentiae] essem, ea omnia ita in te prospexi... Id ut fiat hoc anno elaboravi diligenter. Nam Iuvenalis satiras nova commentatione tuo nomine explicare conatus sum, in quibus interpretandis non ignoras quam multi bonarum artium studiosi operam posuerint, et tamen aliquando ingenue sint professi, se multa non assecutos esse vel carminis obscuritate, vel temporum ignoratione. Evidem, quod sine arrogantia dictum velim, multa in his Graecorum Latinorumque auctoritate confirmata me explicasse contendem, quae vel alii gravioribus studiis occupati neglexerunt, vel multi nostrarum literarum studiosi scire magnopere exspectabant... Quamvis quidam, quem toto opere Fidentinum iure appellavimus [Sabinum], auctore et magistro Brotheo grammatico [Perotto] nostra cum suis ineptiis coniungere tentaverit... Hic est ille Brotheus, Iuliane, qui lucubratione nostra in Martialem quam Laurentio fratri dicavi tantopere offensus est... Huius aliquot epistulis hactenus respondi quod in fine huius operis leges, rursusque actum [accusavi, ed. Venice 1475] hominis ignorantiam in recognitione Plinii [Nat. Hist.] quem ducentis et septuaginta quinque locis ab eo depravatum fuisse altera in lucubratione facile coniicimus... Nam omnia tentat ne homo quinquagenarius ab eo [Calderino] qui nondum vigesimum nonum complevit annum discere videatur... Eo autem celerius emittuntur quod Marcus Aurelius senatus Veneti scriba... mecum iampridem per litteras egit ut tandem aliquando hos ederem, quos vehementer legere cupit... Marsilium Ficinum nostrum aliquando ad hos legendos adhibebis si a philosophis suis discedere potest, in quibus locum obtinet honestissimum. Vale.

Introd. : *Iuvenalis vita ex antiquorum monumentis.* Iunius Iuvenalis libertini locupletis [Vita I]... temporibus Domitiani floruit, ad Nervaeque tempora pervenit, quod quoniam eius carmen plane indicat, multaque praeterea testimonia, nobis non est longa disputatione confirmandum. Opus totum in XVI satiras dividitur, neque iis assentior qui in libros distribuunt. Sed iam

de satira dicemus. *De satira.* Satirarum genera duo cognoscimus, alterum antiquitus tam a Graecis quam Latinis usurpatum... Legetur ita mea quidem sententia satirae initium hoc pacto : *Erone semper auditor?*

[Inc.] : *Semper ego.* Scilicet alienorum carminum, de qua molestia et temporis iactantia conqueritur Martialis...

[Expl.] : (XVI 60) *Torquibus.* Torques militares erant sumpto more a Gallis, unde torquati.

The comment that follows is not found in all editions and manuscripts ; it is an additional note on II 92 : Strabo in decimo... nam, ut testimonio Ovidii docuimus, coniuncta erant Cereris cum Baccho sacra ; Cocytia sacra commemorat etiam Porphyrio.

Manuscripts. Note : Manuscripts and printed editions regularly include Calderini's *Defensio adversus Brotheum*, an attack on Perotti's commentaries on Martial and Pliny's *Nat. Hist.*, following the commentary on Juvenal.

Florence : Laurentianus 53, 2, A.D. 1474 (comm. only). Copy presented to Giuliano de' Medici, with illuminated borders for the dedic. and essay on satire, and with two notes in Politian's handwriting, on VI 15 and VIII 8.

(Bandini II 587 sq.).

—, Laurentianus, Acquisti e Doni 233, s. XV (comm. only) ; illuminated by Attavante of Florence for the library of Matthias Corvinus. With Calderini's comm. on Statius' *Silvae*, Ovid's *Sappho*, Propertius and excerpts from *Observationes*.

(*) Naples, Nazionale, IV C 39. misc., s. XV. Cf. Jannellius, 100-101, n. 139.

Paris, BN lat. 8078, s. XV (comm. only). Copied from ed. Venice c. 1476/77.

(Catal. Bibl. Regiae IV 425).

(*) Vatican, Vat. lat. 2740, s. XV (comm. only) ; handsomely illuminated.

—, Urbinas lat. 348, s. XV ; (comm. only) ; with Merula's comm. on Juvenal and anon. comm. on Horace ; copied by Angelus Calliensis from ed. Venice c. 1476/77.

(Stornaiolo I 320 sq.).

Lost Manuscripts :

Göttweig, Stiftsbib., formerly Codex I. H. Jaeck, 'Verzeichniss der brauchbarsten Handschriften, welche sich in der Bibliothek

der Abtey Goettweich befinden,' *Isis* (Jena 1822) col. 199. The Ms. is not mentioned in the Göttweig inventory compiled in 1844, and was apparently lost before that date.

Library of Hartmann Schedel of Nuremberg ; R. Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek*, (Freiburg 1908) 110 ; contained also Landino's comm. on Horace and Fonzio's on Persius.

Editions :

1475, Apr. 24, Venetiis (Venice) : Jacobus de Rubeis. HC 9688 ; St J 578 ; BMC 5.214.

(*) 1475, Sept. 15, Brixiae (Brescia) : Henricus de Colonia (comm. only). GW 5885 ; H 4239 ; St C 31.

(*) c. 1476/77, Venice : (comm. only), with letter of Joh. Calpurnius Brixensis to Antonius Moretus Brixensis. GW 5886 ; HC 4238 ; St C 32 ; BMC 8.1148.

(*) 1478, Tarvisii (Treviso). H 9689.

1480, Vincentiae (Vicenza) : Henricus Liberarius. HC 9690 ; St J 580 ; BMC 7. 1044 ; Pol. 2397.

1481, Venetiis (Venice) : Baptista de Tortis. HCR 9691 ; St J 581 ; BMC 5. 321.

(*) [c. 1481, Venice] : 72 fols., a-h, a-b ; f. 60 : 'Emendatum per M.M.A.S.' [Marcum Antonium Sabellicum] ; with Persius, Sat. I. C 3411 ; one of the two copies in BN lacks the Persius.

1482, Venetiis (Venice) : Baptista de Tortis. HR 9692 ; St J 582.

(*) 1483, April 16, Mediolani (Milan) : Leonardus Pachel et Uldericus Scinczenzeller. H 9693 ; St J 583.

1483, July 19, Venetiis (Venice) : Thomas de Alexandria. HC 9694 ; St J 584 ; BMC 5. 317.

1483, July 22, Venetiis (Venice) : Baptista de Tortis. HC 9695 ; St J 585 ; BMC 7. 1138.

1485, March 30, Venetiis (Venice) : Baptista de Tortis. HC 9697 ; St J 586 ; BMC 5. 324.

(*) 1485, June 27, Mediolani (Milan) : Anthonius Zarothus. HR 9696.

(*) [c. 1485, Lyons : Guillaume le Roy ?]. St J 587 ; BMC 8. 239 ; cf. H 9687 ; s.n., a-p, a-e (misc.).

(*) 1486, Brixiae (Brescia) : Jacobus Britannicus. Panzer I 249 ; G. B. Giuliani, *Il Propugnatore*, 6, 1 (1873) 212.

1487, Venetiis (Venice) : Bartholomaeus de Zanis de Portesio. HC 9699 ; St J 588 ; BMC 5. 430 sq.

1488, March 24, Venetiis (Venice) : Andreas Catharensis de Pantheis. HR 9701 ; St J 589 ; Pol. 2398.

1488, July 30, Mediolani (Milan) : Udericus Scinzenzeler. HR 9700.

1490, Lugduni (Lyons) : J. de Prato. C 3412 ; Proctor 8585 ; St J 590 ; BMC 8. 283.

Group III : 1491, Venice ; (*) 1492, March 8, Venice ; 1492, July 5, Milan ; 1492, Dec. 2, Venice.

Group I : 1492, Venice.

Group III : 1494, Turin ; 1494/95, Jan. 28, Venice ; 1495, Lyons ; [c. 1496/97], Venice ; 1497, Nürnberg ; (*) 1497, Venice.

(*) 1498 [Paris, George Wolff]. Ruperti I cxix ; HC 9671.

Group III : 1498, Venice.

(*) 1499, Venetiis (Venice) : Johannes de Tridino. H 9702.

Group III : (*) 1501, Aug. 17, Milan ; 1501, Dec. 10, Venice.

(*) 1583, Venetiis (Venice). Ruperti I cxlii.

1614, Parisiis (Paris) : R. Fouet. Graesse III 520 ; Harles p. 486 ; Ruperti I ccxxiv ; BM ; BN.

Group I : (*) 1637, Paris.

1648, Leyden, and reprints.

Group III : 1685, Utrecht, and reprints.

Doubtful or rejected editions :

(*) 1474, Rome. De Bure III 378 sq., n. 2834 ; Harles 484. Reports of this edition are probably due to the subscription dating the commentary as of Rome 1474.

1475, 'in universitate Lovaniensi' (Louvain) : Johannes de Westphalia. Campbell 1055 ; Clarke IV 210 ; H 9681 ; contains text only ; Panzer I 511. 6 lists correctly ; BM ; BN.

(*) 1477, Venice, Gabriel Petri. Orlandi 352.

1478, Rome. C 1406 lists on basis of the incorrect entry in Marcus and Dufresne, *Bib. Mazarine*: *Cat. des Incunables*, 111, n. 180 ; the volume, Maz. Inc. 180, contains Calderini's *Defensio adv. Brotheum* but not the comm. on Juvenal.

Group III : (*) 1493, Venice ; (*) 1496, Venice ; (*) 1499, Lyons.

(*) 1500 (Venice) : Johannes de Cereto.
Fabricius (ed. Ernesti) 359.

Group III : 1501, Brescia.

Biogr. :

Domitius Calderinus Veronensis (Domizio Calderini). Was b. Torri (near Caldiera, prov. of Verona) c. 1444/46 ; d. Rome 1478. Studied at Verona, Venice, Rome ; professor of rhetoric at Rome 1470 ; apostolic secretary under Sixtus IV, 1471. A violent controversialist, he attacked Perotti and Angelo Sabino and was in turn attacked by Politian and George Merula and defended by Cornelio Vitelli. Had as teachers Antonius Broianicus and Benedictus Brognolus (Bruñulus) ; as pupils, M. A. Sabellico and Aldo Manuzio.

Works : He commented on Juvenal, Martial, Ovid's *Ibis* and *Sappho*, Statius' *Silvae*, Suetonius, Vergil's *Culex* and *Aetna*, some passages of Propertius and Silius, and perhaps on Cicero. He translated portions of Pausanias into Latin ; edited Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Ptolemy's *Geographia* and Quintilian's *Declamationes*. He wrote *Defensio adversus Brotheum*, attacking Perotti's commentaries on Martial and Pliny the Elder, a life of Caesar, a defense of Plato against George Trapezuntius, *Observationes*, letters, orations and poems.

Bibl. : Bayle IV 310-12 ; Chevalier I 751 ; Fabricius-Mansi II 297 ; Nicéron 30, 73-79 ; Rossi, *Quattrocento* (1945) 319, 397 ; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 73-79.

Ph. Bonamicus, *De claris pontificiarum epistolarum scriptoribus* (Rome 1753) 203-5 ; G. B. Giulieri, *Il Propugnatore* V 2 (1872) 255 sqq., et passim ; G. Levi, *Cenni intorno alla vita ed agli scritti di Domizio Calderini* (Padua 1900) ; Maffei, *Verona Illustrata* III 220-30 ; (*) R. Malaboti, *Domizio Calderini : Contributo alla Storia dell' Umanesimo* (Milan 1919. Cf. review by F. Novati in *Giornale storico* 36 [1920] 172 sq.).

27. Georgius Merula

Commentary first printed Venice, between March 15 and May 6, 1478.

Dedic. (ed. Venice, 1498) : Ad invictissimum principem Federicum de Monteferrato Urbini ducem, Georgii Merulae Alexandrini

praefatio in Satirarum Juvenalis Enarrationes. Si in enarrandis poetis, quorum eruditio multiplex varia atque recondita habetur, recentiores magistri priscos grammaticos imitati forent, profecto abditos sensus indagassent, et obscuras ac difficiles quaestiones aliquando explicuissent... At nostri litteratores insolentiae atque imperitiae pleni, quasi omnia noverint quicquid in Latinis litteris occultum atque abstrusum habetur propalam interpretari ausi sunt, quorum impudens temeritas cum rei Latinae, tum maxime discipulis plurimum obfuit... Quam rem sic esse sine controversia percipiems, si paulo diligentius ea rimari voluerimus quae nostra et patrum memoria grammatici, dum Juvenalis satiras explanarent, discipulis annotanda tradiderunt, non [sc. : solum] enim varia ac discrepantia, sed falsa pleraque ac ridicula sensere. Verum quid nos ea exagitamus quae sive [sc. sine] nomine iaceant, cum novissime duo prodiderint [sc. prodierint] commentarii cum auctorum titulis, qui ex veterum scriptorum sententia et auctoritate, cum certius quidam (sc. quiddam) quam superiores attulerint, supra modum elati exposuerint an magis has satiras perturbaverint haud facile dixerim ; nam summa dissensione certantes, dum nimis petulanter se invicem conviciis lacerant, ea fere quae altissimae eruditiois sunt, et ad intelligendas satiras pernecessaria praeteriere. [The reference is to the commentaries of Sabino and Calderini]. Quare in tanta varietate et dissensione exponentium, qui interim vera falsis remisceant, rogantibus amicis quae ad instruendam nobilis poetae expositionem annotassem, emittere tandem volui. Verum ut honestius in publicum exeant, et cum novitatis gratia auctoritatem quoque apud lectorem habeant, tibi Princeps inclite Federice dux Urbinas dicare volui. At dicet aliquis : quid cum Juvenale Federico in maximis belli ac pacis negotiis exercitato... ? Huic ego sic responsum velim : unum esse Juvenalem, quem principes in primis legere, immo ediscere debent, si volunt vitam suam ad Romanorum mores et instituta componere... Hac nimur via laborantibus rebus quotiens opus fuit subveniens, aeternam apud gentes gratiam aeternumque nomen tibi comparasti, domi au-

tem et otio liberales artes amplexus ad erigendas disciplinas fovendaque studia bibliothecam omni librorum genere ornatissimam publicare statuisti... Sed ut ad enarrationes nostras revertar; non ignoro, princeps illustrissime, nec infitior nonnulla me transivisse quae nobilis poeta tangit, neque enim hoc tempore quo pauci admodum extant libri, quibus veterum rerum memoria continetur, etsi plurima varia et diligens nostra fuerit lectio omnia conquirere et consequi potuimus. Quare non me quisquam aut sibi aut poetae iniuriam fecisse putat [sc.: putet] si aliquid forte eorum repetierit, quae a nobis praeterita sunt. At quanto accuratius quam ceteri ea exquisiverimus, quae ad exponendum poetam pertinent, ut celeriter iudicari possit, sparsa per satiras, super quae falsa senserint aut nihil dixerint commentatores, huic meae praefationi subiungere nolui [volui?] ... [list of passages follows.]

Vita: Nec tamen cetera spreverit lector poetae vitam. Iuvenalis satirarum scriptor illustris Aquinas fuisse magis ex eo versu qui sub Umbricii persona legitur, quam alio scribente agnoscitur... Alia ab hoc poeta scripta opera non legimus praeter hos quinque satirarum libros, in quibus non minus laudis adeptus est quam Lucilius aut Horatius, nisi forte magis Latinam satiram illustavit. De cuius origine pauca quaedam pro tempore altius repetenda sunt.

De satirica fabula duabusque satiris. Satirica primum apud Graecos, ut veteres scriptores tradunt, fabula fuit... Quam rem Horatius his verbis testatur: 'Eupolis atque Cratinus... Emunctae naris.' [Serm. I 4. 1-8].

[*Inc.*]: *Semper ego*. Causas hic primum reddit, cur relictæ frequenti poetarum materia satiras potissimum sit aggressus. Quod scilicet per versus vitia[?] scribendæ satiræ amplissimusc ampus detur. Immo Hercule quilibet iners et durus a scribendo temperare vix posset, cum ubique crimine famosus et notatione dignus occurrat. Sed quamquam prisca illa absit libertas crimina et scelera viventium simpliciter describendi, tamen ingenii sui vires in eos experietur, qui iam pridem mortui sunt. *Semper ego auditor*. Indignantis verba, utpote semper audientis

et numquam scripturi. Quo principio fere satirici usi sunt...

[*Expl.*]: (XVI 60) *Torquibus*. Milites item torquibus aureis donatos saepissime legimus, nam et apud Vegetum: 'Torques aureus solidus virtutis praemium fuerat; quem qui meruissent praeter laudem interdum duplas consequebantur annonas.'

Note: Contrast with Merula's censure of the commentaries of Sabino and Calderini the criticism of Merula in Cornelio Vitelli's letter to Ermolao Barbaro, *In defensionem Plinii et Domitii Calderini contra Georgium Merulam* (ed. Gruter, *Thesaurus criticus* I 584 sq.)... Nam commentarios in Iuvenalem non prius edere voluit, quam Guarini, Omniboni, Sabini et Calderini in eundem auctorem commentaria diligenter excusserit et tamen in omnes ingratissimus invehitur, et inter legendum vel potius inter garriendum (non enim illa publica lectio appellari potest, ex qua nemo est qui proficiat), mordet, lacerat, laniat, et eorum obtrectatione sibi famam quaerit...

Manuscripts:

Vatican, Urbinas lat. 348, s. XV, misc., fols. 4v-97v, copied from the *editio princeps* by Angelus Calliensis.

(Stornaiolo I 320 sq.)

—, Urbinas lat. 663, s. XV; a handsome presentation copy, with the Visconti arms, from the library of Federigo of Montefeltro.

(Stornaiolo II 173 sq.).

(*) Modena, Est. lat. 441, s. XV, fols. 2-147v. From the Corvina (G. Fraknoi, *Biblioteca Corvina* [1927] 72, n. 62).

Ferrara, Bib. Civica II 103, s. XV; part I. Excerpts only; Procacci describes them as brief, but they are actually very extensive, especially on *Satires* I-II and XVI.

(Procacci, *Studi Ital.* 19 [1912] 28).

(*) Stuttgart, Poet. et philol. Q 11, misc., s. XV (reported by P. O. Kristeller).

Editions:

Group II: 1478, Venice; 1478, Treviso.

Group I: (*) 1492, Venice.

Group III: (*) c. 1496/97, Venice; 1497, Venice; 1498, Venice.

Group III: (*) 1501, Milan; 1501, Venice.

Note: Britannico's popular commentary, first published 1501, incorporated the more useful parts of Merula's work, which may

account for the lack of reprints after this date.

Doubtful or rejected editions :

(*) 1474, Venetiis (Venice) : Johannes de Colonia et Johannes Manthes. Harles 484 ; Panzer III 157 ; H 11089 ; Juvenal, ed. Ruperti, I cv. Ruperti thinks Harles' entry is due to confusion with the 1475 ed. of Calderini's commentary, with its subscription dated 1474 ; it may also be due to confusion with Merula's attack on Calderini's commentary on Martial.

Group I : (*) 1486, Brescia.

Group III : (*) 1486, Brescia ; (*) 1493, Venice, two editions ; (*) 1498, Lyons ; (*) 1498, Paris ; (*) 1507, Leipzig.

Biogr. :

Georgius Merula Alexandrinus (Giorgio Merula, Merlani of Alessandria). Was b. Alessandria 1430/31 ; d. Milan 1494. Studied at Milan, Padua and Venice under Filelfo, Galeotto Marzio and Gregorio Tifernate. Taught at Milan, Venice, Pavia and from 1486 to his death 1494 again at Milan. Among his students were Baldassare Castiglione, Trissino and Giulio Emilio Ferrari. Was instrumental in discovering important classical MSS. at Bobbio, and notable for his editions of classical authors. A violent controversialist, he attacked Calderini for his commentary on Martial and was accused of ingratitude to his teacher Filelfo ; his friendship with Politian turned to active hostility after publication of the latter's *Miscellanea* ; his *Centuriae*, an attack on Politian's work perished with many of his other unprinted writings after his death, but two treatises against Politian and Beccalario have been recently discovered in a Naples Ms. (cf. Perosa).

Works : He edited classical authors, including the *editio princeps* of Plautus. Commented on Cicero's *Pro Ligario* and Ep. IX *Ad Lentulum*, on Juvenal, Martial, Ovid's *Sappho*, Pliny the Elder, *Scriptores hist. Augustae*. Statius and Suetonius. His *Quaestiones Plautinae* were unfinished at his death and are not preserved. He translated Xiphilinus' lives of Trajan, Nerva and Hadrian. Historical works include *Bellum Scodrense* and *Historia Vicecomitum*.

Bibl. : Argelati I 197-202 ; II 2, 2134-36 ;

Brunet III 1663 ; Fabricius-Mansi V 68 sq. ; Nicéron 7, 86-97 ; Rossi, *Quattrocento* (1945) 386 sq. et *passim* ; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 567 sq. ; 1084-90.

F. Gabotto and A. Badini Confalonieri, *Vita di Giorgio Merula* (Alessandria 1893) ; *Giornale de' Letterati d'Italia* 17 (1714) 291-333 ; Giovio, *Elogia vir. lit. ill.* 71 sq. ; (*) L. Giuliano, *Valore e Metodo dei Commenti di G. Merula* (Palermo 1899) ; A. Perosa, 'Documenti di Polemiche Umanistiche,' *Rinascimento* 1 (1950) 178-82. M. Santoro, 'La polemica Poliziano-Merula,' *Giornale italiano di filologia* 5 (1952) 212-233.

28. *Georgius Valla Placentinus*

Commentary dated Venice, November 8, 1486. Notable for its inclusion of the collection of old scholia, which he ascribed to the grammarian Probus, but which, in spite of his assertions to the contrary, he edited uncritically, and without a clear distinction between this material and comments from other sources.

Dedic. : (ed. Venice 1492) *Perspecta pri- dem mihi tua, Iohannes Tucci, vir illustris, vita integerrima me tibi plurimum devincit, et cum edendos censeremus tantopere efflagitatos quos in Iuvenalem vitiorum acer- rimum reprehensorem scripsimus commen- tarios eos tibi emittendos dicandosque existimavi... quo deinceps liberis tuis dis- cipulis nostris quos innocentissimae esse vitae cupis legendum atque adeo ediscen- dum exhibeas. Vale.*

Introd. : Iuvenalis satirae intellectu obscurae a plerisque non iniuria iudicari solent. Non equidem quo verborum durior significatio, accersita novitas, vetustasve ulla ab nostrarum isto dicendi more abhorrens ignorantiam sensibus, quo minus dilucide accipiantur obiciat... At rerum tam multiplex copia tantaque in hoc poeta eruditio est, ut cuius cuncta explicare multo difficillimum sit, eo autem difficilius hoc tempore, quod et Latinorum et Graecorum multa perierunt, quae si non desint, ut aliorum, ita huius poetae plurima melius nobis apertum iri confidam. Sane comperti mihi sunt nuper Probi grammatici in Iuvenalem commentarii quan- tum adhuc audiverimi nulli alii cogniti, sed

miraे brevitatis, alioquin tamen perquam opportunos aliquando se nobis obtulerunt: obtulissent vero sese adhuc magis nisi nobis singula rimantibus codicis nimium cariosa invidisset vetustas, et si in omnes libros comparati habeantur, qui vix tertii libri secundam attigere satiram [i.e. to VIII 128]. Invigilavimus vero ipsi si modo id consequi poterimus, ut omnis huius poetae pateret eruditio; Probi interpretamenta eiusmodi ea fuerunt, quae plane peregrina sunt; ne in minima quidem parte subtraximus aut immutavimus. Ceterum quanam peritia nostra et quoniam demum iudicio aliena tradiderimus docti et pariter acuti viri iudicarint, quae quomodocumque sint, talia esse puto ut nec nos nec alios nostrae paeniteat pigate que industriae. Sed de Iuvenale ipso iam a principio Probi verbis, dein paucis quod sentiam ipse dicere aggredior. Iunius Iuvenalis libertini locupletis incertum filius an alumnus [*Vita I*]... Haec de auctoris genere. Porro quid sit et unde satira dicatur paucis concludemus, quando id uberrime a nobis ubi de arte poetica sicut de ceteris quoque liberalibus disciplinis locuti sumus [i.e., *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*] ut locus exigebat expositum puto... De satira hactenus.

[*Inc.*]: *Semper ego*. Ab indignatione multi hunc orsum fuisse existimant, sicut Persius coepit...

[*Expl.*]: (XVI 60) *Et torquibus omnes*. Ut qui pro victoria corpus suum totiens periculis obiectavit, is meritis eminentioribus apud imperatorem excellat et excellentissimis muneribus eniteat. Finis in Decimo Iunio Iuvenali Aquinate commentarii Georgii Vallae Placentini.

Editions:

1486, Venetiis (Venice): Antonius de Strata Cremonensis. HC 9703; St J 591; BMC 5. 294.

Group III: [1490?], Venice; 1491, Venice; 1492, March 8, Venice; (*) 1492, July 5, Milan; 1492, Dec. 2, Venice; 1494, Turin; 1494/5, Venice; 1495, Lyons; [1496/97?], Venice; 1497, Nürnberg; (*) 1497, Venice; 1498, Venice.

Group I: 1648, Leyden, and reprints.

Group III: 1685, Utrecht, and reprints; contains selections only.

Doubtful or rejected edition:

Group III: (*) 1493, Venice.

Biogr.:

See above under Alexander XVI 1.

G. Valla's commentary on Juvenal is notable for its inclusion of the old scholia which he attributed to Probus.

Bibl.: Bayle XIV 324-7; Fabricius-Mansi VI 572 sqq.; Sabbadini, *Scoperte* I 149; Trithemius 386; Zeno, *Diss. Voss.* II 314.

Chr. Stephan, *De Pithoeanis in Iuvenalem Scholiis* (Bern 1882) 26 sq.; P. Wessner, *Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora* (Leipzig 1930) xx-xxiii.

29. Angelus Politianus

Bartholomeus Galathanus recorded *Annotationes in Iuvenalem Angeli Politiani* in Ms. Ravenna 237, from Politian's lectures in Florence, probably in 1485/86 (cf. C. Marchesi, *Bartolomeo della Fonte* 122). Fol. 142v has the subscription: 'Quinterionis huius scripta sunt Bartholomei Galathani super satyris tribus sub Angelo collecta.' A full and individual commentary which reflects Politian's scholarly interests and methods, as characteristic excerpts given below indicate.

[*Inc.*]: Consultat in primis satiricus poeta scribendumne sibi sit; quod faciendum iure sibi proponit ex molestiis quas cotidie malos poetas audiendo perpessus est. Deinde consultat quid potissimum scribendum sit, sed adductis rationibus permultis asserit tandem satiram scribendam esse. *Reponam. Numquamne vicem parem his reddam?*...

I 116: *Crepitat concordia nido*. Locum hunc hactenus male ab omnibus expositum dicit A. [Angelus]. Quod enim de ciconiis dicitur, consuevisse scilicet parentes suos senes mutuo nutrire ut illi filios nutrivissent, hoc non ad concordiam sed ad pietatem esse referendum; est enim in parentes pietas et non concordia. Dicit A. intelligendum esse de columbis sive de pavone, nam dicit vidisse se in antiquis numismatibus sculptam esse deam Concordiam, supraque eius caput avem etiam esse sculptam quae, etsi recte discerni non posset, videri tamen sibi vel columbam esse vel pavonem feminam...

II 66: *Multicia*. Dicit A. ignotum esse omnibus quamvis multi multa dicant, quae

vestis haec multicia fuerit, de qua apud nullum legitur, se autem existimare fuisse vestem quam Coam plures dixerunt.

II 91-2 : *Talia secreta...Cotyto....Locum hunc a nullo hactenus intellectum esse dicit A. Domitiumque [Calderinum] summopere damnat qui *Cocytion* legit et qui intelligit de sacris Cereris, dicens hoc nomine fuisse ab Atheniensibus appellatam, quod nusquam reperiri dicit, a nullisque auctoribus esse traditum.*

II 97 : *Galbana rasa*. Credit A. fuisse vestes croceas, *giallas* dictas a colore, dicitque hac ratione moveri quia Teutonici appellant sua lingua *el ricobolo galbana dal colore*, unde *forse sono dicte queste veste ancora dal colore*. Sed de hoc nihil exstare, difficileque esse iudicare nostro tempore quae fuerit vestis.

III 4 : *Ianua Baiarum*. Non absolute pro ingressu accipit A., ut alii faciunt, nam ipse intelligit de porta quadam magna quae Cumis erat, cuius non quicquam restare vestigii ait...

III 112 ; *Aulam* [as in many MSS., for *aviam*]...fortasse dixit *aulam* pro *ollam*, ut antiqui dicebant, et *caudicem* pro *codicem*, nam sane diphthongorum loco o utebantur...

V 155 : *Ab hirsuta iaculum torquere capella*...Lege Domitium qui recte exponit. Alexandrinus [Merula] vero intelligit hastas amento iactatas...Nostra vero sententia est quod timentes flagello caprino verberari discebant intorquere hastas.

VII 110 : *Ad dubium nomen*. Ad dubiam litem, vel ad dubium nomen, id est ad dubiam partitam, ut ita dicam, vernacula enim dicimus nomen *la partita*.

VII 139 : *Ut redeant veteres* [*Fidimus eloquio?* is the accepted reading]. Langobardus codex idemque antiquissimus non sic legit, sed hoc pacto : *Fidimus eloquio Ciceroni nemmo ducentos*. Quod in codicibus vulgaribus est, glosam dicit A. esse in antiquo codice. Ergo legemus *Fidimus eloquio?*...[One of many references to the old codex also cited in the *Miscellanies*, which has been identified as Vatican, Lat. 3286, s. XI, written in Beneventan script; its readings correspond closely to those of Politian both in this commentary and in his *Miscellanies*].

VIII 8. *Famosos*. *Famosos* legit Angelus, adducens in medium auctoritatem Plinii in

Epistulis...neque tamen improbat lectio- nem Domitii qui ait *famosos esse legendum*, verum maxime probat atque laudat.

X 98 : *Ut rebus laetis par sit mensura ma- lorum*. Unde Petrarcha dixit : 'Mille piaceri non vaglano um tormento.'

X 100 : *Potestas*. Et nos tempestate nos- tra dicimus praetores ipsos *potestates* [cf. *podestà*] quod vocabulum ex hoc Iuvenalis loco constat esse Latinum.

XI 20 : *Ludi*. Id est scholae ipsius lanistae, ludus enim et litterarius ipse locus dicitur ; relinque autem hoc loco mille nugas milleque interpretum ineptias.

XIV 97 : *Nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant*. Romani assueti simulacris suis fri- volam existimabant eorum fidem quae nulla simulacra habebant, credentes eos adorare nubes, cum omnium rerum creatorem adora- rent, nullo erecto simulacro, quod et nostri canones etiam in *Decretis* prohibent, nolunt enim pro Deo ipsa simulacra adorari. Sed quoniam mulierculae quae gentilibus simula- cris assuetae erant, non facile credidissent simulacris amotis, ideo factum est ut nostra quoque religio simulacra haberet.

[Expl.] : (XVI 60) *Et torquibus omnes*. Deest hic sensus, clareque appetet satiram hanc esse imperfectam.

Manuscript :

Ravenna, Bib. Classense, 237, s. XV, fols. 111-219 ; preceded by anon. comm. on Ver- gil's *Eclogues* and comm. on *Aeneid* from Politian's lectures, and followed by Pelle- grino Allio's comm. on Juvenal I-VI.

(Mazzatinti IV 194).

Florence, Laurentianus 53, 2, the presen- tation copy of Calderini's comm., has mar- ginal notes in Politian's handwriting on VI 115 and VIII 8, the latter with a cross-re- ference to the *Miscellanies*.

Note : References to Politian by other com- mentators on Juvenal are drawn from the comments on several disputed passages in- corporated in Politian's *Miscellanies*, pu- blished 1489. Several of these are printed in the 1514 Milan and 1519 Paris editions of Britannico's comm. (Group III).

Biogr. :

See above, under Alexander XVII 4.

Politian wrote prologues in prose and verse for his lectures on numerous classical

authors ; his commentaries on Juvenal and Vergil are preserved only in students' notes.

Bibl. : Bayle XII 200-13 ; Fabricius-Mansi I 96 ; Sabbadini, *Scoperte* I 151-56 ; Sandys II 83-86 ; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 1604-17 *et passim*.

P. Jovius, *Virorum illustrium elogia* 73-75 ; Del Lungo, *Florentia: Uomini e Cose del Quattrocento* (Florence 1897) ; G. B. Picotti, *Giornale storico* 65 (1915) 263-303 ; 66, 52-94 ; (*) P. Michelli, *La Vita e le Opere di A. Poliziano* (Livorno 1917).

30. Johannes Baptista Valentinus Cantalicius

Commentary dated : Perugia, July 26, 1488 ; autograph Ms. dated Viterbo, 1492 : 'Absolutum Perusiae MCCCCLXXXVIII, die xxvi mensis Julii. Ibi eodem Cantalycio publice profitente. Editum autem Viterbii MCCCCLXXXII.' The commentary, which was evidently intended for intelligent younger students, includes much material from Calderini, and from Politian's *Miscellanea*.

Dedic. : Cantalycio [sc. Cantalycii] ad illustrissimum principem Guidum Urbini ducem in Iuvenalis satiram interpretatio... inter pietatis misericordiaeque officia... illud profecto, esurientes scilicet pascere, nisi mente capior, praecipue commendatur. Cuius commendationis ut gloriam adipisceret, censui mihi quoque pro rerum meorum facultate esurientium turbae esse aliquid erogandum... tandem venit in mentem, non aliter me eorum esuritionem plenius explore posse quam si ego quoque in tanta scriptorum copia scriptura aliqua concreparem... obtulit [sc. se] mihi prae ceteris satirus Iuvenalis, in quo interpretando per multi infinita criticorum ora esurientium explevere... Iacuit haec autem in tenebris interpretatio, ex quo gloriostissimus ille pater tuus... Federicus... animam reddidit... Scripsere ante nostra tempora in suavissimi huius poetae nostri satiras permulti... De Laurentio, Tortellio, Gaspare meo Veronensi, Porcello, Philepho, ceterisque eius aetatis clarissimis viris verba non facio, qui sicut Romanas litteras e tenebris deque barbarie eripuerunt, ita huius praeclarissimi satiri ar-

gutissimas sententias ignorarunt. Quod nulla alia ratione evenisse putaverim, quam ut huic nostrae aetati aliquid gloriae reservaretur... Scripsere autem de nostris, quos scierim, in hunc poetam Domitius Veronensis, Alexandrinus Merula, Georgius Valla, et Angelus Sabinus. E quibus omnibus Domitius vir nostra aetate ad bona studia et graeca et latina ingeniosissimus optime ac perspicacissime omnium scripsit... Quem ego in hac mea interpretatione ita sum aemulatus in his quibus mihi verus videtur interpres ut multa per eadam verba, multa ab eius verbis parum immutata protulerim. Quae autem aut nimis obscura aut frequenter intatta reliquit, adeo clara atque adeo explanata reddidimus, ut vides [sc. vide licet] quoque iam pueri Iuvenalis satiras valeant intelligere... Politianus noster nostri temporis maximum ornamentum... loca in hoc poeta in suis accuratissimis *Miscellaneis* ex erroris nebula strenuissime liberavit, cuius sententias suis in locis pro rerum necessitate ingenue proferemus... Et papyro velim ignoscas. Non enim potuit angusta facultas huic muneri tuo, ut decebat, membrana volumina suppeditare. Vale.

Introd. : De satira unde sit appellata. Cum ergo satiras simus exposituri, antequam ad expositionem deveniamus, de ipsa satira aliquid enarreremus. Satirae unde defluxerit nomen varia est auctorum opinio... Ad quarum clarissimam interpretationem iam accedamus, si prius Romanae Academiae professores nostros ad incepta invocabimus, et poetae vitam sexdecim nostris versibus enarraverimus.

Poetae vita :

Hic est ille tibi Satirus quem misit
[Aquinum...]

Clausit eo factus languidus orbe diem.

[*Inc.*] : *Semper ego*. Ex omnibus somniis quos interpres quos supra commemoravi enarraverunt, illud quidem perridiculum est, quod a primae huius satirae argumento penitus discesserunt...

[*Expl.*] : (XV 173 ; *Satires XV and XVI reversed*) *Non omne*. Quia fabis abstinuit, vescebatur itaque holeribus. Unde dixit supra : 'Et culti villicus horti, unde epulum possis dare centum Pythagoreis' [III 229-30]. Finis.

Manuscript:

Vatican, Urbinas lat. 662, A.D. 1492; autograph presentation copy.

(Stornaiolo II 172 sq.; G. Zannoni, 'Il Cantalicio alla Corte di Urbino,' *Rendiconti dei Lincei* 5.3 [1895] 483 sq.).

Vat. lat. 7716, s. XV, contains the text of Juvenal with marginal notes written by Cantalicio at the request of his friend Paulus; these notes have no relation to the commentary described above, but are chiefly derived from Filetico, as their similarity to the corresponding passages in Riccard. 1190, written in Rome, 1469/70 from Filetico's lectures indicates. Yet Cantalicio's list of commentators on Juvenal does not include Filetico's name.

Biogr.:

Johannes Baptista Valentinus Cantalicius (Giambattista Valentini, Il Cantalicio). Was b. Cantalice (Abruzzi) c. 1450; died, Bishop of Atri and Penna, c. 1514. Studied under Gaspare Veronese; was closely associated with Pomponio Leto, Pietro Marso and others of the Roman Academy. From c. 1470 he taught successively at Rome, San Gimignano, Siena, Foligno, Florence, Volterra, Pisa, Rieti, Spoleto, Perugia, Viterbo, Cantalice and elsewhere. He boasted at one time that 70 of his students were teaching in Italian cities. A popular teacher, he was too quarrelsome to hold any post long. By 1492 he was at the court of Urbino, where he composed an epic on Federigo of Montefeltro for school use, and dedicated his commentary on Juvenal to Federigo's son Guidubaldo. Later he moved to Rome under patronage of the Borgias, staged classical and contemporary comedies, and tutored Alexander Borgia's grandnephew. 1503 he became Bishop of Atri and Penna. He visited the court of Naples but did not succeed in establishing himself there.

Works: Of his commentaries on Latin authors only that on Juvenal seems to be preserved. He wrote *Canones brevissimi grammatices et metrices*; many poems, including *Gesta Phederici*, *Gonsalvia*, *Iudicium Paridis*, *Epigrammata*, including many poems in honor of other scholars, *Ufficio della... Vergine Maria*, and numerous orations.

Bibl.: Brunet I 1547-49; Rossi, *Quattrocento* (1945) 388 sq.; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 1389 sq.

B. Croce, 'Sulla vita e le opere del Cantalicio,' *Archivio Storico per le provincie Napoletane* 49 (1924) 155-91; P. A. Messini, 'Il Cantalicio maestro di scuola a Foligno,' *Giornale Storico* 115 (1940) 15-38; M. Morici, 'Giambattista Valentini detto Il Cantalicio a San Gimignano,' *Misc. Storica della Valdelsa* 13 (1905) 9-43; (*) F. A. Soria, *Memorie storico-critiche degli Storici Napoletani* (Naples 1781) I 124 sqq.; G. Zannoni, 'Il Cantalicio alla Corte di Urbino,' *Rendiconti dei Lincei* 5.3 (1895) 485-507.

31. *Bartholomeus Fontius*

Commentary compiled 1489 or 1490 from lectures given at Florence, 1486/87, in rivalry with Politian's lectures on Juvenal in the previous year (cf. Marchesi, *Bartolomeo della Fonte*, 122-28). The date of compilation is supported by the use of Politian's *Miscellanea* published 1489, and by the fact that references to the commentary of Mancinelli, first published 1492, are inserted only as marginal additions. This work differs notably from Fonzio's commentary on Persius and from previous commentaries on Juvenal; it is very selective, and is composed chiefly of criticism of the opinions of Calderini, Valla, Merula, and Politian. Fonzio often violently attacked their interpretations, especially those of Merula and Politian, and his admiration for Calderini did not prevent him from censoring the latter's ideas in some cases. He cites manuscript authority as well as the evidence of other Latin writers in support of his own interpretations, but often claims that all MSS. give a certain reading, when only a few actually give it, e.g., in his defense of the reading *Gethis*, against *Chattis*, in IV 147. On III 263, he suggests the reading *strigibus* on the authority of 'antiquissimum Francisci Gaddii nostri codicem,' referring to Vatic. lat. 3266, s. XI, the old codex in Lombard script to which Politian often refers. Characteristic of his method is the long note on III 307, in which he criticizes George Valla's identification of *gallinaria pinus* with Livia's villa at Veii, with

this comment : Quae cum ita sint, quis etiam libipientibus oculis non prospicit villam ad Gallinas grassatores illos non insedisse multis de causis?

Bartholomei Fontii annotationum in Iuvenalem ad Laurentium Strozam liber primus.

Introd. : In vita Juvenalis referenda, Laurenti carissime, parum constat Georgio Merulae relegatum propterea eum fuisse, quod Paridem pantomimum taxaverit. Unde eos requirit scriptores, quorum testimonio quidam freti id scripserunt... Quibus iniuriosis carminibus cum aperte Paridem histrionem laeserit, 'Iratique histrionis exulem poetam' Sidonius dixerit, superest in gratiam Paridis a Domitiano Juvenalem in Aegyptum missum esse.

[*Inc.*] : *Numquam reponam? Domitius [Calderinus] reponere pro eo quod est reficere et resarcire iacturae temporis audiendo amissi interpretatur. Merula vero Tortellum in dictione *prologus* imitatur...*

[*Expl.*] : (VI 44) *Quem toties texit perituri cista Latini... Latini autem propterea meminit, quod Latinus mimus eam rem ludicram iam saepe in scaena egerat. Sed in Latino, quemcumque conscientium adulteriorum Ursidii debemus accipere.*

Manuscript :

Florence, Riccardianus 1172, s. XV; with Fonzio's *Observationes in primum librum Livii de secundo Punico bello* and *Annales suorum temporum* (1448-1483).

(C. Marchesi, *Bartolomeo della Fonte* [Catania 1900] ch. iv).

Riccardianus 153, s. XV, contains *Excerpta ex variis auctoribus*, compiled by Fonzio, including, fols. 135-39v, *Ad Juvenalem quaedam annotationes*, on Satires II-III, VI-IX, XI-XIII, XVI. These differ in selection and content from those in Riccard. 1172, and include only a few references to the opinions of other commentators.

Fonzio's *Oratio in satyrae et studiorum humanitatis laudationem*, delivered in Florence in 1486/87, was printed in *B. Fontii Orationes*, Florentiae, S. Jacobus de Ripolis, 1478 (according to the dating in a copy in the British Museum; listed as of 1477 in Hain 7227). This oration was obviously intended to introduce his lectures on Juvenal.

[*Inc.*] : Anno superiori Q. Horatii satira

explicata, series ipsa satirica visa est et ordo interpretationis exigere ut Juvenalem potissimum deligam. Quem equidem aggredior tanto libentius, quanto in vitiis reprehendens est durior et ingenio meo convenientior...

[*Expl.*] : ... pro meritis lucubrationum nostrarum prospiciatis. Finis.

Biogr. :

Bartholomaeus Fontius (Bartolomeo Fonzi or della Fonte). Was b. Florence 1445; d. Florence 1513. Studied at Florence under Landino, Argiropulo, and Bernardo Nuzzi. In 1476 went to Ferrara where he enjoyed the patronage of Duke Borso and the friendship of Battista Guarini. Visited other Italian cities, including Rome. Returned to Florence 1472; served as corrector for the press of S. Jacobus in Ripoli, where his *Explanatio in Persium*, the first printed commentary on that author, appeared in 1477. In 1481 was appointed to the chair of eloquence vacated by Filelfo's death. At first an admirer and friend of Politian, he became his bitter enemy. Renowned as poet, teacher, editor and orator, he was an active participant in current controversies and a severe but often judicious critic of other scholars. In 1489 he went to Hungary to organize the library of Matthias Corvinus at Buda. From his return to Florence to his death in 1513, he lived in retirement, and from 1493 held the benefice of S. Giovanni of Monte Murlo in the diocese of Pistoia, whence he returned in 1511 to Florence, where he died 1513.

Works : He edited many classical texts, including the *editio princeps* of Cornelius Celsus; he commented on Persius, Juvenal, Book XXI of Livy, Valerius Flaccus and perhaps Aristotle, *Politics*. He translated Apollonius Rhodius; the translation of *Iliad* I, 1-525 in Ms. Riccard. 904, formerly assigned to him, is attributed by Ferri to Pilato. He wrote an essay *De asse, mensurisque et ponderibus*, which is printed in editions of his *Explanatio in Persium*. He wrote *Annales suorum temporum*, for the years 1448/83, and numerous letters, orations and poems.

Bibl. : Bayle VI 519; *Encycl. Ital.* 12 (1931) 546; Fabricius-Mansi II 583; Rossi, *Quattrocento* (1945) 388; Sabbadini, *Sco-*

perte I 150 sq.; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 1599-1601.

F. Ferri, 'Per una supposta traduzione di Omero del Fonzio', *Athenaeum* 4 (1916) 312-20; L. Frati, 'Rime inedite di B. Fonzio,' *Giornale storico* 47 (1906) 286-97; C. Marchesi, *Bartolomeo della Fonte* (Catania 1900).

32. Antonius Mancinellus *Veliternus*

Commentary dated Venice, June 1492.

Dedic. (ed. Venice, 1492): Antonii Mancinelli Veliterni ad Reverendum... Nicolaum Rubeum... in Juvenalis satirici poetae commentarios praefatio. Edidere hactenus commentationes in Juvenalem... viri clarissimi quattuor: Sabinus, Calderinus, Merula, Georgius Valla. Quintus igitur ipse accedam; est enim opus omnium difficillimum; hinc plurimorum studio, plurimorum doctrina, acumine, expositione, iudicio indiget. Praedicti quattuor multa reconditissima in lucem dedere; multa expositu necessaria tamquam facillima omiserunt; quo circa doctissimis etiam elaborandum ut auditoribus satisfacerent. Ego vero (quamquam minime vitiosum est si quid in re infinita omiseris) nihil fere intactum, nihil implicitum, nodosum nihil reliqui; ita subacta explicata enodata passim mihi sunt omnia.... Poterunt ergo iamiam quicumque Juvenalis satiras adolescentibus facilime interpretari... Tex- tum quoque mendosum prius emendatissimum habent et punctis suis notatum; id namque potissimum debet esse interpreti... . Animadventent praeterea locis me quamplurimum superiorum sententiis non haesisse; neque alienis demum institisse vestigiis... Suscipe igitur Mancinelli tui grata munuscula... Id enim omne Juvenalis satira continet, meaque officiosa sedulitas et diligens lucubratio auxit, lateque ampliavit. Vive et vale. Datum Venetiis quinto Idus Iunias anno Christianae salutis MCCXXII.

Introd.: *Juvenalis Comoda per Antonium Mancinellum. Semper ego auditor tantum.* Haec prima Juvenalis celeberrimi utilissimique poetae satira est, quo carminis genere primus insignem laudem adeptus est apud Italos Lucilius... Si quis itaque Juvenalem ipsum divinum sane poetam morum-

que censorem quam optimum non amaverit amandoque intelligere ediscere non curaverit, quantum ab ipso virtutis vestibulo seu fonte aberret, omnium est iudicium.

De satira per Antonium Mancinellum. Satira est carmen apud Romanos maledicuum, et ad carpendum hominum vitia compositum... et genus carminis ubi de multis rebus disputatur.

Loca quaedam a pluribus vel intacta vel secus ab aliis quam Antonio Mancinello exposita; quibus cognitis facile quid in ceteris senserit nosci poterit. Satira prima. *Antrum Vulcani... Corpora quae valido saliunt excussa petauro.*

[*Inc.*]: Argumentum satirae primae. Prima docet satirae causas, formamque libelli. Indignatus poeta quod diutius auditor esset, quod spadones uxorem ducerent... Quid in mortuos concedatur experiri velle concludit.

Semper ego. Latini quidem poetae ubi tractanda proposuere, invocare deinde, postremo narrare solent. Satirici vero nec invocant, nec breviter quicquam primitus dicendum proponunt, sed ex abrupto cum indignatione incipientes, de quibus locuturi sunt longiori processu proponunt [cf. Comm. 2]. Itaque cum indignatione Juvenalis erumpit...

[*Expl.*]: (XVI 60) *Torquibus.* Circulis aureis a collo ad pectus pendentes [pendentibus?]. Vegetius libro secundo scribit... *Omnes.* Videlicet milites. Gloria et laus Deo. *Editions:*

Group III: 1492, Venice; 1494/95, Venice; 1497, Nürnberg; (*) 1497, Venice; 1498, Lyons.

Group III: 1501, Lyons; (*) 1501, Milan; 1501, Venice; (*) 1505/6, Paris.

(*) 1511, Lugduni (Lyons): Stephen Gueynard. Achaintre, II 54; Panzer VII 296.172.

Group III: (*) 1512, Lyons; (*) 1513, Paris; 1515, Lyons; (*) 1517, Lyons;

(*) 1517, (Cologne). Panzer XI 397.270 b; Ruperti I cxiv; Schweiger II 502.

Group III: (*) 1518, Milan; (*) 1519, Paris; (*) 1523, Lyons.

Group I: (*) 1637, Paris.

Doubtful or rejected editions:

Group III: (*) 1493, Brescia; (*) 1493, Venice; (*) 1494, Paris; (*) 1506/7, Paris.

(*) 1512, Parisiis (Paris): Gulielmus Ru-

beus ; contains the comm. of Badius Ascensius and the introduction and arguments, but not the comm. of Mancinelli, according to Renouard's description. Schweiger II 502 ; Renouard, *Badius* II 540 ; BM ; BN.

1613, *Coloniae Allobrogum* (Geneva) : Petrus de la Rovi  re ; contains Juvenal and Persius with Curio's *Adnotatiunculae*, and Mancinelli's introduction, but not the commentary. BM. (MH).

Note : Mancinelli's one-line verse arguments for the individual satires were frequently printed both in text editions and with other men's commentaries ; they superseded those of Guarino Veronese. As the list of editions shows, Mancinelli's commentary was very popular from the outset, being regularly included with those of Calderini, Merula and George Valla in editions of Juvenal 'cum quattuor commentariis,' and also published with that of Britannico.

Biogr. :

Antonius Mancinellus Veliternus (Antonio Mancinelli [nickname substituted for the family name, Palombo] Veliterno).

Was b. Velletri 1452 ; d.c. 1506. Pupil of Pomponio Leto. He was a grammarian by profession and his works were chiefly intended for the instruction of younger students. His scholarship was severely censured by Pontano and Florido Sabino. From 1473 he was head of the school at Velletri, whence he moved in 1485 to Sermoneta ; 1486 he went to Rome, 1491 to Fano, 1492 to Venice. Returned to teach at Velletri in 1494, but moved to Orvieto 1498 and 1500 to Rome. Date and place of death are uncertain ; his last published work appeared 1506, perhaps posthumously.

Works : He composed commentaries on Cicero's *Rhetorica*, Horace, Juvenal, *Disticha Catonis*, Suetonius and Vergil's *Elegies* and *Georgics* ; wrote various grammatical treatises in prose and verse, including *Epilome seu regulae constructionis*, *Vocum proprietates*, *Latini sermonis emporium*, etc., and *Lima quaedam et Tortellii et Laurentii Vallae*.

Bibl. : Bayle X 184-87 ; Brunet III 1353 sq. ; Fabricius-Mansi I 119-21 ; Nic  ron 38, 314-29 ; Tiraboschi VI (1824) 1572 sq. ; Ph. Renouard, *Badius* III 64-71.

33. *Jodocus Badius Ascensius*

Commentary dated : Lyons. November 18, 1498.

Dedic. : (ed. Lyons. 1498) Iodocus Badius Ascensius Henrico Valuphino... salutem plurimam dicit. Cum hisce diebus in ludo tuo Lugdunensi, virorum praestantissime. Vergiliana Bucolica accuratius interpretarer, animadverti divinum illum ac plane incomparabilem artificem... Interea, virorum optime, amica suscipe manu has nostras in Iuvenalem tam familiares explanationes... nullum enim verbum praetermis, cuius aut explanationem aut contextum sive ordinem non consecutus fuerim. Quod non eo tamen animo feci quo litteras bonas praestituerem — multa etenim bonis ingenii subtilius explananda, multa doctis addenda, multa studiosis latius exponenda consulto reliquimus — sed quo bonos mores vel ex hoc poeta addiscere volentibus aditum facerem. Nam complures altioribus vacantes negotiis, aut propter commentariorum prolixitatem, aut propter auctoris obscuritatem hunc poetam legere recusantes, nunc uno intuitu et ordinem et explanationem, si non fallor, libenter amplectentur. Praeposuimus autem Antonii Mancinelli [in editions of Venice 1522, 1523, 1539, 1548 : Ioannis Britannici], viri eruditissimi commentarios, ut qui maiora velint, ad manum habeant... Accipe igitur... exiguum hoc munusculum, non eius egens... sed ut multos mortales in litteratura rudiusculos demereare. Haec summa est. Vale litterarum decus. Lugduni ad xiii calen. Decembris. Anno salutis nostrae MCCCCXCVIII.

Iuvenalis Vita per Ascensium [Not in all editions] : Decii Iunii Iuvenalis vita non satis integra fide a Probo narratur ; nec quicquam explorati posteriores habuere... Scriptis satiras XVI, quas in libros dividere nec Calderino nec aliis peritis placuit.

[*Inc.*] : *Semper ego. Quattuor in hac satira prosequitur poeta. Primum aegre ferens quod totiens poetas recitantes audiverit nec quicquam scripserit et ita illis vicem quodammodo rependerit, innuit sibi quoque scribendum esse...*

[*Expl.*] : (XVI 60) Ut omnes sub eo militantes sint *laeti phaleris*, id est ornamentis

equorum suorum, *et torquibus*, id est catenis ex auro intorto ; quae equitibus iuratis dantur. Haec sunt, lector optime, quae quanta maxime potuimus facilitate atque brevitate litterarum tironi explicuimus, ad quem sic perorare lubet....[Verses follow, with the title, 'Ascensius ad literariae militiae tyrunculum.']}

Editions :

Listed by Ph. Renouard, *Badius* II 535 sqq. ; sixteen editions from 1498 to 1548.

Edition not listed by Renouard :

Group III : 1522, Venice.

Biogr. :

Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Josse Bade, or de Baun, D'Aasche or van Asche). Was b. at Aasche near Ghent, 1462 ; d. Paris c. 1535. Studied at Ghent, Louvain, at Ferrara under Battista Guarini, and at Mantua under Beroaldo the Elder. Combined teaching, editing and printing, first at Lyons from 1491, where he taught in the college of Henri Valuphin ; then at Paris, where he taught Greek from 1499 and managed his own printing-press from 1503. He printed many classical texts, often with notes of his own compilation. He was brother-in-law of Robert Estienne and a friend and correspondent of Erasmus.

Works : He commented on Juvenal and on the pseudo-Boethius, *De disciplina scholarium*. His *Silvae morales* consist of notes on Vergil, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Ennius, Baptista Mantuanus, Sulpitius Verulanus, the *Disticha Catonis* and the *Parabolae* of Alanus de Insulis. He also composed grammatical treatises, the *Psalterium B. Mariae*, and a life of Thomas à Kempis. He compiled and printed *Adnotationes virorum doctorum*.

Bibl. : Bayle III 19-24 ; Chevalier I 407 ; Fabricius-Mansi I 152 ; Hoefer IV 129-31 ; Trithemius 177.

E. Coyecque, 'Josse Bade et les traductions de Claude de Seyssel,' *Bib. de l'École des Chartes* 55 (1894) 508-14 ; L. Delisle, 'L'imprimeur parisien Josse Bade et le professeur écossais Jean Vaus.' *ibid.*, 57 (1896) 205-16 ; Ph. Renouard, *Badius*.

34. *Johannes Britannicus*

Commentary dated : Brescia, 1501.

Dedic. (ed. Brescia, 1501) : Ioannes Bri-

tannicus Brixianus salutem plurimam dicit senatui populoque Brixiano. Consideranti mihi, amplissimi patres Brixiani, homines (ut placet Stoicis) hominum causa esse generatos, ut ipsi inter se aliis prodesse possint alii, in mentem veniebat eum demum illiberali censemendum esse ingenio, qui omnia quae aut diceret aut faceret aut denique cogitaret, non ad aliquam aliorum utilitatem, sed ad suum dumtaxat commodum referret... Juvenalis igitur satiras etsi temporibus nostris a nonnullis aliis egregie literatis commentatoribus vel cum magna ipsorum laude enarratae fuerant, aggressi sumus, quod omnino animadverteremus, in toto opere multa ab eis sive incuria quadam sive consulto praeterita esse, quod quae ipsi forte intelligerent, eadem et ceteris perspicua arbitrarentur, multaque etiam longe aliter exposta quam sensus auctoris exposceret... Confido autem in toto opere praeter fortasse tria aut quattuor ad summum loca, quae aut ingenii mei imbecillitate aut morum ignorantie veterum non intellecta altioribus ingenii enodanda relinquo, nihil prorsus relictum quod a me non sit optime dilucidatum, multaque etiam longe rectius explicata quam ab omnibus aliis qui ante me in poetam scripsere.... Vobis autem, domini nostri, Iesu Christi clementia incolumentem perpetuam et salutem aeternam largiatur. Valete.

Introd. : Satira carmen est, ut Diomedi placet, apud Romanos maledicum, ad hominis vitia carpenda, comoediae priscae charactere compositum... Hoc poematis genere Juvenalis sexdecim scripsit satiras. *Iunii Juvenalis vita.* Iunius Juvenalis quibus parentibus natus fuerit, pro comperto non habetur... Temporibus Traiani satiras suas scripsisse nemo nisi parum peritus diffitetur... Unde cum Sidonius nec Juvenalem nec alium quemquam nominaverit, de quovis alio intelligere potuit.

[*Inc.*] : *Semper ego.* Temporibus Juvenalis magna in urbe poetarum copia vigebat ; qui fere cotidie aliquid recitabant...

[*Expl.*] : (XVI 60) *Torquibus...* Ovidius *De Ponto* : "Nec torquem collo. nec habens crinale capillis." Genere autem masculino et feminino invenitur.

Editions :

1501, Brixiae (Brescia) : Angelus et Jacobus Britannici. Harles 485. Panzer VI 338.2 ; Proctor 13857 ; Ruperti I cx, cxii. (MH).

(*) 1503, Mediolani (Milan) : Petrus Murtyn de Mantegatiis. Hoffmann 148 ; Panzer VII 380.16 ; Schweiger II 501.

(*) 1507, Brixiae (Brescia) : Angelus et Jacobus Britannici. Hoffmann 148 ; Panzer VI 340.20 ; Schweiger II 502.

(*) S. xvi in., (Brescia). H 9717.

(*) 1509, Venetiis (Venice) : Joannes Tacuinus de Tridino. Panzer VIII 400.507 ; Ruperti I cxiii : Schweiger II 502.

(*) 1509 (s.. l.). Panzer IX 110.40 ; Bibl. Colombina IV 184.

1511, Mediolani (Milan) : Leonardus Ve-gius. Panzer VII 391.106 ; Schweiger II 502 ; BM.

(*) 1512, Venetiis (Venice) : Joannes Tacuinus de Tridino. Panzer VIII 408.585 ; Ruperti I cxiv ; Schweiger II 502 ; BM.

Group III : 1514, Milan.

(*) 1515, Venetiis (Venice) : Ge. de Rus-conibus. Panzer VIII 426.735 ; Ruperti I cxiv ; Schweiger II 502 ; BM.

1516, Venetiis (Venice) : Alexander Paganinus. Panzer VIII 435.807.

1519, Paris ; 1522, Venice ; (*) 1523, Venice ; 1548, Venice.

Group I : 1551, Basel.

Group III : (*) 1552, Paris ; (*) 1602, Pa-
ris, and reprints.

Group I : 1648, Leyden, and reprints.

Group III : 1685, Utrecht, and reprints.

Doubtful or rejected editions :

(*) 1499, (Venice). Harles 485.

(*) 1501, (Brescia). Hoffmann, 148 des-
cribes as containing comm. of Calderini and
Britannico ; probably distinct copies bound
together.

Biogr. :

Johannes Britannicus, Brixianus (Giovan-
ni Britannico of Brescia). Was b. Palazzuolo
in territory of Brescia, probably about 1450,
as he was listed as a student at Padua
1470/71 and in a petition to the Consiglio
of Brescia in 1518 stated that he had then
lived in Brescia 56 years and had been a
citizen 44 years ; d. Brescia after 1518. He
was a student of George Merula, and taught at
Brescia, where he enjoyed a notable reputa-
tion as scholar, philosopher, poet and orator.

Works : He commented on Horace, Ju-
venal, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Persius, Stati-
tius' *Achilleis*, and Terence ; brief notes on
Apuleius and on Statius' *Silvae* are included
in editions of his commentary on Juvenal.
He wrote Latin orations, poems and treatises.

Bibl. : Bayle IV 145 sq. ; Chevalier I 703 ;
Eckstein 65 ; Fabricius-Mansi IV 348 ; Maz-
zuchelli II iv 2016-2110 ; Tiraboschi VI
(1824) 1591-93 ; Trithemius 212. H. C. Hen-
nin, *Juvenalis Satirae* (Utrecht 1685) 405-7.

35. Caelius Secundus Curio

I. *Adnotatiunculae*, brief marginal scholia
accompanying text, regularly published with
Persius ; titles vary in some editions ; e.g.,
(1528, Paris) : *Iunii Juvenalis Aquinatis Sa-*
tirae decem et sex, cum adnotatiunculis in
margine adiectis, quae brevis commentarii vice
esse possint ; (1532, Lyons) : *Iunii Juvenalis*
simul et Auli Persii Satyrae luculentissimae,
iam iterum curiosius a mendis adsertae ; ad-
notatiunculis, mirum in modum utilibus, mar-
gini adfixis. The wide circulation of these
brief scholia, compiled for school use, jus-
tifies their inclusion here, though they do
not constitute a substantial commentary.

Introd. (ed. Lyons, 1532) : Lectori sciendi
cupido, de dictione satira ac eius derivatis.
Non paucae sunt, lector, in Latinis codicibus
inscriptio[n]es, quae, quando interim subob-
scurores sunt, vel molestiam lecturo pa-
riunt, vel a lectione prorsus avocant... Et
haec de nomine satirae ; ad cuius canonem
utinam doctorum classis suas lucubrationes
emittat. Si enim ita fiat, dici non potest
quam grati [grate?], quam alacriter, quam
denique iucunde adulescentuli suscipient. Id
enim demum placet iuventuti, quod intel-
ligit ; quod vero minus capit, statim cum
fastidio reiicit.

Iuvenalis vita. Iunius Juvenalis, ut Suidas
testatur, vixit tempore Domitiani impera-
toris, oriundus ex Aquino Volscorum op-
pido... De eius morte parum constat, nisi
quod in exilio vitam finisse arbitrantur.

[Inc.] : *Semper ego.* Queritur otium suum
perire, dum ignavus ad fastidium poetas re-
citant[ur] cogitur audire, cum tamen ipse ali-
quid possit scribere...

[Expl.] : (XVI 51) *Solis praeterea testan-*

dis...militi vivo patre testari conceditur, et quod paravit peculium, in eius arbitrio esse, ut est apud iurisconsultos. Finis.

Editions :

Partial lists of reprints of this work, regularly combined with Persius, are given in : H. L. Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise VIII* ; Morgan, *Bibliography of Persius*, Harvard 1909 ; Ph. Renouard, *Bibliographie des éditions de Simon de Colines* 125 ; Juvenal, ed. Ruperti, I ciii-cxlvi ; Schweiger, II 502 sqq. Copies are commonly found in the major libraries, for instance in the Morgan Collection of Harvard University. They are listed here in summary form, in chronological order according to the date of the first edition by a given printer, to illustrate the wide currency of the work, rather than under Group II, to which they properly belong.

- 1528, (*) 1535, 1542, Paris : S. Colinaeus.
- (*) 1529, Cracow, Marcus Scharffenbergk.
- 1532, Lyons, M. et G. Trechsel.
- 1533, (*) 1534, 1535, (*) 1536, 1539, 1541, 1546, 1547, 1551, 1553, Lyons : S. Gryphius ; 1559, 1560 : Haeredes S. Gryphii ; 1567, A. Gryphius.
- 1535, Lyons : I. Moylin alias de Cambrai.
- (*) 1540, Antwerp : Anton. Dumaeus.
- 1545, 1559, Antwerp : Io. Loëus.
- 1545, 1557, Lyons : T. Paganus.
- (*) 1549, Paris : R. Stephanus.
- 1549, Venice : Hieronymus Scotus.
- 1556, (*) 1564, Lyons : Io. Frellonius.
- 1556, 1562, Lyons : A. Vincentius.
- (*) 1561, Paris : Hieron. de Marneuf.
- 1565, 1566, 1585, (*) 1587, Antwerp : C. Plantin, with Theodor Pulmann, *Annotaciones*.
- (*) [1574], London : Will. Norton ; with Horace, *Opera* ; reprinted 1585, Nin. Newton and Arnold Hatfield.
- 1613, Geneva : P. de la Rovière.
- Doubtful edition :*
- (*) 1590. Ruperti I cxix ; no indication of place or printer.
- II. *Nova Scholia.* Composed to correct and supplement the commentary of Britannico, and inserted among Britannico's comments in Froben's edition, 1551. Basel, identified by the initial C. at the beginning and S. at the end of each note.

Dedic. (ed. Basel 1551) : Caelius Secundus Curio nobilissimo adulescenti Abraham Sasaki Pollono salutem. Cum viderem saeculum hoc nostrum, Abrahame humanissime, multis et praeclaris virtutibus atque artibus adornatum, dubitare coepi, esetne verum quod Horatius in carminibus putavit... Visum est ex antiquis illis aliquem advocare, qui mecum de veterum moribus et vita iucunde et vere confabularetur. Itaque duo mihi visi sunt commodissimi, Cornelius Tacitus et Iuvenalis, quos alias audiveram loquentes... Iuvenalis mihi visus est maiore diligentia, acumine, urbanitate omnia notare, et ad genuinum suum [sc. usum] revocare. Hunc igitur ut citius quod optabam invenirem adhibui, qui et una secum A. Persium adduxerat... quibus auditis, et nostri saeculi cum illo facta contentione, deprehendi longe ab illa nostram aetatem vitiis, illam a nostra multis et magnis virtutibus superari... Ut autem eo revocetur unde huc diffluxit oratio, hi duo viri, ac praesertim Iuvenalis, me scrupulo illo liberarunt, ne deinceps existimem nostram aetatem veteri illa vitiosorem esse... In Iuvenale plus aliquanto mihi laborandum fuit, primo quod ante multos annos editus in Italia tantum fuit, et admodum negligenter, ita ut fere denuo mihi describendus cum suo fuerit interprete. Deinde unum modo Io. Britannicum habuit explicatorem, qui quamvis illa aetate eruditissimus fuerit, non tamen semper poetae sensum est adsecutus, neque mirum, fuit primus ; neminem habuit quem sequeretur... Haec cum me in hos duos satiricos principes contulisse cognoscerent Hier. Frobenius et Nicolaus Episcopius, qui operas suas et opes ad vetera monumenta, quod omnibus notum est mortalibus, instauranda coniunxerunt, pro ea qua mecum necessitate coniuncti sunt, petiverunt ut ea ipsis edenda et cum omnibus communicanda traderem, quod quidem libenter feci... Id ipsum tibi etiam dicit noster Iuvenalis his duobus versibus, quos, ut pleraque huius satirici praeclara, semper in ore te habere velim ; 'Tota licet veteres exornent undique cerae / Atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus' [VIII 19-20]. Basileae, Idibus Iulii, MDLI.

[Inc.] : (I 2) *Rauci.* Id est, recitando defessi, et voce compressi. *Rauci enim fiunt*

et voce obtusi, cum aliis de causis, tum clamore nimiaque vocis contentione...

[Expl.] : Et de his hactenus, quae in bonam partem accipient iuvenes satirarum studiosi, et si minus satisfaciam, saltem voluntatem et studium nostrum habeant gratum. Sexdecim satirarum Iuvenalis cum commentariis finis.

Editions :

Group I : 1551, Basel.

Group III : (*) 1552, (*) 1602, 1603, 1613, Paris.

Biogr. :

Caelius Secundus Curio (Celio Secondo Curione). Was b. Cuori near Cirié (Piedmont) 1503 ; d. Basel 1569. He studied at Turin, where he was converted to Lutheranism at the age of twenty ; he taught at Turin, Milan, Pavia and other north Italian towns, and was often arrested and imprisoned by the Inquisition. In 1542 he escaped to Lausanne and in 1547 moved to Basel, where he was given the chair of Latin eloquence and gained a solid reputation as teacher, scholar, and religious writer.

Works : He wrote commentaries on Cicero's orations and rhetorical works, and on Persius and Juvenal. He translated Appian's *Bellum Alexandrinum* and *Ibericum*, and some orations of Aeschines, Demades, Demosthenes and Dio. His numerous pedagogical treatises include *De literis doctrinaque puerili* and *Libellus de ratione docendi grammaticam*. His chief religious works are *Pasquillus exstaticus* and *De amplitudine beatitudini regni Dei*. Two volumes of letters have also been published.

Bibl. : Bayle V 345 sq. ; Gesner IV 20 sq. ; Hoefer XII 639 sq. ; Nicéron 21.1-30 ; Tiberioschi VII (1824) 2285-88 ; Toffanin, *Cinquecento* 76 sq. ;

(*) J. N. Stupano, *Oratio panegyrica de C. S. Curionis vita atque obitu* (Basel 1570) ; F. C. Church, *The Italian Reformers* (New York 1932) 61-70, and *passim*.

36. Theodorus Pulmannus

Commentary dated January 11, 1565.

Dedic. : (ed. Antwerp, 1565) Theodorus Pulmannus Ioanni Flemingo S. D. Cum ante menses aliquot, Flemingi ornatissime,

Q. Horatium tibi propter singularem virtutem atque raras ingenii tui dotes dicavisse, nunc Iuvenalem et Persium me tibi donare debere iudicavi ; quod hi fere propter argumenti et rerum quas tractant similitudinem coniungi soleant... Hos satirographos ex manuscriptorum codicum fide restitui, auxi, et adnotationibus ex commentariis clarorum virorum collectis illustravi. Usus autem sum in Iuvenali emendando tribus exemplaribus ; uno meo, altero quod Iacobus Migrodius... mihi dono dedit, tertio cuius Canonici Collegii B. Catharinae Noviomagi... mihi copiam fecerunt. Neque sane, quod primo loco dicendum erat, Hadrianus Iunius... parum heic mihi adiumenti attulit... Si quid cessatum aut minus quam oportuit accurate praestitutum [sic] fuerit, vir humanissime, id tarditati mei ingenii adscribas velim ; si par voluntati facultas fuisset, perfectiora et meliora dedissem. Vale, iv Idus Januarii, anno MDLXV, Antwerpiae.

[Inc.] : *Numquamne reponam.* L. Johannes Scoppa *Collectaneorum*, cap. 27 : Ego Iuvenalisne semper auditor aliorum carminum, nec umquam consuetudinem audiendi aliena reiiciam, ut scribam...

[Expl.] : (XVI 24) *Offendere tot caligas.* Nam militum caligae clavis suffixae erant. Turneb. [Adrianus Turnebus, *Adversaria*] lib. 14, cap. 7. Finis.

Editions :

Group I : 1565, Antwerp, and reprints ; 1648, Leyden, and reprints.

Group III : 1685, Utrecht, and reprints.

Biogr. :

Theodorus Pulmannus (Theodor Poelmann). Was b. Cranenberg 1510 ; d. Salamanca 1581. After learning the weaver's trade at Antwerp, he became a notable philologist, and edited for the Plantin Press many classical authors, for which he prepared notes derived chiefly from the comments of other scholars, especially Turnebus' *Adversaria*. His scholarship was praised by Lipsius, but was censured as careless by Heinsius. His brief commentary on Juvenal cites various 15th and 16th century scholars, and is chiefly notable for his specific references to individual manuscripts.

Works : He composed notes for Plantin's editions of Ausonius, Boethius, Claudian, Ho-

race, Juvenal, Lucan, Martial, *Panegyrici Latini*, Paulinus, Persius, Prudentius, Suetonius, Terence and Vergil.

Bibl. : Joecher III 1810 ; Sandys II 214 ; 216 ; Juvenal, ed. Hennin 677 sq. ; Juvenal, ed. Ruperti I 119.

37. Petrus Pithoeus

Pithou did not compose a commentary on Juvenal, but his edition of the text with the *Scholia vetera* from Ms. Montpellier 125, known as the *Pithoeanus*, written at Lorsch about A.D. 900, provided the essential basis for modern editions, for establishment of the text and for studies of the classical material in the old scholia. His preface is therefore here given in full, as a landmark in the transition from humanistic to modern commentaries.

Introd. (ed. Paris 1585) : In hac editione, Lector, illud potissimum nobis propositum fuit, ut inter plura variaque nec contemnenda vetustatis exemplaria unius omnium sane optimi atque antiquissimi scripturam curaremus exprimi, quod de Budensis clavis reliquiis in Thassillonis quondam ducis coenobium relatum fuisse ex Matthiae [Corvini] adscripto nomine facile adductus sum ut crederem. Id ad nos tandem pervenit Francisci fratris carissimi dono, cui plura longe ac meliora, ut spero, posteritas debitura est. Atque utinam veteris librarii manum omnibus omnino locis adsequi licuisset, verum nescio quo malo genio factum est, ut exemplar illud nulla parte melius esset quam qua imperiti lectoris impio et infelici stilo erasum, infeliori etiam calamo emendatum, aut mendatum potius et contaminatum fuit ; adeo ut mihi recentioris scripturae vestigia quasi notae indicesque fuerint ad veterem indagandam atque eruendam. quam adiectae passim ad utrumque marginem interpretationes interdum suppeditarunt ; saepe nos et ipsae deseruerunt. Eorum porro quem auctorem nominatim laudem, non habeo, cum nullum praeferat codex ille, quo hac parte usi sumus unico ; quamquam non ignoro a plerisque non postremae notae scriptoribus Probo tribui commentaria non in Juvenalem modo, sed et in A. Persii satiras illa, quorum hic quoque bonam par-

tem emendatiorem damus, usi etiam hac in re consilio iudicioque amicorum, atque in primis Ios. Scaligeri viri incomparabilis, de quo quidquid praeterea dixero, minus erit. Id vero illi an ex veterum librorum fide, an ex conjectura potius faciant, non satis scio. Illud dissimulare non possum, quod Berytum nonnulli vocant, frustra eos et parum critice facere, si ad Valerium Probum referre velint, cuius haec aetatem ferre nullo privilegio possunt. Sed nec Probo quidem illi tribuam, quem Lopus noster sub Karolo Calvo Imp[eratore] in Germaniae saltu liberales disciplinas tractasse, satiram etiam tentasse ait. Nam et ista literatioris sunt saeculi, et quod ex Taciti historia Moysen repetunt, vereor ne sit hominis Christiana religione nondum imbuti. At illa sane de crucis suppicio, et Alamanniae nomen, aliaque eius generis nonnulla, post Constantium Magnum scripta nemo nisi historiae ignarus negaverit. Ego vero, quod ceteris fere veterum grammaticorum glossis et commentariis, idem et huic nostro accidisse video, ut ex variorum diversae et aetatis et eruditio-
nis interpretumnotis conflatum, instar et ipsum satirae esset, quin et in antiquo exemplari saepe me ab initio ex marginum diversitate interpretationum etiam diversitatem notasse memini ; quam tamen in hac editione repraesentare neque potui neque, ut opinor, debui. Valla et ipse vir diligentissimus sui nobis Probi fragmenta ad satiras tantum aliquo pro captu atque arbitratu suo exhibuit, quae tamen adiumento non levi plerisque locis fuerunt, quos ex illis vel emendavimus vel supplevimus, adiecta etiam sua cuique nota, quod hic ab operis [sic] praetermissum video. Cetera omnia ex nostro illo unico exemplari, non sine magno labore ac taedio, expressa sunt, ea plane fide et religione, ut quodammodo verendum nobis videam, ne superstitioni plerique aut negligentiae, nonnulli etiam imperitiae adscribant, quod veteris scripturae vitia interdum retinere maluimus, quam coniecturis ex ingenio emendare. Quod nobis quidem non difficile fuisse, locis saltem aliquot haud negaverim ; at erit illis fortassis perfacile omnibus, quibus ad spicilegium plura superesse reliquae messis interesse putavi. Ne tamen omnes omnia sibi quoque in hac temere li-

cere arbitrarentur, passi sumus quaedam ex illis adici, quae inter legendum ad oras libri adnotaveramus memoriae magis causa, quam ut in publicum exirent; verum ea lege, ut cui usui non forent, possent illa sine fraude sua, pace etiam nostra a corpore reliquo disiungere et, si videretur, abicere. Vale.

Scholia vetera : [Inc.] : (I 2) *Theseide Cordi*. Cordus hic poeta fuit vitiosus, qui tragediam Thesei scripsit...

[Expl.] : (XVI 42) *Parta labore militia*. Castrense peculium liberum habent.

Variae lectiones : [Inc.] (I 2) *Theseide Cordi*. Apud Servium in I Aen., Codri.

[Expl.] : (XVI 2) *Nam si subeuntur*. Apud Priscianum lib. VIII, quod si subeuntur.

Editions :

Group II : 1585, Paris ; (*) 1590, Antwerp, (*) Geneva, Heidelberg, Paris (reprints of 1585 Paris) ; (*) 1610, Heidelberg.

Group III : 1602, Paris ; (*) 1613, Paris. Reprinted in the *variorum* editions of Schrevel, 1648 and of Henninius, 1685.

Doubtful or rejected editions :

Group II : (*) 1601 ; (*) 1615 ; mentioned only by Nicéron V 56.

Biogr. : Petrus Pithoens (Pierre Pithou).

Was b. at Troyes, 1549; d. at Nogent, 1596. Studied at Paris under Pierre Galland and Adrian Turnebus; studied law at Bourges and Valence under Cujas. 1560 attended Parliament of Paris. A Calvinist, he narrowly escaped the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572; later he was converted to Catholicism and had a notable career as a statesman, holding the office of Procurator-General in Guienne and Paris. The chief Latinist in Paris after Joseph Scaliger's departure for Leyden, his outstanding editorial work was furthered by his magnificent private library, including many manuscripts which his purchase saved from destruction in the religious wars of the period. His directions that the library should be preserved as a unit were unfortunately disregarded. He died of the plague at Nogent, 1596.

Works : He edited many classical and late Latin authors, among which the *editio principis* of Phaedrus, and his editions of Persius and Juvenal with the *scholia vetera*, of Salvian, and of the *Novellae* of the Theodosian Code are most notable. He composed notes

on Livy, compiled *Adversaria subiectiva*, and wrote various legal and theological treatises, and works on French history.

Bibl. : Nicéron 5.41-61 ; Juvenal, ed. Ruperti I cxx ; Sandys II 192 ; P. Wessner, *Scholia in Juvenalem vetustiora* (Leipzig 1931) viii-x, *et passim*; further bibliography in Wessner.

38. *Eilhardus Lubinus*

Comm. dated March 1603.

Dedic. (ed. Hannover 1603) : Nobilissimo viro domino Iusto Bredovio... Quod te in fronte huius libri compellam repono illa quae possum, nimirum meipsum, meumque adeo animum, quem tuo merito tibi devinxisti, eiusque hunc meum in praestantissimum satircum Juvenalem qualemcumque commentarium... Rostochii, mense Martio, anni MDCIII.

Introd. : Inter omnes utriusque linguae auctores quorum monumenta praeteritorum saeculorum barbarie erpta et ab interitu vindicata ad nos usque pervenerunt, nulli mihi umquam potiores visi illis, qui inter tam profligatos omnibus mundi temporibus mores omne suum scribendi studium et conatum ad vitam et mores corrigendos contulerunt, contemptisque opibus et honoribus multis potius prodesse, quam placere maluerunt... Horum ego dum immortalia ingenii monumenta viso, et veteres commentatores, qui in hunc plurimi et interdum etiam aut verum inveniunt aut saltem proxime ab illo absunt, fere omnes evolvo et perlustro, et denique duo MSS. exemplaria optimae notae consecutus sum, et uni illorum in membrana scriptum [ascriptum?] commentarium duplicum antiquissimum et doctissimum, hunc poetam solidissimae eruditionis et exactissimae doctrinae plenum, volente Deo, explicabo. Non iam memorabo quod ego quoque post tot tales et tantos viros in locis plus minus centum vel distinguendo vel corrigendo veramque lectionem restituendo vel explicando denique et veriorem poetae mentem eruendo ipsi lucem dederim. [Lubin had published the text of Juvenal at Rostock, 1602]... Huius autem poetae tam crebra, tam salutaria sapientiae mera mellispirantia praecepta quisquis diligenter le-

gerit et animo imbiberit et vita, moribus, et factis exprimere studuerit, quod inter mortalia optimum et maximum, viri docti, boni et sapientis nomen non iniuria usurpaverit. Dixi. Reliquum nunc est ut ad ipsas satiras interpretandas accedamus.

Argumentum satirae primae; duo hac satira poeta tractat; primo causam exponit, cur in hoc genere carmen aliquid componere... quid in mortuos sibi concedatur, periculum facturum se concludit.

[Inc.]: Alii poetae, et epicis cum primis, in more positum habent initio statim dicenda proponere, deinde deorum aut musarum opem invocare, postremo narrare...

I 57 [example to illustrate his use of the vernacular]: *Ferula manum subduximus*. Id est, manum subtraxi vel removi a ferula, ut scilicet ferula non amplius utar, in docendo pueros grammaticen. *Ich habe der Ruthen gute Nacht geben. Ich will mich nicht mehr mit der Grammatica und den Schulern plagen.*

[Expl.]: (XVI 60) *Torquibus*. Catenis vel circulis aureis ex collo in pectus dependentibus.

Editions:

1603, Hanoviae (Hanau): typis Wechelianis, apud I. Marnium et haeredes I. Aubrii; (with comm. on Persius). Juvenal, ed. Ruperti I cxxi. (MH).

1619, Hanoviae (Hanau): typis Wechelianis, apud Danielem ac Davidem Aubrios, et Clementem Schleichium. Reprint of 1603 ed. (MH).

Much of this commentary is used in the *Notae selectae* of the *variorum* edition of Juvenal edited by Henninius, 1685. It was used more selectively in the 18th century editions of Thomas Marshall, together with excerpts from Schrevel, Grangaeus, and Britannicus, thus forming a link between humanistic and early modern editions.

Doubtful or rejected editions:

(*) Group I: 1602, Amsterdam.

(*) Group I: 1603, Lyons.

Biogr.:

Eilhardus Lubinus (Eilhard Lubin, Eilert Lübben). Was b. Westerstade (in Ammerland, Duchy of Oldenburg), 1565; d. Rostock 1621. Studied at Leipzig, Helmstedt, Strassburg, Marburg and Rostock. According to the pre-

face in his comm. on Persius, visited Tübingen 1594. Was a notable scholar, orator and theologian. 1595 became professor of poetry in the University at Rostock, and professor of theology 1605; at his death held the title of Rector Magnificus; engaged in many theological controversies, especially over the topic of original sin.

Works: He translated works of Hippocrates, Democritus, Heraclitus, Diogenes and Crates, Apollonius of Tyana and others, as well as Greek lyric poems and epigrams. He commented on Juvenal and Persius. He compiled a trilingual *Clavis Graecae linguae* (Latin, German and Greek); wrote theological treatises, including *Monotessaron*, a synoptic version of the Gospels, and *Phosphorus de prima causa et natura mali*.

Bibl.: ADB 19, 331. Bayle IX 481 sq.; Juvenal, ed. Hennin 2, 754 sq.; Joecher II 2554 sq.

IV. COMMENTARIES NOT TRACED

Many scholars are cited by various commentators and editors as authorities on Juvenal on the basis of their oral lectures on the *Satires*, informal discussions and letters, comments in works on grammar, orthography, etc., and Juvenal entries in *Miscellanea*, *Adversaria*, etc. This was particularly true in the 16th century when the tide of consecutive commentaries on Juvenal ebbed. Note the list of scholars included in Schrevel's *variorum* edition, for example (Leyden 1648, Group I). In a few cases, however, in which no consecutive commentary has been found, the bibliographical tradition warrants examination, whether it proves well-founded or not.

1. Nicolaus Trivetus (Nicholas Trevet), 1258-1330(?). The statement that this English scholar composed a commentary on Juvenal appeared first in Antonius Senensis, *Bibliotheca ord. fratrum praedicatorum* (Paris 1585), and was repeated by John Pits, *De illustribus Angliae scriptoribus* (Paris 1619), and thence by Quétif and Echard and by Tanner. Since exhaustive research by competent scholars has failed to discover any trace of the commentary, it is probably to be dismissed as a merely bibliographical tradition.

Bibl. : R. J. Dean, 'Cultural Relations in the Middle Ages : Nicholas Trevet and Nicholas of Prato,' *Studies in Philology* 65 (1948) 554 and n. 20 ; Fr. Ehrle, 'Nikolaus Trivet,' *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Philosophie des M. A.* Supplbd. II (1923) 17 ; E. Franceschini, 'Glosse e commenti medievali a Seneca Tragico,' *Publ. d. Univ. Cattolica d. Sacro Cuore*, Ser. IV, *Scienze Filol.*, 30 (1938) 20 n. 3.

2. Johannes Tortellius (Giovanni Tortelli), c. 1400-1466. For evidence that Tortelli's commentary on Juvenal is embodied in *De orthographia*, s.v. *Prologus*, see E. M. Sanford, 'Giovanni Tortelli's Commentary on Juvenal,' *TAPA* 73 (1951) 207-18 ; see also Comm. 11, attributed to Tortelli by Sabbadini.

3. Julius Pomponius Laetus (Giulio Pomponio Leto), 1428-1498, and Cynthius Cenensis (Cinzio da Ceneda), contemporary of Leto. Cinzio da Ceneda referred three times in his commentary on Vergil to his statements made 'in commentariis Juvenalis.' Sabbadini states that all Cinzio's commentaries were directly drawn from lectures given at Rome by Pomponio Leto before 1478. Ferno's eulogy of Leto includes the claim : *Quae legerat ille semel volumina emendatissima in omnem Italiam exibant.*' Cantalicio (Comm. 30) cited Leto on the interpretation of *Sat. X* 81. These two scholars should probably be listed among commentators on Juvenal, though no MSS. or editions of their work have apparently been found.

Bibl. : (*) G. M. Dozio, *Cynthii Cenensis in Virgili Aeneidem Commentaria* (Milan 1845) ; Cinzio's references to the comm. occur on p. 97, 107, 154 ; F. Artico in his appendix to Dozio, 261, says Cinzio wrote comm. on Vergil's *Georgics*, Ovid's *Heroides* and *Fasti* and Juvenal (information from Dr. Olga Pinto, Rome) ; text of Ferno's *elegium* in Fabricius-Mansi, II 629-32 ; R. Sabbadini, *Scoperie* I 167. I have not found a comm. on Juvenal mentioned in other accounts of these two humanists.

4. Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis (Elio Antonio de Nebrija, or Lebrija, or Martinez de

Jarava), 1444-1522. Nebrissensis is said by Fabricius to have composed a commentary on Juvenal ; other bibliographers say that he is said to have composed one. Juvenal was certainly popular in Spain at the time, but in the dedication of his comm. on Persius, published Lyons 1512, and Alcalà 1514, and perhaps earlier, Nebrissensis refers to his previous work on Vergil, but does not mention any on Juvenal. Lack of information about Spanish MSS. collections leaves the case open to question.

Bibl. : Antonius, *Nova* I 132-37 ; Fabricius-Mansi V 92 ; Nicéron 33.280-91 ; C. Lynn, *A College Professor of the Renaissance* (Chicago 1937), *passim*.

5. Thomas Schifaldius (Tommaso Schifaldo) of Lilybaeum, d. after 1495. The presumption is strong that Schifaldo composed a commentary on Juvenal, as Mongitore quotes his pupil Adria to this effect. His commentary on Persius is preserved among the MSS. of the Bibl. Comunale in Palermo, but I have found no trace of that on Juvenal.

Bibl. : A. Mongitore, *Bib. Sicula* II 361-63 ; J. Quétif and J. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* I (1719) 882 ; H. Renda-Ragusa, *Siciliae Bibliotheca vetus* (Rome 1700) 275.

6. Hermannus Buschius Pasiphilus (Hermann von dem Busche) of Westphalia, c. 1468-1534. Rassmann's article on Busche in Ersch and Gruber mentions *Annotationes in Juvenalem* among his works, but Nicéron's long list does not include this item, and I have found no evidence for it. Busche does not mention it in the preface to his comments on the prologue and first satire of Persius (ed. Cologne 1522). Burckhard's emphasis on the popularity of Busche's lectures on Juvenal at Rostock, c. 1500, in rivalry with Heverling, whom he charged with drawing his lectures 'ex ineptis Asicensii Badii commentariis' may account for the tradition that he published a Juvenal commentary.

Bibl. : J. Burckhard, preface to Busche, *Vallum humanitatis* (Frankfurt am Main 1719) 183-85 ; ADB 3. 631-640 ; Ersch and Gruber 14.137 sq.; Joecher I 1510-12; Nicéron 25.93-8.