

## LIVIUS, TITUS

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### PREFACE

*Fortuna*

### EDITIONS

### COMMENTARIES :

1. Nicolaus Trevet
2. Henricus Loritus Glareanus
3. Carolus Sigonius
4. Gulielmus Godelevaeus
5. Franciscus Modius

AB URBE CONDITA LIBRI CXLI

### *Preface*

There is no evidence for an ancient commentary on Livy. His history was authoritative and comprehensive, and for the Roman reader it needed only occasional annotation ; for school use or ready reference its material was digested into 'epitomae' or shorter derivative accounts. Nor is there any evidence for a medieval commentary on Livy. The scholars who read his original text were interested in the earlier Decades, and they simply annotated the work ; the general study of Republican Rome was based upon the shorter accounts, such as those of Florus and the Christian historians.

The first commentary on Livy for which we have evidence is that of Nicholas Trevet in the early 14th century, and he knew only Bks. I-X, XXI-XXX. He applied the method of medieval exegesis to give an elementary explanation of the text. For the early Humanist readers, including those at the Papal court in Avignon, Livy proved a difficult author.

Thereafter for two centuries we have to follow the activities of Landolfo Colonna, Petrarch and his circle, and their Renaissance successors. During this period, when Bks. XXXI-XLV were discovered, the text

of Bks. I-X, XXI-XLV was continually edited and annotated. Though this study was primarily textual it involved wider comment on the subject-matter and more independent historical criticism. This development led to the commentary of Glareanus, followed by that of Sigonius, in the middle of the 16th century ; Sigonius, in particular, was able to use the new chronological evidence of the *Fasti Capitolini*. With Glareanus and Sigonius we have passed from marginal, though often important, annotation to the method of regular commentary. It is not always easy, in the case of Livy, to distinguish a major textual annotator from one who might, within parts of Livy's work, be regarded in effect as a minor commentator. The later commentators, e.g. Godelevaeus and Franciscus Modius, supplemented their own notes with reprints of the earlier Renaissance annotations.

We have kept a strict distinction ; but the editing and discussion of Livy's text from the 14th to the 16th century provided basic material for the subsequent commentaries. The draft of Livy's *fortuna* is therefore elaborated in text and footnotes appropriately to give the setting.<sup>1</sup>

1. With reference to these problems the author wishes to express his gratitude to the editorial

*Fortuna*1. *Roman antiquity through the Middle Ages to Nicholas Trevet.*

Livy's history of Rome from the foundation of the city to the Augustan period (753-9 B.C.) in 142 books was arranged strictly under the official Roman years in 'annalistic' form. While Livy elaborated his narrative in rhetorical and dramatic style, he designed it basically to give standard historical information, and it did not call for a commentary. On the contrary, it became the chief source of information about Republican Rome for other authors. The collectors of historical *exempla*, e.g. Valerius Maximus, and the poets of the Empire treating Republican subjects, e.g. Lucan and Silius Italicus, used Livy's text.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time the length of Livy's history, so far as it was consulted for general reference, demanded systematic abbreviation. The poet Martial mentions an 'epitome' of the first century: 'pellibus exiguis artatur Livius ingens' (XIV, 190). An Oxyrhynchos papyrus of the third century preserves a summary of Bks. XXXVII-XL, XLVIII-LV. The *Periochae* of the work date from the fourth century; these are 'chapters of contents', and they are transmitted in their own MSS.<sup>3</sup> The Roman historians of the Empire drew upon Livy's narrative in sketching the Republican background to their own work: Florus, Granius Licinianus, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Festus, Orosius.<sup>4</sup> For school use their popula-

board of the *Catalogus Translationum*, and notably to Professors P. O. Kristeller, and F. E. Cranz, for their criticism, advice, and information.

2. M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* II (4th ed. rev. C. Hosius, Munich 1935) 315-317.

3. T. Livi *Periochae omnium librorum*, ed. O. Rossbach (Leipzig 1910) v-xxxviii. See Schanz-Hosius, *op. cit.* II 303-306; Cynthia M. Begbie, 'The Epitome of Livy', *Class. Quart.* N.S. 17 (1967) 332-338; P. L. Schmidt, *Julius Obsequens und das Problem der Livius-Epitome* (Mainz 1968).

4. A. Rosenberg, *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur römischen Geschichte* (Berlin 1921) 151-155.

rity made it unnecessary to study the full text of Livy.

The general readers of Livy's full text, in Italy and the provinces, probably belonged to the upper classes, and they were interested in the early Decades and parts of the later narrative where Livy idealized the ancient Roman traditions. The pagan senators at the turn of the fourth to fifth centuries appealed to his history in their final struggle against the influence of Christianity. Their work included the copying, correction and some glossing of his text; the readers were familiar with the conventional Roman terms of the narrative. The period is marked by the scholarship of Q. Aurelius Symmachus and the Nicomachi. As Symmachus wrote in 401 A.D.: 'Munus totius Liviani operis, quod spoondi, etiam nunc diligentia emendationis moratur'; and it would appear that his editing was well advanced into the later Decades. The importance of the Symmachi and Nicomachi is attested by the *subscriptiones* in one group of MSS. of the First Decade.<sup>5</sup> We also have evidence for interpolated glosses and 'dittographies' from this period.<sup>6</sup>

The movement of the uncial MSS. of this period which contained the earlier Decades may serve to introduce the medieval study of Livy's history. The MSS. were written in Italy; the MSS. themselves or copies of them were taken to France and later to Germany. For instance, the oldest copies of the text of the Symmachi and Nicomachi for the First Decade are French. For the Third Decade the *Puteanus*, corrected in Italy, went to France to be copied at Tours, and another line of textual tradition left

5. Tite-Live, *Histoire romaine* (Budé) I (ed. J. Bayet, Paris 1947) xcii-c; A. D. Momigliano (ed.), *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford 1963) 206-217 (H. Bloch).

6. *Titi Livi ab urbe condita* (O.C.T.) I (ed. R. S. Conway and C. F. Walters, Oxford 1914) xiii; R. M. Ogilvie, 'The Manuscript Tradition of Livy's First Decade', *Class. Quart.* N.S. 7 (1957) 68-69; Giuseppe Billanovich, 'Dal Livio di Raterio (Laur. 63, 19) al Livio del Petrarca (B. M. Harl. 2493)' *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 2 (1959) 109-112.

a copy at Chartres Cathedral ; the derivative MSS. are French. For the Fourth Decade one line led to a MS. in Mainz, another to copies at Chartres and Speyer, while the archetype of the latter line about 1000 A.D. was taken from North Italy to Bamberg and copied there. An uncial MS. of Bks. XLI-XLV reached the Rhine. The evidence suggests that Livy's text spread from Italy to the great French monasteries before it was taken up by the cathedral schools of France and Germany ; in such circumstances one would not expect more than occasional glossing.<sup>7</sup>

From the MSS. of the later Decades only the 'Sertorian' fragment of Bk. XCI (fourth century) has survived.<sup>8</sup> For further evidence we have to follow the grammarians' citations, so far as they seem to have drawn directly on Livy's text. For instance, Servius on Vergil quotes Livy and, while Cassiodorus used an excerpt, Priscian may have had the text.<sup>9</sup> In the seventh and eighth centuries, the age of 'palimpsests', the later Decades were probably neglected and their MSS. re-used or lost. In any event the Middle Ages, as far as one can tell, knew no later Livy, and Renaissance scholars could conjecture that the Emperor Caligula or Pope Gregory the Great had ordered the destruction of those books. Yet the hope of recovering the 'lost books' has persisted into recent times.<sup>10</sup>

We shall rather consider the evidence for medieval annotation in our surviving MSS. In the ninth century Lupus of Ferrières

7. E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* IV [Italy, Perugia-Verona] (Oxford 1947) xv; H. Bloch, *Speculum* 25 (1950) 278-279 (reviewing Lowe); Billanovich, 'Petrarch and the Textual Tradition of Livy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14 (1951) 199-201.

8. Frag.Bk.XCI, MS.Vat.Pal.24 : 4th cent. rustic capitals, erased 7-8th cent.; Lowe, *op. cit.* I, pls. 75 (p.23), 68a (p.21).

9. For the evidence see now Livy's fragments : Livy (Loeb) XIV (ed. A.C. Schlesinger, Cambridge, Mass. 1959) 172-236.

10. B. L. Ullman, 'The Post-Mortem Adventures of Livy', in his *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome 1955) 55-79.

glossed Bks. VI-X, in MS. Paris, BN, Lat. 5726, but not systematically ; he was reading for his own interest.<sup>11</sup> In the tenth century we have to note the annotations of the First Decade in MS. Florence, Laur. Plut. LXIII, 19 ; the scribe Leo Diaconus copied marginal notes from a late Roman exemplar, to which were added contemporary annotations. These reflect the comments that Ratherius, bishop of Verona, was likely to have made, and we may assume that he handled the MS.<sup>12</sup> It does not follow that his study influenced any wider reading of Livy's text at that time. When the Fourth Decade text was taken to Bamberg and copied there in the 11th century, Mainard of Bamberg and Lampert of Hersfeld read it.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. Landolfo Colonna and Petrarch to the first printed editions of Livy.

In general the readers of the early Humanist period needed a systematic commentary on Livy ; Nicholas Trevet provided them with one in the early 14th century.

In his commentary Nicholas Trevet handled the First and Third Decades of Livy. When Pope John XXII ordered the work, he did so as the leader of the Humanist circle at Avignon, which included Nicholas of Prato, Simon of Arezzo, Raymond Subirani, the Roman prelate Landolfo Colonna, and the youthful Petrarch ; the presence of these men illustrates the central position of Avignon between Italy and the West.<sup>14</sup>

11. 'Mihi satis appetet propter se ipsam appetenda sapientia' (Servatus Lupus, ed. Levillain I, 4 and 6). M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500-900* (London, rev. ed. 1957) 252-259 ; R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge 1954) 184 ; Billanovich, 'Dal Livio di Raterio', *op. cit.* 125 n. 5.

12. *Titi Livi a.u.c.* (O.C.T.) I XIII-XVI ; Tite-Live, *Histoire romaine* (Budé) I LXXXII, cii-cvi ; but now, on Ratherius, see Billanovich, 'Dal Livio di Raterio', *op. cit.* 104-134.

13. Billanovich, 'Petrarch and . . . Livy', *op. cit.* 185 n. 2 (cf. Guido Billanovich, *Lamperto di Hersfeld e Tito Livio* [Padua 1945]).

14. See now Billanovich, 'Petrarch and . . . Livy', *op. cit.* 194-198 ; *idem*, 'Dal Livio di Raterio',

Landolfo Colonna (c. 1250-1331) spent 30 years as a canon of Chartres cathedral. He wrote on topical questions, e.g. *Tractatus brevis de pontificali officio*, dedicated to Pope John XXII; he was also interested in general history and compiled a *Breviarium historiarum*. At Chartres he found a MS. of Livy ('Vetus Carnotensis') containing Bks. XXVI-XL (except Bks. XXXIII and XL, 37,3 to the end), and he took a copy to Avignon in 1328. There he had the text re-copied, with his notes, and added Dictys Cretensis, Florus, and Livy's First and Third Decades to form the Ms. Paris, BN, Lat. 5690; his notes on Livy Bk. I include material from Trevet's commentary.<sup>15</sup> This MS. also gave chapter headings, which were collected later in the 14th century in the *Tabula de libris* of Donato degli Albanzani (notably preserved in the MS. London, BM, Burn. 198) to provide a Renaissance summary of the surviving Decades.<sup>16</sup>

Petrarch was at Avignon when Landolfo Colonna arrived there from Chartres, and in 1328-9 he joined him in his study of Livy. Petrarch already had the First and Third Decades. The First Decade he glossed from a copy of MS. Florence, Laur. Plut. LXIII, 19; the Third Decade in Bks. XXI-XXV he glossed, apparently from Colonna's MS. of these books, then in Bks. XXVI-XXX from the copy of Colonna's 'Vetus Carnotensis'.

*op. cit.* 133-159; *idem*, 'Tra Dante e Petrarcha', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 8 (1965) 3-38. Cf. B. L. Ullman, 'Some Aspects of the Origin of Italian Humanism', in his *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome, 1955), 27-40. Braxton Ross, 'Giovanni Colonna, Historian at Avignon', *Speculum* (forthcoming).

15. Billanovich, 'Petrarch and . . . Livy', *op. cit.* 151-166; *idem*, 'Gli umanisti e le cronache medioevali', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 1 (1958) 115-128; *ibid.* 'Dal Livio di Raterio', 141-159; cf. *Titi Livi a.u.c.* (O.C.T.) V (ed. A. H. McDonald, Oxford 1965) xxiii-xxiv.

16. E. g. Bk XXXI, 1, 1-4; 'Prohemium, cause belli contra Philippum, tumultus in Gallia Cisalpina, gesta Rome super apparatum bellorum'. Billanovich, 'Petrarch and . . . Livy', *op. cit.* 173-174; *idem*, 'Dal Livio di Raterio', *op. cit.* 159 n. 1; *Titi Livi a.u.c.* (O.C.T.) V xxvii.

From the 'Vetus Carnotensis', too, he had the Fourth Decade copied to complete his text of Livy. The composite work survives in the MS. London, BM, Harl. 2493. Only the absence of Bk. XXXIII disturbed the numbering of books in the Fourth Decade.<sup>17</sup> Petrarch's notes from this period helped to establish the mid-14th century text of Livy which Bersuire translated into French and Boccaccio into Italian.<sup>18</sup> Petrarch came into possession of Landolfo Colonna's MS. Paris, BN, Lat. 5690. He also continued to revise his own text, it would seem, to compose a 'third MS.' of his own; the results are probably best judged from the text and annotations of the MS. London, BM, Burn. 198 at the turn of the 14/15th centuries.<sup>19</sup>

In the early 15th century Livy's text was extensively studied and copied at Florence. The Florentine MSS. of this period show elaborate 'contamination' of readings, and the scribes developed the 'Humanistic script'. About 1435 the scholars in Cardinal Prospero Colonna's circle turned their attention to Livy; we have evidence for the work of Poggio Bracciolini.<sup>20</sup> At this time, too,

17. Billanovich, 'Petrarch and . . . Livy', *op. cit.* 143-146, 166-169; *idem*, 'Dal Livio di Raterio', *op. cit.* 150-153; *Titi Livi a.u.c.* (O.C.T.) V xxiv.

18. *Titi Livi a.u.c.* (O.C.T.) V xxiv-xxv; Billanovich, 'Il Boccaccio, il Petrarca e le più antiche traduzioni in italiano delle Decadi di Tito Livio', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 130 (1953) 311-337; M. T. Casella, 'Nuovi appunti attorno al Boccaccio traduttore di Livio', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 4 (1961) 77-129. On Bersuire, R. V. Sinclair, *The Melbourne Livy* (Melbourne 1961); cf. J. Monfrin, 'La première traduction française de Tite-Live', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1958 (1960) 82-85; C. Samaran (and J. Monfrin) in *Histoire littéraire de la France* 39 (1962) 259-450.

19. *Titi Livi a.u.c.* (O.C.T.) V xxiv n. 3, xxvii; Billanovich, 'Petrarch and . . . Livy', *op. cit.* 158 n. 3; *idem*, 'Il Boccaccio', *op. cit.* 325-327; *idem*, 'Dal Livio di Raterio', *op. cit.* 159; M. T. Casella, 'Nuovi appunti attorno al Boccaccio', *op. cit.* 80, 116.

20. *Titi Livi a.u.c.* (O.C.T.) V xvi, xxix-xxxiii; B. L. Ullman, 'Poggio's Manuscripts of Livy and other Authors', *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 10), 307-319; *idem*, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic*

Alfonso V of Aragon made his court at Naples a centre of scholarship ; as regards Livy we have to note the rivalry of Panormita and Facio on one side with Laurentius Valla on the other. It was probably in 1444 that Cosimo de' Medici presented Alfonso with a MS. of Livy, the *Codex Regius*, to mark the association of Florence and Naples in Livian studies ; the common activity brought Valla also into conflict with Poggio.<sup>21</sup> During this period the comparison of MSS. and a rhetorical approach to style, predominantly (it would seem) under Florentine influence, led to the preparation of the first printed text about 1469.<sup>22</sup>

In terms of critical method and skill Valla's annotation of Livy, limited though it was in scope, was definitely superior to the unsystematic treatment of Livy's text by Panormita, Poggio and the Florentine circle, and the early printed editions. In his *Disputatio* on Lucius and Aruns Tarquin (Livy I, 46) Valla used historical logic to challenge Livy's authority. In his *Emendationes in T. Livium XXI-XXVI* (1446/7) he applied the same acute analysis and a gift for stylistic correction to clarify the text ; our present editions still prove his success.<sup>23</sup> Yet, for all his independence, he still stood in the line of Renaissance study ; for he seems to have based his *Emendationes* on the reading and annotation of Petrarch's

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*Script* (Rome 1960). In general L. Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists*, 1390-1460 (London 1963).

21. On these relations, superseding earlier work, see Billanovich-M. Ferraris, 'Le *Emendationes in T. Livium* del Valla e il *Codex Regius* di Livio', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* I (1958) 245-264 [*Codex Regius* = MSS. Besançon 837, 839].

22. For the Fourth Decade see *Titi Livi a.u.c.* (O.C.T.) V xxxi-xxxiv.

23. (i) *Disputatio ad Alphonsum regem duo Tarquinii Lucius ac Aruns Prisci Tarquinii filiine an nepotes fuerint adversus Livium* [Lib. I, 46] ; P. Zancan, *Tito Livio* (Milan 1940) 219-220. (ii) *Emendationes in T. Livium* [Lib. XXI-XXVI] ; Billanovich, 'Petrarch and...Livy', *op. cit.* 137-138, 178-179 ; Billanovich-Ferraris, 'Il *Codex Regius* di Livio', *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 21) 252-253 (for readings of Panormita and Facio).

MS. London, BM, Harl. 2493.<sup>24</sup> The scholarly polemics of the period reduced Valla's immediate influence ; but his notes were reprinted in the mid-16th century commentaries.<sup>25</sup>

At the same time the Humanistic interest in Roman history called for an attempt to supplement the loss of Livy's Second Decade ; Polybius' text was available. The chancellor and historian of Florence, Leonardo Bruni Aretino, reconstructed an account of the First Punic War from Polybius, Bks. I-II,<sup>26</sup> while Niccolò Perotti translated Polybius, Bks. I-V.<sup>27</sup>

The *editio princeps* of Livy (Rome, c.1469), edited by Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Bishop of Aleria, printed a plain text containing the First, Third and Fourth Decades (except Bk. XXXIII) with the *Periochae*. The 'con-

24. On Valla and MS. BM. Harl. 2493 see Billanovich, 'Petrarch and...Livy', *op. cit.* 138-142 ; Valla also annotated the MS. Valencia, Bibl. Catedral 173 (Billanovich, 'Un altro Livio corretto dal Valla', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* I [1958] 265-275).

25. The *Disputatio* and *Emendationes* survive in 15th cent. MSS. : Billanovich, 'Petrarch and...Livy', *op. cit.* 138 n. 1, 179 n. 1. The *Recriminaciones in Facium*, to which Valla appended his *Emendationes*, were printed in Paris 1528 by J. Badius Ascensius (Renouard, *Badius III* 347) and in Lyons 1532 (Valla, *Lucubrationes aliquot*) by Seb. Gryphius ; also in Valla's *Opera* 1540, 1543 Basel (the 1540 edition phot. reprinted, Turin 1962, with L. Barozzi and R. Sabbadini, *Studi sul Panormita e sul Valla*, Florence 1891). For the reprinting of Valla's *Disputatio* and *Emendationes* in editions of Livy, *infra* n. 45.

26. Leonardo Bruni, *Commentarius* (or rather *Commentaria tria*) *de primo bello Punico* (1418 or early 1419) ; B. L. Ullman, 'Leonardo Bruni and Humanistic Historiography', in his *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome 1955) 324 ; H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton 1955) I 195 ; II 611-612. For a reprint of Bruni with Livy's text, *infra* n. 43.

27. N. Perotti (1429-80) ; G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di N.P.* (*Studi e Testi* 44, Rome 1925) ; R. P. Oliver, *N.P.'s Version of the Enchiridion of Epictetus* (Urbana, Ill. 1954) ; see *infra* n. 42.

tamination' of MSS. during the preparation of the text obscured the variety of previous annotation that had followed the work of Petrarch and his friends. In his Preface Giovanni Andrea Bussi could refer only vaguely to Petrarch : 'Nec tacebo Franciscum Petrarcham, quod fando accepi. . . non mediocriter tempestate sua in Liviana historia vigilasse' ; also he neglected to use Valla's *Emendationes* in establishing Livy's text.<sup>28</sup> In fact, the text of the *ed.pr.* represents a special study in the mid-15th century which gained the influence of print and established itself as a 'definitive' text ; it provided the basis of the other early editions. Though the editors corrected their reprinting of the *ed.pr.*, they did not return to a comparison of the Humanistic MSS.<sup>29</sup>

3. *Sabellicus to Glareanus,  
Sagonius, and their Successors to  
1600 A.D.*

The edition of Livy by Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus in 1491, with its textual notes, marks a fresh period of Livian studies. Sabellicus had written a history of Venice and he was preparing a 'universal history' in the Humanistic style of historiography.<sup>30</sup>

28. c. 1469, Rome : Sweynheym and Pannartz ; for the preface see A. Drakenborch, *Livius VII* (Leyden 1746) 252-255 ; Billanovich, 'Petrarch and . . . Livy', *op. cit.* 180.

29. The editions : 1469(?) - early 1470, Rome : U. Gallus [ed. J. Antonius Campanus] ; preface in Drakenborch, *op. cit.* VII 255-256 : 'Inde librario-rum coorti errores. . . et de librairiis emendatores facti ibi plus adhibent iudicii ubi minus intelligent'. 1470, Venice : Vindelinus (de Spira) ; 1472, Rome : Sweynheym and Pannartz ; 1478, Milan : P. Lavagnia ; 1480, Milan : A. Zarithus [ed. P. J. Philelfus] ; 1480, Treviso : M. Manzolinus [*epist.* of B. Parthenius] ; 1482, Treviso : J. Vercellius [ed. L. Porrus].

On MSS. after the introduction of printing see Ullman, *Humanistic Script*, 127-134.

30. M. A. Coccius Sabellicus, *Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita ad Marcum Barbadicum libri XXXIII* (1487, Venice), and *Enneades sive Rhapsodiae historiarum* (1498-1504, Venice) ; *Opera* (with *Epistulae*, *Orationes*, *De reparacione Latinae lin-*

His work on Livy reflects the wide interest which scholars were now showing in Roman history as well as the dissatisfaction they felt about the state of the printed text. 'Quae res [sc. printing] incredibili celeritate non Italiano modo sed totam paene Europam mira librorum refersit opulentia. . . Ceterum eorum [sc. printers] vel incuria vel neglegentia ita accidit, ut nunc quoque multi velut amfractus passim lectoribus occurrant ; quibus sublatis facilior omnino conatus fuisset ad bonarum artium studia capessenda. . . Huic igitur multorum sive querelae sive sollicitudini occurrentum ratus Bernardinus Herasmius Novocomensis. . . a me. nuper petiit, qua potissimum ratione Livium in integrum posset restituere'.<sup>31</sup>

Sabellicus' notes do not amount to a commentary, but he re-opened the process of annotation. His first notes (i) treated briefly textual points throughout Decades I, III-IV ; they influenced the text of Alexander Minutianus at Milan in 1495 and 1505, and they were reprinted immediately in other editions.<sup>32</sup> We have to observe the part that J. Badius Ascensius played from 1511 in publishing Livy, with Sabellicus' notes, even if Ascensius' own notes on Livy's style and vocabulary are of minor importance.<sup>33</sup> In 1543, after the evidence of new

*guae*) 1502, Venice. G. Mercati, 'Attorno a Marco Sabellico', *Ultimi contributi alla storia degli Umanisti II* (Studi e Testi 91, Rome 1939) 9-17.

31. 1491, Venice : s.n.t. (catalogues give [Herasmius], [M. Capcas], or [J. Rubeus]) ; preface in Drakenborch, *op. cit.* VII 256.

32. 1495, Milan : U. Scinzenzeler ; 1505, Milan : apud A. Minutianum ; preface in Drakenborch, *op. cit.* VII 257-259.

For reprinting of the notes : 1495, Venice : P. Pincius ; 1498, Venice : B. de Zanis ; 1501, Venice : G. de Rusconibus ; 1506, Venice : J. and B. [Rubei] Vercellenses [for L. A. Giunta].

33. On J. Badius Ascensius see Eva M. Sanford, 'Juvenalis', *Cat. Trans. et Comm.* I (1960) 231. His studies on Livy comprised : (i) *In Livianam lectionem Isagoge* (1511) ; (ii) *Explanatio primi prooemii Liviani* (1511) ; (iii) *Vocabulorum Livianorum explanatio* (1513).

Editions including Sabellicus' notes (i) as well as Ascensius' own notes : 1510-1511, 1513, Paris :

MSS. and further editing had superseded Sabellicus' first work, we shall find the publication of another selection of fuller notes (II) on Bks. I-III, XXI-XXII; it was this second series that the later commentators reprinted.<sup>34</sup>

From the last decade of the 15th century to the first half of the 16th we may note the *praelectiones* of courses on Livy and Silius Italicus that were given at Bologna by Philippus Beroaldus the Elder, Johannes Baptista Pius, and Jacobus de Cruce (see the article on Silius that will appear in volume III). But the interest in Livy at the opening of the 16th century was not simply literary. His subject-matter was treated as relevant to Humanistic political thought; in Florence, for instance, Bernardo Rucellai and his circle were discussing similar problems.<sup>35</sup> Against this background we have to set Machiavelli's preparation and his method of composition of the *Discorsi [sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio]*, especially during the years 1513-1519. Did he begin this work as a political commentary on Livy's First Decade, including reference to the rest of his history, and then adapt the evidence to a systematic treatise in terms of Humanistic political thought?<sup>36</sup>

J. Badius Ascensius, J. Parvus (ed. 1513 by G. Vercellanus); 1516, Paris: J. Badius Ascensius; 1529, Paris: N. Savetier [ed. A. Levescotius]; 1530, Paris: J. Badius Ascensius; 1533, Paris: J. Badius Ascensius, J. Roigny.

For Ascensius' preface to all his editions see Drakenborch, *op. cit.* VII 259-260 (Drak. has noted changes made in the 1530 ed.); for a second preface to the 1513 and 1516 editions, Drakenborch, *op. cit.* VII 260.

34. 1543, 1552, Paris: M. Vascosanus, A. Parvus; 1553, Lyons: J. Frellonius, A. Vincentius; see also under 'Editions'.

35. F. Gilbert, 'B. Rucellai and the Orti Oricellari', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 12 (1949) 101-131.

36. In general see *The Discourses of Niccolò Machiavelli* (trans. L. J. Walker, New Haven 1950) I 165-198; on the present point, F. Gilbert, 'The Composition and Structure of Machiavelli's *Discorsi*', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 14 (1953) 136-156; J. H. Whitfield, 'Discourses on Machiavelli VII', Gilbert, Hexter and Baron', *Italian*

The question involves strict comparison with Livy as well as discussion of the contemporary ideas in Florence. We do not have to make Machiavelli a Livian commentator in the *Discorsi*, but the evidence may be studied in the light of Livy's text and annotation at the time.<sup>37</sup>

At this time, too, the German Humanists of Erasmus' circle were searching for Latin MSS., including those of Livy, in the Rhine libraries. In the 1519 Mainz edition of Livy Nicholas Carbach used a Mainz MS., now lost, containing Bks. XXXIII, 17, 6-XL, from which he supplied the text of Bk. XXXIII from ch. 17, 6 and completed the text of Bk. XL from ch. 37, 3; he listed variant readings from the rest of the MS. without comment.<sup>38</sup> Similarly in the 1531 Basel edition Simon Grynaeus added the text of Bks. XLI-XLV from a fifth century MS. of Lorsch, again without notes.<sup>39</sup> In the 1535 Basel edition Beatus Rhenanus and Sigismundus Gelenius used two fresh MSS., now lost, viz. (i) a Worms MS. of the First

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*Studies* 13 (1958) 23; Cecil H. Clough, 'Machiavelli Researches', *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale* (Sezione Romanza) 9 (1967) 99-127, where the problem is analysed, with further references.

37. Clough, *op. cit.* 105 n. 255, 110 n. 269: 'Certainly we need to know more of the printed texts and manuscripts of Livy, as they existed during the Renaissance'. The case, in terms of scholarly technique, is a sound one, as Billanovich has shown from the MSS. of the Medieval and early Humanistic period.

38. 1518-1519, Mainz: J. Schoeffer [ed. Wolfgang Angst, Nic. Carbachius, with the latter's 'Annotata']. The edition is dated Nov. 1518, its preface *Id. Mart.* 1519, and it was published in April 1519 (A. Mercati, *Rend. Pont. Accad. Rom. Arch.* 9 [1933] 53). For the prefaces of Ulrich von Hutten, Erasmus, and Carbach himself see Drakenborch, *op. cit.* VII (1746) 266-268. Cf. Gelenius (ed. 1535, Basel) and Franciscus Modius (ed. 1588, Frankfurt); *Titi Livi a.u.c.* (O.C.T.) V xxxviii-xxxix.

39. 1531, Basel: in off. Frobeniana [Bks. 41-45 edited by S. Grynaeus from the Lorsch MS., now in Vienna (Vindob. Lat. 15: see Livius XLI-XLV, ed. C. Giarratano, Rome 1933)]; preface by Erasmus (Drakenborch, *op. cit.* VII 270-271).

Decade and (ii) a Speyer MS. of Bks. XXVI-XL (lacking Bks. XXXIII and XL, 37,3 to the end). From these MSS. Beatus Rhenanus provided textual notes on Bks. I-VI, XXVI-XXX, Gelenius for Bks. VI-X and the Fourth Decade; Gelenius also revised Carbach's readings from the Mainz MS.<sup>40</sup> The work completed the manuscript evidence for Livy's text in the 16th century.<sup>41</sup>

At Venice the Aldine edition of 1518-1521, 1533, edited by Franciscus Asulanus, incorporated the new parts of Livy's text; it also reprinted N. Perotti's Latin version of Polybius, Bks. I-V and included a list of Roman magistrates by J. Malatesta Mantuanus.<sup>42</sup> A 1520 Venice edition reprinted Leonardo Bruni's *De primo bello Punico*.<sup>43</sup> In 1531 the Basel edition printed H. Loritus Glareanus' first *Chronologia* (i), a yearly list of the Roman magistrates (with notes) to the reign of Tiberius and Livy's death. The 1535 Basel edition printed his second *Chronologia*

40. 1535, Basel: in off. Frobeniana [ed. Beatus Rhenanus and Sigism. Gelenius]; for Gelenius' preface, Drakenborch, *op. cit.* VII 273. See *Titi Livi a.u.c.* (O.C.T.) I XVI-XVII, II XII-XV, IV XIX-XXIV, V XXXIV-XXXVII, and *supra* n. 38; G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (2nd ed., Florence 1952) 83-87, 99; Billanovich, 'Dal Livio di Raterio', *op.cit.* 170-177; on Beatus Rhenanus, see above, p. 114-115.

For reprinting of the notes: 1537, Lyons: M. and G. Trechsel; 1539, 1543, 1549, Basel: J. Hervagius; 1541, Venice: heirs of L. A. Giunta; 1552, Paris: M. Vascosanus, A. Parvus; 1553, Lyons: J. Frellonius, A. Vincentius; see also under 'Editions'.

41. Billanovich, 'Petrarch and...Livy', *op. cit.* 180-183. In 1615 the discovery of MS. *Bamberensis* (Bamberg, ms. Class. 35), containing Bks XXXI-XXXVIII, 46, 4, supplemented Bk XXXIII, 1, 1-17,6; see *Titi Livi a.u.c.* (O.C.T.) V XII-XIV.

42. 1518-1521 (1533), Venice: Aldus [Manutius], Andreas [Asulanus], ed. Franciscus Asulanus, with Florus' *Historia* and N. Perotti's Latin version of Polybius, Bks. 1-5; list of magistrates by L. Malatesta Mantuanus. [Reprint in 1520-21]. Bks. 41-45 added in 1533. Note 1522 (1532), Florence: heirs of P. Giunta, reprinting the Aldine edition, with Bks. 41-45 added in 1532.

43. 1520, Venice: M. Sessa, P. de Ravans.

(ii), in which, following Gregorius Haloander, he extended the dating as far as Justinian.<sup>44</sup> The reprinting of Perotti and Bruni supplemented the loss of Livy's Second Decade, while the chronological lists related the work to the general study of Roman history. These are the stages that led to fuller treatment of Livy's subject-matter in Glareanus' *Annotationes* of 1540, which may rank as a regular commentary. It was now, too, that editors of Livy began to reprint Valla's *Disputatio* and *Emendationes*.<sup>45</sup>

The discovery of the Capitoline *Fasti* at Rome in 1546 provided new epigraphic evidence for Roman dating, with reference to Livy's chronology, and in 1550 Carolus Siganus discussed the fragmentary inscription.<sup>46</sup> In three editions, successively revised, between 1555 and 1562 Siganus then edited Livy's text, with the *Periochae*, and added *Scholia* in which he annotated not only the text and chronology but the general subject-matter; the work represents a major commentary. During this period the controversy between Glareanus and Siganus

44. Glareanus, *Chronologia* (i) 1531: 'Chronologia sive temporum supputatio in omnes T. Livii Decades'; for his preface, Drakenborch, *op. cit.* VII 272. See editions of Livy: 1531, Basel (*supra* n. 39); 1530 (1531), Paris: J. Badius Ascensius (following the 1531 Basel edition), reprinted in 1533; 1532, Venice: L. A. Giunta.

*Chronologia* (ii) 1535: 'Chronologia sive temporum supputatio in omnem Romanam historiam ab Troia capta ad millesimum ducentesimum octagesimum tertium ab Urbe condita annum'. See editions of Livy: 1535, Basel (*supra* n. 40); 1537, Lyons: M. and G. Trechsel; 1539, 1543, 1549, Basel: J. Hervagius; 1541, Venice: heirs of L. A. Giunta; see also under 'Editions'.

45. [Separately printed, with Glareanus' *Annotationes*, Basel 1540: M. Isingrin]. For reprinting of the notes: 1542, 1554-1555, Lyons: Seb. Gryphius; 1543, 1552, Paris: M. Vascosanus, A. Parvus; 1553, Lyons: J. Frellonius, A. Vincentius; 1555, Basel: J. Hervagius; see also under 'Editions'.

46. C. Siganus, *Fasti consulares ac triumphi acti a Romulo rege usque ad Ti. Caesarem* (Modena 1550); [see now A. Degrassi, 'Fasti Consulares et Triumphales', *Inscriptiones Italiae XIII* 1, Rome 1947].

enlarged the scope of critical comment on Livy, and editions printed not only previous Renaissance notes but some minor studies ; one need only list these *Opuscula*.<sup>47</sup> It was in these circumstances that Wilhelm Godelevaeus composed his *Annotationes ex variis doctorum lucubrationibus collectae* (1568). In its material the work was largely derivative ; in selection and in application to Livy's text it may count as a regular commentary. Franciscus Modius' notes were composed in the same way, viz. *Francisci Modii Brug. in T. Livium notae, partim ab eo scriptae, partim ex Lipsii, Brissonii etc. eruditissimis ingenii monumentis exscriptae* (1588). In their formal arrangement these editions brought the various annotations of the Renaissance period into direct relationship with the individual passages of Livy's text. This recalls, at a simple level, Nicholas Trevet's exegesis and, more significantly, the development of the modern commentary on an ancient text.<sup>48</sup>

It only remains to list the minor notes on Livy which were printed in the editions of the late 16th century. In 1545 Johannes

47. *Opuscula* in the editions :

- 1552, Paris : M. Vascosanus, A. Parvus ; containing S. Grynaeus, *De utilitate legendae historiae* ; B. Marlianus, *De origine urbis Romae* : [ps. —] Messala Corvinus, *Ad Octavianum Augustum de progenie sua* ; Sextus Rufus, *De historia Romanorum* ; Caelius Curio, *De mensuris*.
- 1553, Lyons : J. Frellonius, A. Vincentius ; reprinting the above *Opuscula*.
- 1555, Basel : J. Hervagius ; with Grynaeus and Marlianus.
- 1568, Frankfurt : G. Corvinus, Sigism. Feierabend ; with Grynaeus, Marlianus, [ps. -] M. Corvinus, Sextus Rufus, Caelius Curio ; also Pomponius Laetus, *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae* ; B. Marlianus, *De antiquae Romae topographia* ; [ps. -] P. Victor, *De urbis Romae regionibus*. [Reprint : 1578].
- 1588, Frankfurt : J. Wechel ; with Caelius Curio, Pomponius Laetus, Marlianus (*De ant. Romae topographia*), [ps. -] P. Victor.

48. For the last stage of transition see A. Drakenborch, *Livius* (Leyden 1738-1746, reprinted Stuttgart 1820-1828), where Drakenborch in each note cites the earlier relevant annotations before making his own comment.

Velcurio (Johann Feldkirch) had annotated Bks. I-II.<sup>49</sup> In 1547 Johannes Saxonius had annotated Bks. XXI-XXII.<sup>50</sup> Petrus Nannius (d. 1557) had included notes on Books I and II of the First Decade in his *Συμπίκτων sive Miscellaneorum decas una* (Louvain, 1548). His comments on Book III circulated in manuscript form until they were published in part by Drakenborch (see his comments, *op. cit. VII, l-lii*).<sup>51</sup> The *Chronologia* of Joachim Grellius, based on the work of Glareanus and Sagonius, was included in editions from 1568.<sup>52</sup> At the end of the century Fulvius Ursinus, the antiquarian, bibliophile and student of Polybius, wrote notes on Livy,<sup>53</sup> while Marcellus Donatus commented on Livy among other Roman historians.<sup>54</sup> Finally we may note the influence of Justus Lipsius and Brissonius, as well as Pithoeus, upon these later commentaries.<sup>55</sup>

### *Editions*

*Composite Editions of Livy with more than one commentary (along with reprinted annotations) :*

49. J. Velcurio, *Explicationes in Liv. I-II* (Strasbourg 1545). These notes are reprinted in the editions : 1552, Paris ; 1553, Lyons ; 1555, Basel ; cf. *supra* n. 47 ; see also under 'Editions'.

50. J. Saxonius, *Commentarii ad Liv. XXI-XXII* (Basel 1547) ; see under 'Editions'.

51. On Nannius, see A. Polet, *Une gloire de l'humanisme belge, Petrus Nannius* (Louvain, 1936).

52. J. Grellius, *Chronologia in T. Livii historiam accommodata ad tabulas Capitol. Verri Flacci* ; for preface, Drakenborch, *op.cit. VII* 284-287 ; see under 'Editions'.

53. F. Ursinus, *Notae in T. Livium — in frag. historicorum collectis* (Antwerp 1595) ; see under 'Editions' : 1608 (ed. J. Gruter) ; P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris 1887) ; J. M. Moore, *The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius* (C.U.P. 1965) 144, 161 seq.

54. Marcellus Donatus, *Dilucidationes in T. Livium* ; see under 'Editions' : 1608 (ed. J. Gruter).

55. On Lipsius and Brissonius, see Drak., *op. cit. VII, xlvi, lx-lxi* ; on Pithoeus, see *Catalogus Translationum I*, 236.

Editions of Livy are described in A. Drakenborch, *op. cit.* VII 328-339 ; F. L. A. Schweiger, *Handbuch der klass. Bibliographie* II (Leipzig 1834) 524-532 [reprinted, with same pagination, as *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesamten Literatur der Römer* I (Amsterdam 1962)] ; Schweiger corrects and annotates Drakenborch's entries.

1568, Francofurti ad Moenum (Frankfurt a/M) : G. Corvinus, Sigism. Feierabend ; [ed. W. Godelevaeus]. With comm. of Glareanus, Sagonius, Godelevaeus ; notes of Valla, Sabellicus (ii), Rhenanus and Gelenius, J. Velcurio, J. Saxonius ; *Opuscula* of Grynaeus, Marlianus, [ps. -]Messala Corvinus, Sextus Rufus, Caelius Curio, Pomponius Laetus, [ps. -]P. Victor ; *Chronologia* of J. Grellius. Drak. VII 338 ; Schweiger II 531 ; BM ; BN ; Adams.

*Reprint* : 1578. Drak. VII 338 ; Schweiger II 532 ; BM ; BN ; Adams.

1573, June 10, Lutetiae (Paris) : J. Charron ; [ed. J. Gohorius ; for preface, Drak. VII 289-290]. With comm. of Glareanus, Sagonius, Godelevaeus ; notes of Valla, Sabellicus (ii), Rhenanus and Gelenius, J. Velcurio, J. Saxonius ; *Chronologia* of J. Grellius. Drak. VII 338 ; Schweiger II 531 ; BM ; BN ; Adams.

1588, Francofurti ad Moenum (Frankfurt a/M) : J. Wechel, for Sigism. Feierabend, H. Thack, P. Fischer [ed. Franciscus Modius]. With comm. of Glareanus, Sagonius, Godelevaeus, Franc. Modius ; notes of Valla, Sabellicus (ii), Rhenanus and Gelenius, J. Velcurio, J. Saxonius ; *Opuscula* of Caelius Curio, Pomponius Laetus, Marlianus, [ps. -]P. Victor ; *Chronologia* of J. Grellius. Drak. VII 338 ; Schweiger II 532 ; BM ; BN ; Adams.

1608, Francofurti ad Moenum (Frankfurt a/M) : J. Saurius, for heirs of P. Fischer ; [ed. J. Gruter]. With comm. of Glareanus, Sagonius, Godelevaeus, Franc. Modius ; notes of Valla, Sabellicus (ii), Rhenanus and Gelenius ; also Fulvius Ursinus, Marcellus Donatus. Drak. VII 339 ; Schweiger II 532 ; BM ; BN.

*Reprint* : 1612 ; BM.

1738-46, Amstelaedami : J. Wetstenius and G. Smith ; and Lugduni Batavorum : Samuel Luchtmans. 7 v. Edition by Arnold

Drakenborch, in which the notes of Valla, Sabellicus, Beatus Rhenanus, Sigismundus Gelenius, Glareanus, Sagonius, Fulvius Ursinus, Franciscus Sanctius, Henr. Valesius, Jac. Perizonius, Petrus Nannius, Justus Lipsius, Franciscus Modius, Janus Gruterus and others are reprinted. BM.

## COMMENTARIES

### 1. NICOLAUS TREVET

Commentary on the First and Third Decades of Livy (Bks I-X, XXI-XXX), written in the early 14th century, probably between 1316 and 1319. A letter of Pope John XXII to his Nuncio in England, Rigaldus de Asserio, dated 18 Jan. 1318, instructs him to pay 'Nicolaus Treverinus' (*sc.* Trevet) for a 'litterale opus' which was composed 'bieniali labore'. If the term 'litterale opus' refers to the Livy commentary rather than to one of Trevet's Biblical commentaries, we may date it as above, following his commentary on Seneca's *Tragedies* (Ruth J. Dean, 'The Earliest Known Commentary on Livy is by Nicholas Trevet', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 3 [1945] 86-98 ; 4 [1946] 110). In any event the work was used by Landolfo Colonna at Avignon in 1328-29 (*supra* n. 15).

*Commentary* : Decades I, III.

Dec. I : *Tit.* (MS. Paris, BN. lat. 5745, s.XIV) : Incipit prologus super apparatus libri Titi Livii ab urbe condita.

[*Inc.*] : Titum Livium virum eloquentissimum fuisse Ieronimus in epistola ad Paulinum testatur de eo sic scribens : 'Ad Titum Livium lacteo eloquentiae fonte. . .'

Hunc Titum libri huius, qui est de gestis Romanorum sive de rebus Romanis, auctorem designat titulus hic praescriptus. Distinxit autem hunc librum in duas partes, quarum prima dicitur 'ab urbe condita', ut ex titulo patet, secunda 'de bello Punico', utraque vero pars in decem libros distenditur. . .

Primae vero parti quae est de Romana re (Paris MS BN, lat. 5745 ; re *om.* Lisbon MS) ab urbe condita praemittit prologum. In quo more prohemiali tria facit. . .

[*Expl.*] : (ad X, 47, 7). . . ipso Esculapii lapide advexerunt.

[Col.] : Et in hoc terminatur prima pars historiae quam conscripsit Titus Livius ab urbe condita, continentia distincta. Titi Livii ab urbe condita liber decimus explicit feli-citer. Explicit liber decimus.

Dec. III [Inc.] : (MS. Lisbon, BN, MSS. Illum. 135, s. XV) : In parte scripturus Titus Livius de bello Punico prologum quendam praemittit. . .

Primo autem haec praemittit, secundo ad haec probationes indicit, ibi 'nam neque'. Quantum ad primum dicit 'licet michi', id est licitum est mihi, 'prefari', id est praedicere in parte operis mei. Dicitur enim de gestis Romanorum scripsisse triginta decades, id est xxx volumina quorum quodlibet decem libros continet, quorum unum iam exposui-mus ab urbe condita usque ad <sup>III</sup><sup>r</sup><sup>e</sup>LIX annum, a quo anno usque ad secundum bellum Punicum fluxerunt anni circiter LXXXIII. Quia secundum Orosium libro quarto Hannibal Saguntum cepit anno ab urbe condita <sup>v</sup><sup>e</sup>XXXIII, cuius occasione motum est bellum Punicum. Quot volumina de hiis scripserat Titus, quot etiam de annis qui post secun-dum bellum Punicum ad aetatem suam fluxerunt, incertum mihi est. Sed inter alia hoc volumen decem librorum computatur quod hic vocat partem operis sui. . .

[Expl.] : (ad xxx, 44, 6). . . appareret hunc risum quem increpatis non esse cordis laeti sed magis amentis proprie.

[Col.] : Et sic terminatur expositio viginti librorum Titi Livii quos biennali labore expo-suit frater Nicholaus Treveth de ordi(n)e predictorum, ex mandato et iusu sanctissimi patris et domini, domini Johannis pape XXII ad honorem Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, cui honor est et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

(See Dean, *op. cit.* 90).

*Manuscripts :*

Paris, BN lat. 5745, 287 ff., s. XIV : Decade I (E. Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan, au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1955) 142 (A. 318), as anon. comm.; T. Kaeppele, *Arch. Frat. Praedic.* 29 (1959) 200 n. 1, identifying it as Trevet's).

Lisbon, BN, MSS. Illum. 134, 135, s. XV (microfilm copy in Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.) : MS. 134, Decade I, 280 ff.; MS. 135, Decade III, 223 ff. MS. 134 has

no *Titulus*; after the *Colophon* : 'Et hodie Patavi cernitur eius saxeus tumulus in mo-nasterio sanctae Justinæ cum huiusmodi saxo incisis litteris'; and a reference to Petrarch 'in eo libro quem Rerum Familia-rium titulavit. . . in ea scilicet epistola. . . asserens tantum xxix eiusdem historiae li-bros vidisse'.

(See Dean, *op. cit.* 92-93; Billanovich, 'Petrarch and. . . Livy', *op. cit.* 169; cf. Ull-man, 'The Post-mortem. . . Livy', *Stud. in the Ital. Renaissance* [*supra* n. 10] 58-60).

London, Lambeth Palace, 10.C.9, s. XIV ex. : one sheet, Decade I [ad III, 2,7-3,4] : Quae ubi Romani sunt. . . ab Algido Quintius consul redierat Romam]; E Θ 29, pasted in *Oeconomia Bibliorum* (1571), cf. \* H 890. See N. R. Ker, *Fragments of Medieval MSS. used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings* (Oxford Bibliogr. Soc. Pub., NS 5, 1954, p. 160, no. 1778); L. Van Acker, 'Nicolas Trevet et son interprétation de quelques passages de Tite-Live', *L'Antiquité Classique* 31 (1962) 252-57.

Paris, BN lat. 5690, s. XIV. Contains marginal notes that are excerpted from Trevet's commentary. (R. Dean, *Medie-valia et Humanistica* 3 [1942] 93-94).

*Edition :*

*Titus Livius Ab urbe condita I,1-9 : Ein mittelalterlicher Kommentar und sechs ro-manische Uebersetzungen und Kuerzungen aus dem Mittelalter*, ed. Curt J. Wittlin. 1970, Tuebingen : Max Niemeyer. Trevet's text appears p. 2-27, cf. p. ix-x (with bibliography).

*Biogr. :*

Nicholas Trevet (Triveth) was b. c. 1258. He entered the Dominican Order and was in the Oxford Convent by 1297, sharing in Oxford 'disputations' 1303-07. He studied at Paris between 1307 and 1314 and then returned to Oxford; but he was known in Avignon and wrote his commentary on Boethius in Italy. By 1324 he was in the London Convent; he was still living in 1334.

*Works :* Trevet's Commentary on *Genesis* and *Exodus* was approved by his Order in 1307; later he treated *Leviticus*, and he sent a revised version on *Genesis* to Pope John XXII. He finished a commentary on *Psalms* between 1317 and 1320, and wrote on

*Chronicles*. He also commented on Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, and on Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*. By c. 1314 he had treated the *Declamationes* of the Elder Seneca. At the request of Nicholas of Prato he wrote a commentary on Seneca's *Tragedies*, and Pope John XXII ordered his commentary on Livy.

The will of Maestro Simone, a notary of Arezzo, dated 12 August 1338, refers to the commentaries on Boethius, the two Seneca's, and Livy (U. Pasqui, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Ser. V 4 [1889] 250-255). Guglielmo da Pastrengo, in *De Viris Illustribus* (c. 1350), also notes these works (R. Weiss, *Dominican Studies* 1 [1948] 263). Albertus Castellanus Venetus, in *Brevis et Compendiosa Chronica Ordinis Predicotorum* (Venice 1516, f. 170v) records Trevet's works (as set out above), along with commentaries on Juvenal, Ovid and other poets (T. Kaeppler, *Arch. Frat. Praedic.* 29 [1959] 200 n. 1); but the reference to the Latin poets may be false (on Juvenal, see Eva M. Sanford, *Catalogus Trans. et Comm.* I 237-38).

From 1320 Trevet wrote history : *Annales sex regum Angliae* A.D. 1135-1307; also *Chronicles* (in French) which were rendered in Latin as *Historia ab origine mundi ad Christum natum*.

Bibl.: *Dictionary of National Biography* 19 (1921-22) 1161-64 (C. L. Kingsford); A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians, c. A.D. 1282-1302* (Oxford 1934) 283; A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* III (1959) 1902-3; B. Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the early fourteenth century* (Oxford 1960) 58-65.

For early editions of the commentary on Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, see GW 2883-90. T. Duering, *Zur Ueberlieferung von Seneka's Tragoedien*, II: *Der Kommentar des N. Treveth (um 1315) und sein Verhaeltnis zu C*, progr. Lingen, 1913; F. Ehrle, 'Nicolaus Trivet, sein Leben, seine Quolibet und Quaestiones ordinariae,' *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Supplementband 2 (1923) 1-63; E. Franceschini, *Studi e note di filologia latina medievale*, Milan, 1938; *Il commento di Nicola Trevet al Tieste di*

*Seneca*, ed. E. Franceschini (Milan, 1938); Ruth J. Dean, review of Franceschini, *Medium Aevum* 10 (1941) 161-168; the same, 'MS. Bodl. 292 and the Canon of Nicholas Trevet's Works,' *Speculum* 17 (1942) 243-49; the same, 'The Earliest Medieval Commentary on Livy is by Nicholas Trevet,' *Medievalia et Humanistica* 3 (1945) 86-98; 4 (1946) 110; the same, 'Cultural Relations in the Middle Ages: Nicholas Trevet and Nicholas of Prato,' *Studies in Philology* 45 (1948) 541-564; the same, 'Unnoticed Commentaries on the *Dissuasio Valerii* of Walter Map,' *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 2 (1950) 128-50; the same, 'The manuscripts of Nicholas Trevet's Anglo-Norman *Chronicles*,' *Medievalia et Humanistica* 14 (1962) 95-105; the same, 'The Dedication of Nicholas Trevet's Commentary on Boethius,' *Studies in Philology* 63 (1966) 593-603; R. Weiss, 'Notes on the Popularity of the Writings of Nicholas Trevet O. P. in Italy during the first half of the 14th century,' *Dominican Studies* 1 (1948) 261-265; T. Kaeppler, 'Un critique du Commentaire de Nicolas Trevet sur le *De civitate Dei*,' *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 29 (1959) 200-205; *Nicolai Treveti expositio Herculis Furentis*, ed. V. Ussani (Rome, 1959); *Nicolai Treveti expositio L. Annaei Senecae Agamemnonis*, ed. P. Meloni (Palermo, 1961); *Nicolai Treveti expositio L. Annaei Senecae Herculis Oetaei*, ed. P. Meloni (Palermo, 1962); L. van Acker, 'Nicolas Trevet et son interprétation de quelques passages de Tite-Live,' *L'Antiquité Classique* 31 (1962) 252-257; the same, 'L'œuvre latine de Boccace et Nicolas Trevet,' *ibid.* 33 (1964) 414-418; J. Prim, 'L'harmonie du monde chez Nicolas Trevet,' *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, IV<sup>e</sup> Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques, Résumé d'Exposés, 1965-66* (Paris, 1966-67) 299-309. H. Hauke, *Die Lehre von der beseligenden Schau nach Nikolaus Trivet*, diss. Munich, 1967.

## 2. HENRICUS LORITUS GLAREANUS

*Annotationes* on the scale of a commentary, published 1540. The work followed

his study of Roman dating, viz. *Chronologia*, first published in the 1531 Basel edition of Livy, then revised and extended in the 1535 Basel edition of Livy (*supra* n. 44).

[*Praef.*] : Augustissimo invictissimoque Imperatori Caesari Carolo V Henricus Glareanus s.d.p.

Haud sum nescius, Invictissime Imperator Carole, quam multorum hominum, etiam eximie doctorum, grave iudicium sim subiatur, quod authorem tam praeclarum. . . emendandum mihi desumpserim. . . [reference to Sabellicus, Laurentius Valla, Beatus Rhenanus and Gelenius, and an appreciation of Livy]. . . Ad te, invictissime Caesar, redeo, cui nostrum laborem dedicare volui. . . Deus Opt. Max. maiestatem tuam ad ipsius gloriam et Christianae reipublicae salutem quam diutissime incolumem conservare dignetur. Friburgi Brisgoae, anno a Jesu Christi natali MDXL Calen. Maiis.

[*Inc.*] : In T. Livii librum I Henrici Glareani Loriti annotationes.

Praefat. *Facturusne operae pretium sim.* Quidam immodico studio ac affectata diligentia (ut fit) huic praefationi plus obscuritatis quam lucis attulisse mihi videntur.

(XXX, 45, 5) *Omnique deinde vita, ut dignum erat liber.* Libro 8 sequentis decados diversas auctorum opiniones de hoc Terentio narrabit. Sed in hanc decada satis dubitatum existimamus, ideoque iam receptui canimus.

Scipionum quorum mentio apud Livium, Ciceronem, Plutarchum, ceterosque classicos scriptores, genealogia per Henricum Glareanum, P.L.

Qui temporum rationem in primis ad historiae maiestatem pertinere arbitrati sunt, hi mihi a vero scopo nihil aberrasse videntur . . . Reliqua ex typo, sed magis ex auctoribus sciri possunt. [Then the stemma : 'De Cornelia gente fratres'].

(XXXI, 1, 4) *Quam occuparint quadrigeniti LXXVIII anni a condita Urbe.* Legendum LXXVIII anni. Nam. . .

[*Expl.*] : (XL, 59, 5) Veteres codices etiam C. Claudium habebant, non T. quod mihi placet. Nam T. Claudius praetor fuerat anno ab urbe condita DLXXIII. Hic igitur C. legendum. Finis.

*Editions.*

1540, Basileae (Basel) : M. Isingrin. Drak.

VII 336 ; Schweiger II 552 (s.v. *Glar.*) ; Renouard, *Badius* III 16 ; BM ; BN.

1542, Lugduni (Lyons) : Seb. Gryphius. Drak. VII 336 ; Schweiger II 530 ; Baudrier VIII 163 ; Renouard, *Badius* III 17 ; BM.

1543, Parisiis (Paris) : M. Vascosanus, A. Parvus. Drak. VII 336 ; Schweiger II 530 ; Renouard, *Badius* III 17 ; BN ; Adams.

1552, Lutetiae (Paris) : M. Vascosanus, A. Parvus. Drak. VII 337 ; Schweiger II 530 ; Renouard, *Badius* III 17-18 ; BM ; Adams.

1553, Lugduni (Lyons) : J. Frellonius, A. Vincentius. Drak. VII 337 ; Schweiger II 530 ; Baudrier V 228 ; Renouard, *Badius* III 18 ; BM ; BN ; Adams.

1554-1555, Lugduni (Lyons) : Seb. Gryphius. (The comm. of 1555, cf. the 1542 Lyons ed., is generally connected with the 1554 text). Drak. VII 337 ; Schweiger II 530 ; Baudrier VIII 272, 276 ; Renouard, *Badius* III 20 ; BM ; BN.

1555 (Sept.). Basileae (Basel) : J. Hervagius [ed. Caelius Secundus Curio]. Drak. VII 338 ; Schweiger II 531 ; Renouard, *Badius* III 19-20 ; BM ; Adams.

Also *Composite Editions* : 1568 (reprint 1578), Frankfurt ; 1573, Paris ; 1588, 1608 (reprint 1612), Frankfurt.

#### *Biogr. :*

Henricus Loritus Glareanus (Heinrich Loriti), the Swiss humanist, was b. Mollis 1488 (in the canton Glarus, hence his Latin name) ; d. Freiburg i.Br. 1563. He studied at Berne and Cologne. A scholar and poet ('Poeta Laureatus' in 1512), with interests in music, geography and history (especially in reference to his own country : *Helvetiae descriptio*), he made his name as a teacher in Basel. After some years in Paris and again in Basel, he became in 1529 professor of literature and history at Freiburg. Here he wrote on the theory of music in *Δωδεκάχορδον* and applied independent criticism to the chronology and narrative of Livy's history.

After the publication of the *Fasti Capitolini* Glareanus and his supporters were engaged in controversy with Sigonius ; see Glareanus' letter to Hervagius, the Basel printer : D. Johanni Hervagio, typographo ac civi Basiliensi, Glareanus s.d. Perhumanius ac benigniter mecum egisti, suavissime D. Hervagi, quod ad me miseris illius Glarea-

nomastigis Annotationes ; de quo iudicium meum audire cupis. . .[reply to Sagonius' criticisms]... doleo autem, quod, quid gratiae referam, non habeam : tu animum nunc pro gratia accipias, oro. Bene vale. Friburgi Brisgoiae, anno a Jesu Christi natali MDLV. (Printed 1557, Patavii ; cf. Schweiger II 552 ; reprinted in Drak. VII 283-84).

Works : *Helvetiae descriptio* ; *Isagoge in musicem* ; *Dodecachordon* ; *De geographia* ; *De sex arithmeticae practicae speciebus* ; *De asse* ; *De ratione syllabarum*. He edited Boethius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (in Latin), Donatus, Eutropius, Valerius Maximus, and annotated Caesar, Horace, Justinus, Livy, Lucan, Ovid, Sallust, Suetonius, Tacitus, Terence and Valerius Maximus.

Bibl. : *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 9, (1879) 210-213 (L. Geiger) ; Schottenloher 1.7118-7147 ; 5.46500-46504 ; 7.54776-54781.

Drak. VII, xxxvii, 272-7 ; J. H. Schreiber, *H. Loriti Glareanus* (Freiburg, 1837) ; O. F. Fritzsche, *Glarean* (Frauenfeld, 1890) ; D. Van Berchem, 'Tito Livio nella Svizzera del Rinascimento,' *Quaderni Liviani* I (Rome, 1943).

### 3. CAROLUS SIGONIUS

*Scholia* on the scale of a commentary, published in Sagonius' 1555 Aldine edition at Venice, along with a *Chronologia* (and its notes), and revised successively in his Aldine editions of 1566 and 1572. The work followed his commentary on the *Fasti Capitolini* (*Fasti consulares ac triumphi acti a Romulo rege usque ad Ti. Caesarem*, Modena 1550).

[Dedic.] : (ed. 1555) Carolus Sagonius Bernardino Laureano Andreae f. patricio Veneto s.d.

Omnes artes, Bernardine iuvenis ornatissime, quae maiorum nostrorum vel excellenti ingenio partae, vel summo labore traditae existimantur, duabus potissimum de causis eximio quodam a nobis (ut opinor) studio celebrantur ; quarum una est utilitatis, altera voluptatis . . . [praise of Roman history, criticism of the state of Livy's text]. . . Quas labes nec Valla, nec Sabellicus, nec Rhenanus, nec Gelenius, nec Glareanus. . . certe locu-

pletibus testimoniis destituti non sustulissent. . . feci illud, quod vix fieri posse ante credideram, ut omnia rerum Romanarum monumenta diligentissime perlustrarem. Itaque coniecturis primum iis, quas. . . firma veram, deinde manuscriptorum librorum auctoritate fretus. . . lapidibus praeterea vetustis, et maxime consularibus Capitolinis, nummisque argenteis, quo in monumentorum genere incorruptam maxime latere veritatem animadverteram, postremo Graecorum libris tam iis, qui proxime typis impressi, quam qui adhuc tantum manuscripti leguntur, ducibus atque auctoribus usus, non plerosque solum eorum locorum aut ab aliis depravatos emendavi, aut minus intellectos explanavi, aut omissos attigi, sed immutatam etiam ab iis et rerum et nominum et temporum rationem et constantiam pristinam, quoad potui, revocavi. Neque vero tam in XXX primis libris . . . quam in quinque extremis nuper inventis, et in epitoma ipsa etiam mendozissima laboravi. . . dedi etiam operam, ut quod Glareanus ante me fecit, ne hac quidem in parte historiae Livianaee deesse. Cuius quidem eruditissimi viri labore facile contentus esse poteram, nisi ab eo in tota ipsa re dissensisse. . . in eam saepe se necessitatem induxit ut dum aliorum numeros sequitur, omnino Livianos aut negligere aut immutare coactus fuerit. . . quo factum est, ut nova mihi quoque ad Livianam historiam Chronologia ex Livii potissimum sententia fuerit comparanda. Atque haec quidem omnia cum in unum tandem quasi corpus magno studio redigessem. . . tum te in primis, qui me saepe laborantem vidisti, atque aequissimum quenque alienae industriae iudicem, summopere credo esse comprobaturum. Vale. Venetiis, MDLV. Nonis Maii.

Caroli Sagonii scholia, quibus T. Livii Patavini historiae et earum epitomae partim emendantur, partim etiam explanantur.

De germano Livianorum librorum indice. Germanum non esse Livianorum librorum indicem illum, qui vulgo fertur. . ./. . . Res populi R(omani) M. Lepido, Q. Catulo consulibus ac deinde militiae et domi gestas composui.

De epitomis. Epitomas porro, id est (ut ego interpretor) brevia singulorum librorum argumenta unicuique libro praefixi

. . . Livianam apud quenque obtinere debent auctoritatem.

In Epitomen libri primi. *Sylvii. Item, Tyberis. Silvii et Tiberis* scribendum esse ex manuscriptis exemplaribus Graecisque libris constat. . . Itaque praeter alia Sex. etiam Tarquinii filii dolo (inquit) Gabios in suam potestatem redegit.

In librum primum [Praef. 5]. *Ut me a conspectu malorum. . . [9] velut dissidentes primo mores sequatur animo. . . tum ut ire coeperint praecipites.* Probo doctorum quorundam hominum coniecturam, qui desidentes legunt. . .

(XXXI, 1, 4) *Quam occuparint quadrigeniti LXXXVI anni a condita urbe ad Ap. Claudium consulem.* In veteribus libris est *LXXVIII anni*, mendose illud quidem, sed ita tamen, ut verae lectionis vestigia apparet. Est enim V in X vertendum, et duo II in V, ita ut legas LXXXVI, siquidem Ap. Claudius anno ab urbe condita CCCCLXXXVI consul fuit, quemadmodum ex Livii sententia in Chronologia ostendemus, quem numerum depravavit (ut solet) Glareanus.

(XLV, 44, 19) *Polybius eum regem. . . obviam ire legatis solitum libertumque etc.* Haec ex Polybio fortasse sumpta sic edit Appianus in Mithridatico. . .

[Expl.]: (In epitomen libri CXLII) *In C. Iulii tumulo conditum.* Augusti est intelligendum. Nam inquit Dio: ἐξ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μνημεῖον πατετέθη. Finis.

*Editions:*

1555, Venetiis (Venice): P. Manutius; ed. C. Sigonius, with comm. (*Scholia*) and *Chronologia*. Drak. VII 338; Schweiger II 531; Renouard, *Alde* 166 (15); BN; Adams.

1566, Venetiis (Venice): P. Manutius; ed. C. Sigonius, with revised comm. and *Chronologia*, second edition. Drak. VII 338; Schweiger II 531; Renouard, *Alde* 202 (19); BN; Adams.

1572, Venetiis (Venice): in aed. Manutianis; ed. C. Sigonius, with revised comm. and *Chronologia*, third edition. Drak. VII 338; Schweiger II 531; Renouard, *Alde* 215 (10); BN; Adams.

*Reprint:* 1592. Drak. VII 339; Schweiger II 532; Renouard, *Alde* 249 (12); BN; Adams.

Also *Composite Editions*: 1568 (reprint

1578), Frankfurt; 1573, Paris; 1588, 1608 (reprint 1612), Frankfurt.

Also reprinted in Sagonius' *Opera omnia* III (Milan, In aedibus Palatinis, 1733), col. 641-980.

In controversy with Glareanus, Faernus and Robortellus Sagonius defended his *Scholia* and *Chronologia*. Glareanus' letter to J. Hervagius is quoted under 'Glareanus'; for Faernus' letter see Drakenborch VII 245-9; Robortellus published both letters, with his own *De convenientia supputationis Liviana cum marmoribus Romanis* [sc. *Fastis Capitolini*]. Sagonius replied to Faernus in his *Disputationes* (1562): Faerni epistolam, in qua ille de meis in Livium Scholiis iudicat, bis edidit Robortellus. . . Quantum autem profecerim, aliorum esto iudicium. (Drak. VII 249-52). Godelevaeus in his 1568 Frankfurt edition revived Glareanus' criticism and Sagonius replied in his 1572 edition: *Caroli Sagonii Livianorum Scholiorum aliquot defensiones adversus Glareanum et Robortellum*: Anni sunt septemdecim, cum ego scholia in T. Livium scripsi [sc. 1555 ed.]. . . [on Glareanus' letter and Robortellus]. . . Sed iam quales sint istae Robortelli aut Glareani reprehensiones videamus, atque eis veteres defensiones meas, quas queror omissas, obiciamus.

In librum Fr. Robortelli de convenientia supputationis. Livianam annorum ab urbe condita summam cum Capitolina discrepare demonstratur, et Liviani loci multi a turpisimis eius expositionibus et correctionibus vindicantur. Quod scripsi. . . mihi repetendum videtur. . .

Ad epistolam Glareani: Mea in Liviana annorum summa constituenda opinio defensa, et ut ille sine causa in ea re me inhumanitatis arguerit. . . [notes on Bks. I, II, III, VII, XXVI-XXVII; Epit. XLIX, L]. . . Atque hi quidem sunt mille illi et sescenti Livii loci, quos me corrupisse Robortellus insimulavit, quosque primum ille, deinde Glareanus adversus me protulit, de quibus aliorum esto, non nostri iudicium. (See Drak. op. cit. VII, 93-118).

*Biogr.:*

Carolus Sagonius (Carlo Sighonio) was b. Modena 1524; d. Ponte Basso, near Modena, 1584. He studied in Modena, Bologna and

Pavia, and returned to teach at Modena in 1546 ; he succeeded Robortellus as professor of humanities in Venice (1552-59) ; then he moved to Padua (1560-63) and finally established himself in Bologna.

*Works* : *De regno Italiae* (570-1200), published 1574 ; *Historiae de occidentali imperio* (on the late Roman Empire to 556), published 1578 ; *Historiae de rebus Bononiensibus* (to 1257, ed. 1604) ; *De antiquo iure civium Romanorum, Italiae, Provinciarum* (1560) ; *De republica Atheniensium* (1564) ; *De republica Hebraeorum* (1583) ; *De nominibus Romanorum* (1553-56) ; *Fragmenta e libris deperditis Ciceronis collata* (1559-1560) ; *Fasti Capitolini*. He wrote many other historical, biographical and antiquarian works, composed orations, invectives, letters and a few poems, translated Demosthenes and Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, commented on Livy and Sulpicius Severus, and defended the forged *Consolatio* attributed to Cicero. His *Opera omnia* were published in 6 vols. by L. A. Muratori and F. Argellati (Milan, 1732-37).

*Bibl.* : *Enciclopedia Italiana* 31 (1936) 761 (G. Bertoni) ; G. Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca Modenese* 5 (1784) 76-119.

L. A. Muratori, in Sigonius' *Opera* 1 (1732) ; Drakenborch VII, pp. xl-xlv ; G. Franciosi, *Della vita e delle opere di C. Sigonio* (Modena, 1872) ; L. Simeoni, 'Documenti sulla vita e la biblioteca di C. Sigonio', *Studi e Memorie per la storia dell'Università di Bologna* (Biblioteca de 'L'Archiginnasio', Ser. I) XI (1933) 183-262. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* II. 140-145.

#### 4. GULIELMUS GODELEVAEUS

Commentary in his 1568 edition of Livy (Frankfurt a/M) : *Annotationes ex variis doctorum lucubrationibus collectae*, with the *Chronologia* of Joachim Grellius.

[*Dedic.*] : Ornatissimo viro. . .D. Eusebio Episcopio, typographo ac civi Basiliensi, domino et amico, Wilhelmus Godelevaeus s.p.d. Nae ego, opera in Livii historia explicanda sumpta, quasi Iliada post Homerum scripsisse multis videbor, Episcopi optime. Tot etenim. . .lucubrationes in eam exstant . . .[reference to Glareanus and Sigonius]. . .

non tamen propterea me deterrei passus sum . . .Si quae grata tibi officia a me praestari queant, nulli nec fidei nec diligentiae nec operae, ut ea declarentur, parcitum me esse. Vale feliciter. Datum Midene, xv Januarii. Anno 1568.

[*Inc.*] : Praef. (4) *Festinantibus ad haec nova*. Respexisse videtur ad illud Homericum Odisseae I. . .quos sic Erasmus Latine reddidit.

Eod. (6) *Quae ante conditam*. Magnae magnorum virorum super hoc loco contentiones fuerunt, idque non sine causa, ut Petrus Nannius lib. 5 *Συμπίκτων* sive *Miscellaneorum* refert.

[*Expl.*] : (XLV, 42, 4) *Cum Alexandro filio*. Hunc tornandi subtiliumque operum egregium artificem fuisse tradunt. . .ut refert Plutarchus in vita Aemilii : hoc ipso insigne exemplum inconstantiae rerum humanaarum praebens, ita ut praclare Val. Max. li. 6 c. ult. circa finem dixerit : *Caduca nimirum. . .miserabiliter immergunt*.

[*Praef.* to reprinted notes] : Reverendo viro. . .domino Johanni Aegolpho a Knorringen, Wirzeburgensis ecclesiae summo scholastico, Augustanae ac Elvacensis canonico, Wilhelmus Godelevaeus s.p.d. Praclare quidem de mortalium rebus mereri, vir reverende, censendi sunt. . .[reference to Sabellicus, Valla, Beatus Rhenanus and Gelenius, Glareanus, Sigonius ; also to Robortellus, Velcurio, Morellus, Saxonius, and Feierabend and Corvinus]. . .Cui a Deo Optimo Maximo diuturnam prosperamque valetudinem ad bonarum artium studia provehenda concedi ex animo opto. Datae Calend. Martii, Anno MDLXVIII.

#### *Editions* :

See *Composite Editions* : 1568 (reprint 1578), Frankfurt ; 1573, Paris ; 1588, 1608 (reprint 1612), Frankfurt ; also 1589, Londinii (London) : Edmund Bollifant. Drak. VII 339 ; Schweiger II 532 ; BM.

#### *Biogr.* :

Wilhelmus Godelevaeus was a German philologist and historian of the second half of the sixteenth century. He was a nephew of Simon Schard, the noted jurist and historian, and he speaks of Schard as the patron of his studies. In addition to his commentary on Livy, Godelevaeus wrote an account of

the abdication of the Emperor Charles V (*Historiola de Abdicatione seu Renunciatione Imperii et Regnum a Carolo V Imperatore facta anno 1555*; this was published in 1574 in the second volume of S. Schardius, *Historicum Opus*); and he translated from French into Latin A. Geuffroy, *Aulae Turcicae Othomannicique imperii descriptio* (1573).

*Bibl.*: Joecher II (1750) 1034; the Prefaces of Godelevaeus; Drakenborch VII, xlivi, 287-289.

### 5. FRANCISCUS MODIUS

Commentary in his 1588 edition of Livy (Frankfurt a/M), following the model of Godelevaeus' *Annotationes*, with the notes of earlier commentators as well as his own notes.

[*Tit.*]: Francisci Modii Brug. in Titum Livium Notae, partim ab eo scriptae, partim ex Lipsii, Brissonii etc. eruditissimis ingenii monumentis exscriptae.

[*Dedic.*]: Illustrissimo iuventutis Belgicac principi, Carolo comiti Egmondano, Franciscus Modius Brugensis s.p.d.

Mihi vero nihil quidquam debet esse antiquius. . .[reference to Jacobus Campius]. . . Vale quam optime, o et praesidium et dulce decus meum. Datum in Agrippina Ubiorum Colonia, xi Kalend. Apriles MDLXXXVIII.

[*Praef.*]: Franciscus Modius Brugensis amico lectori amicam salutem. Constitueram et ipse ubiores Notas in Livium eiusque epitomas scribere, benevole Lector, et ab aliis quaedam emendicare. . .sed hoc cum maxime agentem obruit vis fati. . .Plura ut scribam, nihil attinet, in tanta praesertim corporis animique aegritudine. . .Lector, qualicumque hoc labore meo uti frui feliciter iubeo. Datum in Agrippina Ubiorum Colonia xi Kal. Apriles MDLXXXVIII.

[*Inc.*] Praef. (8) *Utcumque animadversa. . .ponam discrimine.* Quia Lipsius hunc primum Livii librum seorsum aliis edidit, additis ad finem variantibus lectionibus, lubet eas, cum nostrorum codicum auctoritate pleraeque omnes confirmentur et stabiliantur, huc transcribere. Igitur hae sunt notae Lipsianae.

(XXXIV, 2, 4) *Ab nullo genere non aequa summum periculum est. Tò aequa perinde*

hic a Signorio insertum est ex vet. ut ait libro, quod aequa tamen rursus tam a scriptis manu quam typis monumentis nostris Moguntinibus abest: et recte meo iudicio. [But Modius knew the Mainz MS. only from the notes of Carbach and Gelenius].

[*Expl.*]: (XLI, 18, 10) *Ibi adhortantem eum pro contione milites. . .ominatum ferunt se eo die Letum capturum esse.* Ita auctor est Plinius lib. 15 capite 19 Crasso navim adversus Parthos condescendi omen fecisse vocem praedicantis venales Cauneas, quasi hac ei voce denuntiaretur, *Cave ne eas.*

#### *Editions:*

See *Composite Editions*: 1588, 1608 (reprint 1612), Frankfurt.

#### *Biogr.:*

Franciscus Modius (de Maulde; the forms *Mod-* or *Mud-*, sometimes found, are incorrect) was born in Oudenburg near Bruges on August 4, 1556; he died in Aire near St. Omer on January 22, 1597.

Modius studied philology at Bruges under A. Hoius and at Louvain under Cornelius Valerius; he studied law at Douai under Jean Vendueil and Boetius Epo. Modius planned to practice law in Belgium, but the troubled situation of the Netherlands in 1579 forced him to leave the country. He spent most of the rest of his life in Germany, sometimes in the service of notables such as the Count of Egmont; from 1585-87 he worked for the printer Feierabend in Frankfurt a. M. Modius several times undertook to return to Belgium; on one such occasion, he was at Bonn on December 22, 1587 when the city was pillaged by General Martin Schenk. Modius was wounded, thrown into prison, and only released after several months. In 1594 he was in Denmark, once more with the Count of Egmont. Eventually he became Canon at Aire, in Artois, and here he continued active in scholarship until his death. Both his old teacher Hoius and Justus Lipsius encouraged him in his work.

*Works.*: Of his philological works, the most important was the *Novantiquae lectiones* (1584); he also edited or commented upon a large number of Latin authors, including Cassiodorus, Quintus Curtius, Frontinus, Justin, Livy, Silius Italicus, and Vegetius. His other writings include Latin poems;

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a history (*Continuatio historiae Byzantinae a capta Constantinopoli ad nostra usque tempora*), a large treatise on ceremonies (*Pandectae triumphales*. . .2 vols. 1586) ; and a number of works on jurisprudence. His ms. *Notae in Livium* (1592) were once in the Episcopal Library in Gurk, but cannot be located now.

Bibl.: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 22 (1885) 46 (Eyssenhardt) ; *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* 14 (1897) col. 921-35 (A. Roersch) ; R. Dekkers, *Bibliotheca Belgica Juridica* (Bruxelles, 1951) p. 113 ; G. Ellinger, *Geschichte der Neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* III, (Leipzig-Berlin, 1933) 292-96 ; Leonard W. Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and*

*the Pastoral* (Chapel Hill, 1965) 221 and 224 ; Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* II (1908) 217. A Roersch, *L'humanisme belge à l'époque de la Renaissance* (Bruxelles, 1910) pp. 111-35. Jöcher III (1751) 565.

J. Ijsewijn, 'Un poème inédit de François Modius sur l'éducation du prince humaniste' *Latomus* 25 (1966) 570-83 ; P. Lehmann, *Franciscus Modius als Handschriftenforscher* (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters III, 1) Munich, 1908 ; G. K. W. Seibt, *Franciscus Modius, Rechtsgelehrter, Philologe und Dichter, der Corrector Sigmund Feyerabends* (Studien zur Kunst und Culturgeschichte II) Frankfurt a. M. 1882 ; Drakenborch VII, xlix, 293-4.