

LATIN AUTHORS

APICIUS

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Fortuna.

I. *De re coquinaria.*

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Commentaries.

1. Albanus Torinus.
2. Gabriel Humelbergius.

FORTUNA

The untitled collection of culinary directions and recipes which has come down in ten short books from the late 4th or early 5th century under the name Apicius, either because one of its sources was an earlier compendium on cookery by the historical M. Gavius Apicius or because the name Apicius had become generic for all cookbooks, exists in two 9th century Mss., E (New York Acad. Med. 1, formerly Phillipps 275) and V (Vat. Urb. lat. 1146), which must have been copied from the same lost original, of an unknown date but possibly also of the 9th century. There is no ancient authority for the name 'Caelius' which was added either before or after 'Apicius' in most of the 15th century exemplars, but it may have arisen from a Renaissance attempt to interpret the enigmatic API / CAE on f. 1^r of Ms. V, which Vollmer quite unconvincingly reconstructed as *APICII artis magiriCAE* (or *opsartytiCAE*). I have suggested *APICI CAENA* in my own edition, but I doubt that any reconstruction has much validity.

Drawn from the same sources, including at least one identical recipe, of very similar Latinity but in a later orthography, is a very short compendium which is entitled

Apici Excerpta a Vinidario Viro Inlustri. Since Vinidarius was a historical Goth of the late 5th and early 6th century, this collection's date is clear, but it exists in a single ancient Ms (Paris lat. 10318) from the 8th century which once belonged to Claude Saumaise and has been copied only once, by Nicholas Heinsius in Leiden Burm. Q 13 in the 17th century. The Excerpts were not edited or otherwise noted until the 19th century.

In 15th century Italy, however, the Ten Books attracted the attention of several famous humanists, and twelve of the extant humanistic copies were derived from V between 1458 and 1490. E had been brought to Italy by Enoch d'Ascoli in 1455, but its readings first appear in a few emendations made to the text within the Roman Academy, probably either by Pomponius Laetus or Platina, as is attested by a group of five related Mss all of which are connected in some way with the Academy. The oldest of these Mss, but obviously not the original, is Oxford Bodl. Add. B 110, which belonged to Marcantonio Altieri.

Another less scholarly emendation of the Ten Books seems to have been done by J. B. Pius sometime before 1490 and is preserved in a single Ms of that date, D (Oxford Bodl. Canon. class. lat. 168).

It is also found in the *editio princeps* (Milan, 1498), together with a preface by Antonius Motta (reprinted by Botfield, p. 215-217), in the two subsequent Venetian printings ([1500] and 1503), and in the 1541 Torinus edition. Torinus evidently based his text on his copy of the [1500] edition, and the many changes which he made seem to have been arbitrary rewriting rather than readings from the mutilated and corrupt M.s, now unknown, which he said he found at Maguelonne twelve years before.

The most famous humanistic work upon Apicius was the collation of both the E and V Mss by Politian and his helpers in 1490-93, for which the original is extant (Leningrad, Historical Institute, 627/1) but with its first two-thirds lost. The entire collation is preserved, however, in three copies made before the mutilation of the original, the most accurate of which is N (Vat. lat. 6337).

The body of Renaissance pseudo-Apiciana is small and not really related to Apicius. The identical texts of *Schola Apiciana* (1534) and *Schola Apitiana* (1535) are mere general tracts on cookery, and *Von allen Speisen* . . . (1530), which in full title is attributed to Apicius among other sources, can be demonstrated as coming from a quite different, German origin.

The last and best early edition of Apicius was that of Gabriel Humelberg in 1542, drawn from the *editio princeps* and emended with the aid of E or of the collation of Politian. This edition provided the standard text until the 19th century, for it was reissued under the names of Lister (1705 and 1709) and Bernhold (1787, [1789], [1791] and 1800). Humelberg and Lister both produced important commentaries to their editions, but no translation can be verified before the 19th century. An Italian translation cited by Maittaire is a ghost arising from his misunderstanding of a citation in Arisi, and a reference to another early Italian translation cannot be verified, for no such book now seems to exist.

In the mid-19th century renewed interest in Apicius resulted in the first new editions since Humelberg, that of Baseggio (1852) and of Schuch (1867 and 1874). Schuch chose the one of several Renaissance titles

which has become standard, *De Re Coquinaria*; he edited the Ten Books; and he published the Excerpts for the first time, distributing them among the Ten Books on the basis of subject matter as if they were mere 'lost recipes' from the longer work. Not until the 20th century were both works given modern scholarly treatment by Giarratano and Vollmer, who again separated the Excerpts from the Ten Books and whose excellent edition was reprinted with the translations into Italian of Buzzi (1930 and 1957) and into English of Flower and Rosenbaum (1958). Another English translation was published by J. D. Vehling (1936). The edition of Marsili (1957) is of slight importance, but that of André contains the best commentary as yet presented, and my own recent edition attempts to replace the somewhat out-dated Giarratano and Vollmer text of both the Ten Books and the Excerpts.

Bibl.: Schanz-Hosius (1927) II. 791-793; Teuffel II (1910) p. 208-209, sect. 283; J. André, *Apicius: l'art culinaire, De Re Coquinaria*, Paris, 1965; E. Brandt, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Kochbuche*, Leipzig, 1927; A. Campana, 'Contributi alla biblioteca del Poliziano,' in *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo*, Florence, 1957, 184-217; C. Giarratano and F. Vollmer, *Apicii librorum X qui dicuntur De Re Coquinaria*, Leipzig, 1922; M. E. Milham, *Apicii decem libri qui dicuntur De Re Coquinaria et Excerpta a Vinidario conscripta*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1969; Milham, 'Toward a stemma and fortuna of Apicius', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, X (1967) 259-320; Vollmer, *Studien zu dem römischen Kochbuche von Apicius*, Sb. Bayer. A. W., Munich, 1920, Abh. 6.

For the patient and detailed correction and advice which has been given this article, I would like to thank the editorial board of the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*.

I. *De Re Coquinaria*

COMMENTARIES

1. ALBANUS TORINUS

Paraphrase dated: Basel, March 11, 1541. While this does not contain a separate

commentary, it presents a paraphrase of the entire text with interwoven commentary and adds as printed notes in the margins a number of glosses and many conjectural emendations.

Dedic.: . . .D. Georgio Wirtenbergae pariter et Montbelgardi Comiti. . .Albanus Torinus S. [*Inc.*]: Cum bis senis ab hinc annis multa Monspessuli (sic), praesertim quae ad rem medicam attinent, curiose agerem et accuratissime observarem. . .in insula urbi propinqua, nomine Megalona, quam cum. . .Gulielmo Pelisserio Megalonsensi Episcopo. . .appuleram, reperi abiectissimo in loco codicem semilacerum, cuius titulus squalore obsitus vix characterum vestigiis repraesentabat CAELII APICII DE RE CULINARIA LIBRI X. . ./. . .Tulimus hunc nobiscum. . .in Germaniam, tam prodigiose corruptum ut omnia instaurare sine emendatiore codice non foret humani ingenii. Quapropter et premendum plane censebam, donec melioris alicuius exemplaris fieret copia, quod acceperam esse annis ab hinc plus minus quinquaginta Venetiis expressum. Moveo itaque omnem lapidem frustra triplicem trieteridem, quo tandem tempore Io. Honterus Coronensis. . .ex Transylvania illud Venetianum misit. Quod ubi accepissem longe depravatius quam Megalonsense, abiecti omnem edendi spem. . . Interim studiosi quidam praesertim artis medicae mecum expostulant, cur tam vetustum auctorem ipsis qualemque communicare tamdiu differam, efflagitantes interea ne abderem diutius, sed in publicum pro meo candore emittam. . ./. . .Non tam publicus rumor quam D. Io. Fuchsius in re medicinali aequè doctus atque peritus iam olim Badis Marchionum collega meus suggessit, atque adeo nuper sub obitum suum, cum ultimo apud C. T. ad tempus degeret, tuo cum veredario missis elegantibus literis (sic) inter caetera eandem cantilenam cecinit. Eadem apud me non semel praedicavit nobilis ille Io. Ia. Hoeckle a Steineg T.C. apud Montbelgardum praefectus. . .Vale Heros clarissime, Basileae, v. Idus Martias anno M.D. XLI.

Index: Rerum ac verborum memorabilium index.

Paraphrase (the text from the [1500] edition in italics): Caelii Apitii de culinariae rei disciplina liber primus, qui Epimeles inscribitur. De conditis. Caput 1. *Conditum paradoxon. Conditum paradoxum compositio sic habet: Mellis partes quindecim in vas aeneum mittuntur, praemissis in id vini sextariis duobus, quae pariter ad usque mellis elixati crassitudinem, hoc est, tantisper dum vinum coctura consumatur, igni lento et lignis aridis decoquantur, sic, ut calefacta, sedulo inter elixandum ferula commoveantur. Si effervere coeperit elixatio, vini rore compescitur, praeter quod subtracto igni in se redit. cum perfrixerit, rursus accenditur. . ./. . .mulsum coctum acetum liquamen et oleum coques. C. Apitii libri decimi et ultimi finis.*

Col.: Basileae mense martio anno M. D. XLI.

Editions:

1541, March 11, Basel: s.t. (Misc. followed by Joannes Damascenus' (Yuhanna Ibn Sarabiyun) *De condituris variis*, Paulus Aegineta's *De facultatibus alimentorum* and B. Platina's *De tuenda valetudine*, all in Lat.): BM; BN; DK V. 777; Maittaire V. 54; Graesse I. 160; (PBm; PPL; DSG; ICN); Munich St B (copy used).

1541, [Sept.], Lyons: Seb. Gryphius (misc., reprint of Basel edition except index lengthened and moved to end of volume, colophon missing): BM; BN; DK V. 778; Graesse I. 160; Baudrier VIII. 143; (MiU; NN; NNNAM; DSG; ICJ; PPC); Munich, St B (copy used).

Biogr.:

Albanus Torinus (Alban Thorer, zum Thor) Was b. Winterthur 1489; d. Basel 1550. Studied at Basel, Montpellier(?); Magister Artium at Basel 1522; advanced from Dozent to regular instructor in Latin at Basel 1529; professor of Latin and rhetoric at Basel 1532; personal physician to Margrave Ernst von Baden 1535; professor of theoretic medicine at Basel 1537; briefly professor of physics at Basel 1540, rector of university of Basel 1542; called for consultation by Duke Christoph von Württemberg 1545; dismissed from Basel, autumn 1545. He seems to have been a teacher of Latin

until middle age, and the places and times of his medical education are unclear and poorly documented, although he claims in his dedication to Apicius that in 1529 he was studying medicine at Montpellier. In 1529, at 40, he is first listed among the faculty at Basel as Doctor, and in the same year he is first noted among the circle of Erasmus. He gained subsequent recognition as a lecturer and consultant on medicine, but he is distinguished as the first physician of Basel to make a name for himself through extensive publication of medical works, even though most seem to have been paraphrases and reprints of earlier editions and of others' translations from Greek and Arabic. There is insufficient evidence to conclude that he knew Arabic; in fact, his only works which are unquestionably original are his letters and prefaces and his publications in German. In 1545 both his university career and his prodigious publication came to a sudden halt when he went, without asking permission from the university, for a consultation to the court of Duke Christoph. He was summarily dismissed in the middle of a term and not even allowed to complete his lectures. Had Paracelsus briefly as teacher; had Conrad Gessner briefly as auditor; under his rectorship, Andreas Vesalius came to Basel.

Works: *De re medica* (Lat., ed.), containing Soranus' *Isagoge*, Oribasius' *De victus ratione*, C. Plinius Secundus' *De re medica* V, Apuleius' *De herbarum virtutibus* and A. Musa's *Libellus de Vetonica*, 1528; Epiphanius Episcopus Constantiae's *De prophetarum vita et interitu* (Lat., paraphrase), 1529; *Epistola nuncupatoria Polycarpo Cratandro*, in Theocritus' *Eidyllia* (Gr.-Lat.), 1530; Alexander Benedictus' *De observatione in pestilentia* (Lat., ed.), 1531; Paulus Aegineta's *De re medica* I-V, VII (Lat., tr.), 1532; *Castigationes Albani Torini in suam Aeginetae translationem*, in Paulus Aegineta's *De chirurgia liber* (tr. by J. Bernardus Felicianus), 1533; Philaretus' *De pulsuum scientia* (Lat., paraphrase), with Theophilus Protospatharius' *De exacta retrimentorum vesicae cognitione* (Lat., paraphrase), 1533; Alexander Trallianus' *De singularum corporis partium vitiis* V (Lat., tr.), 1533; *Praefatio*

to Hippocrates' *Prognostica*, *De natura humana* and *Iusiurandum* (Gr.), 1536; Galenus' *De tuenda valetudine* (Gr.-Lat., ed.), 1538 [colophon 1539]; *Ad . . . Guinterium Joannem Andernacum epistola apologetica Albani Torini, qua calumnias illius impudentissimas refellit et versionem eiusdem Pauli Aeginetae mendosam et mala fide natam ostendit*, 1539; *Wie man sich vor der . . . Krankheit der Pestilenz . . . helfen mög . . .*, 1539; Joannes Arculanus' *Opera* (ed.), 1540; *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae* (ed. and tr.), containing Cebes' *Tabula* (Gr.-Lat.), *Feliumque muriumque pugna* (Gr.-Lat.), Elisius Calentius' *De bello ranarum et murium* III, Andreas Guarna's *De bello inter grammaticae reges*, 1541; Dares Phrygius' *De bello Trojano* (Lat., ed.), 1541; Agapetus Diaconus' *De officio regis* (Lat., tr.), 1541; Alexander Trallianus' *Paraphrases in libros omnes*, (Lat.) and Diocles Carystius' *De tuenda sanitate* (Lat., tr.), 1541; Apicius' *De re coquinaria* (paraphrase), B. Platina's *De tuenda valetudine* (ed.) and Joannes Damascenus' (Yuhanna ibn Sarabiyun) *De condituris variis* (Lat., tr.), 1541; Joannes Damascenus' (Sarabiyun) *De februm curatione* (Lat., paraphrase), Rufus Ephesius' *De pestilentia ex monumentis* (Lat., tr.) and Joannes Damascenus' (Yuhanna ibn Masawaih) *Aphorismorum libellus* (Lat., paraphrase), 1542; Joannes Damascenus' (Sarabiyun) *Therapeutice methodi* (Lat., II, V, VI in T.'s paraphrase) and pseudo-Galenus' *De succidaneis* (Lat., tr.), 1543; Theocritus' *Eidyllia* (Gr.-Lat., ed.), 1543; Hippocrates' *Aphorismorum libri VIII* (Gr.-Lat.), *Praesagiorum lib. III* (Gr.-Lat.), *De natura humana I* (Gr.-Lat.), *De ratione victus in morbis acutis lib. IV* (Gr.-Lat.), *De praeparatione hominis ad Ptolemaeum regem* (Lat.), Galenus' *Ars medicinalis* (Gr.-Lat.) (ed.), [1543]; Andreas Vesalius' *Epitome*, tr. into German under the title *Von des menschen Cörper Anatomey*, [1543]; Rhazes' (Muhammed ibn Zakariya, Abu Bakr) *Opera* (Lat., ed.), of which *Ad regem Almansorem* IX and X purportedly tr. by Andreas Vesalius and Torinus respectively, [1544]; Polybus' *De tuenda valetudine* I, *De seminis humani natura* I and *De morbis* II (Lat., tr.) 1544; *Prae-*

fatio to Xenophon's *Opera* (Gr.-Lat.), 1545.

Bibl.: M. Adam, *Vitae Germ. medic.*, Heidelberg, 1620, 54; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* XXXVIII (1894) 453-455 (by F. Koldewey); J. L. Choulant, *Handbuch der Bücherkunde f. die ältere Med.*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1841, 337, 340, 406; Fabricius, *BL*, II. 792-795; A. von Haller, *Bibliotheca medicinae practicae*, Bern-Basel, 1776-1788, I. 539, 543; *Hist.-biog. Lexikon der Schweiz*, Neuenburg, (1931), VI. 731; Hoefer, *XLV*. 241-242; Joecher, *IV*. 1171-1172; C. G. Kestner, *Bibliotheca medica*, Jena, 1746, 105; H. J. Leu, *Schweitzer Lexikon*, Zurich, (1763) XVIII, 106-107; H. Pantaleon, *Prosopographiae*, Basel, 1565, III. 245; Schottenloher, *II*. 328; Zedler, *XLIII*. 1693-1694.

P. S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi VIII* (1934) 12-13, 168; A. Burckhardt, *Gesch. der Univ. Basel 1460-1900*, Basel, 1917, 38-39; E. Egli, 'Cepori und Torinus', *Zwingliana*, 1902, I. 271-274; B. Harms, *Der Stadthaushalt Basels im ausgehenden Mittelalter*, Tübingen, 1909-1913, III. 385; A. Hartmann, *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, Basel, 1942, III. 468-469, IV. 141, 168, 173, 180, 194, 198, 212, 351-352, 356, 374; J. W. Herzog, *Athenae Rauricae*, Basel, 1778-1780, 206-207, 283; J. C. Iselin, *Supplement to Basler. Hist. Lexikon*, Basel, 1744, II. 1068; F. Miescher, *Die medizinische Facultät in Basel*, Basel, 1860; M. E. Milham, 'Apicius in the Northern Renaissance, 1518-42,' forthcoming in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*; P. Ramus, *Basilea*, Basel, 1944, 43; R. Thommen, *Gesch. der Univ. Basel 1532-1632*, Basel, 1889, 220; W. Vischer, *Gesch. der Univ. Basel 1460-1529*, Basel, 1860, 199; H. G. Wackernagel, *Die Matrikel der Univ. Basel*, 1951, I. 331.

For invaluable assistance with the biography and bibliography of Torinus, I am indebted to Dr. Berthe Widmer, Universität Basel. For the works of Torinus, I am indebted to the German 'Zentralkatalog', Dr. R. Reinle, Universität Basel, and Miss Ursula Altmann, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, for confirming works and adding locations, but I discovered no works which are unlisted

in BM Cat., BN Cat. or Cat. of National Library of Medicine.

2. GABRIEL HUMELBERGIUS

Commentary and edition dated: Isny, May, 1542.

Joachimus Engellius Ravenspurgensis Medicus ad Lectorem.

[*Inc.*]: (fol. 1^v) Conditamenta bonus quae scripsit Apicius olim. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (line 10) Nam multis sapient fercula tanta modis.

Dedic.: Reverendissimo principi ac domino D. Wolfgango a Grinenstain (sic) Abbati Monasterii Campodonensis. . . Gabriel Humelbergius medicus physicus Isnensis S. P. D. [*Inc.*]: (f. 2) Quae doctis et bonis omnibus facilem salutandi te dant aditum, eruditio et animi candor atque humanitas tua, ea me quoque allectione sua blandiuscula animarunt. . . veluti rem tibi honorificam gratum habere potes, APICIUM CAELIUM scilicet de arte coquinaria, et in hunc ipsum Annotationes nostras, quas in publicum editurus nomini tuo dedico, ut sic tuo patrocinio praesente felicius omnium conspectui se offerant. . . Non enim hiis libris de helluonum et quorum deus venter est, opsoniis et condimentis agitur, aut voluptate illa turpi et perniciose quae omnium malorum mater et fomentum est, atque unde morbi prorumpunt innumeri atque gravissimi, supplicia luxuriae, sed de voluptate honesta et saepius necessaria, qua tum sanorum tum aegrorum fastidio et saluti consulitur, et quam vel severissimus viciorum castigator non declinaret Seneca. Quare hanc APICII lucubratiunculaeque nostrae defendendae provinciam audacter subito et tibi dicatos libellos ab adversariis acriter defendito. . . [*Expl.*]: (f. 2^v) Sed ne te aliis seriis et arduis negotiis occupatum diutius morer, hiis de non plura. Tu cum per ocium licet, haec nostra legere non dedigneris. Bene valeat Reverendiss(ima) D(ominatio) T(ua), domine colendissime, et incolumis vivat Nestoreos in annos, cui etiam semper commendatum me velim. Isnae Algoiae, mense Maio, anno a Christo nato MDXLII.

Introd.: Gabrielis Humelbergii Medici in Apicii Caelii de Arte Coquinaria libros et

annotationes suas ad honestae et frugi vitae amatores praefatio. [Inc.]: (f. 3) Tametsi non ignoro quam sinistre a plurimis excipiar, si de arte coquinaria et condiendorum opsoniorum disciplina sub Apicii nomine conscriptos libros in publicum edam. . . Non possum tamen eosdem diutius suppressere. . . De vita eius [Apicii]. . . nihil occurrit. Verum quia depravatissimi sunt eius libri, ut in quibus nulla sit pagina, imo vix una aut altera quasi linea non mendosa et prodigiose corrupta. . . operae pretium esse duxi, castigandi onus suscipere et emendare illos. . . [Expl.]: (f. 4) Nos interim Apicio hocce nostro (qui prius multifariam et prodigiose saucius erat et lacerus, nunc autem opera nostra qualicunque et quantum licuit medicatus et resartus splendidiore habitu ingreditur) ob oculos posito contenti oblectemur.

Text. [Inc.]: (f. 5^v) *Apicii Caelii Epimeles Liber I. Conditum Paradoxum Cap. I. . . / . . . mulsum, acetum, liquamen, oleum; coques. FINIS.*

Comm.: Annotationes in primum librum Apicii Caelii Gabriele Humelbergio Medico auctore. [Inc.]: (f. 42) *Epimeles*, id est ἐπιμελής accuratus et diligens. Quo nomine inscriptus est ab Apicio nostro liber hic primus a cura et diligentia quae ἐπιμελία est, eo quod diligenter et accurate descripta comprehendat varia conditorum et condimentorum ad opsonia condienda genera, et quo pacto vel in alienos menses condiri et servari possint fructus, olera et conditanea alia quam plurima multarumque aliarum ad culinam et mensarum lautitiam epularumque magnificentiam, nec non alios necessarios salubresque ad usus spectantium rerum praeparamenta. IN CAPUT I. Conditum.) A condiendo, hoc est, sapidium (sic)faciendo et delicatius cibaria concinnando et praeparando dictum est conditum, media syllaba producta, item condimentum, conditura et conditaneum. . . / . . . At conditaneum dicitur quod condiri potest, vel condi, si a condendo, id est, reponendo et servando dicitur, sicuti conditum media brevi quod repositum est et servatum. Paradoxum.) id est, παράδοξον praeter opinionem et hominum existimationem, quasi admirandum, praestans, utile et commodum. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 123)

Quas vero feminas nominant, meliores esse constat, auctore Aristotele libro de historia octavo. Finis.

Edition:

1542, Zurich: C. Froschauer: BM; BN; DK V. 778; Graesse I. 160; Maittaire III. 335; E. C. Rudolphi, *Die Buchdrucker-Familie Froschauer* (Zurich 1869, repr. Nieuwkoop 1963), p. 33, no. 285; (CU; NN; NNNAM; MH).

Biogr.:

Gabriel Humelbergius (Humelberg, Hummelberger).

Was b. Ravensburg, date unknown; d. place and date unknown. Studied at Bologna. Went to Feldkirch to practise medicine 1517, married at Feldkirch 1518, but spent most of career at Isny. Brother of Michael Hummelberger and widely known among his more famous brother's circle, where he was highly regarded as a Latin poet. By 1526 he was already working on medical texts. After the death of Michael in 1527, Gabriel also edited his brother's correspondence.

Works: A. Musa's *De herba betonica* I (ed.), [1537]; Apuleius Barbarus' *De medicaminibus herbarum* I, (ed.), [1537]; Sextus Placitus' *De medicina animalium* (ed. and comm.), 1539; Q. Serenus Sammonicus' *De re medica* (ed. and comm.), 1540; Apicius' *De re coquinaria* (ed. and comm.), 1542.

Bibl.: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* XIII (1881), 387-388 (by A. Horawitz); Fabricius, *BG*, VI. 9, 4, 162; Fabricius, *BL*, II. 792-795; Joecher, II. 1770-1771; C. W. Kestner, *Bibliotheca Medica*, Jena, 1746, 121, 555 n.; H. Pantaleon, *Prosopographiae*, Basel, 1565, III. 210; Schottenloher, I. 375, V. 130; Zedler, XIII. 1167.

A. Hartmann, *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, Basel, 1942, I. 409; A. Horawitz, *Michael Hummelberger, eine biographische Skizze*, Berlin, 1875, 26; Horawitz, *Analekten zur Gesch. des Humanismus in Schwaben*, Sb. A. W. Wien, Phil.-hist. kl. LXXXVI (1877) 245, 274-275; Horawitz, *Analekten zur Gesch. der Reformation u. d. Humanismus in Schwaben*, Sb. A. W. Wien, Phil.-hist. kl. LXXXIX (1878) 96, 108, 131; Horawitz, *Die Bibliothek und Korrespondenz des Bea-*

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tus Rhenanus zu Schlettstatt, Vienna, 1874, 12; Horawitz and K. Hartfelder, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, Leipzig, 1886, 274, 334-5, 341-2, 347-8. 354, 374, 397-99, 406-7. W. von Heyd, *Bibliographie der Württembergischen Gesch.*, Stuttgart, 1896, II. 445; P. Lehmann, *Johannes Sichardus*

(*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lat. Phil. des Mittelalters IV, 1*), Munich (1911) 204-205; M. E. Milham, 'Apicius in the Northern Renaissance 1518-1542,' forthcoming in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*; J. G. Schelhorn, *Beitr. zur Erleuterung d. Gesch.*, Memmingen, 1772, I. 54-59.