

CAESAR, GAIUS JULIUS

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PREFATORY NOTE

The 'corpus Caesarianum' consists of five works, namely the *Gallic*, *Civil*, *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, which were handed down together in one branch of the manuscript tradition and usually printed as a group until the nineteenth century. Although Caesar was the author only of the *Gallic* (books I-VII) and *Civil Wars*, commentaries on the remaining *Bella* have been included in this article for reasons of economy and completeness. Unless specifically stated otherwise, references in the *Fortuna* to the *Gallic War* will denote all eight books. Commentaries on the four letters of Caesar preserved in Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, will be treated in the article on Cicero.

FORTUNA*

1. *Antiquity and the Middle Ages*

There have survived from the writings of Julius Caesar (100-44 B.C.) only his *Com-*

mentarii belli Gallici in seven books and *Commentarii belli civilis* in three books; except for four short letters preserved in Cicero's *Epistulae ad Atticum* (IX. 7C, 13A, 16. 1; X. 8. 10), some lines of verse in praise of Terence (which are sometimes ascribed to Cicero), and fragments of orations and a systematic treatise on grammar (*De analogia*), all else has perished. Arranged in the annalistic fashion, the *Gallic War* I-VII covers the period 58-52 B.C., and the *Civil War* relates events during 49-48 B.C.

The account of Caesar's military exploits is continued by the eighth book of the *Gallic War* (51-50 B.C.), the *Alexandrian War* (48-47 B.C.), *African War* (47-46 B.C.), and *Spanish War* (46-45 B.C.). Aulus Hirtius († 43 B.C.), one of Caesar's officers, is

to verify and finish my research at the Widener and Houghton Libraries of Harvard University. I am indebted to Professor F. Edward Cramz and the Editorial Board of the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum* for valuable suggestions and improvements and to Dr. J. E. G. Zetzel for his generous assistance in obtaining necessary materials.

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the author of *Gallic War* VIII and, on stylistic grounds, probably the author of the *Alexandrian War* as well (see Bibliography III. A : A. Klotz, *Cäsarstudien*). The identity of the authors of the *African* and *Spanish Wars* has not yet been established, although Hirtius, Sallust, and Asinius Pollio have been put forward as possible candidates for the composition of the former. The Latinity of the *Spanish War* is such that modern scholars have judged it to be the work of an illiterate, or at best half-educated, eyewitness from Caesar's army. It should be noted that Suetonius (*Divus Iulius* LVI. 1) clearly assigns the first seven books of the *Gallic War* and the *Civil War* to Caesar and the eighth book of the *Gallic War* to Hirtius, but wavers when it comes to the other three *Wars*, merely reporting a current opinion that they were written either by Hirtius or by Gaius Oppius, another of Caesar's adherents.

In any event, Caesar the politician and Caesar the writer evoked definite reactions from contemporary and later literary figures. Where extant poetry of the Republic and Augustan Age is concerned, there is a marked difference in attitude. Catullus directed several poems against him (nos. 29, 57, 93), but Virgil and Ovid were favorable or took the view that Caesar's great accomplishment was to make possible the more glorious reign of Augustus. The simple, lucid prose style which characterizes the *Gallic* (books I-VII) and *Civil Wars* prompted Cicero (*Brutus* LXXV. 262) to praise them as 'nudi, recti, venusti'. Consequently it is not surprising that there seems to have been little need for textual annotations and explanations in the classical period and that there is no evidence for the existence of an ancient commentary on Caesar, or, for that matter, on the other works in the corpus. Cicero also remarked (in the same passage) that Caesar's literary skill would deter others from treating the same subject, but the events of his campaigns were necessarily recorded by Pollio, Aquilius Niger, Maecenas, Messalla Corvinus, Livy, and many others in histories that are now lost. Theophanes of Mitylene apart, Greek historical writers who traced the

career of Caesar relied largely on Roman sources ; their works, however, have not survived except for the pertinent sections of Appian and Dio Cassius and the relevant biographies of Plutarch. Extremely compressed summaries of Caesar's wars are still available in Velleius Paterculus, Florus, the *Periochae* of Livy, and Eutropius, and the struggle between Caesar and Pompey is the subject of Lucan's epic.

The picture with respect to Caesar changes towards the end of the post-classical period, and this is probably due to the influence of the *Historiae adversus paganos* of Orosius. He gives a number of fairly long quotations from the *Gallic War* (attributed by him to Suetonius) that are so close to the original as to give a clue to the place of his manuscript in the textual tradition. The great popularity of Orosius' work, of which approximately 300 manuscripts have been preserved, combined with an almost total disinterest in late Republican history, may account in large part for the fate suffered by the *Commentaries* in the Middle Ages. Not only is there no evidence for the existence of a medieval commentary but all five *Wars* fell into obscurity, and it is rare to find a citation from or even a mention of them before the fourteenth century. Some of the instances which we do have of the awareness and use of the corpus Caesarianum may be given here.

The first medieval author to refer directly to the *Commentaries* may be Lupus of Ferrières, who promises in a letter written between 828 and 857 (no. 95 in the edition of L. Levillain) to send Heribold, Bishop of Auxerre, a copy of the *Gallic War* as soon as possible. A further indication of interest in Caesar during this time may be had from Parisinus lat. 6256, a manuscript copied in France in the second quarter or middle of the ninth century. E. Hedicke (Bibliography III. B) has edited the scholia found therein on the *Catiline* and *Jugurtha* of Sallust and the *Gallic* (books IV, V, VII, VIII), *Civil*, *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*. Apparently the oldest scholia on any of the *Wars*, they consist of brief definitions of Caesar's terminology followed by excerpts from the text, and, although

they do not constitute a commentary, are interesting for their textual variants. In the tenth century Flodoard of Rheims incorporates into his *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* several lengthy passages from the third, fifth, sixth, and seventh books of the *Gallic War*. Gerbert (in a letter of 22 June 983; no. 8 in the edition of J. Havet) asks Adalbero, Archbishop of Rheims, to send the 'historia Iulii Caesaris' belonging to Adso, Abbot of Montier-en-Der, in order that Gerbert may have it copied. In the eleventh century Aimoinus of Fleury cites in the *Historia Francorum* those sections from the *Gallic War* which pertain to the geography and customs of the Gauls and Germans (IV. 5, 10; VI. 13-20, 21-23, 24-28). Caesar is mentioned as the author of the 'historia belli Gallici' by the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, *Historia Tornacensis*, Robert of Torigny, and Richard of Bury, and several passages from the second, fifth, and sixth books of the *Gallic War* have been taken over verbatim into the *Gesta Treverorum*. Occasionally the authorship of the *Gallic War* is attributed to Julius Celsus Constantinus; a case in point is Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum historiale* IV. 6. 2-5). Celsus is a mysterious figure about whom nothing is known except that the colophons of manuscripts of the *Gallic War* show him to have been seemingly a *corrector* of the work. At least this is generally assumed to be the implication of the subscription in which Celsus says merely 'legi'. He was later to play a different, and at times more important, part in Renaissance codices of the *Wars*.

From these references to Caesar, uses of his writings, and the evidence provided by extant inventories of medieval libraries, some general conclusions can be deduced regarding the corpus Caesarianum at this stage of the transmission.

First, it is clear that the *Gallic War* was much better known than the other works. In instances where the *Commentaries* are cited directly, it is always a quotation or paraphrase from the *Gallic War* that has been chosen by the medieval author. This may be due both to the subject matter of the passage excerpted and to an understandable nationalistic interest on the part of the

exceptor. The sections most frequently quoted have to do with Gaul and Germany, and it is hardly a coincidence to find that the excitors are inhabitants of those countries.

Next, it must be said that French scriptoria and French monasteries played the major role in the preservation of the text. Nearly all the oldest manuscripts were written in France, and of the surviving medieval inventories which contain an entry for Caesar, the oldest are inventories of French libraries. Eleventh-century lists show that there were apparently manuscripts of at least one of the *Wars* at Saint-Martin-de-Massay, Saint-Gildas, and Toul; twelfth-century inventories point to more manuscripts at Angoulême, Corbie, Limoges, and possibly Bec and Marseilles; a thirteenth-century inventory gives a manuscript at Pontigny. The few codices outside France are to be found, according to twelfth- and thirteenth-century lists, at Metz and perhaps Neumünster bei Würzburg and Ripoll. The only mentions of Caesar in English catalogues of the Middle Ages are in the twelfth/thirteenth century Bury catalogue and in the 1372 catalogue of the Austin Friars at York. Caesar does not show up in Italian catalogues until the Renaissance. Not all the medieval entries, however, necessarily signify in every case that a manuscript of Caesar's writings was actually present in the library in question. The lists for Bec, Marseilles, Neumünster, and Ripoll give merely 'Gesta Iulii (Caesaris)', and hence could refer to a work about, rather than by, Caesar. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek ms. 326 (s. IX/X) contains, on ff. 1-10, 'Notae Iulii Caesaris' which consist of a collection of 'notae iuris'. Theodor Mommsen, their editor (in H. Keil, *Grammatici latini* IV 317-330), believed them to be copied from an older manuscript, probably that listed in the 846 catalogue of Reginbert ('Notae Iulii Caesaris et liber Plini Secundi de natura rerum'), and attributed the misleading title to a scribal confusion of 'Notae I(uris) C(ivilis)'.

Third, the law of supply and demand accounts for the fact that ancient witnesses of the *Gallic War* are more plentiful than

those of the other *Wars*. This is illustrated by a split in the textual transmission which took place at least by the ninth century, the date of the earliest manuscript of any work in the corpus. The codices may be divided into two groups, one of which (α) contains only the *Gallic War* and includes 18 pre-fourteenth-century manuscripts, while the other (β) preserves the whole corpus in 12 pre-fourteenth-century manuscripts. The oldest codex is Parisinus lat. 5763 which may be dated to the first quarter of the ninth century and belongs to the α class; the oldest β manuscript is Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Ashb. 33 copied around the middle of the tenth century and once in the library of Saint-Pierre at Beauvais. Tituli and colophons in both the oldest α and β manuscripts reveal a kind of ambiguity regarding the authorship of the *Wars*. Caesar was undoubtedly the protagonist, but medieval scribes and scholars might well wonder if he were also the author, especially since he is always referred to in the third person. Parisinus lat. 5763 and Vaticanus lat. 3864, (another ninth-century α witness) indicate clearly that Caesar had a dual role as participant and writer, for they give as the titulus to *Gallic War I* 'Incipiunt libri Gaii Cesaris belli Gallici Iuliani de narratione temporum'. This statement, however, did not resolve the matter once and for all: a nearly identical titulus appears in the ninth-century α manuscript Amsterdam, University Library 73 only to be followed by 'Incipit liber Suetonii'. Similar confusion naturally surrounded the *Civil*, *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars* which are occasionally attributed to Caesar, Suetonius, Julius Celsus Constantinus, and 'Hirtius Pansa' (apparently a conflation of 'Aulus Hirtius' with 'Gaius Vibius Pansa'); for the tituli and colophons of ancient manuscripts of these *Wars*, together with book VIII of the *Gallic War*, see O. Seel's edition of the *Gallic War* (Bibliography I. A) cxvii-cxxii.

Finally, Caesar's reputation in the Middle Ages as a general and conqueror would seem to stem mostly from the information found in second-hand sources rather than from a knowledge of his own writings. In addition

to the above-mentioned authors who recorded his accomplishments, such prose works in French as the thirteenth-century *Faits des Romains* and Jean de Tuim's *Li hystore de Julius Cesar* served to spread his fame even more widely. Caesar was generally believed to have been the first Roman Emperor, and was freely credited with marvelous exploits. He gradually acquired a legendary character as a great builder, and numerous traditions regarding his achievements were current in Britain and on the Continent. To him were attributed the founding of such cities as Seville, Toledo, Segovia, Saragossa, Florence, Paris, Cherbourg, Rouen, Exeter, the creation of the hot springs at Bath, and the construction of many castles and temples in France and Germany as well as the castle at Dover.

2. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

Although Caesar's *Commentaries* and the works of his continuators were certainly well known during this period, commentaries on the five *Wars* are not at all plentiful. Because their simple style called for little elucidation, humanistic interest, centering on the strictly historical content, was almost invariably focused on the political and moral significance of Caesar's dictatorship. This was a subject which, quite understandably, scholars preferred to treat in their own works.

In Italy the keen interest in Caesar was prompted to a large extent by the political problems of the time and the search for ancient parallels. Petrarch, following Lucretius, denounced Caesar in the *Africa* as a conqueror whose uncontrollable lust for power had destroyed Roman freedom. In later years, however, when his enthusiasm for the Republic had been moderated by the iterated follies and failure of Cola di Rienzo, he was so impressed by Caesar's *virtù* and genius that he expanded a chapter of his *De viris illustribus* into a full-length biography of Caesar which circulated, more or less unanimously, under the name of 'Julius Celsus' until 1827 when C. E. C. Schneider's edition established that it was

composed by Petrarch. A laudatory work, the *Vita Julii Caesaris* (*De gestis Caesaris*) makes its subject seem almost a prototype of the enlightened despots of the Renaissance, since Caesar's services to literature and learning are emphasized equally as much as his military deeds. From the precise and detailed account of the campaigns, it is evident that Petrarch was familiar with the entire corpus. In the *Vita* he refers three times to Julius Celsus, twice (cap. 3) making him the author of the *Gallic War* and observing once (cap. 14) that he was with Caesar during a battle. Petrarch's ascription of the *Gallic War* to Celsus is rather curious, and may be the result of his having used a manuscript whose tituli did indeed attribute the *Gallic War* to Celsus. That there were fourteenth-century codices with this mistake in authorship is attested to by a manuscript El Escorial M. III. 10 in which the titulus to each book (including book VIII) claims it as the work of Julius Celsus Constantinus. We cannot be sure, however, that this is what actually happened until Petrarch's own manuscript of Caesar has been located. His *Vita Julii Caesaris* was a source for Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola, who wrestled with the problem of the justice of Caesar's assassination in his commentary on the *Divine Comedy*. In the *De tyranno* (composed in 1400) Coluccio Salutati, despite his sanction of tyrannicide in other cases, defended Dante who had placed Caesar's murderers in the depths of hell. He knew the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars* which he was shrewd enough to recognize as the work of Caesar himself; his manuscript of Caesar has not been identified.

The number of β codices produced during the fourteenth century is a tangible sign of the growing interest in the corpus as a whole, for, of the eleven manuscripts presently located which were written in this period, only three contain just the *Gallic War*. A byproduct of the renewed activity in the copying of all five *Bella* is the emergence of the first contaminated texts of the *Civil War*. These were to swamp the manuscript tradition of this work in the next hundred years. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale E. IV. 37, written in 1397, is the earliest dated

example of conflation, and its text was formed by a union of Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Plut. 68. 8 (s. X/XI, XII) and Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV C 11 (s. XI). This type of contamination later became extremely widespread, appearing in numerous manuscripts and serving as the basis of the *editio princeps* and the *textus receptus* until the nineteenth century. There remain to be investigated the components of the hybrid versions of the other four *Wars*.

In the Quattrocento perhaps the most famous incident involving Caesar was the celebrated dispute between Poggio Bracciolini and Guarino Guarini. The controversy began in 1435 when Poggio claimed that Caesar had destroyed the liberty of the Republic and therefore its literature. Guarino, as the tutor of Leonello d'Este, replied that dictatorial rule did not necessarily preclude creativity, and, in order to prove his point, adduced the flowering of literature under Caesar and Augustus. Poggio, however, objected to such an argument, observing that the authors who wrote under the Empire - Virgil, Horace, Livy - had been reared under a Republican government. Piero del Monte also joined in the debate and took Poggio's side, even though he had studied with Guarino. We know that Guarino was engaged in reading and studying Caesar a few years prior to the controversy, for Modena Est. lat. 421 (Alpha W. 1. 3) contains corrections and brief notes in his hand and a colophon added by him (f. 84) and dated 1432.

As is to be expected, the production of manuscripts of the *Wars* reached its zenith in the fifteenth century, with approximately 220 codices known at present. β manuscripts outnumber those in the α class by a ratio of nearly 4 to 1, and it was at this time that α witnesses containing books I-VII (but not VIII) of the *Gallic War* began to circulate. Less than twenty codices are involved, and a humanistic convention is probably responsible for their lack of the last book. For α and β groups alike, the center of scribal activity was Italy, and, to judge from script and decoration, Florence and Ferrara. The illumination was often very lavish, and manuscripts of the *Wars* were included in

the libraries of both popes and princes, some notable owners being Pius II (London, British Museum, Harley 2683; Vatican Library, Chig. lat. H. VII. 214) and the Aragonese kings of Naples (Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria 396; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 34). There are only a few 'scholars' copies' among the surviving manuscripts; two examples are Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Conv. soppr. 263 (copied by Angelus December in 1439) and Parisinus lat. 6106 (copied by Georgius Begna of Zara between 1425 and 1435). A striking feature in many contaminated codices is the altered form of the ancient Julius Celsus Constantinus subscription. His role has been made more precise, and perhaps more important, by the substitution of 'emendavi' (or 'emendavit') for 'legi', and it is usual for the statement 'Julius Celsus Constantinus V(ir) C(larus) emendavi(t)' to be read in the titulus, instead of in the colophon as in the oldest manuscripts, to *Gallic War I*. Another noticeable difference is the very frequent appearance of this revised subscription in the titulus or colophon to every book of every *War*. A radical departure from the usage of pre-fourteenth-century witnesses which exhibit 'Julius Celsus Constantinus V(ir) C(larus) legi' only in connection with the *Gallic War*, its presence throughout the manuscript is nearly always a trustworthy sign that the text of at least the *Civil War* is contaminated. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W. 360, a copy of Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Plut. 68. 8, seems to be the only non-contaminated codex to display 'Julius Celsus . . . emendavi(t)' in conjunction with all five *Bella*.

In keeping with the general humanistic attitude towards textual criticism, the codices, both medieval and Renaissance, of Caesar and his continuators often show signs of correction and sometimes contain brief marginal notes. Such entries are principally found in and alongside the text of the *Gallic War* and (less frequently) of the *Civil War*; only occasionally are there corrections and marginalia to the texts of the *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, thereby suggesting that not as much

attention was paid to those works. Besides the Modena manuscript corrected by Guarino, another codex to receive similar treatment was Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 148 (s. XIV) which was owned successively by Gasparino and Guiniforte Barzizza. Both father and son made conjectures and emendations, and, from time to time, entered in the margins their observations on the *Wars*. A few of these remarks, however, are by way of being chapter headings, and the overall impression of them is that they are too brief and summary to merit the designation of commentary (*pace* G. K. McGrath; see Bibliography II. B). Given the state of affairs, then, so far as manuscripts are concerned, it is all the more surprising to find that Vatican Library, Regin. lat. 763, a fifteenth-century *a* copy of the *Gallic War*, contains what appears to be the earliest commentary on this work and the single commentary produced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The author is anonymous, and the commentary is written in the margin near the pertinent passage in the text of books I-VII; there are no entries for book VIII. The script and illumination of the codex point to a north Italian origin.

The first printed version of Caesar was brought out by Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz. Their edition, which consisted of the *Gallic*, *Civil*, *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, appeared at Rome in 1469 (HC 4212*) and was seen through the press by Giovanni Andrea Bussi, an indefatigable editor of classical authors. In the case of the *Civil War*, at least, the text received little, if any, attention from Bussi, and is probably a reproduction of a manuscript carrying the most common hybrid strain of the vulgate. This *editio princeps* was reprinted by Sweynheym and Pannartz in 1472 (HC 4214). Other fifteenth-century editions were produced by Nicholas Jenson (Venice, 1471; H 4213), Antonius Zarotus (Milan, 1477; HC 4215*), Philippus de Lavagna (Milan, 1478; HC 4216*), Michael Manzolus (Treviso, 1480; HC 4217*), Octavianus Scotus (Venice, 1482; HC 4218*), Theodorus de Ragazonibus (Venice, 1490; HC 4219*), Philippus Pincius (Venice, 1494; HC 4220*), and Benedictus

Fontana (Venice, 1499; H 4221*). Conrad Fyner printed at Esslingen in 1473 (H 4226*) an edition of the *Gallic War* which is often coupled with the *Vita Julii Caesaris* of Petrarch; this is one of the rare instances prior to the nineteenth century when the *Gallic War* is found in an edition without the other *Wars*. The geographical index of Raimundus Marlianus, published first by Zarotus in his 1477 edition, became a standard feature of succeeding editions through the sixteenth century. This index was issued separately apparently only once, namely in an undated incunabulum (HR 10776) edited by Bonus Accursius who made minor revisions. Some confusion has arisen with respect to the work of Accursius on Caesar, and it may be that his efforts to improve the index of Marlianus are responsible for the ascription of a 'doubtful' commentary to him.

Fifteenth-century scholars were also active in the area of vernacular renderings of the *Commentaries*. Pier Candido Decembrio translated the *Gallic War* into Italian in 1438 according to the colophon in the lost manuscript of Baron Giuseppe Vernazza of Turin. Books I-VII were dedicated to Filippo Maria Visconti, while *Gallic War* VIII and the *Civil, Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars* (which he likewise translated) were dedicated to Inico d'Avalos. Manuscripts of Decembrio's rendering are preserved in many libraries, and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional ms. 10187 (olim II. 37) is a sixteenth-century Spanish translation of his version. In 1473 or 1474 and 1485 Jean du Chesne and Robert Gaguin respectively translated the *Gallic War* into French; the latter's work was printed at Paris in 1488 (HC 4224). Diego López of Toledo made a Spanish translation of the whole corpus which was published there in 1498 (HR 4225).

3. The Sixteenth Century

In contrast to the predominantly Italian character of the preceding period, interest in Caesar during the Cinquecento was international in scope and of the sort that encouraged the writing of commentaries on

the *Wars*. Swiss, French, and German as well as Italian humanists tended to approach the corpus as a unit and, even if they did not annotate all five works to the same degree, to pay at least some attention to each of them. The commentators' neglect of the fragments of Caesar can probably be explained by the fact that the fragments were not transmitted by either α or β manuscripts and, being scattered throughout the works of various authors, were difficult of access. Indeed, it was not until 1570 that Fulvius Ursinus published at Antwerp ('ex officina C. Plantini') the collected fragments, and by this time the tradition of commenting on the *Wars* had become firmly established.

Chronologically speaking, the first commentary belongs to Aulus Janus Parrhasius. His autograph notes on the *Gallic and Civil Wars* now comprise Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale XIII B 14. We know that Parrhasius lectured on the *Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars* since Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana Suss. B. 212 contains a student's excerpts of his comments, but a complete or autograph copy of Parrhasius' annotations to the last three *Wars* has yet to appear.

The commentary of Henricus Glareanus, the Swiss scholar, was the first to be published. Appearing at Freiburg im Breisgau in 1538, it embraced the *Gallic and Civil Wars* and also included brief *argumenta* to the remainder of the corpus. Five years later the commentary of his compatriot Johannes Rhellicanus was issued at Basel. Rhellicanus had been lecturing on the *Commentaries* long before 1543, and in the Dedicatory epistle he makes an attempt to be recognized as the author of the first commentary on Caesar. However, it is difficult to believe that he is as unaware of the availability of Glareanus' work as he pretends. In any case, apart from the commentary of Glareanus, there were two earlier commentaries not known to Rhellicanus which invalidate his claim. Nevertheless, until the annotations of Parrhasius turn up, Rhellicanus may be considered the first to comment on the *Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars* and thus the first to comment on all the *Wars*.

Between 1545 and 1548 Hieronymus Suriota, a Spanish humanist and historian, concentrated his efforts on textual problems in the *Commentaries*, and his 'emendationes' are now autograph ms. 09514 in the Biblioteca del Seminario sacerdotal de San Carlos, Saragossa. Although he dealt with each member of the corpus except, oddly enough, the *Spanish War*, the result is chiefly a listing of manuscript readings, and only in the case of the *Civil War* do his labors constitute a commentary.

The next person to annotate every *War* was Johannes Glandorpius who, like Rhellicanus, had worked on Caesar over a long period of time. His notes were edited and published at Leipzig by his student Reiner Reineccius in 1574, ten years after Glandorpius' death. These commentaries appear to have their origin in lectures delivered by Glandorpius between 1555 and 1559. In 1571 the family printing firm published the scholia of Aldus Manutius Junior on the writings of Caesar and his continuators. Except for *Gallic War VIII* and the *Alexandrian War*, the 'scholia' are composed on the scale of a commentary and have been treated as such in this article. In 1574 there appeared at Lyons the commentary of Franciscus Hotomanus on the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars*. Joachim Camerarius, who died in the same year, has left us commentaries on books II and IV of the *Gallic War* and book III of the *Civil War* which were published at Frankfurt in 1606. At present it is uncertain whether these annotations represent the sum or only a part of Camerarius' notes on Caesar.

The circumstances surrounding the use and publication of the commentaries of Petrus Ciacconius afford an interesting picture of the relationship between two humanists and also confirm what has been said by his biographers of Ciacconius himself. On intimate terms with Fulvius Ursinus, Ciacconius must have loaned him his commentary on all five *Wars* (now autograph ms. Arnamagnæanske Legat 828, 4to in the University Library, Copenhagen), since Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale V D 40, an autograph of Ursinus, is practically a page-by-page copy of Ciacco-

nus' notes. Ursinus published these commentaries at Antwerp in 1595 along with his own contributions (chiefly emendations and conjectures) and those of other scholars but, as he did not sort out what each humanist had done, it was impossible to ascertain what Ciacconius had written. Thanks to Andreas Schottius, the situation was remedied by the 1606 Frankfurt edition of Caesar in which the work of Ciacconius was published separately. Johannes Brantius, whose commentaries on the entire corpus were also included in this edition, charged Ursinus with plagiarizing from Ciacconius; he also mentions that Aldus Manutius Junior was guilty of the same offense in connection with the annotations of Johannes Rhellicanus. The latter accusation has yet to be thoroughly explored. This 1606 edition is deserving of still further notice because it contains all commentaries printed in the sixteenth century. Gothofredus Jungermanus, the editor, was the first to divide the text into chapters, and it is his numbering which appears in modern editions.

No trace has been found of the alleged commentaries of Franciscus Zava on the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars*, and the final commentary of this period is the one found in Leiden, University Library Oud. 10 on the *Gallic* and *Civil* (up to II. 36. 1) *Wars*. A later hand has inserted a titulus which assigns the work to Robertus Titius. There is evidence that Titius certainly worked on Caesar, but no further proof that this commentary is actually his.

If the Cinquecento is distinguished for the number of commentaries that were produced, it should be observed that they are but a part of the work being done on Caesar at that time and that many humanists approached the study of the corpus Caesarianum in other ways. The sheer abundance of manuscripts both puzzled and intrigued them, and the problem of merely coping with a large group of codices was obvious. Consequently many scholars turned their attention to the collecting of textual variants. Johannes Michael Brutus, for example, drew up a list of readings from manuscripts and printed texts of the *Gal-*

lic, Civil, Alexandrian, and African Wars and published his findings in the 1564 Aldine. Johannes Sambucus, the owner of β codices Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 98 and 112, did the same for the *Gallic, Civil* (books I, III), and *Alexandrian Wars*; his efforts appeared in the 1574 Antwerp edition. Fulvius Ursinus, who had three β manuscripts in his collection (Vaticanus lat. 3322, 3323, 3324), published at Antwerp in 1570 emendations based principally on Vaticanus lat. 3324 (s. XI/XII), many of which reappear in the 1595 edition mentioned above. The 1570 edition also contains, for the first time, the fragments of Caesar; in the Dedicatory epistle Ursinus notes that some of them had been collected by Antonius Augustinus and passed on to himself. A similar textual study involving conjectures and variant readings was compiled by Janus Gruterus for the *Gallic, Civil, and Alexandrian Wars*, and the autograph copy is now Amsterdam, University Library 206. The Palatine manuscript which Gruterus consulted, conceivably while he was librarian at Heidelberg, is now Vatican Library, Pal. lat. 881.

Another type of sixteenth-century Caesar scholarship involves more general annotations which, however, are of too summary a nature to be considered commentaries. These include the notes of Livius Maronius on the entire corpus (Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 129, dated 1580) and the work of Fulvius Peregrinus Moratus on *Gallic War* I, IV (Modena Est. lat. 88 = Alpha Q. 6. 14).

There are also instances where attention was directed toward military, geographical, and ethnic points in the *Commentaries*. Frater Johannes Jucundus provides one of the earliest examples. In the 1513 Aldine he illustrated with diagrams such points as the building of the bridge across the Rhine and the siege of Marseilles, and thus entirely avoided dealing with textual difficulties. Julius Caesar Scaliger, Hieronymus Magius, and Adrianus Turnebus likewise discussed the finer points of bridge building. Aldus Manutius the Younger wrote an essay entitled *De Galliae divisione* which was printed along with his scholia. The *De aliquot rei bellicae instrumentis observatio* of Franciscus

Hotomanus served as an appendix to his commentary. Julius Caesar Bulengerus used the sixth book of the *Gallic War* as a point of departure for remarks on Roman military practices and the origin and customs of the Gauls.

With the availability of printed texts of Caesar and his continuators in the sixteenth century, the number of manuscripts produced naturally declined, and less than ten codices can be assigned to this period. The editions that were published usually included at least one set of annotations which may properly be termed a commentary; Glareanus' comments were far and away the most popular, for they appeared in at least twenty-five editions.

In addition, the keen interest in Caesar at this time prompted new translations into the vernacular. Agostino Ortica della Porta (Venice, 1512) and Francesco Baldelli (Venice, 1554) translated the entire corpus into Italian, but the translation of Dante Popoleschi (Florence, 1518) covers only *Gallic War* I-VII. A German rendering of the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars* was made by Matthias Ringmann (Strasbourg, 1507) who, however, gave merely a vernacular summary of the *Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars*. Étienne de l'Aigue translated the *Civil, Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars* into French (Paris, 1531), thereby completing the work begun by du Chesne and Gaguin. A new French version of the *Gallic War* was offered by Blaise de Vigenère and printed at Paris in 1576; in addition, he wrote annotations in French on all the *Wars*. Two English versions also emerged: an anonymous translation of portions of book IV of the *Gallic War* (published in 1530 and assigned to John Tiptoft) and a translation by Arthur Golding of the eight books of that same work (London, 1565). There was even a Greek version of the *Gallic War* I-VII which was first published in the 1606 Frankfurt edition with notes by Gothofredus Jungermanus, reprinted in the 1706 and 1727 Cambridge editions of Caesar, and later edited by A. Baumstark in a Freiburg im Breisgau edition of 1834. Jungermanus' annotations do not make up a commentary because they are concerned with the merits,

flaws, and peculiarities of the translation rather than with the *Gallic War* itself. The translation has been attributed to Planudes or Theodore of Gaza, but is more probably the work of Piero Strozzi (1500?-1558) who is reported by Brantôme to have translated the *Commentaries* of Caesar into Greek and to have added Latin comments and other notes.

Although Diego Gracián published (Barcelona, 1566) a collection in Spanish of aphorisms derived primarily from the *Commentaries*, no new and complete Spanish translation of any of the *Wars* seems to have appeared in the sixteenth century. T. S. Beardsley, Jr. (Bibliography III. C) suggests that a Toledo, 1570 translation sometimes ascribed to Pedro García de Oliván is a 'ghost' that may have its origin in the fact that the Paris, 1549 edition of the López translation is dedicated to Hieronymo Pérez García de Oliván.

From the seventeenth century to the present, Caesar has continued to be read and studied. He has appealed to various people for various reasons. Montaigne, for example, was a great admirer of his, and histories of Caesar's life, writings, and achievements were composed by such diverse figures as Emperor Napoleon III (Paris, 1865) and Anthony Trollope (London, 1870). Printed editions of the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars* are witness that more than one eminent classical scholar has tried his hand at editing the *Commentaries*. Among these may be mentioned texts of the entire corpus constructed by John Godwin ('Delphin Clasic', Paris, 1678), John Davies (Cambridge, 1706, 1727), Franz van Oudendorp (Leiden, 1737), and Thomas Bentley (London, 1742), and the edition of the *Gallic War* of C. E. C. Schneider (Halle, 1840-1855). Here, again, scholars were plagued by the wealth of manuscripts; their editions, at least for the *Civil War*, generally reproduced the vulgate of the *editio princeps* and were embellished by new emendations (see H. Meusel, Bibliography II. A). Oudendorp seems to have been the first editor to at-

tempt a recension of the codices, and it is possible to identify a number of his manuscripts. Finally, in 1847, there appeared at Leipzig Karl Nipperdey's text of the five *Wars* which is reckoned to be the first critical edition. He had access to some of the oldest witnesses and was thus able to avoid the pitfall of the hybrid *textus receptus*. Modern scholars who have contributed editions, commentaries, and studies on Caesar include H. Meusel, T. Rice Holmes, Alfred Klotz, L.-A. Constans, O. Steel, and Wolfgang Hering. The *Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars* have been edited and/or commented on by Alfred Klotz, A. Bouvet, J. Andrieu, and G. Pascucci.

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COMPOSITE EDITIONS

The *Gallic* and *Civil Wars* were printed with the *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars* until the nineteenth century. A chronological list and description of editions and commentaries are given in V 2045-2069 of A. J. Valpy's reprint (London, 1819) of the Delphin Classic; this is an enlarged version of the list given in I xxiv-xxxv of the *editio Bipontina* of Caesar (Zweibrücken, 1782). F. L. A. Schweiger, *Handbuch der klassischen Bibliographie* I (Leipzig, 1832) 39-51 also has a chronological list and description of editions. The following list gives those editions which contain more than one commentary on the *Wars*.

1574, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Bartholomaeum Vincentium. With the commentaries of Franciscus Hotomanus on the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars*, Aldus Manutius Junior on the *Gallic* (books I-VII), *Civil*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, scholia of Manutius on the *Gallic* (book VIII) and *Alexandrian Wars*, emendations of Fulvius Ursinus for the *Gallic*, *Civil*, *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, the *De aliquot rei bellicae instrumentis observatio* of Hotomanus, *De Galliae divisione* of Aldus Manutius Junior, and index of Raimundus Marlianus. Valpy V 2057-2058; Schweiger I 43; Adams C-61; NUC. BM; BN; Vatican Library; (ICN; IU; NIC; NNC).

1575, Francofurti ad Moenum (Frankfurt a/M): Apud Georgium Corvinum. With the commentaries of Henricus Glareanus and Franciscus Hotomanus on the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars*, Aldus Manutius Junior on the

Gallic (books I-VII), *Civil*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, *argumenta* of Glareanus for the *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, scholia of Manutius on the *Gallic* (book VIII) and *Alexandrian Wars*, emendations of Fulvius Ursinus for the *Gallic*, *Civil*, *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, the *De aliquot rei bellicae instrumentis observatio* of Hotomanus, *De Galliae divisione* of Aldus Manutius Junior, and index of Raimundus Marlianus. Valpy V 2057-2058; Schweiger I 43; Adams C-61; NUC. BM; BN; Vatican Library; (ICN; IU; NIC; NNC).

1581, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Bartholomaeum Vincentium. This is the second edition; for its content see the 1574 edition. Valpy V 2058; Adams C-67; BN; (CaOTU).

1591, Basileae (Basel): Ex officina Osteniana. With the commentaries of Henricus Glareanus and Franciscus Hotomanus on the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars*, *argumenta* of Glareanus for the *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, emendations of Fulvius Ursinus for the *Gallic*, *Civil*, *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, and index of Raimundus Marlianus. Valpy V 2059; Schweiger I 44; Adams C-76.

1606, Francofurti (Frankfurt): Apud Claudio Marnium et heredes Joannis Aubrii [ed. Gothofredus Jungermanus]. With the commentaries of Henricus Glareanus and Franciscus Hotomanus on the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars*, Joachim Camerarius on the *Gallic* (books II, IV) and *Civil* (book III) *Wars*, Aldus Manutius Junior on the *Gallic* (books I-VII), *Civil*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, Johannes Rhellicanus, Johannes Glendorpius, Petrus Ciacconius, Johannes Brantius on the *Gallic*, *Civil*, *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, *argumenta* of Glareanus for the *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, scholia of Manutius on the *Gallic* (book VIII) and *Alexandrian Wars*, emendations of Fulvius Ursinus for the *Gallic*, *Civil*, *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, scholia of Johannes Sambucus on the *Gallic*, *Civil* (books I, III), and *Alexandrian Wars* and Johannes Michael Brutus on the *Gallic*, *Civil*, *Alexandrian*, and *African Wars*, the *De aliquot rei bellicae*

instrumentis observatio of Hotomanus, *De Galliae divisione* of Aldus Manutius Junior, notes of Julius Caesar Scaliger, Hieronymus Magius, Adrianus Turnebus, and index of Raimundus Marlianus. Valpy V 2060; Schweiger I 44; BM; BN; Vatican Library; NUC. (MH; MiU; MnU; NN).

Reprint: 1669. Valpy V 2062; Schweiger I 45; NUC. BN; (MH; NNC; Njp; PU).

1706, Cantabrigiae (Cambridge): Typis academicis [ed. Johannes Davisius]. With selected notes (often abridged or paraphrased) from the commentaries of Henricus Glareanus and Franciscus Hotomanus on the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars*, Aldus Manutius Junior on the *Gallic* (books I-VII), *Civil*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*, Johannes Rhellicanus, Johannes Glandorpius, Petrus Ciacconius, and Johannes Brantius on the *Gallic*, *Civil*, *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*. Valpy V 2063-2064; Schweiger I 45-46; BM; BN; NUC. (NhD; NN; PU).

1713, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): Apud vid. C. Bouteesteyn et S. Luchtmans. According to the Printer's epistle to the reader, this edition contains the complete notes of Dionysius Vossius (first printed in 1697) and Johannes Davisius together with an abridged version of the annotations of earlier commentators found in the latter's 1706 edition (see above): 'Typographi lecturos. . . . De reliquis notis quae sunt J. Rhellicani, P. Ciacconii, Fr. Hotomani, J. Brantii aliorumque, cum curas viri cl. Davisii magni faceremus, eas tamen ubique immiscere non potuimus ne moles huius voluminis excresceret; cuius rei iacturam non adeo desiderandam iudicavimus, quoniam saepe iteratis repetitionibus passim ea sunt obvia. Id tamen fecimus: ubi deficiunt notae D. Vossii (quo loco in superiori editione unius J. Rhellicani breves notas subiecerant), nos editionem Anglicanam passim sumus sequuti'. Valpy V 2064; Schweiger I 46; NUC. BM; BN; (CaOTU; CtY; MH-BA; Njp).

1727, Cantabrigiae (Cambridge): Typis academicis [ed. Johannes Davisius]. This is the second edition; for its content see the 1706 edition. Valpy V 2064-2065; Schweiger I 46; NUC. BM; (CaOTU; DLC; Njp).

I. *Belli Gallici commentariorum libri VIII*

COMMENTARIES

1. ANONYMUS VATICANUS

Vatican Library, Reginensis lat. 763 contains a commentary on books I-VII written in the margins beside the text. This manuscript was copied in northern Italy in the early fifteenth century, and its ruling indicates that it was originally intended to have a commentary. The emphasis of the annotations is geographical; there are also explanations of technical and military terms. The commentary does not extend to book VIII which is assigned to 'Julius Celsus'.

Commentary: [Inc.]: (Vatican Library, Reginensis lat. 763, f. 9) *Gallia*. Dicitur a 'gallus' (sic) a candore corporis. Secundum diversitatem caeli et facies hominum et colores et corporum qualitates et animorum diversitates existunt. Et vero quod tres fuerunt Galliae, scilicet Comata, Togata, et Bracata. Et est Gallia Bracata illa quae Reno adiacet, quam Caesar Belgas vocat, scilicet pars Burgundiae, Lothoringa, Flandria, Picardia, Colonia, Lingones, et aliae regiones quae Reno adiacent, et continet usque ad Matronam et Sequanam fluvios et usque ad mare Oceanum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (f. 72v) *Matiscone*. Nomen non mutavit; sunt populi Burgundiae.

Manuscript:

Vatican Library, Reginensis lat. 763, s. XV, ff. 9-72v. (*Inventario dei mss. Regin.*, f. 125v; *Les manuscripts de la Reine de Suède au Vatican*, Studi e Testi 238, Vatican City, 1964, 21).

2. AULUS JANUS PARRHASIUS

His commentaries on the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars* are preserved in an undated autograph manuscript, now XIII B 14, in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples. F. Lo Parco (see *Bibl.*) has suggested that they were composed by Parrhasius during his stay in Milan (1499-1505). The annotations consist of explanations of place names, identifica-

tion of the historical personages involved, and philological comments which reveal an interest in Caesar's style and control of language. Parrhasius had evidently consulted various manuscripts of the *Gallic War*, for he often reports variant readings when discussing textual problems; he was a later owner of Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 148 (see above p. 99), and Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV C 11 (see above p. 98) also formed part of his collection. Quotations are especially frequent in annotations of a geographical character, and he cites numerous authors, including Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Livy, Ammianus Marcellinus, Sidonius Apollinaris, Plutarch, Eutropius, Eusebius, Horace, Tibullus, Ennius, and Cicero. Some of the material from the Introduction (ff. 3v-4v) closely resembles that in Parrhasius' 'Praefatio in Caesaris commentarios' which is found in Naples V D 15 (ff. 60-62) and was apparently intended as the prologue to a course of lectures on the *Commentaries of Caesar*.

Introduction : [Inc.] : (Naples XIII B 14, f. 3v) Veteres, apud quos agere memoratu digna prou<m> magisque in aperto erat, ad prodendam virtutis memoriam sine gratia aut ambitione bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebantur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam arrogantiam sunt arbitrati, nec id Arato Sicyonio, P. Rutilio, M. Scauro, P. Sullae, L. que Lucullo citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes inquit Tacitus <*Agricola* I. 1-3> isdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. Horum ductus exemplo C. Caesar reliquit et ipse confecta commentaria Gallici civilisque belli Pompeiani. 'Nam Alexandrini Africique et Hispaniensis incertus auctor est. Alii enim Oppium putant, alii Hirtium qui etiam Gallici belli novissimum imperfectumque librum suppleverit', ut est apud Tranquillum <*Divus Iulius* LVI. 1> [Expl.] : (f. 4v) Adortus est et Britannos antea ignotos superatisque pecunias et obsides imperavit. Haec ex Pollio, Livio, Plutarcho, Appiano, Suetonio, Annaeo Floro, Eutropio, Orosio.

Commentary : (books I-VII) : [Inc.] : (f. 5) *Gallia est omnis divisa in tres partes*. Ita

legendum, non ut impressores inter polarunt 'in partes tres', antiquis omnibus exemplaribus ad unum refragantibus. Galliae situm primosque eius incolas accuratissime Timagenes exsecutus est, unde nos aliqua mutuabimur. Aborigines in ea primum regione visos autumat <cf. Ammianus Marcellinus XV. 9. 3> et Celtas appellatos a rege Celto, quem Polyphemus ex Galatea suscepisse dicitur, ut Appianus <*Historia Romana* X. 1. 2> meminit [Expl.] : (f. 83) *Caninius Rebilius*. Infra 69 et 83 et 85. Lege Macrobius in scommatibus <*Saturnalia* II. 2. 13, 3. 6 ; VII. 3. 10>.

Introduction to Book VIII : (f. 84) Vetus hic olim mos fuit ut imperfecta superiorum scripta superstites, etiam posteri, supplerent, ut Xenophon historiam Thucydidis, Homeri *Iliadem* Quintus poeta Smyrnaeus, Cornelius Epicadus rerum gestarum Sullae novissimum librum, Caesaris commentarios A. Hirtius is qui post caedem C. Caesaris cum Pansa cos. bello Mutinensi in ipsa victoria occidit, quom paucis diebus magno proelio Antonium vicisset, ut ad Brutum scribit Cicero <*Epist. ad Brutum* VIII> Tranquillusque in Augusto <X. 3-4>.

Commentary (book VIII) : [Inc.] : (f. 84) *Balbe*. Balbos ex Hispania Romanam transvisse Cornelius Tacitus <*Annales* XI. 24. 4> auctor est. Hic autem Balbus ad quem scribit Hirtius auctoritate gratiaque valuit apud Caesarem tanta ut per epistolam hortetur Ciceronem 'det operam Caesarem Pompeiumque quorundam perfidia distractos inter se conciliare' <*Epist. ad Att.* VIII. 15a> [Expl.] : (f. 88v) *Sergio Galbae*. Suetonius <*Galba* III. 2> vero tradit Galbam 'ob repulsam consulatus infensum Iulio Caesari, cuius legatus in Gallia fuerat, cum Cassio et Bruto conspirasse'. Non minatur et inter Caesaris percussores ab Appiano <*Civil Wars* II. 16. 113>, sed illud observandum apud Plutarchum et Appianum 'Servilium' Galbam scriptum esse, non 'Sergium'.

Manuscript :

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale XIII B 14, s. XVI, ff. 3v-83 (books I-VII), 84-88v (book VIII). (Kristeller, *Iter* I 407).

Biography :

Aulus Janus Parrhasius (Giano, Giovanni, Gianpaolo, Giovan Paolo, Parrasius, Parrhasitus, Parrasio, Parisio) was born 28 December 1470 at Figline, a village near Cosenza, and died at the end of 1521 or the beginning of 1522 in Cosenza.

His first teacher was Giovanni Crasso Pedacio of Cosenza, and he later studied Greek at Lecce with Sergio Stizo and at Corfu with Giovanni Mosco. Although his father had destined him for a legal career, Parrhasius decided to pursue literature, and he went to Naples. When the French army invaded that city he withdrew to Rome and became the teacher of Bernardino Caetani and Silio Savelli. After his pupils were murdered by the agents of Pope Alexander VI, Parrhasius went to Milan in 1499 where he first taught as an assistant in the school of Alexander Minutianus. He married the daughter of Demetrius Chalcondylas and, in 1500, obtained the chair of rhetoric at Milan which he held for several years, enjoying considerable success and producing a number of commentaries and texts based on manuscripts from Bobbio. However, accusations and charges brought against him compelled him to give up his position and he went to Vicenza in 1505. The efforts of Trissino secured a chair for him, and Parrhasius remained in Vicenza until 1509 when war forced him to return to Cosenza. There he founded a school and taught in it until 1514 when he returned to Rome. Frequent attacks of gout and the death of Pope Leo X in December, 1521 sent him once again to Cosenza, and he died shortly after his return. He bequeathed his library to Antonio Seripando and it passed from him to Girolamo Seripando, then to S. Giovanni a Carbonara, and finally to the present Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples. The collection included ancient manuscripts of Probus (Lat. 1 = Vindob. 17, Lat. 2 = Vindob. 16), Charisius (Lat. 2 = Vindob. 16), Macrobius (Lat. 2 = Vindob. 16), and Servius (IV A 8) which were probably removed from Bobbio by Parrhasius himself.

Works : Printed commentaries include those on the *De raptu Proserpinae* of Claudian (Milan, 1501), *Heroides* of Ovid (Ven-

ice, 1522) and *Ars poetica* of Horace (Naples, 1531). He edited Nepos (Milan, 1500), Prudentius and Sedulius (Milan, 1501), Probus (Milan, 1504), Lactantius (Venice, 1509), and Charisius (Naples, 1532). His letters were collected and published at Paris in 1567 under the title *Liber de rebus per epistolam quaesitis*; they consist of responses to philological queries from other scholars in which he expounds various textual and historical points, and are not concerned exclusively with Virgil (*pace Cosenza* V 1329). In addition to his work on Caesar, Parrhasius commented on the *Epistulae ad Atticum* (Naples V D 13) and *Paradoxa* (Naples V D 12) of Cicero, Florus (Naples V D 12), the *Odes* of Horace (Naples XIII B 17), Livy (Naples V D 12), the *Amores* and *Heroides* of Ovid (Naples XIII B 13), Statius (Naples XIII B 32), Tibullus (Naples V D 22, XIII B 12), Valerius Flaccus (Naples XIII B 20), Valerius Maximus (Naples XIII B 14), and the *De lingua latina* of Varro (Naples IV A 1). Naples V D 15 contains some of his poems, orations, and *praefationes* concerning the works of Cicero (orations, *Tusculan Disputations*, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, *Orator*), Florus, Horace (*Odes*), Livy, Persius, Statius (*Achilleid*, *Thebaid*, *Silvae*), Valerius Flaccus, Valerius Maximus.

Bibl.: Cosenza III 2608-2612; *Encyclopedie italiana* XXVI (Rome, 1949) 402-404 (F. Ghisalberti); C. Frati, *Dizionario bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani dal sec. XIV al XIX* (Florence, 1933) 438-439; Jöcher III 1268-1269; Michaud XXXII 174-175; J. A. Saxius, *Historia literario-typographica Mediolanensis* in P. Argelatus, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensis* (Milan, 1745) I 421 f., 426-431, 526 f., 608, 612; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana* VII. 4 (Milan, 1824) 2203-2207; A. Zavarroni, *Biblioteca calabra* (Naples, 1753) 64-66.

A. Altamura, 'La biblioteca di Giano Parrasio', *Biblion* 1 (1946) 1-7; O. von Gebhardt, 'Ein Bücherfund in Bobbio', *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* V (1888) 352-362; C. Jannellius, *De vita et scriptis Auli Jani Parrhasii Cosentini philologi saeculo XVI celeberrimi commentarius* (Naples,

1844); F. Lo Parco, *Aulo Giano Parrasio* (Vasto, 1899).

(This biography was completed in part with the help of material supplied by Professor Harry L. Levy).

3. HENRICUS GLAREANUS

An anonymous student's class notes, now Munich, Universitätsbibliothek 4^o Cod. ms. 532, show that Glareanus was lecturing on the *Gallic War* from October, 1537 through September, 1538. His commentaries on the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars* were dedicated to Guido and Prosper, sons of Aymo, Baron of Geneva, and were first published at Freiburg im Breisgau in 1538. Glareanus' interest in geography, of which we have an earlier example in his *De geographia liber unus* (Basel, 1527), is also evident here, and many of the annotations on the *Gallic War* have to do with the location of tribes, cities, rivers, etc. and the establishment of their modern names. In addition, he is often concerned with linguistic points and textual difficulties. The 1544 edition of Gravius (see *Editions*, below) gives the commentary in a slightly revised form; this version is also found in his edition of 1546 and in the Frankfurt editions of 1606 and 1669. Gothofredus Jungermanus, the Frankfurt editor, made a few changes in the Introduction to book I and restored the proper order of the first two lemmata and comments which, in the first editions, had been inverted. The commentary *Incipit* given below follows the correct order.

Dedicatory epistle: (ed. 1538, Friburgi Brisgoiae, Freiburg im Breisgau: Johannes Faber Emmeus) Dn. Guidoni ac Prospero generosis Baronibus a Gebennis Hen. Glarean. s. d. p. [Inc.]: Vix alius est auctor, Dn. Guido ac Prosper, generosi Barones, in quem annotationes scribere minus conveniebat atque in hunc C. Caesarem quod nullus alius in Latina lingua auctor sit purior ac terrior, testibus eloquentissimis clarissimisque viris, qui partim huic hostes, partim amici summi fuere, immo plures eodem cum eo vixere tempore. Atqui hoc nobis actum est ut intelligent lectores annotationes non in auctorum calumniam, ut quidam falso opi-

nantur, scribi, sed maxima ex parte in ipsorum defensionem, quorum libri temporum iniuria corrupti ab erroribus vindicantur. In Caesare nemo, ut in Livio, geographica culpare potest... Quid ergo in eo, inquiet aliquis, annotatione dignum? Nihil sane, quam quod librariorum culpa depravatum ac expositione in priscorum Galliae populorum appellatione erratum, id potissimum hic emendandum suscepimus. Res est in locorum descriptionibus populorumque nomenclatura, non nihil etiam in numeris, quae haud facile expediet, cui Gallia et Germania duae nationes et earum ipsarum linguae non optime notae. Mihi quidem homini in Gallia nato, quamquam magna ex parte, at ut totam tamen Galliam viderem non contigit. Helvetios autem antiquam Galliae et libertatem et maiestatem et linguam priscam Celtarum etiamnum obtinentes ut prorsus viderem utique licuit. Germaniam bona ex parte non vidi tantum, sed linguam etiam eorum non multum a veteri Celtarum distantem didici ita ut de plerisque locis certius definire non fuerit mihi difficile. Fuit ante aetatem nostram Raimundus Marrianus vir quidem diligens et cui studiosi omnes, ob laborem quem in hunc suscepit auctorem, gratiam debent haud mediocrem. De quo, ut infitias ire non possumus pluribus illum errasse locis, ita fateri necessum habemus multis eximiis viris altiora cogitandi dedisse eum occasionem ac multo maximam meliora inveniendi ansam. Quod potuit, fecit ea sane aetate qua litterae bonae nondum in hoc culminis ac dignitatis pervenerant. Erant item ante annos aliquot, ut hodie quoque, qui simili nominum tinnitu halucinabantur quemadmodum Aeneas Silvius 'Elsatiā' credidit 'Helvetiam'... In aliquibus tamen, cum locus, descriptio atque alia desunt, multum similiter desinentia adiuvant, maxime in propriis hominum quantum ad linguam attinet. Quod nos in his nostris annotationibus saepius sumus secuti. Vobis autem hunc dedicare laborem utile operae pretium existimavi, quod parente sitis nati, qui opera et principis et bellatoris simul exhibere potest, quod multis asperis in rebus turbulentissimo hoc saeculo ostendit. Honorificum hoc quidem et omnibus laudandum

saeculis, sed vobis parum profuturum ni et vigilans aemulatio et vestrae virtutis decora accesserint . . . / . . . [Expl.] : Id quod equidem vos facturos haud dubito. Id enim specimen dedistis nobis sub praeceptore Nicolao Glareio eximiae eruditionis viro ac nobis caro ut parens vester eam de vobis sibi spem vere concipere queat, ut aliquando in vobis sibi renatus videatur. Quod ut fiat secundum vota nostra, Christum optimum maximum precamur. Valete et me vicissim amate. Friburgi Brisgoiae, anno a natali Dominico MDXXXVIII Kalend. Aprilibus.

Commentary (books I-VII) : (ed. 1538, Friburgi Brisgoiae, Freiburg im Breisgau : Johannes Faber Emmeus) Henricus Glareanus, *Annotationes in C. Caesaris commentariorum de bello Gallico libros. In librum I.* [Inc.] : Commentarii sunt libri in quibus tantum capita rerum posita sunt, ita ut videamus in iis ad exsequendam historiam aliis subiecisse materiam. Quam male vero Caesar aliis materiam exsequendae historiae subiecerit, plane A. Hirtius conqueritur praefatione illa, quae est in octavum librum derelictorum de bello Gallico . . . Porro Celtarum nomen tam late patebat, ut non modo Galliam omnem sed universum Occidentem occupasse affirmet Strabo <*Geographia* I. 2. 27>, a quibus Celtiberi, Hispani et Galatae, populi ad pontum Euxinum ad quos Divus Paulus scripsit, originem referunt. *Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres.* In hoc primo libro tria peragit Caesar. Primo Galliae Transalpinae descriptionem ponit, secundo Helveticum bellum prosequitur, tertio Germanicum adversus Ariovistum Germanorum regem . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *Omnia enim plerumque quae absunt.* Horatius ode prima *Epodon* <I. 17-18> : ‘Minore sum futurus in metu, qui maior absentes habet’. Item non ita multo post ‘agger’ inquit ‘ab universis in munitionem coniectus et ascensum dat Gallis et ea, quae in terram (*sic*) occulta- verant Romani, contegit’ <*Bellum Gallicum* VII. 85. 6>. Quid sit ‘aggerem in munitionem conicere’ comminisci non potui. Utrum aggestam terram in fossas conicere? Ceterum nimis concise hunc finit librum, territus, opinor, magnitudine eius ad reliquos, sed res non est tanti. Annot. in lib. VII. Finis.

Commentary (book VIII). Henricus Glareanus, *Annotationes in A. Hirtii derelictorum de bello Gallico librum VIII.* [Inc.] : In praefatione excusat se Hirtius ne post Caesarem temere scripsisse videatur. Deinde motum bellum in Biturigibus et Carnutibus refert, et quomodo his domitis Caesar in Bellovacos processerit . . . *Omni Gallia de- victa.* Hic est annus ab urbe condita DCCIII consulibus Servio Sulpicio Rufo, Marco Claudio Marcello . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *Per M. Marcellum.* Legendum est ‘C. Marcellum’ qui huius anni consul fuit et praecedentis. Annotat. in lib. VIII. Finis.

Editions :

(micro.) 1538, Friburgi Brisgoiae (Freiburg im Breisgau) : Johannes Faber Emmeus. Valpy V 2052-2053 ; Schweiger I 41. Zeitz, Stiftsbibliothek.

1538, Lugduni (Lyons) : Apud Seb. Gryphium. Valpy V 2053 ; Schweiger I 41 ; Baudrier VIII 115. Vatican Library.

1538, Venetiis (Venice) : In aedibus Bartholomaei de Zanettis Casterzagensis. The printer’s colophon following the index of Raimundus Marlianus has the date ‘MDXXXVIII. Mense Maii’, and the date given at the end of Andreas Arrivabenus’ Dedicatory epistle to Franciscus Gonzaga is ‘Non. Novemb. MDXXXVIII’. NUC. (ICN ; CaOTU).

(*) 1544, Basileae (Basel) : Per Nic. Bryling. Valpy V 2054 ; Schweiger I 42.

1544, Friburgi Brisgoiae (Freiburg im Breisgau) : Stephanus Melechus Gravius. The title page advises that the annotations of Glareanus have been ‘ab auctore diligenter revisae et auctae’. His annotations on the *Gallic War* exhibit minor revisions and additions ; the alterations appear to be confined solely to this *War*. Valpy V 2054 ; Vatican Library ; NUC. (MdE ; NJP).

1544, Lutetiae (Paris) : Ex officina Roberti Stephani. Valpy V 2054 ; Schweiger I 42 ; Renouard, *Estienne* 61. BN ; (CaOTU).

1546, Friburgi Brisgoiae (Freiburg im Breisgau) : Stephanus Gravius. Valpy V 2054 ; Schweiger I 42 ; NUC. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana ; (NNC).

1546, Lugduni (Lyons) : Apud Seb. Gryphium. Valpy V 2054 ; Schweiger I 42 ;

Adams G-766 ; NUC. BN ; Vatican Library ; (CtY ; CU ; NIC).

1548, Basileae (Basel) : Per Nicolaum Bryling. Schweiger I 42 ; NUC. BM ; (PU ; PPULC).

1552, Venetiis (Venice) : Johannes Gryphius. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale.

(*) 1554, Basileae (Basel) : Per Nicolaum Bryling. (Reported by Ev.-luth. Pfarramt 'St. Annen', Annaberg).

(*) 1558, Basileae (Basel). Valpy V 2055.

1561, Basileae (Basel) : Per Nicolaum Bryling. Adams C-46 ; NUC. BM ; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana ; (IU).

(*) 1563, Basileae (Basel) : Per Nicol. Bryling. Valpy V 2055 ; Schweiger I 42 ; Adams C-48.

(*) 1566, Basileae (Basel) : Per heredes Nicol. Bryling. (Reported by Schlossbücheri, Mannheim).

1569, Venetiis (Venice) : Ex bibliotheca Aldina. Valpy V 2056 ; Schweiger I 42 ; Renouard, *Alde* 207 ; Adams C-52 ; NUC. BM ; BN ; Vatican Library ; (DFo).

1575, Basileae (Basel) : Per heredes Nicol. Bryling. Adams C-62 ; NUC. (CtY).

1575. See above, Composite Editions.

1579, Basileae (Basel) : Ex officina Brylingeriana. Geneva, Bibliothèque de l'Université.

1581, Basileae (Basel) : Ex officina Brylingeriana. Schweiger I 43 ; NUC. BM ; (PlatS ; PPULC).

(*) 1583, Basileae (Basel) : Ex officina Brylingeriana. Schweiger I 43.

1591. See above, Composite Editions.

1606. See above, Composite Editions.

1669. See above, Composite Editions.

1706. See above, Composite Editions.

1713. See above, Composite Editions.

1727. See above, Composite Editions.

Biography :

See CTC II 343-344.

4. JOHANNES RHELЛИCANUS

Dedicated to Laurentius Agricola (Lorenz Ackermann) and Leonardus Hospinianus (Leonhard Wirt), and first published in 1543, his commentaries on all five Wars are notable for their lengthy annotations and the claims alleged by the author regard-

ing the date of composition. In his Dedicatory epistle, Rhellicanus explains that he had been delivering public lectures on Caesar at Berne 'twelve years previously'; a remark at *Gallic War* I. 51. 2 *generalim constiterunt* (sic; p. 86) fixes the date at 1529 ('Atque haec mea coniectura fuit dum primam foeturam Bernensibus discipulis dictarem anno 1529'). He notes that he is the first to comment on Caesar, observing that he has only 'heard' of unpublished 'commentationes' produced by Henricus Glareanus (see above I. 3) some years earlier.

This is an extraordinary statement in view of the fact that three editions of the Glareanus commentaries had been printed by 1540, the date given at the end of the epistle. O. F. Fritzsche (see *Bibl.*) has suggested that the declaration of ignorance was prompted by Rhellicanus' desire to avoid a controversy with his compatriot, and the 1540 date appears to be an attempt to lend credence to his assertions. Rhellicanus may also have felt that he deserved to be considered the first commentator on Caesar by virtue of his lectures on this author which are earlier than those of Glareanus. This reasoning notwithstanding, it is still clear that Glareanus has the honor of publishing the first commentary on Caesar.

The comments of Rhellicanus cover a broad range, dealing with geographical, military, ethnographical, and stylistic questions. That he was particularly interested in the Helvetian campaign is evident from the annotations on book I of the *Gallic War* which are very long and contain digressions on the history, government, and monasteries of Zürich. A convenient list of his sources (ancient, medieval, contemporary) follows the Dedicatory epistle, and they include such authors as Livy, Lucan, Varro, Ammianus Marcellinus, Bede, Rudolf Agricola, Philippus Beroaldus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Politian, Beatus Rhenanus, and Aegidius Tschudi. For the charge of Johannes Brantius that Aldus Manutius Junior plagiarized from Rhellicanus, see below I. 9.

Dedicatory epistle : (ed. 1543, Basileae, Basel : Per Hieronymum Curionem) Io. Rhellicanus Laurentio Agricolae Vitodurensi et Leonardo Hospiniano Stammenio amicis

s.d. [Inc.]: Cum ante duodecim annos, optimi amici et fratres, Bernae honestissimo stipendio conductus publicum bonarum litterarum professorem agerem et inter alia disertissimos Caesaris commentarios studiosis paelegerem, pauculas quasdam annotationiculas tantummodo in discipulorum meorum usum effudi potius quam scripsi. Easdem amici quidam non plebei Johannes Wirtius Brugensis et Nicolaus Artopoeus Balingius, nunc Curiensis, tunc vero Dunensis iuuentutis moderator, ut doctissimi ita et pientissimi viri, ut describerent, utendas accepere. Tandem, Leonarde noster, et tu iisdem non tantum diu usus es, verum etiam aliis eas communicans et tuo et aliorum nomine multis a me contendisti ut vulgarem . . . Quando autem de die in diem acrius instares ac idem improbius a me pro antiqua nostra amicitia flagitares, demum flagitantis improbitate victus manus dedi, ac eas annotationibus in Caesarem elemandis ac locupletandis adieci. Quid enim quis rei praesertim honestae amico tam veteri, caro, sincero, constanti ac erudito negaverit? Has igitur magno quidem sudore et subsicivis tantum horis elaboratas et utcumque absolutas nemini iustius dedicandas censui quam vobis, idque multis nominibus. Ut enim taceam quod Leonardo impulsore istae elucubratae sunt et non ita pridem Christianis poetis ab eodem donatus (*sic*), artissima etiam cum utroque amicitia mihi iam olim intercessit. Siquidem cum altero, hoc est Laurentio Cracoviae in Sarmatis, sub eruditissimo viro D. Rudolpho Agricola iuniore Wasserburgensi, poeta et oratore clarissimo, praceptorum communi, politioribus litteris et studiis geographicis sub anno domini MDXVII operam deditus. Cum altero circiter vigesimum secundum supra millesimum quingentesimum Wittenbergae in Saxonibus a DD. Martino Luthero et Philippo Melanchthon, praceptoribus nostris doctissimis fidis semperque ob id nobis reverendis, simul cum Graecis litteris, artibus disserendi ac dicendi, sacrosanctae quoque theologiae rudimenta pro nostra virili hausimus. Et quamquam ista necessitudo iuvenilibus annis contracta, non tamen (quod plerumque fieri solet) nobis viris iam factis soluta est. Quin immo cum in coe-

nobio Steinensi sub annum natalis domini MDXXV ductu Tigurini senatus sacras litteras profiterer, cum utroque simul non infelicitate renovata est. Tum enim mutuis beneficiis, colloquis et conviviis litteratis alii alias iuvabant et oblectabant. In quarum rerum perpetuam memoriam et animi mei erga vos gratitudinem, hasce lucubrations vobis nominatim dedico rogoque ut a malevolorum et vitiligatorum sannis et rhonchis eas tueamini. Non enim defuturos sat scio qui clamitent ‘Quis hic novus et semidoctus scriptor qui primus in Caesaris commentaria enarrationes scribere ausus (quod hactenus ob negotii perplexitatem in tanto eruditorum virorum proventu nemo aggressus est)? . . . Quod utinam docti ac sinceri viri, quisque in sua regione (quaes a Caesare describitur), illustranda conarentur, in spem erigeret fore ut multi loci in eo obscurissimi perquam lucidi redderentur. Quod et propediem futurum spero. Etenim audio apud D. Henricum Glareanum poetam Helvetium ac virum de melioribus litteris optime meritum commentationes in eundem Caesarem iam aliquot annos delitescere. Quas si hisce meis quamlibet inconditis ut publicentur extorsero, an non satis magnum studiosi hinc emolumentum capient? Sin vero alicui magis placet conviciatorem quam disputatorem tecum ageare, per me quidem ei licet. Nec enim Christo duce et auspice criminatorem recriminabor, sed hoc unum ei nunc occino, ut ipse aut meliora edat, aut si non potest, aliena sugillare desinat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quocirca non est quod multis vobiscum hac de re agam, quin potius rogem ut animi mei erga vos benevolentiam et gratitudinem potius quam tenue hoc et chartaceum quidem musculum respiciatis, et Rhellicanum vestri studiosissimum et amantissimum (ut hactenus fecistis) pari studio et benevolentia foveatis redametisque. Valete feliciter. Tiguro, pridie nonas Apriles, anno MDXL.

Praefatio. Johannes Rhellicanus, *Praefatio in Caesaris commentaria.* [Inc.]: Quandoquidem in omnibus rebus et dicendis et faciendis ordine recte servato nihil melius et luculentius est, ne ab illo aberremus, visum est eum ordinem in hisce commentariis enarrandis servare, quem Ser-

vius <*In Aeneida praefatio*> inter Latinos grammaticos celeberrimus praescribit : nempe ut primum auctoris vita, deinde operis titulus, tertio scripti qualitas, quarto auctoris intentio, quinto librorum numerus (cui nos historiae fructum addemus), sexto auctor ipse explicetur . . . / . . . [Exp.] : Sic igitur Eutropius in iam citato libro <*Breviarium ab urbe condita VI. 17*> ait ‘Anno urbis conditae sexcentesimo nonagesimo octavo . . . Galliae autem tributi nomine annum imperavit HS quadringenties Germanosque trans Rhenum aggressus maximis proeliis vicit’.

Commentary (books I-VII). Johannes Rhellicanus, *Annotationes in C. Iulii Caesaris commentariorum de bello Gallico librum I. [Inc.]* : *Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres*. Cum bellum a se cum Gallis gestum descripturus esset Caesar, haud abs re fuit quod Galliam primum omnium una cum partibus ipsius descriptsit ; iuxta illud Ciceronis in *Officiis* <I. 2. 7> ‘Omnis institutio, quae a ratione suscipitur, a definitione proficisci debet, ut intelligatur id de quo agitur’ . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *Matisconae*. Haec urbs voce nonnihil truncata ‘Macon’ iam vocatur.

Argumentum (book VIII). [Inc.] : Principio novam Gallorum defectionem ac bellum cum Biturigibus gestum describit ; secundo Carnutes fugatos, tertio Bellovacorum ac reliquarum civitatum deditioem . . . / . . . [Expl.] : Octavo et ultimo eiusdem profectionem in Italiam et quae civilis belli inter Pompeium et Caesarem semina exstiterint docet.

Commentary (book VIII) : Johannes Rhellicanus, *Annotationes in Auli Hirtii derelictorum de bello Gallico librum VIII. [Inc.]* : *Auli Hirtii derelictorum*. Hirtii istius mentionem facit Cicero lib. VII epistularum ad Atticum in prima epistula sub finem <VII. 1. 7-8>. Et ex eiusdem libri epistula (quae incipit ‘Dionysium flagrantem’ <VII. 4. 1>) cum Hirtium, tum Balbum (cui hic liber dedicatus est) Caesaris studiosissimum fuisse appareat . . . *Superioribus atque insequentibus eius scriptis* (VIII. *praef.* 2). Supple VII libris de bello Gallico, III de bello civili . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *In Italiam mittit*. Id est, in Togatam Galliam. Modo enim dixit XV

legionem ex Galliae citerioris praesidio educ tam, et nunc XIII in eius locum missam esse narrat, quae praesidia tueretur, ex quibus XV deducebatur. Unde et superior locus in hoc eodem libro recte expositus esse certinatur.

Editions :

(micro.) 1543, Basileae (Basel) : Per Hieronymum Curionem. Valpy V 2053. BN ; Vatican Library ; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek.

1606. See above, Composite Editions.

1669. See above, Composite Editions.

1706. See above, Composite Editions.

1713. See above, Composite Editions.

1727. See above, Composite Editions.

Biography :

Johannes Rhellicanus (Johann Müller) was born c. 1473 at Rellikon (hence his Latin name) in the canton of Zürich and died 1 January 1542 at Biel.

A poet as well as a biblical and classical scholar, he studied geography and literature at Cracow in 1517 under Rudolph Agricola the Younger, and Greek, rhetoric, and theology at Wittenberg in 1522 under Luther and Melanchthon. He served for a time at the Frauenmünster in Zürich and in 1525 was instructing the monks of the monastery at Stein in sacred scripture. From 1528 to 1538 he gave public lectures on sacred and profane letters at Berne ; two of his colleagues were Kaspar Megander and Sebastian Hoffmeister. He then returned to Zürich. In 1541 he became pastor of the church at Biel and died the following year.

Works : His poetic compositions include a poem on the library at Berne (found in the edition of Kaspar Megander’s commentary on the epistle of Paul to the Galatians, Zürich, 1533), an ‘Epistula monitoria’ addressed to Zürich (found in the edition of Megander’s commentary on the epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, Basel, 1534), and verses on the Mons Stockhornus (Basel, 1537). He also translated Megander’s catechism from German into Latin. In addition to annotating Caesar, he translated Plutarch’s life of Homer into Latin.

Bibl. : F. A. Eckstein, *Nomenclator philologorum* (Leipzig, 1871) 388 ; O. F. Fritzsche, *Glarean, sein Leben und seine Schriften*

(Frauenfeld, 1890) 105-106; *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* V (Neuenburg, 1929) 191; K. Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* II (Leipzig, 1886) 94; Jöcher III 730-731 and Ergänzungsb. V 65-66; H. J. Leu, *Allgemeines helvetisches eydgenössisches oder schweizerisches Lexicon* XV (Zürich, 1759) 243-244; J. Simler-J. J. Frisius, *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta primum a Conrado Gesnero* (Zürich, 1583) 490; Schottenloher II 17965 and V 48873.

5. JOHANNES GLANDORPIUS

Reiner Reineccius (Reinhard Reineke, 1541-1595), Glandorpius' most famous student, edited and published the commentaries on the five Wars at Leipzig in 1574, ten years after the death of their author. In his Dedicatory epistle addressed to Henningus Hamelius (Henning of Hameln) and Henricus Paxmanus (Heinrich Paxmann), he indicates that they are based on his own notes of Glandorpius' lectures. Since Reineccius began his studies with Glandorpius in 1555 and remained with him until 1559, the commentaries as we now have them can be dated to this period when the latter was teaching at Hanover and Goslar.

It should be noted, however, that Glandorpius had commenced his work on Caesar more than twenty years previously, for he seems to have first lectured on the *Commentaries* in 1534 while at Marburg. The same topic was the subject of his lectures at Braunschweig in the summer of 1547. In 1551, probably while he was still at Hameln, there appeared his *Silva* (see Works), a poem in elegiacs whose opening lines inform the reader that it is intended to serve as a preface to lectures on the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars* ('*Gallica lecturus deinceps et civica bella/prodita Caesarea gestaque bella manu/carmine praefandum duxi, vos oro, favete*').

As he had promised, the *Silva* does indeed contain material of a prefatory nature, for example, a description and eulogy of Caesar, sketch of the war, and general historical remarks. The annotations as they appear in the 1574 edition also have a *praefatio*, the content of which is similar but much ex-

panded, thereby suggesting that he continued to work on the subject. Glandorpius maintained his interest in didactic poetry as well, for each book of every *War* is preceded by an elegiac *argumentum*. The commentary on the *Gallic War* deals with points of geography, military terminology and strategy, style, philology, and textual difficulty, and includes allusions to, and quotations from, a broad range of sources (Strabo, Cicero, Horace, Juvenal, Livy, Pliny the Elder, Tacitus, Vegetius, Virgil etc.). Glandorpius was fond of citing parallel passages from authors whose works contained some account of Caesar's campaigns and career, namely Appian, Dio Cassius, Plutarch, Eutropius, Florus, and Suetonius. He also knew, and had evidently consulted, the editions of Caesar produced by Johannes Jucundus and Philippus Beroaldus as well as the commentary of Henricus Glareanus. Glandorpius' commentary on book VIII ends, rather curiously, at VIII. 47. 1 *ibi cognoscit Commium Atrebatem*. There follows immediately an 'appendix' to the book consisting of an *argumentum* in elegiacs and notes on the remainder of book VIII. The *explicit* of the commentary on book VIII given below is taken from this 'appendix'.

Gothofredus Jungermanus, editor of the 1606 Frankfurt edition of Caesar, observed that there were 'innumerable' typographical errors in the 1574 printing of Glandorpius' annotations.

Dedicatory epistle: (ed. 1574, Lipsiae, Leipzig : Andreas Schneider) Clarissimis viris sapientia, doctrinae eruditione, dignitate, virtute ornatissimis D. Henningo Hamelio doctori iureconsulto, consiliario Brandenburg. et D. Henrico Paxmano doctori medico, professori Francofurt. ad Viadrum, dominis et patronis suis summa observantia colendis s.d. Reinerus Reineccius Steinheimius. [Inc.] : Diu multumque egerunt mecum amici, egerunt ii, quos condiscipulos olim habuisse, ut quos (*sic*) exceptas studiouse a me scirent viri clarissimi Johannis Glandorpii in commentarios Caesaris annotationes edendo publicarem. Videbant enim et argumento me delectari et, quod idem studiorum genus tractare coepisse, praestare id commodissime posse censebant. Ad haec

honoris Glandorpii praceptoris optime meriti habendam rationem ostendebant et consulere me in commodum publicum debere monebant ‘quando scilicet constaret quod ille parte ista operae pretium fecisset’. Quamquam vero neque studiorum mihi ratio neganda esset, neque ea de nobis existimatio perquam honorifica non posset vehementer grata esse, et debere me Glandorpi, debere studiis communibus perspiciebam, denique constare etiam in amicos officium nostrum cupiebam, erat tamen quod cunctantiores nos faceret adeoque instituto eo propemodum depelleret. Quia enim Glandorpius in editionem numquam incubisset, opinionem de se praebuisse videtur, alia ipsum elaboratoria et luculentiora conscripsisse quorum hoc brevi commentario tantummodo gustum aliquem dare voluerit. Deinde haud eram nescius reprehensione quorundam non caritatum quod scripti alieni publicationem suscepissem, quasi inde ipse gloriolae aliquid venarer. Quorum alterum de Glandorpio ut haud plane negaverim, quippe qui historiarum et antiquitatis cognitione eximia fuerit; ita cur haec propterea supprimerentur causa nulla erat. Quod enim hic fidelis interpretis ab Glandorpio praetermissum officium? Quanto studio probatae lectiones inquisitae? Quam accurate loca difficilia explicata? Addo his brevitatem eruditam, addo historiae enucleationem diligentem... Interim tamen neque hoc omittendum erat quod cum Glandorpium in prima adulescentia audiverimus, quae aetas minus omnia assequitur, in recognoscendis exceptis haud mediocrem laborem exanclaverimus. Quem si non improbatum iri cognoverimus, erit quod nobis gratulemur, isque deinceps in reliquis Glandorpii commentariis preferendis simili studio cognoscatur, contendemus. Ceterum cum tam more quam peculiari etiam ratione libello huic patrocinium aliquod adiungendum esset, viri clarissimi, ab excellentia vestra id potissimum uti peterem causae hortabantur, quod ambo Glandorpium haec profitentem adulescentuli audivissent, ambo ut in reliquis eruditae doctrinae partibus, ita in hoc etiam studiorum genere ei debere se faterentur. Nec me praeteribat quo grati animi studio, qua meritorum testificatione

colere uterque Glandorpii memoriam perseveraret. Cum quidem te etiam, Paxmane, expetere id familiariter meminerim ut laborem hunc aliquis Glandorpii scripta edendi susciperet, quippe quo et de praceptoris agi existimatione et interesse reipublicae censeret. Quem animum cum non possem non vehementer amplecti, etiam fructum aliquem eius referre in primis debebas. Accedebat huc denique quod labores Glandorpii nulli magis debebantur quam quorum adulescentia ita his informata esset, ut ab eo veluti fundamento ad grandiores illas iurisprudentiae et medicinae disciplinas progressi, nunc inter discipulos Glandorpii eruditio doctrinae, dignitate et in rempublicam meritis loco principe emineant.../... [Expl.]: Ego is inveniar qui studii debiti reddat officia, quae proficiunt a grato animo possunt, neque horum in me meritorum vos paeniteat, faxo sedulo. Excellent. v. bene et feliciter valeat. E Mysorum (*sic*) Lipsia XII Kal. April. MDLXXIII.

Praefatio. Johannes Glandorpius, *Annotationes in librum primum commentariorum C. Iulii Caesaris de bello Gallico.* [Inc.]: De cognomento et appellatione Caesaris. Primus Caesarum in gente Iulia id cognomentum tulit quod vel caesus matris utero vel cum caesarie natus esset, vel bello Punico elephantem occidisset in Africa, qui ibi Caesa, ut ali**< b >**i Caesar, appelletur.../... [Expl.]: Quod ad genus dictionis attinet, Caesar inter Livium et Sallustum medius incedit. Nam cum Livius sit copiosissimus, Sallustius brevissimus, Caesar mediocritatem tenet in verbis ubique nitidus et elegans, quam singularem eius curam fuisse supra rettulimus.

Argumentum (in elegiac couplets): Argumentum lib. I.

[Inc.]: Caesar ut Helvetios per Gallica rura paratos / irruere et valida sensit adesse manu.../...[Expl.]: Fortia victri profigat pectora dextra / laetaque fit dempto Sequana terra iugo.

Commentary (books I-VII): [Inc.]: *Gallia omnis divisa.* Divisio haec est Galliae Comatae seu Transalpinae quae, quemadmodum scribit Hieronymus *<Epist. CXXIII. 16>* ad Gerontiam (*sic*), Alpibus et Pyrenaeis, Oceano et Rheno continetur. Nam quae in-

tra Alpes descripta ad Rubiconem usque extenditur Cisalpina, et ab usu togae Gallicis cum Latio communi Togata nuncupata est . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *Reservatis Haeduis atque Arvernis*. Notabile est quod memorat Plutarchus <*Vita Caesaris* XXVI. 4> de Arvernus suspensum in templo gladium comonstrare solitos tamquam captum a Caesare spolium ; eum sequenti tempore Caesarem conspicatum risisse ac amicis detrahere volentibus non permisisse quod rem sacram existimaret. Id hoc bello accidisse non est dubium. Plutarchus ad superiora tempora refert, sed eius narratio cum hoc *Caesaris* commentario minus convenit.

Argumentum (in elegiac couplets) : Argumentum lib. VIII.

[Inc.] : Opprimitur Biturix nova dum sibi comparat arma / Carnutes profugos versat agitque timor . . . / . . . [Expl.] : Sic Caesar victos longo certamine Gallos / sub iuga Romani compulit imperii.

Commentary (book VIII) : Johannes Glandorpius, *Annotationes in A. Hirtii derelictorum de bello Gallico librum octavum*. [Inc.] : A. Hirtii. A. Hirtius, amicus et familiaris Caesaris, discipulus Ciceronis, designatus consul a Caesare, proximo post caudem eius anno in ipso honore contra Antonium pro libertate pugnans interiit . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *Cognoscit per M. Marcellum*. Glareanus existimat legendum 'C. Marcellum' quod is hoc anno consul fuerit cum L. Paulo. Quod etsi verum est, lectio tamen mutanda non erat. Omnino enim Caesari per dolum hae legiones ereptae sunt, quo tempore metus de bello Parthico fuit.

Editions :

(micro.) 1574, Lipsiae (Leipzig) : Andreas Schneider. Adams G-753. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek.

1606. See above, Composite Editions.

1669. See above, Composite Editions.

1706. See above, Composite Editions.

1713. See above, Composite Editions.

1727. See above, Composite Editions.

Biography :

Johannes Glandorpius (Johann Glandorp) was born in Münster 1 August 1501 and died in Herford 22 February 1564.

He studied first at the Domschule in Münster and became a lector there in 1522.

Later he went to Wittenberg where he studied with Melanchthon, and did further work afterwards at Rostock and Cologne. A controversy arose, probably around 1530, involving himself and his Catholic colleague Heinrich Vruchter of Olfen, and resulted in the exchange of invectives from both parties. In 1533 Glandorpius returned to Münster as rector of the Domschule. He went to Marburg in 1534 and succeeded Hermann Busch as professor of history, but seems to have left this city by 1536. He married in 1542. With the help of Melanchthon, he obtained the rectorship of the Lyceum Martineum in Braunschweig and remained there until 1548 when a dispute with the superintendent, Nicholas Medler, prompted him to give up this position. Here the sources for his life become confused, but Glandorpius appears next to have obtained the rectorship at Hameln in 1551. It is certain that marital troubles made his stay in that city a brief one. Despite pleas from various quarters, Glandorpius insisted upon a separation from his wife, resigned his post, and assumed the rectorship in Hanover, also in 1551. When he encountered gibes from school officials regarding his marital situation as well as opposition to his policies, he left Hanover in 1555 and set out for Wittenberg. On the journey he was accompanied by many of his students, one of whom was Reiner Reineccius. Tilmann Heshusius, superintendent at Goslar, met Glandorpius *en route* and offered him the rectorship there. Glandorpius accepted the position and remained in Goslar until the end of 1559 or beginning of 1560 when he became rector at Herford. Retiring from this office in 1563, he died a year later.

After Glandorpius' death his son Ambrosius edited a number of his father's works, a task later taken over by Reineccius who eventually wrote a biography of his teacher (see *Bibl.*). Other students of Glandorpius include Henningus Hamelius and Henricus Paxmanus to whom Reineccius dedicated his edition of Glandorpius' commentary on Caesar.

Works : *Silva in enarratione commentariorum C. Iulii Caesaris de bello Gallico et civili* (Frankfurt, 1551) ; *Disticha ad bonos*

mores paraenetica (Magdeburg, 1553); *Descriptio seu genealogia gentis Antoniae* (Leipzig, 1557); *Familiae Iuliae gentis etc. Item distichorum variarum rerum et sententiarum liber secundus* (Basel, 1576); *Onomasticon historiae Romanae* (Frankfurt, 1589). In addition to his commentary on Caesar, Glandorpius also annotated the *Epistulae ad familiares* of Cicero (Basel, 1580) and translated Greek epitaphs into Latin. A number of polemical works addressed to his contemporaries are extant.

Bibl.: *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* IX (Leipzig, 1879) 208-210 (Hölscher); Eckstein 196; Goedeke II 8; Hoefer XX 785; Jöcher II 1014; Michaud XVI 612; W. Pökel, *Philologisches Schriftstellerlexicon* (Leipzig, 1882) 95; Schottenloher I 7114-7116.

A. Overmann, *Johannes Glandorp 1501-1564* (Münstersche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, III. Folge XVIII. Heft, Münster, 1938); K. Löffler, 'Glandorp gegen Vruchter. Ein kleiner Beitrag zur münsterischen Schulgeschichte', *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte und Altertumskunde (Westfalens)* 69 (1911) 86-95; R. Reineccius, 'Vita Johannis Glandorpii', in *De M. Tulli Ciceronis morte et monumento* (Helmstedt, 1589).

6. ALDUS MANUTIUS JUNIOR

Although Aldus' interest in Caesar goes back to at least 1566 when he corrected the text in an edition containing textual variants compiled by Johannes Michael Brutus, his commentaries were not published until 1571. In the Dedicatory epistle addressed to Hieronymus Matthaeus (Girolamo Mattei), he refers to his 'annotations', while the title page describes them as 'scholia', a designation which was perhaps intended to indicate their rather brief nature. Nevertheless, they may be considered to constitute commentaries on the *Gallic* (books I-VII), *Civil*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars* since they consist of geographical explanations, historical parallels, philological observations, and solutions to textual problems for which he consulted editions and manuscripts. He quotes approximately thirty ancient and post-classical authors (Appian, Herodian,

Homer, Plutarch, Ammianus Marcellinus, Cicero, Orosius etc.) and several humanistic scholars (Philippus Beroaldus, Gabriel Faernus, Dionysius Lambinus, Valerius Palermus, Johannes Vincentius Pinellius, Fulvius Ursinus). His notes, however, on *Gallic War* VIII and the *Alexandrian War* do not seem to be on the scale of a commentary; as in the case of Brutus' scholia, they are almost exclusively listings of variant readings and conjectures. For the charge of Johannes Brantius that Aldus plagiarized from Johannes Rhellicanus, see below I. 9 and Renouard, *Alde* 213.

In a letter to Aldus dated 13 December 1570, Rome, Matthaeus expresses his gratitude for the dedication of the scholia to himself (Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana E 37 inf., f. 124; no. 1490 in E. Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano: Inventario cronologico-analitico 1483-1597*, Florence, 1957).

Dedicatory epistle: (ed. 1571, Venetiis, Venice: Aldus Iunior in aedib. Manutianis) Hieronymo Matthaio Romano protoneotario apostolico ac utriusque signaturae referendario Aldus Manutius Pauli f. Aldi n.s.p.d. [Inc.]: Magna sane inter mortales dubitatio semper fuit atque adeo maxima, Hieronymo Matthaie, bellicane virtus an litterarum praestantia primas sibi vindicet, et id quidem iure dubitatur. Nam, si militiam spectemus, qua in re magis non modo vires nostras verum etiam prudentiam ostendere possumus? . . . Is (sc. Caesar) cum ex aedibus nostris denuo emittendus esset, committendum non putavi ut, cum multum in aliis scriptoribus laboris impenderim, meam in hoc diligentiam possit quisquam requirere. Quantum igitur potui, elaboravi ut emendatior prodiret quam usquam antea. Quod si non plane assecutus fuero, non tamen laborem meum irritum prorsus esse iudicandum, qui, si non omnia, multum certe praestiterim. Absoluta propemodum editione, meque de inscribendo libro patriaeque reddendo cogitante, ecce peropportune se nobis obtulit Iulius Iacobonius, quem in Italiam ex Pannonia Germaniaque redeuntem Venetiis mecum commorari aliquantis per volui ut, qua iuvenis doctissimi meique amantissimi familiaritate et virtute plures annos Romae usus sim, eandem nunc

longo satis intervallo regustarem. Is igitur, cum ego ei meum de Caesare consilium communicarem, nihil affirmavit posse a me hoc tempore fieri aptius aut laudabilius quam si, Caesarem cum ederem measque in eum annotationes, Romano homini dicarem. Cum vero simul nobiscum reputaremus cui dandus esset, tu praecipuus nobis occurristi, cui maiora omnia debentur [Expl.]: Hoc unum non omittam: tibi me semper tuisque virtutibus ita devinctum fore tamquam si unus de tuis essem, idque me non hoc praecipue officio voluisse ostendere; verum alia cum hoc tempore deessent, noluisse committere ut interim signum aliquod, etiam si minimum, propensi ad te colendum amandumque animi decesset. Vale. Venetiis, Kal. Nov. MDLXX.

Commentary: Aldus Manutius Pauli f. Aldi n., *Scholia in C. Iulii Caesaris de bello Gallico librum I. [Inc.]*: Lingua. Vide Strabonem, lib. IV <*Geographia* IV. 1. 1> [Expl.]: *Huius anni rebus cognitis etc.* Parisienses: 'His litteris cognitis' etc. Gryphii liber, ad oram: 'His rebus litteris Caesaris cognitis' etc.

Editions:

1571, Venetiis (Venice): Aldus Iunior in aedib. Manutianis. Valpy V 2057; Schweiger I 43; Renouard, *Alde* 213-214; Adams C-54; NUC. BN; Vatican Library; (CtY).

1574, Antverpiae (Antwerp): Excudebat Christophorus Plantinus. Valpy V 2057; Schweiger I 43; Ruelens, *Annales plantiniennes* 148; Adams C-59; NUC. BM; BN; (MiU).

1574. See above, Composite Editions.

1575. See above, Composite Editions.

1575, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Aldum. Valpy V 2057; Schweiger I 43; Renouard, *Alde* 221; Adams C-63; NUC. BM; BN; Vatican Library; (DFo; MiU).

Reprint: 1576, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Aldum. Valpy V 2058; Schweiger I 43; Renouard, *Alde* 224; Adams C-64. BM; Vatican Library.

(*) 1580, Venetiis (Venice): Johannes Maria Lenus. NUC. (NNC: NPV).

1581. See above, Composite Editions.

1584, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Floravantem a Prato. Renouard, *Alde* 235; Adams C-70; NUC. (MH).

1588, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Aldum. Valpy V 2059; Schweiger I 44; Renouard, *Alde* 240; Adams C-75; NUC. BM; BN; Vatican Library; (CtY; DLC; MH).

1588, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Floravantem a Prato. Rome, Bibl. Angelica.

(*) 1590, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Aldum. Valpy V 2059; NUC. (CU).

1593, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Minimam Societatem. Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana.

1600, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Floravantem Pratum. NUC. Vatican Library; (IU).

1605, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Petrum Ricciardum. Genoa, Civica Bibl. Berio.

1606. See above, Composite Editions.

1609, Venetiis (Venice): Apud heredes Petri Ricciardi. Vatican Library.

1616, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Jacobum Sarzinam. Valpy V 2061; NUC. BM; (CU; NNC).

1669. See above, Composite Editions.

1706. See above, Composite Editions.

1713. See above, Composite Editions.

1727. See above, Composite Editions.

Biography:

Aldus Manutius (Aldo Manuzio) was born 13 February 1547 in Venice and died 28 October 1597 in Rome. He was the eldest child of Paulus Manutius (1512-1574) and Caterizza Odoni. In order to distinguish him from his famous grandfather Aldus Pius Manutius (1449-1515), he is generally referred to as Aldus Junior (Aldo the Younger).

Aldus was rigorously educated by his father who was very desirous that he enter the family printing concern. While still a child, he seemed to give every indication that he would not only equal his father and grandfather in learning, but even outstrip them. He responded quickly to instruction and earned warm praise from Marcus Antonius Muretus during a visit in Padua. Two scholarly works published by the Aldine press in 1556 and 1559 bear Aldus' name as author, but, since he was still so young, his father is thought to have been actually responsible for them. In 1561, when he was fourteen years old, there appeared under his name the *Orthographiae ratio* which is generally acknowledged to be his. He published a revised and expanded version of this treatise in 1566, having profited from

a three year stay in Rome (1562-1565) where he was associated with his father in the Vatican printing establishment.

Returning to Venice in 1565, Aldus continued his scholarly pursuits in obedience to his father's wishes. In 1568, however, he rebelled against the destiny that appeared to await him, and announced his intention of studying law at Padua. He spent only a few days in that city because of the death of his uncle at Asola in November of that year. After the news reached him, he went to Asola to receive his inheritance and there led a rather dissipated life for several months. Upon his return to Venice, he abandoned his plans to take up law and resumed his studies as well as his work at the printing firm. Difficulties arose in this area with his cousins Bernardo and Girolamo Torresani who, after they were unable to buy or rent the Aldine establishment, set up their own printing house. From 1574 on this rival firm does not seem to have been successful. The Aldine house also fell into disastrous financial straits, and pecuniary factors undoubtedly played a role in Aldus' marriage (1572) to Francesca Giunta, daughter of Bartolomeo Giunta, proprietor of the successful Florentine printing firm.

At the death of his father Paulus in 1574, Aldus became head of the Aldine press and continued the typographical and commercial association with the Giunta firm. In 1576 he also began to teach literature at Venice. He went to Milan in 1582 and was welcomed by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo; it was on this journey that he saw Torquato Tasso in prison at Ferrara. Despite the moderate success that he enjoyed with the family printing house, Aldus turned to new pursuits in 1585 when he accepted the chair of rhetoric at Bologna which had been left vacant by the death of Carolus Siganus in 1584. At this time he also appears to have become definitely estranged from his wife, and this difficult personal situation may have barred his admission into the order of the Cavalieri di Santo Stefano. Aldus did not stay long at Bologna, for his *Vita di Cosimo de' Medici* (Bologna, 1586) attracted the attention of Francesco de' Medici (son of Cosimo) who offered him the chair of

literature at Pisa. He felt that he could not refuse so tempting a post, and moved to Pisa in 1587. However, he left for Rome towards the end of 1588 to fill the chair of Muretus († 1585) which had been left vacant in the hope that he would occupy it. Having decided to make Rome his permanent residence, he ordered his library to be sent to him from Venice. Pope Clement VIII later made him director of the Vatican printing establishment. In 1596 he finally succeeded in obtaining an annulment of his marriage.

The family of the Manutii came to an end with Aldus' death in 1597 since his children had all died at an early age. His learning and ability, though generally recognized, are not considered to be on a par with that of his father and grandfather, and it has been suggested that he owes much of his reputation to their achievements.

Works : *Eleganze della lingua toscana e latina* (Venice, 1556); *Le epistole famigliari di Cicerone... corrette da Aldo Manutio* (Venice, 1559); *Orthographiae ratio* (Venice, 1561; issued in a revised and enlarged edition at Venice, 1566 and in an abridged version entitled *Epitome orthographiae* at Venice, 1575); *Locutioni dell'epistole di Cicerone* (Venice, 1573); *Della nuova scelta di lettere di diversi nobilissimi huomini* (Venice, 1574); *De quaesitis per epistolam libri III* (Venice, 1576; concerning its confusion with a similarly titled work by Aulus Janus Parrhasius, see Renouard, *Alde* 468); *Il perfetto gentil'huomo* (Venice, 1584); *Locutioni di Terentio* (Venice, 1585; his last work printed at Venice); *Vita di Cosimo de' Medici, primo Gran Duca di Toscana* (Bologna, 1586); *Lepidi comici veteris Philodoxios fabula* (Lucca, 1588); *Instruzione politica di Cicerone scritta in una pistola a Quinto il fratello* (Rome, 1588); *Varie descrizioni di ville di C. Plinio Secondo* (Rome, 1588); *Le attioni di Castruccio Castracane degli Antelminelli* (Rome, 1590); *Lettere volgari* (Rome, 1592). He also edited the *De Bononiae laudibus oratio* of Benedictus Morandus (Rome, 1589).

Besides his work on Caesar, Aldus edited and annotated Sallust (Venice, 1563), Censorinus (Venice, 1581), Cicero (Venice, 1583),

and the *De laudibus vitae rusticae* of Horace (Bologna, 1586). His commentary on the *Ars poetica* of Horace was published at Venice in 1576. His annotated edition of Velleius Paterculus (Venice, 1571) was criticized because he had inserted, without proper acknowledgement, notes of Claude Dupuy (see Renouard, *Alde* 466-467).

Bibl. : Cosenza III 2143-2146 ; *Encyclopedie italiana* XXVI (Rome, 1951) 184-185 (T. De Marinis) ; Hoefer XXXIII 310-315 ; Jöcher III 124-125 and Ergänzungsb. IV 622-623 ; Michaud XXVI 394-395.

E. Bartelucci, *Genealogia e discendenza dei Manuzio, tipografi-umanisti-editori dei secoli XV-XVI* (Florence, 1961) ; T. Gasparini Leporace, 'Le "provanze" di Aldo Manuzio il Giovane per essere ammesso nell'ordine dei Cavalieri di Santo Stefano', *Contributi alla storia del libro italiano. Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati* (Florence, 1969) 165-186 ; E. Pastorello, *Bibliografia storico-analitica dell'arte della stampa in Venezia* (Venice, 1933) 293, 319 (index), *L'epistolario manuziano : Inventario cronologico-analitico 1483-1597* (Venice, 1957), *Inedita manutiana 1502-1597. Appendice all'inventario* (Florence, 1960) ; Renouard, *Alde* 217-255, 461-481.

7. FRANCISCUS HOTOMANUS

His commentaries on the *Gallic* (books I-VIII) and *Civil Wars* were dedicated to a member of the Coligny family and appeared at Lyons in 1574. That Hotomanus had, however, been doing some work on Caesar ten years prior to their publication date is evident from his comment at *Gallic War* I. 34. 3 *atque emolumento* : 'Foedus error, et quem tamdiu in his libris haesisse plane indignum est. Corrigendum molimento... Haec me ante decennium scripsisse testes habeo innumeros. Post vero Faerni editae sunt notae, in quibus hoc idem ab illo animadversum cognovi. Itaque ab exemplis proferendis supersedebo'. The humanist in question is Gabriel Faernus whose emendation was reported by Fulvius Ursinus in the 1570 Antwerp edition of Caesar (p. 27 : '*Atque emolumento. 'molimento' reponebat Faernus ex manu scripti libri auctoritate.*')

Also contained in the 1574 edition is Hotomanus' *De aliquot rei bellicae instrumentis observatio*, and his interest in weapons and war machines is often reflected in his commentaries. In addition, many of the annotations have to do with textual problems, and he frequently refers to the 'codex antiquissimus Stephanicus', a manuscript belonging to Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne). This codex has not yet been identified. Stephanus is known to have had in his collection at least one manuscript of Caesar, namely Paris, Bibl. Nationale Lat. 5767, *Gallic War* (s. XIII).

The Dedicatory epistle, which varies according to the issue, is sometimes omitted altogether in certain copies of the 1574 edition perhaps intended for circulation in Catholic countries. The version given below is taken from the copy at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.

Dedicatory epistle : (ed. 1574, Lugduni, Lyons : Apud Bartholomaeum Vincantium) Generosissimo et splendidissimo adulescenti Guidoni Comiti Lavallio Franc. Hotom. Iurisc. s.d. [Inc.] : Munus tibi afferatur a me, generosissime Comes, quod spero non huic tantum aetati tuae et studiis in quibus nunc versaris, sed etiam in omne posterum vitae tuae tempus magnas ad res perutile tibi futurum esse. Commentarii videlicet rerum a C. Caesare gestarum, quas non testis aliquis ex visu vel auditu commemorat sed auctor ipse qua manu summas res gessit, eadem res illas immortalitati commendavit ; qui denique rebus post hominum memoriam maximis non modo interfuit, verum etiam cum immortalis laude et gloria praefuit... Quod opus cum a typographo paratum ac iam in publicum emittendum esset, multis de causis ut tibi, generosissime Comes, dicarem atque inscriberem sum adductus. Primum ut te ad institutum studiorum curriculum currentem quidem ut spero, cohortarer, in quibus praeclararam usque adhuc operam posuisti... Iam vero ut alteram tibi huius instituti nostri rationem exponam, non mediocriter me ad hoc consilium fortissimi et praestantissimi viri Francisci Colonii parentis tui recordatio cohortata est.../... [Expl.] : Quod ut Deus opt. max. pro sua

perenni ac perpetua in te benignitate faxit tuamque adulescentiam ornamentis omnibus fortunet, ex animo ab eo peto quaesoque. Vale, generosissime Comes, et salve. X. Kalend. Mart. MDLXXIIII.

Commentary (books I-VII) : Franciscus Hotomanus, *In comment. Caesaris notae*.

[Inc.] : *Commentariorum*. Plutarchus <Vita Caesaris XXII. 2> ἐφημερίδας appellat. Καῖσαρ inquit ἐν ταῖς ἐφημεροῖς γέγραφεν. Melius Strabo <Geographia IV. 1. 1> ὑπομνήματα lib. 4 . . . Postea vero consuetudine sensim factum est ut libri omnes commentarii dicerentur quasi qui ab initio instituti essent, ut domi continerentur, neque in vulgus ederentur. Cuius rei exempla passim apud Ciceronem extant. *Gallia omnis*. Immo, non omnis certe. Nam omnis in partes quattuor dividitur quarta pars, quae ab Allobrogibus ad Pyrenaeum montem extenditur et Narbonensis appellatur, praetermissa est . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *Supplicatio indicitur*. Stephanicus et alter antiquissimus 'redditur'. Post haec autem miniatiss litteris scriptum in Stephanico ita erat : 'Iulius Celsus Constantinus legi commentarios Caesaris'.

Commentary (book VIII) : [Inc.] : Suetonius in *Iulio* <LVI. 1> : 'Reliquit et rerum suarum commentarios Galici civilisque belli Pompeiani. Nam Alexandrini Africique et Hispaniensis incertus auctor est. Alii enim Oppium putant, alii Hirtium, qui etiam Galici belli novissimum imperfectumque librum suppleverit'. *Inertiae deprecationem*. Ut mihi per te inertis esse liceret . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *Ab se missas*. Primam, quam a Pompeio, et decimam quintam.

Editions :

1574. See above, Composite Editions.

1575. See above, Composite Editions.

1581. See above, Composite Editions.

1584, Francofurti (Frankfurt) : Apud Johannem Wechelum. This is the third edition of Hotomanus' commentary ; it also contains the emendations of Fulvius Ursinus and index of Raimundus Marrianus. Valpy V 2058-2059 ; Schweiger I 43 ; Adams C-69 ; NUC. Vatican Library.

1591. See above, Composite Editions.

1600, Lugduni (Lyons) : Heredes Eustathii Vignon et Jacobus Stoer. Hotomanus

spent his last years revising his works which were then published in their altered form in three volumes (1599-1600). The commentary on Caesar is found in vol. III under the title 'Notae renovatae', but nothing seems to have been changed. Adams H-1054. BM ; BN ; Vatican Library.

1606. See above, Composite Editions.

1669. See above, Composite Editions.

1706. See above, Composite Editions.

1713. See above, Composite Editions.

1727. See above, Composite Editions.

Biography :

Franciscus Hotomanus (Hotomannus) (François Hotman) was born in Paris 23 August 1524 and died in Basel 12 February 1590.

His family was originally from Breslau. The oldest of eleven children, Hotomanus studied law at Orléans at the age of fifteen and then returned to Paris in order to practice. However, the chicanery and intrigues which he encountered disgusted him, and, giving up this profession, he turned to the study of literature and Roman law. Interested also in the study of religion, he resolved to embrace the Protestant faith. This decision compelled him, in 1547, to leave Paris and his staunch Catholic home for Lyons. His economic circumstances became desperate and he was obliged to accept a position in the humanities at Lausanne. He gained such renown that he was offered a chair of law at Strasbourg, and he taught there until 1561. During this time he successfully accomplished some delicate political missions for the king of Navarre, and also made two journeys to Germany at the command of Catherine de' Medici. He then taught law at Valence and Bourges. After the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572 Hotomanus left France, never to return, and went to Switzerland where he remained until the end of his life. He taught Roman law at Geneva from 1573 to 1579 when he went to Basel. In 1581 he returned to Geneva, but went back to Basel a short time before his death.

Works : *De gradibus cognationis et affinitatis* (Paris, 1546) ; *De statu primitivae ecclesiae eiusque sacerdotiis* (Geneva, 1553) ; *Commentarius de verbis iuris antiquitatum*

Romanarum elementis amplificatus (Basel, 1558); *Franco-Gallia, sive tractatus isagogicus de regimine regum Galliae et de iure successionis* (Geneva, 1573); *Antiquitatum Romanarum libri V* (Paris, 1585); *Consolatio e sacris litteris* (Lyons, 1593).

He wrote many treatises on legal points as well as a number of political works. In addition to the commentaries on Caesar, he annotated the speeches of Cicero and his letters to Quintus and translated Plato's *Apology* into French. Many of his letters are preserved in manuscripts in the libraries of Strasbourg, Basel, Zürich, Geneva, Gotha, London, and Paris; some were published at Amsterdam in 1700 and in D. R. Kelley's biography of Hotman (see *Bibl.*).

Bibl.: A. Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle* 369-372; G. Grente, ed., *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises (XVI^e siècle)* 380-381; Eckstein 259; Hoefer XXV 225-234; Jöcher II 1731-1733; Michaud XX 30-32; Nicéron XI 109-134; Schottenloher I 8994-8998, IV 34720, V 46974-46977, VII 53259, 55237-55238.

R. Daresté, *Essai sur François Hotman* (Paris, 1850); D. R. Kelley, *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship. Language, Law, and History in the French Renaissance* (New York, 1970) 106-112, 316 (index); idem, *François Hotman. A Revolutionary's Ordeal* (Princeton, 1973).

8. JOACHIM CAMERARIUS

At present there have been located only his commentaries on books II and IV of the *Gallic War* and book III of the *Civil War*. The obvious *terminus ante quem* for their composition is 17 April 1574, the date of Camerarius' death. A copy of the annotations was sent to Gothofredus Jungermanus by his cousin Ludovicus Camerarius (1573-1651), grandson of the author. Jungermanus included the commentaries in the 1606 Frankfurt edition of Caesar, suggesting in a prefatory letter that Ludovicus had perhaps discovered them among his grandfather's papers. No reference to these or commentaries on other Wars is found in the descriptions of the *collectio Camerariana* which comprises CLM 10351-10428 in the Bayeri-

sche Staatsbibliothek, Munich; see K. Halm, 'Über die handschriftliche Sammlung der Camerarii und ihre Schicksale', *Sitzungsberichte der (königlich) bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, III (1873) 241-272 and *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* IV. 1 (Munich, 1874). In *BG* XIII 531, Fabricius refers to Camerarius' 'In comment. de bello Gallico Julii Caesaris' under the general heading 'Imperfecta tam Graeca quam Latina varii generis'.

Praefatio: (ed. 1606, Francfurti, Frankfurt: Apud Claudium Marnium et heredes Joannis Aubrii) G. Jungermanus lectoris. [Inc.]: Joachimus Camerarius Pabepergensis, cuius memoriam ut avi mei materni cum debita veneratione numquam non usurpare soleo, quam solidae eruditio vir fuerit si multis depraedicare verbis vellem, minime vererer, ne quis ex affectione quadam factum saltem id putaret; ita summorum et principum in republica litteraria virorum gravissima exstant elogia, quibus perhibent quod ad Graecae Latinaeque linguae peritiam attinet, hic certe eum suo iure familiam duxisse videri. Illius cum in optimos quosque Latinae linguae auctores commentationes exstarent, suspiciati sumus et in Caesarem quid ab illo annotatum fuisse. Nec vana fuit ista suspicio. Cum enim Glandorpianas annotationes iam excuderent operae, id genus quaedam a serenissimi Electoris Palatini Consiliario Dn. Ludovico Camerario, consobrino meo clarissimo, ad nos transmittuntur, forte inter avi scidas reperta. Pauca quidem, in quibus tamen te non minus inventurum quod probes teque iuvet speramus quam in alterius cuiusdam magna farragine. Et itaque tibi invidere noluimus; sed proxime Glandorpianis subiunximus, cum prius ad nos non pervenerint, quibus utere fruere ex animi tui sententia nobisque fave, quisquis es, cuiatis es.

Commentary: Joachim Camerarius, *Annotationes quaedam in C. Iulii Caesaris librum II et IV de bello Gallico*. [Inc.]: Secundus liber commentariorum de bello Gallico C. Caesaris complectitur narrationem rerum gestarum adversus Belgas. Atque profligatis et subactis Suessionibus etiam bellicosas

deinde civitates Nerviorum et Aduaticorum devicit . . . *Teutonos* (II. 4. 2). Teutones et Ambrones cum Cimbris ingenti numero hominum, peragrata Gallia et Hispania tentata, ita in Italiam contenderunt, et victi fuere proeliis duobus a Gaio Mario IIII cos. et Q. Lutatio Catulo, qui una de his triumpharunt anno U. C. DCLII . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Conferta legione* (IV. 32. 3). τοῦ τάγματος ἀθρόου ὑπάρχοντος.

Editions :

1606. See above, Composite Editions.
1669. See above, Composite Editions.

Biography :

See CTC II 100-101.

9. PETRUS CIACCONIUS

In 1570 Fulvius Ursinus published 'emendations' to the text of the entire corpus Caesarianum. Many years later he issued a revised and much enlarged version in a volume which included Antonius Augustinus' *Fragmenta veterum historicorum* and appeared at Antwerp in 1595. In the preface to the expanded edition, Ursinus states candidly that for his *Notae ad Caesarem* he had incorporated the work of a number of friends on the same subject, one of whom was Petrus Ciacconius. Ciacconius' autograph of his commentaries on all five *Wars*, now Copenhagen 828, 4to, came into the possession of Andreas Schottius who sent it in 1605 to Claudio Marnius, publisher of the 1606 Frankfurt Caesar. The annotations were then published in this edition under the name of their rightful author; the notes of Ursinus that precede them are those of the 1595 edition minus the contributions of Ciacconius.

Johannes Brantius, another commentator on Caesar (see below I. 11) whose efforts also appeared in the 1606 volume, accused Ursinus of plagiarizing from Ciacconius, claiming that the former did not give the name of his source. As a parallel, Brantius cites the case of Aldus Manutius Junior (see above I. 6) who, he alleges, tacitly borrowed from the commentaries of Johannes Rhellicanus (see above I. 4). The truth of this second complaint has yet to be investigated. Regarding the charge against Ursinus, Brantius

may be referring to the fact that in individual comments of the 1595 edition Ursinus specifically mentions only Gabriel Faernus and Octavius Pantagathus. Nevertheless, plagiarism does not seem to be involved since, as P. De Nolhac observes (*La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, Paris, 1887, 55), he listed Ciacconius as one of the six friends who had been of assistance. Such collaboration between Ursinus and Ciacconius was not unusual. They were exceedingly close friends and had also worked together on the text of Varro. Ciacconius (see *Biogr.*) is known to have been in the habit of sending his work to his friends and urging them to make copies of it for their own use. Naples V D 40, an autograph of Ursinus, is, in fact, almost a page-by-page copy of the Ciacconius annotations in the Copenhagen manuscript. Finally, Brantius' accusation has an even more hollow ring since he was prevented from annexing this commentary to his own notes only through the intervention of Gothofredus Jungermanus, editor of the 1606 volume.

In his annotations Ciacconius often gives explanations of geographical, military, and historical points. Interested in textual problems as well, he tries to resolve the difficulties methodically by alluding to similar passages elsewhere in Caesar, parallel accounts in other authors, and readings of manuscripts belonging to Ursinus, Ludovicus Carrio, Faernus, Achilles Statius and printed editions of Robertus Stephanus and Aldus Manutius Junior.

Praefatio (of Johannes Brantius): (ed. 1606, Francofurti, Frankfurt: Apud Claudiu Marnium et heredes Joannis Aubrii) Lectori candido s.[Inc.]: Ecce tibi Petri Ciacconii hominis Hispani longe doctissimi, et quem saeculi sui Varronem merito dixerim, notas in commentarios Caesaris, quas nacti beneficio viri eruditissimi R. P. Andreae Schotti de Societate Iesu, qui illas Roma ἀνεκδότος attulerat, nunc primi in lucem damus et tantum tibi thesaurum invidere noluimus. Prodiere quidem ex iis pleraeque immistae notis Fulvianis in eo opere quod fragmenta historicorum inscriptum Plantinianis typis nuper exiit, sed tacito Ciacconii nomine parum verecunde; ut et

Aldus Manutius Nepos sua in Caesarem ad verbum magnam partem a Johanne Rhelliano homine Germano clam est mutuatus. Si agnosceret, mutuum foret; si tacet, fursum. Nos itaque Ciacconianas suo auctori veluti natalibus ac nitori restituimus. Quae vero genuinae Fulvii erant, illi reliquimus postliminii iure suum cuique tribuendo. Nostris vero notis politicis quidem iis qui rempublicam administrant servire placuit; criticis vero, qui rem potissimum litterariam spectant. In his autem, ne ignores, usi sumus codice commentariorum Caesaris calamo exarato admodum vetusto ex eiusdem Societatis bibliotheca, qui pluribus locis probam lectionem prae se ferebat, praeter vulgatas pridem editiones notae itidem melioris Venetam, Beroaldinam, Basiliensem, Parisiensem, Vascosanam, quas primis dumtaxat earum syllabis expressimus. Quandoquidem vero (ut ille ait) ingenui est agnoscere per quem profeceris, Justo Lipsio amico nostro singulari multa libenter accepta ferimus, quod ingens litterarum lumen nuper (pro dolor) extinctum non sine lacrimis recordari possumus. Vale et fruere.

Editor's note (of Gothofredus Jungermannus): Lectori. [Inc.]: Ne in qua re offendas, scire debes nos Ursini et Ciacconii notas diu iam accepisse; quas itaque suo ordine commentatoribus reliquis interiunximus, nescii scilicet quod eruditissimus et politissimus Brantius cum suis ea coniungere volebat, de cuius instituto iam modo cognovimus. Quod te monere voluimus ne quid vel nobis vel illi vitio vertas; illaque priora, quae hic dicit, accipias quasi Ciacconianis praedita, quod te insuper rogamus etiam.

Commentary (books I-VII): (Copenhagen ms. 828, 4to) [Inc.]: (f. 192) In librum primum commentariorum C. Iulii Caesaris de bello Gallico. *Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres*. Gallia omnis, quae Mediteraneo et Oceano mari, Pyrenaeis montibus atque Alpibus et Rheno flumine continetur, in duas partes a geographis dividitur, quarum ea, quae nostro mari apposita est, Bracata prius, Narbonensis deinde, et Provincia dicta est sive Ulterior Gallia. Ea vero, quae Oceano alluitur, a Graecis Celta et Galatia, a Latinis nunc totius regionis nomine Gallia, nunc cognomine ap-

posito Comata Gallia appellatur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (f. 221) *Cabiloni* (*sic*). Supra pag. 153 <f. 219; VII. 42. 5> Cavillonum vocat. Strabo lib. 4 <*Geographia* IV. 3. 2>: τὸ Αἰδούνων ἔθνος πόλιν ἔχον καβυλλῖνον ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀραρὶ καὶ φρουρίον Βίβρακτα. Et Ptolemaeus <*Geographia* II. 10>: *Kaballinov*.

Commentary (book VIII). [Inc.]: (f. 221^v) In octavum librum A. Hirtii de bello Gallico. *Caesar M. Antonium quaestorem*. Cicero, *Philipp.* 2 <II. 20. 49-50>: 'Venisti e Gallia ad quaesturam petendam. Aude dicere te prius ad matrem tuam venisse quam ad me etc. Quaestor es factus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (f. 223^v) *Per C. Marcellum consulem legiones duas*. Eius rei causam tradit Dio lib. 40 <*Historia Romana* XL. 63. 2-66>: Cum Appius Claudius Censor C. Curionem, quod Caesaris rebus favebat, tamquam contra rempublicam agentem notare et senatu eicere vellet, L. Piso alter consul eam notam solvit . . . Sed haec eadem diligentius Appianus narrat in secundo. Appianus lib. 2 <*Civil Wars* II. 4. 31>: Rumore demum licet falso increbescente Caesarem Alpes transire exercitumque ad urbem ducere, tumultus statim ac timor invasit omnes . . . Ad quae Pompeius, veluti a consulibus iussus, parere se dixit. Addit deinde 'nisi quid melius', vel decipiens vel ad honestatem potius verba componens.

Manuscripts:

(micro.) Copenhagen, University Library, Arnamagnæanske Legat ms. 828, 4to, s. XVI, ff. 192-221 (books I-VII), 221^v-223^v (book VIII). This is the autograph copy. (*Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling* II, Copenhagen, 1892, 223).

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale V D 40, s. XVI, ff. 86-107 (books I-VII), 107^v-109^v (book VIII). An autograph of Fulvius Ursinus, this codex is practically a page-by-page copy of the Copenhagen manuscript listed above. The seeming disparity in length is caused by blank versos in ms. 828, 4to and folios composed of small scraps of paper that have been consolidated by Ursinus. (Kristeller, *Iter* I 401).

Editions:

1595, Antverpiae (Antwerp): Ex officina Plantiniana, apud viduam et Ioannem Mo-

retum. Ciacconius' annotations, which in some cases have been paraphrased or abridged, are combined with those of Antonius Augustinus, Gabriel Faernus, Latinus Latinus, Marcus Antonius Muretus, Octavius Pantagathus, and Fulvius Ursinus. Adams A-2242; NUC. BM; BN; (CtY; NcD; PHi; RPB).

- 1606. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1669. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1706. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1713. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1727. See above, Composite Editions.
- (*) 1772, Lucae (Lucca) : Typis J. Rocchii. According to M. Menéndez y Pelayo II 120 (see *Bibl.*), vol. VII of this edition of the *Opera omnia* of Antonius Augustinus contains a reprint of the annotations found in the 1595 edition (see above). BM; BN; (PU).

Biography :

Petrus Ciacconius (Pedro Chacon) was born in Toledo in 1527 and died in Rome 26 October 1581.

He studied philosophy and theology at Salamanca, and learned Greek and mathematics on his own. He was offered a teaching position at that university but chose instead to go to Rome; there his erudition gained for him much fame and praise. Ciacconius was commissioned by Pope Gregory XIII to assist in the revision of the text of the Septuagint, writings of the Church Fathers, and Decree of Gratian. He also took part in the work of correcting the calendar. A benefice at Seville provided the necessary financial support which allowed him to give undivided attention to his studies. Ciacconius lived quietly in Rome and enjoyed the company of such friends as Ludovicus de Castella, Latinus Latinus, and Fulvius Ursinus. Completely devoid of personal ambition, he made no attempts to publish his writings, and very few appeared in print during his lifetime. In addition to sending his works to friends for their use, he permitted and even encouraged them to publish his efforts under their names. Because of the depth and scope of his learning he has been called the Varro of his age.

Works: *Calendarium vetus Romanum, cum Petri Ciacconii notis* (Antwerp, 1568); *Inscriptio columnae rostratae . . . cuius accedunt opuscula de ponderibus, de mensuris et de nummis* (Rome, 1586); *De triclinio Romano sive de modo convivandi apud Romanos et conviviorum apparatu liber singularis, cum appendice Fulvii Ursini* (Rome, 1588). In addition to Caesar, he commented on Arnobius, Cassian, Isidore, Pliny the Elder, Pomponius Mela, Sallust, Seneca, and Varro.

Bibl.: N. Antonius, *Bibliotheca Hispana nova* II (Madrid, 1788) 179-184; Eckstein 87; *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* XVI (Madrid, 1958) 1378-1379; Hoefer IX 547-548; Jöcher I 1908; M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Bibliografía hispano-latina clasica* II (Santander, 1950) 120-123; Michaud VII 394-395; Nicéron XXXVI 180-186; Pökel 46; D. Rubio, *Classical Scholarship in Spain* (Washington, D.C., 1934) 58-59; A. Schottus, *Hispaniae bibliotheca* (Frankfurt, 1608) 556-564.

10. ROBERTUS TITIUS

To him are ascribed the commentaries on the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars* preserved in ms. Oud. 10 in the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden. Since Titius' name was added by another hand, the attribution is not absolutely certain. However, his authorship seems fairly probable in the light of other evidence, namely :

(1) Titius gave four *praelectiones* at Bologna on the *Gallic War* which were published there in 1598. These are dedicated to Ruggerius Tritonius and consist of general remarks on warfare (*praelectio I*), necessary training of a leader (*praelectio II*), types of historical writing (*praelectio III*), and lists of historians, compiled in large part by Petrus Angelius, which present a chronological approach to history (*praelectio IV*). In the second *praelectio* (p. 25), Titius announces that he is going to lecture on the *Gallic War* 'hoc anno', i.e. 1598.

(2) Fabricius (*BL* I 261) notes that in a letter of 1602 to Marcus Velserus, Titius mentions that he has composed 'perpetui atque uberes commentarii ad commentarios Cae-

saris'. These annotations may have developed from his lectures. In any case it is clear that he was working on Caesar for at least part of the period 1598-1602 and so could be the author of the commentaries in ms. Oud. 10.

The codex was formerly owned by Henricus Brenkmanus (Hendrik Brenkmann, 1680-1736) and J.-Ph. D'Orvillius (Jacques-Philippe D'Orville, 1690-1751). The former, according to Saxus (see *Bibl.*), brought a copy of the commentaries from Italy to Leiden; from a palaeographical viewpoint this would explain the seemingly late date of the script in ms. Oud. 10. The commentaries were also known to Franz van Oudendorp (1696-1761) who describes them thus in the preface (p. +++) to his edition of Caesar (Leiden, 1737):

Toto hoc opere iam impresso, sed et typis mandata mea praefatione, nactus tandem sum ineditas cel. viri Roberti Titii, quarum ibidem (*sc. BL*) meminit Fabricius, in Caesarem animadversiones. Eae notis brevibus, explicationis verborum aut historiae gratia, vel ad excusas olim lectiones a Faerni, Ursini, Hotomani etc. emendationibus vindicandas, passim conceptae, quamvis sine MSSorum ope, praeter unicum C. Picheneae quem tamen perraro ad partes vocat, procedunt usque ad c. 37 (*sic*) l. 11 *B. civ.* Mendoza autem sunt descriptae et crebro lacunis deformatae, Graecis semper omissis, ut pateat exaratas esse ab homine qui Graece nesciverit. Quam plurimae etiam et melioris quidem commatis per alios iam sunt occupatae: quare tanti mihi non visae sunt ut meam retardare deberent editionem, aut idcirco instituti mei rationem in praesentia mutarem, alia fortassis occasione illas illarumve excerpta publico donaturus. Meis vero usibus has quoque plene concessit Cl. Dorvilius noster, a se una cum ἀνεκδότοις *Controversorum R. Titii* voluminibus in libraria doctissimi et meliore fato dignissimi viri H. Brenkmani auctione nuperrime emptas.

Commentary (books I-VII): (Leiden Oud. 10) *Roberti Titii commentarii ad librum primum de bello Gallico*. [Inc.] : (f. 1) *Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres*. 'Omnis', videlicet quae Romanorum imperio non

parebat et in qua praecipue Caesar bella gessit, quomodo etiam Oppius sive Hirtius dicit 'omni Gallia devicta' <*Gallic War VIII. 1. 1*>, nam alioquin generatim omnis Ulterior; de hac tantummodo sermo hic habetur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] : (f. 108^v) *Eo duces producuntur*. Vide quomodo narrent hanc historiae partem Plutarchus <*Vita Caesaris XXVII. 5*> et Dio <*Historia Romana XL. 41*>, nam cum Caesare non prorsus eis convenit.

Commentary (book VIII) : (f. 109) *A. Hirtii sive Oppii commentar. de bello Gallico liber octavus*. [Inc.] : Liber hic ad bellum Gallicum pertinet et quidem pertinere nemo ambigit. Videtur ex parte ad Caesarem auctorem esse referendus, nam sic e<x> stat apud Suetonium in *Iulio* <LVI. 1> : 'Reliquit et rerum suarum commentario<s> Gallici civilisque belli Pompeiani; nam Alexandrini Africique et Hispaniensis incertus auctor est. Alii enim Oppium putant, alii Hirtium qui etiam Gallici belli novissimum imperfectumque librum suppleverit. . . . Sed vetustus quidam codex formis in Germania exaratus abhinc annos ferme ***, de quo mihi Curtius Pichena praebuit, vir nostrarum harum litterarum valde studiosus commodavit, epigraphen huius octavi libri ad hunc modum pae se ferebat 'Iuli Celsi Caesaris familiaris commentariorum' etc. Sed puto esse Hirtii ob id quod scribit Suetonius eodem loco, capite nimirum 56. *Balbe*. Cornelium Balbum intellegit Caesaris studiosissimum, cuius mentione e<x> stat libro tertio bellorum civilium <*Civil War III. 19. 7*> et frequens apud M. Tullius (*sic*) in libris epistularum ad Atticum atque apud alios . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] : (f. 118) *Caesari eam tamquam ex suo numero dedit*. Ineptum fuerit si ad Gnaeus (*sic*) referas, hoc est legionem unam tamquam ex suo numero a Pompeio Gnaeo in bellum Parthicum datam fuisse interpreteris. Auctor intellegit legionem a Pompeio Caesari commodatam, atque hoc est quod ait 'tamquam ex suo numero'; quae verba alias redundarent atque iccirco deleri deberent veluti otiose hic infarta; mihi quidem sic videtur.

Manuscript:

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Oud. 10, s. XVII, ff. 1-108^v (books I-VII),

109-118 (book VIII). (J. Geel, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui inde ab anno 1741 Bibliothecae Lugduno Batavae accesserunt* (Leiden, 1852) 160, no. 506).

Biography :

Robertus Titius (Roberto Titi, Tizzi) was born in Borgo San Sepolcro 4 March 1551 and died in Florence in 1609.

He studied at Bologna and Rome and in 1570 entered the Collegio ducale di sapienza at Pisa where he pursued Greek, Latin, philosophy, and law. Receiving the degree of doctor of law in 1576, he went to Florence and became friendly with Petrus Victorius who tried to procure for him employment with the Emperor of Germany. Titius, however, was unwilling to leave Florence and he practiced law there with considerable success. He maintained his interest in literature and poetry, and one of his compositions excited the wrath of Joseph Scaliger who penned a fierce attack under the name of Ivo Villiomarus Aremoricus. His friends urged him to reply in kind, but Titius preferred to answer Scaliger with a calm and moderate defense of his earlier work. He applied in vain for a position at the University of Pisa in 1596. In 1597 he obtained the chair of humanities at Bologna which had been left vacant by the death of Tommaso Correa. He held this position until 1607 when, at the insistence of Grand Duke Ferdinand, he took up a similar post at Pisa. He died two years later in Florence while on a vacation.

Works : *Locorum controversorum libri decem, in quibus plurimi veterum scriptorum loci conferuntur, explicantur et emendantur* (Florence, 1583); *Pro suis locis controversis assertio adversus Iwonem quendam Villiomarum Italici nominis calumniatorem* (Florence, 1589); *Brevi annotazioni sopra le Api del Rucellai* (Florence, 1590); *In duodecim libros Syriados Petri Angelii scholia* (Florence, 1591); *Oratio Pisis habita in exordio studiorum huius anni 1607* (Florence, 1607). He also commented on Nemesianus, Calpurnius Siculus, Seneca, and Aristotle and gave *praelectiones* on Virgil (Bologna, 1597), Caesar (Bologna, 1598), and Catullus (Bologna, 1599). A number of his poems are addressed to various contemporaries. There

is a letter, dated 12 December 1582, from Titius to Aldus Manutius Junior on f. 121 of ms. E 34 inf. in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. Ms. 155 and 156 in the Biblioteca Universitaria, Pisa contain letters to Titius.

Bibl. : Cosenza IV 3419; *Giornale de' letterati d'Italia* XXXIII 2 (1719-1720) 176-222; Jöcher III 1227-1228; Michaud XLI 600-601; Nicéron XIII 17-27; Pökel 275; Chr. Saxus, *Onomasticon literarium sive nomenclator historicocriticus* III (Utrecht, 1780) 552-553.

11. JOHANNES BRANTIUS

He composed commentaries on the *Gallic, Civil, Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars* that are divided into 'Notae politicae' and 'Notae criticae'. Dedicated to the dignitaries and citizens of Antwerp, they were first published at Frankfurt in 1606. As their name implies, the 'Notae politicae' deal with matters in the *Commentaries* pertaining to political institutions. Their scope, however, is not restricted to this, and they cover in fact all other points normally requiring explication (e.g. geographical names, military terms and practices, stylistic niceties) with the exception of textual problems. The latter are reserved for the 'Notae criticae' which, for the most part, consist of conjectures and readings from manuscripts and printed editions put forward as solutions to the difficulty. In both sets of 'Notae' Brantius cites numerous classical, post-classical, medieval, and humanistic works. He knew the commentaries on Caesar produced earlier by Glareanus (I. 3), Rhellicanus (I. 4), Glandorpius (I. 5), Aldus Manutius Junior (I. 6), Hotomanus (with whom he sometimes disagrees; I. 7), and Ciacconius. Regarding his efforts to join Ciacconius' notes to his own, see above I. 9.

A list of political 'sententiae' drawn from the *Gallic, Civil, Alexandrian, and African Wars* separates the 'Notae politicae' from the 'Notae criticae'.

Dedicatory epistle : (ed. 1606, Francofurti, Frankfurt: Apud Claudium Marnium et heredes Joannis Aubrii) Nobilibus et magnificis consulibus et senatui populoque An-

tverpiensi Johannes Brantius dedico conse-
croque. [Inc.] : Duae res in bene morata
civitate, quod vos minime fugit, viri nobiles
ac prudentes, plurimum possunt : iustitia
et res militaris communi vinculo sic invicem
aptae divelli ut haudquaquam possint. Nam
et ipsae leges latent in tutela bellicae virtutis,
et haec ipsa vicissim legum valet praesidio . . . De me, ut in hoc communi patriae
statu otiosus ne viderer, simul ut animus ex
strepitu forensi nonnihil reficeretur, ad ea
identidem studia, quae adulescentes de more
tractavimus, respectum habens me revocavi.
In iis unicum doloris levamentum historiam
arripui, quae hoc unum (neque enim de
ceteris eius commodis, quae alii abunde
pertractarunt, dicere in praesens propositum)
imprimis praestat, ut nostrorum temporum
miserias magis intellegamus sed patientius feramus. In historica autem scriptio-
tione vel M. Tullio iudice, familiam dicit C.
Iulius Caesar, qui ut maximarum rerum
gloria mortales omnes anteivit, sic linguae
Latinae elegantia Romanos paene omnes
superavit . . . [Expl.] : Quantum itaque
a cura forensi et re familiari datum est otii,
id omne his commentariis legendis libenter
impendi, quaeque in iis notatu digniora ob-
servavi, exscripsi, annotavi Plinii illius
exemplo qui nihil umquam legit quod non
excerperet. Hortantibus autem amicis ac
paene convicio efflagitantibus ut publici
iuris, quidquid id est, facerem et in lucem
aliquando aspectumque proferrem, cessi
tandem victus et manumisi, fretus nominis
vestri patrocinio. Quibus enim vel libentius
velim quia civis, vel iustius debeam quia ab
actis civitati, quam viris in clarissima re-
publicae luce positis Caesaris commentarios
notis illustratos, hoc est magistrum vitae,
lucem veritatis, historiam inscribere? Acci-
pite igitur volentibus animis nostras in
Caesarem notas qua politicas, qua criticas;
utrisque enim, qui partim in republica ver-
santur, partim in studiis acquiescunt, grati-
ficari quoad eius a me fieri potuit, studui,
et hoc meae in vos observantiae exstare
volui monumentum, cupio quidem certe,
sempiternum. Antverpiae, Kal. Sextil.
MDCVI.

Commentary (part 1 ; Books I-VII) : Johanes Brantius, Ad C. Iulii Caesaris commenta-

riorum de bello Gallico librum I notae politicae.
[Inc.] : De horum commentariorum auctore
dubitasse quosdam et Julio Celso nescio cui
temere inscrisso refert et refellit senatus
litterarii princeps Iustus Lipsius lib. 2 *Epist.*
quaest. epist. 2 quod infimae aetatis quidam
ita citarint, decepti, credo, recensentis manu
quae adici extremo libro solet . . . *Gallia*
est omnis. Non omnis usque quaque sed
'Comata' in qua Caesar res gerebat. Simi-
lem omnino Galliae divisionem apud Ammia-
num Marcellinum reperias lib. 15 <XV. 11.
1 sq.> a Caesare procul dubio sumptam . . .
[Expl.] : *His rebus Caesaris litteris cognitis.* Solere olim praesides 'quid in
provincia quaque gereretur' ad imperatores
perscribere ex Suetonio colligitur *August.*
cap. 49 <XLIX. 3>. Quem morem et Euse-
bius notat lib. 2 *Hist. eccles.* <II. 2. 17>,
referens Pilatum de Christi servatoris nostri
resurrectione Tiberium fecisse certiorem, ut
observavit Isaacus Casaubonus ad allatum
mox Suetonii locum.

Commentary (part 1 ; book VIII) : Johanes Brantius, Ad librum VIII I. Caesaris de bello Gallico notae politicae. [Inc.] : *Quod imparatis disiectisque fuit necesse.* Infra <VIII. 10. 3> : 'Accidebat autem quotidianis pabulationibus, id quod accidere erat necesse, ut' etc. Caesar supra lib. 5 <V. 39. 2> : 'Huic quoque accidit—quod fuit necesse—ut nonnulli' etc. . . . [Expl.] : *Quoad sibi spes aliqua relinquetur iure potius disceptandi quam belli gerendi (sic).* Supra paulo <VIII. 49. 2> : 'Nihil minus volebat quam necessitatem sibi aliquam imponi belli gerendi'. 'Omnia' inquit comicus adelphus <Terentius, *Eun.* 789> 'prius experiri verbis' (aut ut alii legunt 'consilio omnia prius experiri') 'quam armis sapientem decet'. . . . Itaque merito laudatur magnus ille Augustus qui usque 'adeo turbas, bella, simultates execratus est ut nisi iustis de causis numquam genti cuiquam bellum intulerit. Iactantisque esse ingenii et levisimi dicebat ardore triumphandi et ob lauram coronam, id est folia infructuosa, in discrimen per incertos eventus certaminum securitatem civium praecipitare', ut in eius vita refert Sextus Aurelius Victor <*Epitome de Caesaribus* I. 10> et Suetonius cap. vi-
gesimo primo <*August.* XXI. 2>.

Commentary (part 2; books I-VII): Johannes Brantius, *Ad C. Iulii Caesaris commentariorum de bello Gallico librum I notae criticae.* [Inc.]: *Proximi sunt Germanis.* Libri plerique omnes 'proximique'. Altera enim causa redditur fortitudinis Belgarum: continua belli consuetudo. Utramque Ammianus Marcellinus veluti simius expressit lib. 15 <XV. 11. 4> . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *His rebus Caesaris litteris cognitis Romae dierum XX supplicatio indicitur.* Manus.: 'His litteris cognitis Romae dierum XX supplicatio redditur'. Ven. et Beroald. (sc. editiones): 'His rebus litteris Caesaris cognitis Romae dierum XX supplicatio redditur'. Basil. (sc. editio): 'Huius anni rebus cognitis Romae dierum XX supplicatio indicitur'. Vascos. (sc. editio): 'Harum rerum litteris cognitis Romae dierum XX supplicatio indicitur'.

Commentary (part 2; book VIII): Johannes Brantius, *Ad librum VIII C. Iulii Caesaris de bello Gallico notae criticae.* [Inc.]: *Commentariorum de bello Gallico lib. VIII scriptore A. Hirtio Pansa.* In aliis alia huius libri ἐπιγραφή legitur. Et quidem in manus. 'Prologus Q. Hirtii Pansae in lib. VIII Gallici belli'. Ven. (sc. editio): 'A. Hirtii praefatio in octavum librum quem ipse addidit (sic) libro septimo commentariorum C. Iulii Caesaris de bello Gallico' . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Iure potius disceptandi quam belli gerendi* (sic). 'belligerandi' manus.

Editions:

- 1606. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1669. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1706. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1713. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1727. See above, Composite Editions.

Biography:

Johannes Brantius (Jean Brant, Brants) was born 30 September 1559 in Antwerp and died there 28 August 1639.

After obtaining his master of arts degree in jurisprudence from Louvain, he was forced to leave Belgium because of political troubles. He went to France and studied first at Orléans and then at Bourges (with Jacques Cujas) where he received his doctorate in law. Brantius traveled through Italy, visiting the academies, and then returned to Belgium. He practiced law in Brussels for

five years before going back to Antwerp where he was named secretary of the city 22 January 1591. For thirty-one years he discharged this duty, and when he finally left this position it reverted to his eldest son Henri. Brantius was then made a senator of Antwerp and held the office for seventeen years. His daughter Isabelle, celebrated for her beauty, married the painter Peter Paul Rubens and served often as his model.

Works: *Elogia Ciceroniana Romanorum domi militiaeque illustrium* (Antwerp, 1612); *Vie de Philippe Rubens* (Antwerp, 1615); *Spicilegium criticum in omnia opera Apuleii* (Frankfurt, 1621); *De perfecti et veri senatoris officio* (Antwerp, 1633).

Unedited works include a commentary on Terence, notes on Arnobius and Minucius Felix, and a Latin translation of the *Belgographia* of Luigi Guicciardini.

Bibl.: *Biographie nationale de Belgique* II 905-907 (A. Van der Meersch); R. Dekkers, *Bibliotheca Belgica iuridica* (Brussels, 1951) 25; Eckstein 61; A. Gerlo-E. Lauf, *Bibliographie de l'humanisme belge* (Brussels, 1965) 142; Jöcher I 1338; Michaud V 458; Pökel 31; E. de Seyn, *Dictionnaire des écrivains belges* I (Bruges, 1930) 145-146.

12. DOUBTFUL

a) BONUS ACCURSIUS

GW I 70 (with references to Van Beughem p. 2 and Panzer I 394. 12) lists as 'zweifelhaft' *Animadversiones in Caesaris commentaria* (Ferrara, 1474) of Bonus Accursius. No copy of this book has yet been located. Brunet I 34-35 suggests that the work in question is Raimundus Marlianus' *Index locorum in commentario Caesaris belli Gallici descriptorum* which was edited by Accursius and published in an undated incunabulum (HR 10776). BMC VI 755 notes that 'the work of Accursius is, however, confined to revision and minor additions' and that this is 'apparently the only separate edition of Marlianus' work, which in its unrevised form is often appended to editions of Caesar from 1478 onwards'.

b) PETRUS STROZZA

L. W. Daly (Bibliography III. C) has collected the evidence for the ascription to Petrus Strozzi (Piero Strozzi) of the Greek translation of *Gallic War* I-VII found in the 1606 Frankfurt edition, together with the attribution of a Latin commentary to the same figure. The chief source of information is Brantôme, who purports to have seen Strozzi's manuscript of a Greek translation 'avec des commandz latins, additions et instructions pour gens de guerre' (*Oeuvres complètes de Pierre de Bourdeille Seigneur de Brantôme* II (Paris, 1866) 241). Since it has been shown that the Greek version of the Frankfurt edition is based on the 1544 Caesar edition of Robertus Stephanus, this latter date can be taken as the *terminus post quem*. It also follows that previous attributions of the translation to Planudes (c. 1255-1305) or Theodore of Gaza (c. 1400-1476) are no longer acceptable. Gothofredus Jungermannus, editor of the 1606 Frankfurt work and author of annotations on the translation, states that the manuscript of the Greek rendering was brought to him by Jacques Bongars from the library of Paul Petau. Daly admits (p. 81) that Jungermannus does not mention any 'Latin comments, additions, and instructions for military men' as noted by Brantôme, but suggests (pp. 81-82) that Jungermannus 'may have disregarded such an appendix or it may have been separated from the text before it came into his hands'. No trace of these annotations has been found which, in any case, could resemble those of Jungermannus in that they deal with the difficulty of turning a Latin work into Greek rather than with the subject matter of the *Gallic War* itself.

c) FRANCISCUS ZAVA

In an undated letter to Titus Amaltheus, Franciscus Zava writes (pp. 230-231 of the Cremona, 1569 edition of Zava's letters, poems, and orations): 'Tu fortasse quia cum mecum proximo anno esses, in quosdam commentarios, quos evitandi gratia turpissimi otii in Caesaris et rerum Galliarum et civilium libros scripseram, inci-

disti, in quibus est harum rerum fere singulare non ignava consideratio, id tantopere a me contendis. Quid si tibi novum flagitium enarro? Mihi surrepti fuerunt illi commentarii, quos tu Caesaris paeclaros triumphos appellabas. Furti auctorem nescio, suspicor tamen illum fuisse quem numquam a latere meo discedere videbas et qui a dextra discumbebat, quo tempore te hospitem accepimus, et quem tantopere ab indole ingenique acumine laudabas. Non possum proprius ferre pedem. Adulescentem nosti. Ille (ut puto) me defraudavit, quod numquam timuissem. Nec credo te eum esse qui me ad novos labores urgeas. Alia aggredior, quae ut spero maioris utilitatis erunt; coepita di secundent. Tu, si me amas, ne ad me amplius hac de re scribas, rogo'.

No trace of Zava's alleged commentaries on the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars* has been found, nor is there any information regarding the identity of the youth whom Zava regards as the thief.

II. *Belli civilis commentariorum libri III*

COMMENTARIES

1. AULUS JANUS PARRHASIUS

For the date and circumstances of the composition of this commentary found in an autograph manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, see above I. 2. Parrhasius does not identify the *princeps* whom he addresses in the Introduction, and the *argumenta* promised for the *Alexandrian* and *African Wars* have not been located. His comments on the *Civil War* are similar in character to those on the *Gallic War*.

Introduction: [Inc.] : (Naples XIII B 14, f. 89v) Quoniam sedet animo, princeps illustrissime, M. Antonii illius, quem a sapientiae studio philosophum vocant, vetus exemplum renovare, qui iam Caesar et orbis imperio potitus apud Sextum Chaeronensem Plutarchi nepotem Hermogenemque eloquentiae professorem, nullo vero die deposita Marte, considebat, ut [in] apud Dionem <*Historia Romana* LXXI. 1. 2> *** Belli civilis argumentum paucis accipe . . . / . . . [Expl.] : (f. 89v) Hactenus historia Caesaris. Alia quae pertinent ad Alexandrini Africa-

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nique belli enarrationem tunc argumento complectemur quom superis approbantibus ventum erit.

Commentary. [Inc.] : (f. 90v) *A Fabio.* Caesaris legato quem ad petitionem sui consulatus Caesar in urbem praemiserat. Alii centurionem suspicantur eum qui, patribus imperium Caesari prorogare nolentibus, ad capulum relata manu 'At hic' inquit 'prorogabit'. . . . [Expl.] : (f. 136) *Trallibus.* Trallis urbs Lydiae ad Maeandrum quae prius a florum copia Anthia nominabatur. Iuvenalis <III. 70> : 'Hic Trallibus' etc.

Manuscript :

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale XIII B 14, s. XVI, ff. 89v-136. (Kristeller, *Iter I* 407).

Biography :

See above I. 2.

2. HENRICUS GLAREANUS

For the publication date and Dedicatory epistle of the commentary, see above I. 3. In his explication of military and political terminology and strategy Glareanus cites passages from Festus, Lucan, Pliny, Sallust, Strabo, and Vitruvius. The annotations also demonstrate his interest in the geographical side of the *Civil War*, but this concern is not nearly so marked as in his commentary on the *Gallic War*. At the end of his notes on the *Civil War* there follow *argumenta* for the *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish Wars*.

Commentary : (ed. 1538, Friburgi Brisgoiae, Freiburg im Breisgau : Johannes Faber Emmeus) Henricus Glareanus, *Annotationes in C. Iulii Caesari commentariorum de bello civili librum I.* [Inc.] : Argumentum libri primi de bello civili. In primo libro de bello civili haec ordine habentur : contentio in senatu Romano de imperio Caesaris ; senatus consulta adversus Caesarem ; intercessio tribunorum pro Caesare ; Caesaris apud milites contio . . . In eadem sententiam loquitur Scipio. Hic fuit Metellus Scipio Cn. Pompeii sacer . . . [Expl.] : Arcem Antiochiam captam esse. Dubia est hic lectio 'arcemne Antiochenam' an 'arcem Antiochiae' legere velimus.

Editions :

See above I. 3.

Biography :

See CTC II 343-344.

3. JOHANNES RHELLICANUS

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and circumstances surrounding the composition of the commentary, see above I. 4. Of the same type as his comments on the *Gallic War*, the annotations on the *Civil War* include numerous quotations from Plutarch and Lucan.

Argumentum : (ed. 1543, Basileae, Basel : Per Hieronymum Curionem) Totius belli civilis a Caesare gesti argumentum seu introductio per Eutropium <*Breviarium ab urbe condita VI. 19-24*> quae superiori Gallico bello ita annexitur. [Inc.] : Hinc iam bellum civile successit exsecrandum et lacrimabile quo, praeter calamitates quae proelio acciderunt, etiam Romani nominis fortuna mutata est . . . [Expl.] : Multa proelia fuerunt, ultimum apud Mundam civitatem in quo adeo Caesar paene victus est ut fugientibus suis se voluerit occidere, ne post tantam militaris rei gloriam in potestatem adulescentium natus annos quinquaginta sex veniret ; denique reparatis suis vicit et Sexti Pompeii filius maior occisus est, minor fugit.

Argumentum : Argumentum lib. I de bello civili per Johannem Rhellicanum. [Inc.] : Principio belli intestini occasionem succincte tradit, quam nos ex Lucano supra fusius allegavimus. Deinde cum utrumque multis condic*<i>*onibus de pace facienda nihil esset profectum, Caesarem hinc inde multa oppida in ditionem accepisse . . . [Expl.] : Quarto bellum in Hispania cum Petreio et Afranio primum per C. Fabium legatum suum, deinde et suo ipsius ductu gestum.

Commentary : Johannes Rhellicanus, *Annotationes in C. Iulii Caesaris commentariorum de bello civili librum I.* [Inc.] : Litteris a Fabio C. Caesaris consulibus redditis etc. Plutarchus in *Caesare* <XXXI. 1> ait hanc in Caesareanis litteris summam fuisse : 'Omissis ceteris omnibus hoc tantum peto, ut Cisalpina Gallia Illyricumque cum duabus

legionibus usque ad secundi consulatus petitionem mihi concedatur' . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *In mare iactis molibus etc.* Idem Strabo <*Geographia* XVII. 1. 6> paulo post praecedentia has moles ita describit : 'Agger autem est pons quidam a continente in insulam, ad occidentalem eius partem porrectus, duos tantum aditus relinquens in Eunosti portum atque ipsos ponte iunctos ; quod opus non modo pons erat in insulam sed etiam aquaeductus cum habitaretur'.

Editions :

See above I. 4.

Biography :

See above I. 4.

4. HIERONYMUS SURITA

His commentary is preserved in autograph ms. 09514 in the Biblioteca del Seminario sacerdotal de San Carlos, Saragossa. In D. J. Dormer's biography (see *Bibl.*), there are letters of Juan Paez de Castro to Surita which indicate that the latter was working on Caesar from 1545 to 1548.

Ms. 09514 also contains his notes on the *Gallic War* (books I-VIII) which he called 'emendationes'. These consist almost entirely of readings from printed editions such as the Aldine and from manuscripts. Among the witnesses he consulted were an unidentified manuscript belonging to Cardinal Mendoza (see *Biogr.*) and a 'pervetustus codex' of his own. This 'ancient' manuscript has not yet been located, but we know that Surita owned at least three manuscripts of the *Commentaries*, namely Escorial M. III. 10 (*Gallic War* only, s. XIV), N. III. 22 (s. XV), and Stockholm Va 6 (s. XV).

As if to emphasize the difference between his work on the various *Wars*, Surita calls his notes on the *Civil War* 'annotationes'. They constitute a commentary since the interest, though strongly textual in character, is not exclusively so. He refers often to readings found in a manuscript at Salamanca and in 'recent' printed editions, but there are also comments dealing with political, historical, and military matters. Where appropriate he quotes from Ptolemaeus, Cicero, Lucan, Suetonius etc. The Salamanca manuscript of Caesar has not

yet been identified. Surita must have had access to the codex in or before 1553 since, as he notes in the first comment on the *Civil War*, he learned of its existence during a visit to Ferdinandus Pincianus (Fernando Núñez de Guzmán, 1475 (?)- 2 September 1553).

The last comment on the *Civil War* is followed immediately, with no intervening titulus, by a few textual notes on the *Alexandrian War*. Then come two notes on the *African War* which are designated as 'emendationes'.

Commentary : (Saragossa 09514) Hieronymus Surita, *In commentarios belli civilis annotationes.* [Inc.] : *Litteris a Fabio C. Caesaris consulibus redditis.* Non contigit nobis ut horum librorum vetustum aliquem aut manu scriptum codicem haberem aut cum vulgatis conferre possem. Sed cum superioribus diebus Salmanticae essem quo veneram ut Ferdinandum Pincianum videarem qui pro<p>ter maximam doctrinam et summam eruditionem a me valde diligitur, tumque mihi renuntiatum esset in publica ecclesiae bibliotheca codicem integrum commentariorum esse, eius tantum videndi ac summatim percurrendi copia fuit. Sed ut speciem aliquam praebeam doctis hominibus quorundam locorum qui a me ex ingenio scilicet emendandi videntur, ut ipsi pro virili parte vetustos codices inquirendo et vulgatam lectionem restituendi (sic) emendandamque curent, non dubitabo speciem quandam eorum producere ut unusquisque eadem functus diligentia opem adferat ac lucem iis libris qui maxima ex parte, ut mihi quidem videtur, depravati et contamiinati sunt . . . ut legi meo iudicio deberet 'litteris a C. Curione consulibus redditis'. Sed cum in Salmanticensi exemplari aliisque excussis ita legatur, ego nihil mutandum censerem sed ad hunc locum notam esse apponendam tamquam depravato et male habito . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *Reperiebat T. Appium conatum esse tollere pecunias Epheso ex fano Diana.* Legendum arbitror T. 'Appium' ex Cicerone <*Epist. ad Fam.* I. 3. 2, II. 16. 3 etc.>, Paterculo <*Historia Romana* II. 40. 4>, et Tranquillo <*Divus Iulius LXXVII*> qui eum ita vocant.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Saragossa, Biblioteca del Seminario sacerdotal de San Carlos 09514, s. XVI. (The folios are unnumbered). This is the autograph copy. (L. Latre, *Manuscritos e incunables de la Biblioteca del real seminario sacerdotal de San Carlos de Zaragoza*, Saragossa, 1943, 26, no. 25).

Biography :

Hieronymus Surita (Jerónimo Zurita y Castro) was born in Saragossa 4 December 1512 and died there 31 October or 3 November 1580.

He was the son of Michael Surita and Anna de Castro. One of his teachers was Ferdinandus Pincianus with whom he studied Greek, Latin, and rhetoric at Alcalá ; and Francisco de Bobadilla y Mendoza (later Cardinal and Bishop of Burgos), León de Castro, Juan Crisóstomo Calvete de Estrella, Francisco and Juan de Vergara, Lorenzo Balbo, and Cristóbal de Horozco were fellow students. Through his own merits and his father's assistance, Surita obtained the favor of Emperor Charles V and in 1530 became governor of Barbastro and Huesca. In 1537, in Valladolid, he married Juana († 1548), daughter of Juan García de Oliván, and assisted his father-in-law in his work with the Inquisition at Madrid, taking over his office at the latter's death. He went to Germany in 1543 to attend to the interests there of the Senate of Castile. In 1547 he was named first public historian of Aragon, a position which necessitated his traveling to Italy, Sicily, and Aragon in search of documents. On this trip he discovered the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (also known as the *Fasti Siculi*) in a library in Sicily. At Naples he became acquainted with Janus Pelusius Crotoniata. Surita was appointed secretary to the royal cabinet in 1567 and, two years later, Cardinal Didacus Espinosa placed him in charge of relaying to the authorities the king's wishes in matters pertaining to the Inquisition. He spent his last years in the monastery of Santa Engracia, Saragossa, following the religious rule and revising his history of Aragon. His library was bequeathed to the Carthusian monastery of Aula Dei in Saragossa ; the

greater part of his books and manuscripts was transferred to the Escorial in 1626.

Works : *Anales de la Corona del reyno de Aragon* (Saragossa, 1562) ; *Indices rerum ab Aragoniae regibus gestarum ab initiis regni ad annum 1410 tribus libris expositi* (Saragossa, 1578) ; *Historia del Rey Don Fernando el Catholico. De las empresas y ligas de Italia* (Saragossa, 1580) ; *El indice de las cosas mas notables que se hallan en la Historia de Aragon* (Saragossa, 1604) ; *Enmendas y advertencias a las cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla* (Saragossa, 1683). His annotations on the *Itinerarium* of Antonius Augustinus were published at Cologne in 1600. Besides his notes on Caesar he also annotated Sallust (Escorial O. III. 6), Pliny, and Claudian. A number of his unpublished historical works in the vernacular appear to have been lost.

Bibl. : Real Academia de la Historia, *Indice de la Colección de Don Luis de Salazar y Castro*, by B. Cuartero y Huerta and A. de Vargas-Zúñiga y Montero de Espinosa Marqués de Siete Iglesias, vol. IX [Madrid. 1953] (on pp. 1-242 the authors describe letters and documents of Jerónimo Zurita and his relatives which are contained in vols. A 1110-1115 of the collection) ; N. Antonius, *Bibliotheca Hispana nova I* (Madrid, 1788) 604-607 ; *Encyclopédia universal ilustrada LXX* (Barcelona, 1930) 1566 ; Hoefer XLVI 1033-1034 ; Jöcher IV 943 ; F. de Latassa-M. Gómez Uriel, *Bibliotecas antigua y nueva de escritores aragoneses III* (Saragossa, 1886) 425-35 ; M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Bibliografía hispano-latina clásica II* (Santander, 1950) 123-126 ; Michaud XLV 633-634.

D. J. Dormer, *Progresos de la historia en el reyno de Aragon y elogios de Gerónimo Zurita, su primer cronista* (Saragossa, 1680).

5. JOHANNES GLANDORPIUS

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and circumstances surrounding the composition of the commentary, see above I. 5. Like the annotations on the *Gallic War*, Glandorpius' notes on the *Civil War* cover many aspects of the work (geography, Roman politics, military institutions etc.) and are il-

lustrated by frequent quotations from various ancient authors. He also refers to the edition of Beroaldus and commentary of Glareanus (II. 2).

Argumentum : (ed. 1574, Lipsiae, Leipzig : Andreas Schneider) *Argumentum totius belli civilis*. [Inc.] : *Bellum Caesaris Gallicum civile Pompeianum excepit, annorum numero non conferendum, rerum gestarum magnitudine tanto maius quanto quam Gallia latius patet orbis terrarum. Ubique enim et per omnes terrae partes detonuit, magnis omnium gentium et nationum cladibus expiatum . . . / . . .* [Expl.] : Primus et secundus ex his commentariis anni primi res gestas continent, reliqui singuli singulorum annorum bella persequuntur, nisi quod sextus a fine mutilus historiam non absolvit, valde etiam ubique depravatus, tum auctoris incerti, cum tres primos ab ipso Caesare, ceteros duos ab Hirtio vel Oppio scriptos constet.

Argumentum (in elegiac couplets) : *Argumentum lib. I.* [Inc.] : *Caesar ut adversum sibi cuncta negare senatum/pacis et haud ullam spem superesse videt. . . . / . . .* [Expl.] : Postremo Afrani legiones castraque Marci/ perdomat abductis sponteque mittit aquis.

Commentary : Johannes Glandorpius, *Annotationes in C. Iulii Caesaris commentarios de bello civili*. [Inc.] : *Litteris a Fabio C. Caesaris*. Orditur a commemoratione odii ac impotentiae inimicorum suorum, qui privatis affectibus et commodis servientes, quo res ad arma deduceretur, nullas Caesaris quamlibet aequas condiciones admitterent, ut ostendat non voluntate nec dominandi libidine id se bellum suscepisse, sed necessitate compulsum ut ad dignitatem et salutem defendendam auxilium ab exercitu peteret . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *Eunuchus nomine Photinus* (sic). Photinus (sic) hic dederat consilium interimendi Pompeium, ut est apud Lucanum <*Bellum civile* VIII. 483-535> qui ad hoc scelus suadendum apposita ei orationem tribuit.

Editions :

See above I. 5.

Biography :

See above I. 5.

6. ALDUS MANUTIUS JUNIOR

For the publication date and Dedicatory epistle of the commentary, see above I. 6. Aldus made minor revisions of his annotations in succeeding editions.

Commentary : (ed. 1571, Venetiis, Venice : Aldus Iunior in aedib. Manutianis) Aldus Manutius Pauli f. Aldi n., *Scholia in C. Iulii Caesaris de bello civili librum I.* [Inc.] : *Litteris a Fabio C. Caesaris consulibus redditis*. Offendebar ‘Caii’ praenomine cum Caesar de seipso loquens numquam praenomen addere consueverit. Verum postea reperi quod mihi scrupulum hunc eximeret. Parisienses enim ita ediderunt : ‘Litteris a C. Fabio Caesaris cons. red.’ Quae mihi placet admodum lectio . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *In parte Caesaris*. Nicasius legendum putat ‘in pāte Caesaris’ pro ‘in potestate’. Vide pag. 416 <III. 109. 6>. Verum ne sic quidem hunc locum integrum puto.

Editions :

See above I. 6.

Biography :

See above I. 6.

7. FRANCISCUS HOTOMANUS

For the publication date and Dedicatory epistle of the commentary, see above I. 7. Hotomanus’ observation at II. 34. 3 indicates that he had also worked on the *Civil War* ten years prior to the appearance of his annotations : ‘*Amissis equis. Mendum quidem turpe sed multo turpius est a nullo adhuc emendatum ; corrigendum est ‘admissis’ . . . Haec cum ante annos decem scripsisse, animadverti postea in quibusdam novis impressis locum hunc emendatum fuisse*’.

In comments that have to do with textual difficulties, Hotomanus refers to his own ‘ancient’ manuscript of Caesar (‘meus vetustus’, ‘meus antiquus’) and to the Aldine and Vascosan editions. However, he does not mention the ‘codex antiquissimus Stephanicus’ of Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne) on which he relied for similar problems involving the *Gallic War*; this seems to suggest that the manuscript contained only the latter work.

Commentary : (ed. 1574, Lugduni, Lyons : Apud Bartholomaeum Vincentium) Franciscus Hotomanus, *In libros de bello civili notae*. [Inc.] : *De bello civili*. Vetus lib. sic : ‘Commentariorum belli civilis Pompeiani lib. primus’. Quod non displicet. A C. *Fabio Caesaris*. Sic vetus lib. et Aldin. Alii complures : ‘A Fabio C. Caesaris’. Sed consuetudo Caesaris perpetua haec est ut praenomine non utatur [Expl.] : *Pharus est in insula*. De Pharo et eius turribus Plin. lib. 36 cap. 12 et aliis locis *Historia naturalis* V. 34. 128, XXXVI. 18. 83 > . . . Solinus <*Collectanea* XXXII. 43> ‘est et Pharo’ inquit ‘colonia a Caesare dictatore deducta, ex qua facibus accensis nocturna dirigitur navigatio : nam Alexandria insidioso accessu aditur, fallacibus vadis, caeco mari’.

Editions :

See above I. 7.

Biography :

See above I. 7.

8. JOACHIM CAMERARIUS

For the publication date and circumstances surrounding the composition of the commentary, see above I. 8. Camerarius annotated only book III.

Commentary : (ed. 1606, Francofurti, Frankfurt : Apud Claudium Marnium et heredes Joannis Aubrii) Joachim Camerarius, *Annotationes in Iulii Caesaris librum III de bello civili*. [Inc.] : Tertius hic liber continet narrationem confecti belli inter Caesarem et Cn. Pompeium. Quae et copiosa est et pro negotiorum et rerum diversitate varia. Exponuntur autem omnia succincte et breviter pro eo modo qui est commentariorum. Quidam autem Franciscus Floridus, in cuius scripta nuper incidi, tres libros de bello civili Caesari falso ascribi pronuntiat, et hic nihil esse nec asperius nec durius nec Caesaris candori minus conveniens. Quod sane iudicium hominis, ut appareat, non inerudit, sumus mirati, neque possumus ipsi assentiri, prae-assertim cum constet etiam Plutarchi temporibus horum librorum auctorem Caesarem habitum esse . . . *Lege annali*. Seu ‘annaria’ constituebatur quot annos inter eosdem

magistratus capiendos intercedere oportet. Hanc ita exposuit Cicero *De leg.* 3 <III. 3. 9> : ‘Eundem magistratum ni interfuerint <decem> anni ne quis capito. Aevitatem annali lege servanto’. De aetatis autem lege disseruit in 5 *Philip.* <V. 17. 48> ubi indicat consulatu fuisse praefinitos annos XLIII . . . [Expl.] : *Muneribus datis*. Id est, editis. Munera autem dicebantur ea quae ab ambitionis in populum conferebantur ad concilianda sibi studia multitudinis, ut epula, viscerationes, gladiatores, ludorum venationumque apparatus, ut ait Cicero 2 *De off.* <II. 16. 55> . . . Cum tempestas adversaretur neque magister navis contendere adversus illam vellet, tum Caesar ferunt indicasse qui esset et iussisse pergere illum, quod Caesarem et Caesaris fortunam veheret, etsi peragi cursus ille non potuit. Exposuit hoc et Plutarchus <*Vita Caesaris* XXXVIII>. Annotationum I. Camerarii in Caesarem, quantum quidem ad nos pervenit, finis.

Editions :

See above I. 8.

Biography :See *CTC* II 100-101.

9. PETRUS CIACCONIUS

For the publication date and circumstances surrounding the composition of the commentary, see above I. 9. As in the case of his annotations on the *Gallic War*, Ciacconius cites a large number of ancient authors and gives variant readings from printed editions and manuscripts.

Commentary : (Copenhagen ms. 828, 4to) [Inc.] : (f. 224) Ex libro primo commentariorum C. Caesaris de bello civili. *Litteris a Fabio C. Caesaris consulibus redditis*. Cum haec in Italia gerebantur, C. Fabius cum IIII legionibus in Haeduis hiemabat ut superiore commentario <*Gallic War* VIII. 54. 4> demonstratum est, neque eum ante Caesar ex hibernis evocavit quam recepta Italia, cum iter in Hispaniam haberet et Massilia, quae portas clauerat, eum ab incepto itinere moraretur, Fabium cum his legionibus quibus praeerat in Hispaniam praemittendum iudicavit [Expl.] : (f. 257v) *Haec*

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initia belli Alexandrini fuerunt. Haec non leguntur in meo libro, recte. Finis.

Manuscripts :

(micro.) Copenhagen, University Library, Arnamagnæanske Legat ms. 828, 4to, s. XVI, ff. 224-257v. This is the autograph copy. (*Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling II*, Copenhagen, 1892, 223).

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale V D 40, s. XVI, ff. 110-139v. This is an autograph of Fulvius Ursinus and is practically a page-by-page copy of the Copenhagen manuscript listed above. The seeming disparity in length is caused by blank versos in ms. 828, 4to and folios composed of small scraps of paper that have been consolidated by Ursinus. (Kristeller, *Iter I* 401).

Editions :

See above I. 9.

Biography :

See above I. 9.

10. ROBERTUS TITIUS

For the probability of Titius' authorship and Oudendorp's assessment of the commentary, see above I. 10. The commentary is incomplete, ending at II. 36. 1.

Commentary : (Leiden Oud. 10) [Inc.] : (f. 118v) *De bello civili liber primus. Litteris a Fabio C. Caesaris.* Non dispergo de inscriptione horum commentariorum, nam res valde puerilis mihi videtur. Tantum dico illud 'Pompeiani' < Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* LVI. 1 > minime prae < ne > cessario hic inculcari, cum per illa tempora quibus haec Caesar scripsit nullum aliud civile bellum exarserit, ut opus fuerit distinctionis gratia subnectere . . . / . . . [Expl.] : (f. 166v) *Uticenses pro quibusdam Caesaris beneficiis.* Universa haec complexio non caret mendo, et Rhellicanus quidem ita eam concipit : *Uticenses pro quibusdam Caesaris in se beneficiis illi amicissimi erant, 'cum etiam ex variis generibus constaret', suppletque vocem 'multitudo' . . . Nam sunt clausulae ***conceptae quibus singillatim causae exprimuntur cum Uticenses de ditione loquerentur.* Verbum autem 'erat' omnibus clausulis deservit per synthesim.

Manuscript :

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Oud. 10, s. XVII, ff. 118v-166v. (J. Geel, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui inde ab anno 1741 Bibliothecae Lugduno Batavae accesserunt*, Leiden, 1852, 160, no. 506).

Biography :

See above I. 10.

11. JOHANNES BRANTIUS

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and description of the commentary, see above I. 11.

Commentary (part 1) : (ed. 1606, Francofurti, Frankfurt : Apud Claudium Marnium et heredes Joannis Aubrii) Johannes Brantius, *Ad librum I C. Iulii Caesaris de bello civili notae politicae.* [Inc.] : *Referunt consules de re publica in civitate.* Paulo post < I. 2. 2 > : 'Non oportere ante de republica ad senatum referri'. Rursum < I. 6. 3 > : 'De reliquis rebus ad senatum refertur'. Est autem 'de republica referre' ut docet Adrianus Turnebus lib. 14 *Adversar. cap. undecimo . . . / . . . [Expl.] : Hi regum amicos ad mortem deposcere.* Sic loquitur passim Caesar. Et Hirtius lib. 8 de bell. Gal. < VIII. 38. 3 > : 'Concitatorem belli Gutruatum (sic) ad supplicium depositum'.

Commentary (part 2) : Johannes Brantius, *Ad librum I C. Iulii Caesaris de bello civili notae criticae.* [Inc.] : *Litteris a Fabio C. Caesaris consulibus redditis.* Sic Ven., Berroal. et Basil. (sc. editiones). At manus. : 'Litteris C. Caesaris a Fabio consulibus redditis'. Vasc. (sc. editio) : 'Litteris a C. Fabio Caesaris consulibus redditis' . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *Magnis enim iacturis sibi.* Sic recte omnes. Ut et lib. 6 < Gallic War VI. 12. 2 > : 'Eosque ad se magnis iacturis pollicitationibusque perduxerant'. Ms. tamen hoc loco : 'aucturis' (sic).

Editions :

See above I. 11.

Biography :

See above I. 11.

12. DOUBTFUL

a) FRANCISCUS ZAVA

See above I. 12c.

APPENDIX

I. *De bello Alexandrino liber*

COMMENTARIES

1. JOHANNES RHELLICANUS

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and description of the commentary, see above I. 4. Rhellicanus attributes the *Alexandrian War* to Hirtius or Oppius.

Argumentum : (ed. 1543, Basileae, Basel : Per Hieronymum Curionem) Johannes Rhellicanus, *In Auli Hirtii aut Oppii librum IIII de bello Alexandrino argumentum*. [Inc.] : Primum Caesaris auxilia describuntur ; dein Alexandrinorum aedificiorum structura et totius Alexandriae situs, tertio proelium navale ex quo Alexandrini tandem inferiores discesserunt . . . / . . . [Expl.] : Postremo res Ponticae ubi et Caesaris victoria de Pharnace describitur.

Commentary : Johannes Rhellicanus, *In eundem librum de bello Alexandrino annotationes*. [Inc.] : Ab rege Nabataeorum Malcho. Plinius lib. 6 ca. 8 <*Historia naturalis* VI. 32. 144, 157> et Strabo lib. 16 <*Geographia* XVI. 4. 2> asserunt Nabataeos populos Arabibus vicinos esse. . . / . . . [Expl.] : In Italianam celerius omnium opinione venit. Appianus li. 2 *Bellorum civilium* <II. 13. 92-94> refert praeter urbanos motus gravissimam militum seditionem a Caesare Romae sedatam esse, ac deinde expeditionem Africanam factam.

Editions :

See above I. 4.

Biography :

See above I. 4.

2. JOHANNES GLANDORPIUS

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and circumstances surrounding the composition of the commentary, see above I. 5. In the Introduction Glandorpius observes that the titulus assigns the remaining works in the corpus Caesarianum to Hirtius or Oppius. He concludes that the *Alexandrian* and *African Wars* were at least composed by an educated author, although the same cannot be said of the *Spanish War* whose language is 'semibarbarous'.

The *argumentum* is followed by a quotation from Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* XXXV. 1.

Introduction : (ed. 1574, Lipsiae, Leipzig : Andreas Schneider) [Inc.] : Cum superiores commentarios praeter octavum belli Gallici, quem ab Hirtio scriptum constat, C. Caesaris esse docti constanter asserant (etsi Francisus Floridus tres illos de bello civili non videri Caesaris existimet), de sequentibus nulli dubium esse potest quin alium auctorem habeant. Titulus ab Hirtio vel Oppio prefectos indicat, quorum uterque inter Caesaris familiares et amicos fuit. Ad Hirtium tamen magis propendet animus quod et in omnibus expeditionibus Caesari adhaesit, et in praefatione octavi de bello Gallico non tantum commentarios rerum gestarum Galliae sed et novissima et imperfecta ab rebus gestis Alexandriae usque ad exitum vitae Caesaris confecisse sese scribit. Verum huius an illius hi commentarii sint, in parvo ponendum discrimine est. Illud satis liquet priores duos, quartum dico et quintum, a docto disertoque viro conditos esse ; de sexto non idem affirmari potest, qui praeterquam quod mutilus imperfectusque est insulsam etiam et semibarbaram dictionem habet, quemadmodum cum ad eius enarrationem, quam plerique omnes interpretes subterfugere solent, perventum fuerit, latius docebimus.

Argumentum (in elegiac couplets) : [Inc.] : Caesar Alexandri celebrem cum contigit arcem/se quoque fraude videns insidiisque peti . . . / . . . [Expl.] : Quo merso Domiti gaudentem caede repulsi/Caesar ubi vedit Pharnaca fudit abit.

Commentary : Johannes Glandorpius, *In librum quartum de bello Alexandrino annotationes*. [Inc.] : *Rege Nabataeorum*. De Nabataeis, quorum genus est a Nabaioth primogenito Ismaelis, vide Strabonem lib. 16 <*Geographia* XVI. 4. 2> et Plinium lib. 6 cap. 25 <*Historia naturalis* VI. 32, 144, 157> . . . / . . . [Expl.] : Possessam paucis ante annis. Deiotarus post caedem Caesaris omnia sibi adempta armis recuperavit, teste Cicerone <II Philip. 37. 95>.

Editions :

See above I. 5.

Biography :

See above I. 5.

3. PETRUS CIACCONIUS

For the publication date and circumstances surrounding the composition of the commentary, see above I. 9. The emphasis in the annotations is on textual and philological points. Ciacconius attributes the *Alexandrian War* to Hirtius.

Commentary : (Copenhagen ms. 828, 4to) [Inc.] : (f. 258) Ex libro A. Hirtii de bello Alexandrino. *Ut quam angustissimam partem oppidi. Legerem 'ut quoniam', et intellego hanc paludem voluisse Caesarem a reliqua parte urbis excludere, quod ea aquam pabulumque large praebere poterat, ut infra dicitur . . . / . . .* [Expl.] : (f. 259v) *Eidem tetrarchiam legibus (sic) Gallograecorum. Scribendum existimo 'tetrarchiam Gallograecorum' ex Dione <Historia Romana XLII. 48. 4>.*

Manuscripts :

(micro.) Copenhagen, University Library, Arnamagnæanske Legat ms. 828. 4to, s. XVI, ff. 258-259v. This is the autograph copy. (*Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling* II (Copenhagen, 1892) 223).

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale V D 40, s. XVI, ff. 140-141v. An autograph of Fulvius Ursinus, this part of the codex is a page-by-page copy of the Copenhagen manuscript listed above. (Kristeller, *Iter* I 401).

Editions :

See above I. 9.

Biography :

See above I. 9.

4. JOHANNES BRANTIUS

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and description of the commentary, see above I. 11. Brantius attributes the *Alexandrian War* to Hirtius.

Commentary (part 1) : (ed. 1606, Francofurti, Frankfurt : Apud Claudium Marnium et heredes Joannis Aubrii) Johannes Brantius, *Ad A. Hirtii de bello Alexandrino librum notae politicae*. [Inc.] : *Quibus domui (sic) locupletiores victimum cotidianum stipendiisque praebebant. De 'praebendi' verbo nihil hic scrinia compilans congeram. Tu vide Lambinum ad Horat. lib. 3 Ode 13 . . .*

/ . . . [Expl.] : *Eidem tetrarchiam legibus (sic) Gallograecorum etc. Illustrat hoc Petrus Victorius lib. 3 Var. lect. ca. 23, quibus nihil addo.*

Commentary (part 2) : Johannes Brantius, *Ad A. Hirtii de bello Alexandrino librum notae criticae*. [Inc.] : *A. Hirtii Pansae commentariorum de bello Alexandrino liber unus. Manus. : 'Incipit quartus liber Iulii Constantini Caesaris bellum Alexandrinum'. Venet., Beroal., Basil. (sc. editiones) : 'A. Hirtii aut Oppii commentariorum de bello Alexandrino liber quartus'. Vasc. (sc. editio) : 'A. Hirtii sive Oppii de bello Alexandrino C. Iulii Caesaris liber unus' . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *Cum Caelio Vinciano* (sic). Ven., Ber. (sc. editiones) : 'cum Caelio Minutio'. Quod reicit idem Glandorpius.*

Editions :

See above I. 11.

Biography :

See above I. 11.

II. *De bello Africo liber*

COMMENTARIES

1. JOHANNES RHELLICANUS

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and description of the commentary, see above I. 4. Rhellicanus attributes the *African War* to Hirtius or Oppius.

Argumentum : (ed. 1543, Basileae, Basel : Per Hieronymum Curionem) Johannes Rhellicanus, *In Auli Hirtii aut Oppii librum V de bello Africano argumentum*. [Inc.] : *Cum ad finem superioris libri Hirtius Caesaris adventum in Italiam descriptsisset, nunc ab huius libri initio quibus modis inde in Africam navigaverit prosequitur. Deinde quo pacto Scipionem, Sextum Pompeium Magni Pompeii filium, M. Porcius Catonem cognomento Uticensem, Afranium et Petreum una cum rege Iuba inibi devicerit atque ex huius regno provinciam fecerit commemorat.*

Commentary : Johannes Rhellicanus, *In eundem librum de bello Africano annotationes*. [Inc.] : *Itineribus iustis confectis. Scilicet ex Italia Siciliam versus . . . / . . .* [Expl.] : *Ad urbem Romam venit. Plutarchus in Iulii Vita <LV. 1> asserit eum de Alexandrinis,*

Pharnace et rege Iuba triumphasse postquam ex Africa domum redierat.

Editions :

See above I. 4.

Biography :

See above I. 4.

2. JOHANNES GLANDORPIUS

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and circumstances surrounding the composition of the commentary, see above I. 5. Glandorpius' views on the authorship of the *African War* are expressed in the Introduction to his annotations on the *Alexandrian War* (Appendix I. 2).

After the Explicit of the commentary on the *African War* there follows a summary, based on Dio Cassius, Plutarch, Velleius Paterculus, and Suetonius, of Caesar's actions in Italy until the beginning of the *Spanish War* ('Appendix rerum gestarum Caesaris in Italia usque ad bellum Hispaniense').

Introduction : (ed. 1574, Lipsiae, Leipzig : Andreas Schneider) [Inc.] : Dum Caesar fugientem Pompeium persequitur ac in Aegyptum delatus cum Alexandrinis et eorum rege Ptolemaeo bellum gerit, deinde contra Pharnacem per Syriam in Pontum proficiscitur ; superstites Pompeii duces et e Pharsalica clade profugi, nacti tempus et otium, certatim in Africam contenderunt, Actii Vari copiis et Iubae regis opibus confisi [Expl.] : Hostes enim quamlibet animis et armis instructos ingenti caede profligavit, et ad urbem reversus non huius tantum victoriae sed etiam superiorum hucusque dilatos quattuor simul spectatissimos triumphos duxit, Gallicum videlicet, Alexandrinum, Ponticum, et Africanum.

Argumentum (in elegiac couplets : [Inc.] : Africa terribili tremeret cum terra tumultu/ Pompeii profugos non bene nacta duces [Expl.] : Se quoque transadigit miseri dux Scipio belli/fortis et ipse suo concidit ense Cato.

Commentary : Johannes Glandorpius, *In librum quintum de bello Africo annotationes*. [Inc.] : Caesar. Hoc tempore Caesar tertium dictator et consul designatus erat, collega in utroque magistratu M. Lepido

[Expl.] : HS centum milibus. Sestertium centum milia sive centum sestertia sunt coronatorum duo milia et quingenti. Suspicio legendum 'sestertium centies' quod aestimatur coronatorum ducentis quinquaginta milibus. Porro Caralis et Sulci praestantiores urbes sunt Sardiniae, auctore Strabone lib. 5 <*Geographia* V. 2. 7>.

Editions :

See above I. 5.

Biography :

See above I. 5.

3. ALDUS MANUTIUS JUNIOR

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and description of the commentary, see above I. 6. Aldus attributes the *African War* to Hirtius.

Commentary : (ed. 1571, Venetiis, Venice : Aldus Iunior in aedib. Manutianis) Aldus Manutius Pauli f. Aldi n., *In A. Hirtii de bello Africo librum*. [Inc.] : *Fortuitu*. 'fortuito' Parisienses, quomodo item de bello Gall. lib. 7 cap. 4 <VII. 20. 2> [Expl.] : *Populi Romani proconsule*. Abest 'proconsule' a Parisiensi libro.

Editions :

See above I. 6.

Biography :

See above I. 6.

4. PETRUS CIACCONIUS

For the publication date and circumstances surrounding the composition of the commentary, see above I. 9. Copenhagen ms. 828, 4to contains two sets of annotations on the *African War*; both are written in the hand of Ciacconius, and, while the lemmata and comments are very similar, they are not identical. The annotations on ff. 260-261^v appear to be an expanded version of those on ff. 265-266^v, and it is possible to speculate that the latter constitute Ciacconius' first draft. The former set (ff. 260-261^v), which was copied by Fulvius Ursinus, is the only group to have been printed. In both instances Ciacconius attributes the *African War* to Hirtius.

Commentary (set 1) : (Copenhagen ms. 828, 4to) [Inc.] : (f. 260) *In librum A. Hirtii*

de bello Africo. *Et insulam petere Aponianam quae non* (sic) *abest a Lilybaeo*. Nulla traditur, quod sciam, a geographis insula Aponiana Lilybaeo proxima, sed a Ptolemaeo <*Geographia* III. 4> Παχώνια dicitur insula quaedam Lilybaeo obiecta, atque hoc loco ita legendum suspicor et vocem ‘non’, qua tamen nonnulli codices carent, ex numero passuum distantiae a Lilybaeo a librariis inductam . . . / . . . [Expl.] : (f. 261v) XXX centenis milibus ponderis (sic) olei. Liber meus: ‘ponderibus’. Legerem: ‘tricies centenis milibus pondo olei’. Et ‘tricies’ legitur in impresso libro.

Manuscripts:

(micro.) Copenhagen, University Library, Arnamagnæanske Legat ms. 828, 4to, s. XVI, ff. 260-261v. This is the autograph copy. (*Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling* II (Copenhagen, 1892) 223).

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale V D 40, s. XVI, ff. 142-143v. An autograph of Fulvius Ursinus, this part of the codex is a page-by-page copy of the Copenhagen manuscript listed above. (Kristeller, *Iter* I 401).

Editions:

see above I. 9.

Commentary (set 2): (Copenhagen ms. 828, 4to [Inc.]: (f. 265) In librum A. Hirtii de bello Africo. *Et insulam petere Aponianam quae non* (sic) *abest a Lilybaeo*. Nulla traditur a geographis insula Aponiana, sed a Ptolemaeo <*Geographia* III. 4> Παχώνια Lilybaeo proxima, atque ita hic esse legendum suspicor et dictionem ‘non’, qua tamen alii codices carent, milia passuum continere quae Paonia abest a Lilybaeo . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (f. 266v) Cum iam conatus (sic) esset cum Petreio. Forte ‘collocutus’.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Copenhagen, University Library, Arnamagnæanske Legat ms. 828, 4to, s. XVI, ff. 265-266v. This is the autograph copy. (*Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling* II (Copenhagen, 1892) 223).

Biography:

See above I. 9.

5. JOHANNES BRANTIUS

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and description of the commentary,

see above I. 11. Brantius attributes the *African War* to Hirtius.

Commentary (part 1): (ed. 1606, Francofurti, Frankfurt: Apud Claudium Marnium et heredes Joannis Aubrii) Johannes Brantius, *Ad A. Hirtii de bello Africano librum notae politicae*. [Inc.]: De scriptore Iusti Lipsii hominis doctissimi lib. 2 *Elect.* cap. 22 iudicium adscribere pretium operae visum. ‘Inter libellos’ inquit ‘qui adiuncti commentariis Julianis, unus est de bello Africo . . .’ *Exponit exercitum*. Auctor est Dio Cassius lib. 42 extremo <*Historia Romana* XLII. 58. 2-3> navi egredientem Caesarem, simul terram attigisset, corruisse, quod cum triste militibus omen videretur ipse laetum reddidit. Manu enim extensa terram quasi dedita opera concidisset attractavit, exosculatusque est inclamans ‘Teneo te, Africa’ . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Precibus a servo suo impetravit ut se interficeret idque obtinuit*. Simile habes bello Hisp. <XXXIII> de Scapula qui ‘novissimo tempore servum iussit et libertum, alterum se iugulare, alterum pyram incendere’. Item de Nerone Caesare apud Xiphilinum <*Epitome* 186> et Aurelium Victorem <*Epitome de Caesaribus* V. 7>, quem Epaphroditus libertus iugularit.

Commentary (part 2): Johannes Brantius, *Ad A. Hirtii de bello Africano librum notae criticae*. [Inc.]: *Venio a Caesare*. Ciacconius ‘Considii’ inquit ‘responsum ostendit legendum hic esse ‘Venio a Caesare imperatore’ vel certe ‘Venio ab imperatore’’. Quod et laudat Iustus Lipsius lib. 2 *Elector.* c. 22 . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Quibus metu exsanguinibus*. Omnes: ‘exanguibus’.

Editions:

See above I. 11.

Biography:

See above I. 11.

III. *De bello Hispaniensi liber*

COMMENTARIES

1. JOHANNES RHELLICANUS

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and description of the commentary, see above I. 4. Although the titulus of the *argumentum* attributes the *Spanish War* to

Hirtius or Oppius, Rhellicanus appears to favor, in the text of the *argumentum*, the authorship of Oppius.

Argumentum : (ed. 1543, Basileae, Basel : Per Hieronymum Curionem) Johannes Rhellicanus, *In Auli Hirtii aut Oppii librum VI de bello Hispaniensi argumentum*. [Inc.] : Libri istius summa in tribus consistit : primum belli Hispaniensis occasio describitur ; dein proelium ad Mundam in quo Pompeiani inferiores facti sunt ; postremo cum Corduba et Hispalis a Caesare essent captae, quo pacto Sextus Pompeius hinc inde fugiens tandem in spelunca quadam latitans interfectus sit. Porro quia de libri istius auctore cum veteres tum recentiores dubitant, ego quaestionis nodum ita enodandum censuerim . . . / . . . [Expl.] : Qui enim ab adulescentia se in commentando et stilo exercendo in quacumque tandem lingua non exercerunt dum id in matura iam aetate tentant, praeter unum eundemque sermonis colorem innumeros barbarismos et soloecismos committunt orationemque crebris hyperbatis καὶ ἀναταποδότοις obscurant et hiulcam reddunt. Id quod huic auctori (quippe magis exercitato in militia quam in foro et historia scribenda) usu venisse in aliquot infra locis indicabimus.

Commentary : Johannes Rhellicanus, *In eundem librum de bello Hispaniensi annotationes*. [Inc.] : Cum (sic) Caesar muneribus dandis in Italia detinetur. Quibus Caesar munera dederit ac quae spectacula post varios triumphos Romae ediderit, cum Plutarchus tum Appianus declarant. Quorum ille in *Caesaris Vita* <LV. 2> sic inquit : post triumphos ingentia militibus donaria dedit ; ad conciliandum sibi plebem spectacula edidit conviviaque celebravit, uno die in duobus ac viginti milibus tricliniis epulum praebens universis . . . / . . . [Expl.] : Quarum laudibus ac virtute. Nemo non videt orationem illam et totum librum mutilum esse. Neque enim illa perfecta est neque hic ut decebat finitur. Finis.

Editions :

See above I. 4.

Biography :

See above I. 4.

2. JOHANNES GLANDORPIUS

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and circumstances surrounding the composition of the commentary, see above I. 5. Glandorpius' views on the authorship of the *Spanish War* are expressed in the Introduction to his annotations on the *Alexandrian War* (Appendix I. 2).

The *Silva*, a didactic poem in elegiacs first published in 1551 (see above I. 5), follows the Explicit of the commentary on the *Spanish War*.

Introduction : (ed. 1574, Lipsiae, Leipzig : Andreas Schneider) [Inc.] : Unde natum sit bellum Hispaniense. Bellum Hispaniense ex ea seditione quam Q. Cassii concivit avaritia et rapacitas enatum est. Metuentes enim civitates, ne rerum per tumultum gestarum victore Caesare poenas darent, clam datis ad Scipionem litteris partibus illius se adiunxerunt . . . / . . . [Expl.] : Accurrunt etiam ex Africa profugi cum classe Sextus frater et Labienus et Actius Varus, quorum copiis auctus, cum etiam aliunde multi quomodo fit ad novum bellum confluenter, et vastare provinciam et palam adversus legatos Caesaris bellum administrare coepit. Haec ex Dionis lib. 43 <*Historia Romana* XLIII. 29-30>.

Argumentum [Inc.] : Pompeii renovat suboles animosa duellum/qua lavat Hesperios Baetis amoenus agros . . . / . . . [Expl.] : Mox etiam alterius iuvenis caput ense recisum/otia sed terris non diurna dedit.

Commentary : Johannes Glandorpius, *In librum sextum de bello Hispaniensi annotationes*. [Inc.] : Pharnace superato. Nihil commercii fuit Pharnaci cum bellis civilibus, nisi quod illorum occasione paterno regno recuperando studuit. Proinde videant docti quomodo hunc locum legendum iudicent . . . / . . . [Expl.] : Quarum laudibus et virtute. Multa hic desunt non orationi Caesaris tantum sed integrae rerum hoc toto bello gestarum narrationi . . . Octobri namque demum in urbem redisse Caesarem auctor est Velleius Paterculus <*Historiae Romanae* II. 56. 3>. Interea multa gesta esse Caesari apud Hispanos relatu scitunque digna quis est cui dubium relinquatur? Finis.

Editions :

See above I. 5.

Biography :

See above I. 5.

3. ALDUS MANUTIUS JUNIOR

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and description of the commentary, see above I. 6. The annotations contain the text of a number of inscriptions. Aldus does not attribute the *Spanish War* to any author.

Commentary: (ed. 1571, Venetiis (Venice)) : Aldus Iunior in aedib. Manutianis) Aldus Manutius Pauli f. Aldi n., *In librum de bello Hispaniensi*. [Inc.] : *Clam praesidio Cn. Pompeii. Parisienses* : ‘clam praeter praesidia Cn. Pompeii’ . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *Haberi. Legerem ‘habere’, quo verbo alias et Cicero et alii pro ‘habitare’ usi sunt.*

Editions :

See above I. 6.

Biography :

See above I. 6.

4. PETRUS CIACCONIUS

For the publication date and circumstances surrounding the composition of the commentary, see above I. 9. As in the case of Ciacconius' annotations on the *African War* (Appendix II. 4), there are two sets of annotations on the *Spanish War* in Copenhagen ms. 828, 4to. Here, too, Ciacconius is the scribe of both groups, which, though quite similar, are not identical. The comments on ff. 262-263 are followed by a shorter version on f. 264^{r-v} which may represent his first draft. The former (ff. 262-263) were copied by Fulvius Ursinus, and are the only ones to have been printed. In both instances Ciacconius attributes the *Spanish War* to Hirtius.

Commentary (set 1) : (Copenhagen ms. 828, 4to) [Inc.] : (f. 262) *In librum A. Hirtii de bello Hispaniensi. Item nonnullae portas cladebant* (sic). *Liber meus* : ‘Contra nonnullae portas cladebant’. *Vetus codex* : ‘Nonnull<a>s portas contra cludebant’. . . / . . . [Expl.] : (f. 263) *X* (sic)

habere legiones. Meus liber : ‘X lectas habere legiones’. Finis.

Manuscripts :

(micro.) Copenhagen, University Library, Arnamagnæanske Legat ms. 828, 4to, s. XVI, ff. 262-263. This is the autograph copy. (*Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling* II (Copenhagen, 1892) 223).

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale V D 40, s. XVI, ff. 144-145. An autograph of Fulvius Ursinus, this part of the codex is a page-by-page copy of the Copenhagen manuscript listed above. (Kristeller, *Iter* I 401).

Editions :

See above I. 9.

Commentary (set 2) : (Copenhagen ms. 828, 4to) [Inc.] : (f. 264^r) *In librum A. Hirtii de bello Hispaniensi. Item nonnullae portas cladebant* (sic). *Alii* : ‘Contra nonnullae portas cludeban<t>.’ . . . / . . . [Expl.] : (f. 264^v) *X* (sic) *habere legiones. Aut ‘X’ abundat aut numerus correctus est. Et ita infra legitur ‘quarum’.*

Manuscript :

(micro.) Copenhagen, University Library, Arnamagnæanske Legat ms. 828, 4to, s. XVI, f. 264^{r-v}. This is the autograph copy. (*Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling* II (Copenhagen, 1892) 223).

Biography :

See above I. 9.

5. JOHANNES BRANTIUS

For the publication date, Dedicatory epistle, and description of the commentary, see above I. 11. The ‘Notae criticae’ are very brief. Brantius attributes the *Spanish War* to Hirtius.

Commentary (part 1) : (ed. 1606, Francofurti, Frankfurt : Apud Claudium Mar-nium et heredes Joannis Aubrii) Johannes Brantius, *Ad A. Hirtii de bello Hispaniensi librum notae politicae*. [Inc.] : *Nonnullae civitates sua sponte auxilia mittebant. Supra de bel. Afr.* : ‘Uti antequam rex manum colligeret, seseque oppugnaret, sibi auxilium mitteret’. Sic ‘subsidiū mittere’ infra non longe <*Spanish War III*> . . . / . . . [Expl.] : *Apud vos beneficia pro maleficiis, maleficia pro beneficiis habentur. Supra*

<XXXVI> : 'Illo beneficio suum maleficium existimabant se lucri facere'. Opponit haec eadem T. Livius libro quinto *Annal.* <V. 3. 8> quemadmodum 'Servis suis vetant domini quidquam rei cum alienis hominibus esse, pariterque in iis beneficio ac maleficio abstineri'. . . Usque adeo verum est quod Corn. Tacitus scribit libro quarto *Annal.* <IV. 18. 3> : 'Beneficia eo usque laeta sunt dum videntur exsolvi posse : ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur'.

Commentary (part 2) : Johannes Brantius, *Ad A. Hirtii de bello Hispaniensи li-*

brum notae criticae. [Inc.] : Sicut et omne genus quibus ignis per iactus solitus est mitti. Sic Bas. et Vasc. (sc. editiones), sed Venet. et Beroald. (sc. editiones) : 'sicut et omne earum rerum genus quibus' [Expl.] : Manus saepe et saepius. Ven., Bas. et Vas. (sc. editiones) : 'semel et saepius'. Glandorp. legi vult 'non semel sed saepius'.

Editions :

See above I. 11.

Biography :

See above I. 11.