

A. PERSIUS FLACCUS

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Fortuna

The *fortuna* of Persius is the story of one small book, as the best-known ancient *testimonia* emphasize:

Martialis, *Epigrammata* IV, 29, 7-8
Saepius in libro memoratur Persius uno
Quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide.

Quintilianus, *Institutiones* X, 1, 94

Multum et verae gloriae quamvis uno libro Persius meruit.

Persius may, as the *Vita* indicates, have written other works which were destroyed after his death, but there is no doubt that the surviving *corpus* was limited to the *Satyræ* (for a different thesis, generally rejected, see E. Marmoreale, *Persio*, 2nd ed. Firenze, 1956).

There is a continuous tradition, though not a broad one, of the reading of Persius from the first century on. Juvenal makes

use of him in the second century, and Censorinus in the third. Christian writers cite him, though not always with sympathy, and the first of the Fathers to show any real familiarity with his work is Jerome.

In the third and fourth centuries, the grammarians begin to cite Persius systematically (see Giulia Stampacchia, *Gli scoli*; for full references see below in bibliography). A famous passage in Jerome provides the first direct evidence for a scholarly commentary on Persius:

Puto quod puer legeris Aspri in Virgilium et Sallustium commentarios, Vulcatii in orationes Ciceronis, Victorini in dialogos eius et Terentii comoedias, praceptoris mei Donati aeque in Virgilium et aliorum in alias, Plautum videlicet, Lucretium, Flaccum, Persium, atque Lucanum (*Adversus Rufinum* I, 16 Migne PL 23, 428).

Not only did a commentary, or commentaries, on Persius exist at the time of Donatus and Jerome, but it appears that the composition of his *Vita* is to be placed in the same period. In the manuscripts it is described as : de commentario Probi Valerii sublata, but it is unlikely that Valerius Probus (late first century A.D.) wrote a commentary on Persius, and it is almost certain that the *Vita* is not by him. Indeed, the *Vita* is clearly modelled on the *Vita Virgilii* of Donatus. Finally we know of two 'recensions' or 'revisions' of the text of Persius effected by a certain Sabinus (Flavius Iulius Tryphonianus Sabinus) in 402 A.D., at Barcelona and at Toulouse. The most important surviving manuscripts derive either from the revision of Sabinus (Vatican City. Basilic. H 36, s. IX and Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Medicine 212, s. X) or represent a second tradition (Montpellier, 125, s. IX, with a fragment containing Sat. I, 53-104 in the Vatican, Vat. lat. 5750, palimps. s. VI in. and with selections in a Florilegium at Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 870 s. IX).

If we can trace the broad outline of the history of ancient scholarship on Persius, we are still very much at a loss when it comes to determining its precise form and content. In contrast to the case of Vergil where we have the commentary of Servius or even to that of Juvenal where it is possible in large measure to reconstruct the *Scholia vetustiora* (see the admirable work of P. Wessner), for Persius our evidence comes from the late ninth or early tenth centuries, and it permits only a very rough determination of the ancient sources used by the Carolingian scholars.

Little of the ancient material can be precisely dated. An exception is the gloss on *Sat.* II, 14 which speaks of a *dos dicta*. Since the legal procedure of a *dotis dictio* was abolished in 428 A.D., the comment must be earlier and is probably not later than the third or fourth century (See A. Berger, "Zum sogenannten Cornuti commentum" *Wiener Studien* XXXII (1910) 157-9). In general, however, it is clear that the ancient material preserved for us does not come directly from the first or second

centuries but was first put together probably not earlier than the end of the third or the start of the fourth century. It is barely possible that at this time some use could be made of the editorial work on Persius by Cornutus and Caelius Bassus, mentioned in the *Vita*; there is the possibility that a commentary by a 'Probus' is the basis for the statement, already cited, that the *Vita* is drawn from such a commentary; finally it is likely that Helenius Acro in his work on the Roman satirists, had devoted some attention to Persius. In summary, however, one can only say that ancient commentary material existed and that what was passed on to the Carolingians seems to have taken form around 400 A.D., though it may have undergone later revision, perhaps in the period before Isidore of Seville.

Meanwhile, in the late ancient period, Persius continued to be read and studied; the numerous citations in Isidore of Seville are particularly to be noted. Persius early reached the Anglo-Saxons and the Irish, and possibly was passed on from them to the Frankish court. References during the early Carolingian period are comparatively rare, but after Rabanus Maurus they become more frequent; by the end of the Carolingian period, Persius had established his position as an important school author, a position which he held well into modern times.

One can illustrate his importance first of all from the surviving manuscripts. In her recent work, *Saggio di un censimento dei manoscritti contenenti il testo di Persio e gli scoli e i commenti al testo* (for the full title, see below under Bibliography I), Paola Scarcia Piacentini lists 597 manuscripts of texts or commentaries before 1600, and a few additional ones are mentioned below. For the printed editions, there is the excellent bibliography of Morris H. Morgan, *A Bibliography of Persius* (Cambridge, Mass. 1908) who lists 209 editions of text alone, or text with commentary, through 1600; one could add to this number perhaps a score of editions of commentaries published separately.

For the Middle Ages in particular, we find further testimony to Persius' influence in numerous references in library catalogues

and in lists of school authors. (See the references to Manitius and Sanford in the Bibliography below).

When we turn from the reading and study of Persius to the production of commentaries on his work, the beginning of the medieval commentary tradition is found in the middle and late Carolingian periods, perhaps as early as LUPUS of Ferrières and certainly with the school of Auxerre at the time of Heiric and Remigius.

As U. Knoche has pointed out (*Gnomon* X 1934, 590-91) the tradition of a text is static while that of a commentary is dynamic. What we have to deal with in the medieval vulgate commentary is an essentially anonymous tradition which is also subject to considerable change and growth as various scholars and scribes adjusted and 'improved' what they regarded as a public possession. It is easy to give an exaggerated impression of the change, however, and one should remember that Jahn's edition of the vulgate in 1843, based largely on the edition of 1613, is still essentially the same work as is found in a good early manuscript of the vulgate, Leiden, Bibl. pub. lat. 78, of the tenth or eleventh century (see the collations in S. Jannaccone, *Giornale italiano di Filologia* XII 1959, p. 211).

The origin of this tradition is a hotly debated question, and it will be discussed in greater detail below; on many points, no final answer can be given, at least at present. Manuscripts of the tenth century establish two fairly separate traditions (below called A, as found in Leiden, Bibl. pub. lat. 78, and B, as found in Křivoklát, I D 31) which clearly rest on Carolingian scholarship. The commentary of Remigius of Auxerre seems to draw upon both these traditions. There is also evidence, in the double commentary on *Sat. I*, 11-23, found in the Leiden manuscript, for a commentary drawing on material not found in either tradition or in Remigius.

It is possible, and perhaps probable, that all this material goes back to a single Carolingian commentary; it might be that the two traditions represent the interlinear and the marginal glosses of that original commentary. But it is clear that in either case

the organization of the material is Carolingian.

At an early stage, one finds the name 'Cornutus' connected with tradition A, but attempts to discover a Carolingian Cornutus have proved fruitless, and it seems most likely that the name was attached to the commentary either on the basis of the references to the editing of Cornutus in the *Vita* or through some confusion with Cornutus' role in the fifth *Satire*.

If we cannot find a Carolingian 'Cornutus' neither does it seem that we can pierce the anonymity of the vulgate traditions and discover a single author. There is clear evidence for study of Persius in the school of Auxerre, notably by Heiric and Remigius, but the vulgate traditions cannot be by Remigius, since we have his own commentary, and there is no specific evidence linking Heiric with a Persius commentary.

Further, it should be emphasized that the vulgate commentaries do not appear to be the product of teaching and lecturing so much as of scribal scholarship. Both Tradition A and Tradition B of the early vulgate are not so much single commentaries as 'variorum editions'. Many opinions are noted; even when they are contradictory, no choice is made. One encounters a scribe who tries to include as wide a selection as he can; it does not seem that we ever confront an author who has made up his own mind about the material and who gives us his conclusions.

For the period through the end of the twelfth century, the surviving manuscripts reflect a continuing active interest in Persius. We possess one independent commentary written c. 1077-80 and preserved anonymously in a unique Sankt-Gallen manuscript. For the rest Persius scholarship seems to have remained within the confines of the vulgate traditions, though it is to be emphasized that these were living and developing traditions. During the twelfth century, the distinction between Traditions A and B becomes blurred; there is a kind of conflation of the two traditions, though A remains dominant.

In the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a new stage in the vulgate tradition

begins, and we now no longer have to deal simply with minor changes or additions and conflations. Instead the scholars who initiated Traditions C and D take a more active role, as they attempt to bring about some order within the confusion of the older Traditions A and B. The Introduction is separated out and clarified ; the various portions of the work are provided with miniature introductions of their own ; and finally the commentators begin to make choices among the many interpretations which in the early vulgate had simply been listed side by side. All in all it seems fair to say that Traditions A and B reflected a Carolingian movement of *renovatio*. Traditions C and D, by contrast, illustrate a new West-European power of ordering and transformation comparable to that which is seen in the philosophy and theology of the time (see R. W. Hunt, "The Introductions to the 'Artes' in the Twelfth Century" *Festschrift R. J. Martin*, Bruges, 1948, 85-112).

The last stage in the transformation of the vulgate tradition is found in the fifteenth century with the emergence of Tradition E, though one might question whether the bounds of the vulgate have not here been passed. But on closer examination it is clear that the old material, whether as the early vulgate or as Traditions C and D, still provides the starting point. Nevertheless, it is again subject to new concepts of order, though in contrast to the almost 'scholastic' order of Traditions C and D, we now find something closer to a new humanist emphasis on language and on the newly discovered world of the ancient writers. Even more than in Traditions C and D, there is independence of the earlier scholarship ; more and more we encounter the personal decision of 'sed nos dicimus'.

Meanwhile individual named commentaries had begun to appear, even during the period when the vulgate was clearly still dominant. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we find the commentaries of Ventura de Foro de Longulo (c. 1253), Johannes de Levedale (before 1334) and of a Magister Salibene (attributed to him in an early fourteenth-century manuscript and

found anonymously in a fifteenth-century manuscript). These are early and tentative works, coming largely out of the method of scholarship found in Traditions C and D. In the fourteenth century the first 'humanist' commentaries appear, by Paulus Perusinus in the first part of the century, and by Franciscus de Butis in 1386.

In the fifteenth century, through the efforts of the Italian humanists, the vulgate finally began to lose its predominant position. There are a considerable number of independent anonymous commentaries as well as a large number by known humanists. Of those written before the invention of printing, only that of Guarinus Veronensis appears to have achieved any wide diffusion. In the second half of the century, however, the commentaries of Bartholomaeus Fontius and Johannes Britannicus were printed again and again, often together ; they became almost the 'standard' commentary. By and large the earlier work disappeared from sight after the invention of printing, though a 'Cornutus' was issued in 1499 and reprinted several times in the early sixteenth century.

In some ways the humanist commentaries simply carry further the late medieval revision of the vulgate, and it is true that much of the content of 'Cornutus' is retained. The new commentators continue the work of purging the old tradition of its barbarisms, and they are able to supplement and correct the medieval commentary through their wider knowledge first of the Latin and then of the Greek authors. But even more important are the innovations which appear in the humanists. The context of the commentary now becomes the newly discovered humanist ancient world of Latin and Greek literature. Further the commentary itself ceases to be a mere tool and develops into an important humanist literary genre ; many of them are clearly intended to be read for their own sake.

In the period through the end of the fifteenth century the commentators, as one might expect, are almost exclusively Italian. Late in the century, however, and early in the sixteenth century, the tradition spreads, and we find the commentaries of Badius

Ascensius in France, Antonius Nebrissensis in Spain, and Johannes Murmellius in Germany.

The publishing history of Persius shows that his importance after the invention of printing was as great as that evidenced for the earlier period by the diffusion of manuscripts. The *editio princeps* of the text was printed by Ulrich Han at Rome about 1470 (HR 12714; Goff P-334). Another edition, with Juvenal, appeared at Venice about 1471 (HR 9672; Goff J-632), and there were thirteen or fourteen more editions of Persius, almost always with Juvenal, during the 1470's. The commentary of Fontius was printed alone in 1477 (HR 7226; Goff F-241) and with the text of Persius in 1480 (HC 12735; Goff P-341); the commentary of Johannes Britannicus appeared alone in 1481 (HCR 3987 = HC 12729; Goff B-1213) and with the text in 1486 (HC 12730; Goff P-350). Morris H. Morgan lists 47 editions of the text, with or without commentary, before 1500; most of these were in volumes that also contained Juvenal. There was no slackening in the pace of Persius publication throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. Morgan lists 150 dated editions from 1500 through 1599, and twenty-two for the decade from 1600 through 1609.

To return to the production of commentaries, the first quarter of the sixteenth century may be regarded as the ending of the Italian humanist period in Persius scholarship after it had spread to Spain, France, and Germany. By contrast the second quarter of the sixteenth century is almost barren as far as new commentaries are concerned. Between the Johannes Murmellius commentary first published in 1517 and the commentary of Antonius Foquelinus, published in 1555, we find no new full commentaries at all, but simply the *Annotaciones* ascribed to Coelius Secundus Curio, which are little more than glosses. Editions of the text, however, continued to be numerous, and a few of the older commentaries were reprinted.

When the production of commentaries resumes in the second half of the sixteenth century, the scene has changed. While there are isolated Italian and Spanish

contributions, the dominant group is now located in Northern France, the Germanies, and above all in the Netherlands. Further, the new commentaries are more and more representative of the new 'science' of philology in contrast to the broader posture of the fifteenth-century Italian humanists. The commentary moves back toward being a scholarly instrument rather than a work of literature in its own right. The scholarship of the late sixteenth century culminates in the extraordinary commentary of Isaac Casaubon, first published in 1605 and still worth consulting. After Casaubon, we find simplifications and popularizations of previous scholarship, notably in the frequently reprinted commentaries of Bond and Farnaby, but little new work. Indeed, after 1614 we find a lull in Persius scholarship comparable to that of the early sixteenth century. The text and the old commentaries were frequently reprinted, but after the posthumous publication of Bond's commentary in 1614, no new commentary appeared for fifty years, though in 1648 Cornelius Schrevel published a Variorum edition based essentially on Casaubonus and Lubinus (Morgan 277). In 1664 David Wedderburn wrote a commentary which was once reprinted (Morgan 289, 292). Only in 1684 did Ludovicus Prataeus (Desprez) produce a commentary which to some extent displaced those of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. And not until the nineteenth century were there significant advances in Persius scholarship.

While the present article can give separate treatment only to full commentaries, it should be noted that a complete history of Persius scholarship would have also to take account of the glossed manuscripts (see the listing of manuscripts in Scarcia, *op. cit.*) In the case of authors where the commentary material is limited, it may be possible to examine some of the glosses with care, but for Persius the commentary material is in itself so extensive that mere glosses had to be rigorously excluded.

It should also be noted that many scholars lectured on Persius and even made important contributions to his interpretation without composing any formal written work. In

some notable cases, opening lectures or *praelectiones* were published separately, whether by a student reporting or by the scholar himself. Thus in 1499 Badius Ascensius printed not only his own commentary and that of Johannes Britannicus but also the *praelectiones* of Philippus Beroaldus and of Politian (For the edition, see Morgan, *op. cit.* 46 and for later editions see his index s.v. Beroaldus and Politian). The *praelectio* of Politian had first been published in his *Opera omnia* (Venetiis, Aldus Manutius, 1498 = Goff P-886). We also possess in a Munich manuscript put together by Petrus Crinitus the notes of Politian for his Persius lectures. Cf. Ida Maier, *Les manuscrits d'Ange Politien* (Geneva, 1965) pp. 205-207 and *Ange Politien, La formation d'un poète humaniste 1469-80* (Geneva, 1966) p. 426; C. Di Pierro, "Zibaldoni autografi di Angelo Poliziano" *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* LV (1910) 1-32 at 5 ff. and 16-24.

Further, many important comments on Persius are found in collections under such titles as *Collectanea* or *Adversaria*. Sometimes, the special comments on Persius were extracted and printed separately. Thus in 1523 Badius Ascensius published a number of full commentaries and at the end printed together the comments on Persius found in the *Collectanea* of Johannes Scoppa. (For the edition, see Morgan 116. Scoppa was a grammarian of Naples who lived at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century; see Joecher IV, 427-28. His *Collectanea* were published in 1507 and reprinted several times; see the BM Catalogue under Lucio Giovanni Scoppa). On a larger scale the same process was repeated for Adrianus Turnebus, and the selections from his *Adversaria* appeared as a separate commentary (see below, p. 293).

In conclusion, brief mention should be made of the vernacular translations of Persius, though these were relatively few and unimportant for the period covered by the *Catalogus*. The first to be printed was the French verse translation attributed to Abel Foulon published in 1544 (Morgan 533); a second French translation was made by Guillaume Durand in 1575, and he ac-

companied it with a Latin commentary (Morgan 534; for the commentary, see below p. 294). Giovann' Antonio Vallone di Castelmonardo in 1576 published what is sometimes called the first prose translation, into Italian, but Morgan remarks that it is not strictly a translation but a mixture of commentary and translation in Italian and Latin, accompanying the Latin text (Morgan 619). There seem to have been no other vernacular translations before 1600, but the seventeenth and later centuries produced many versions, some of them by notable authors (for a listing through 1908, see Morgan). Three Greek translations of the *Prologus*, by Isaac Casaubon, Joseph Scaliger, and Denis Petau, stand by themselves and rank among the most remarkable scholarly bagatelles of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

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II. Editions.

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III. Manuscripts and the manuscript tradition.

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V. Persius in the ancient world.

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VI. Persius in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (for the special bibliography on the vulgate traditions, see below p. 214).

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COMPOSITE EDITIONS

Publications containing more than one commentary on Persius.

1491, Venetiis (Venice): per Bernardinum Benalium Bergomensem et Matthaeum Capcasam Parmensem. Commentaries of Britannicus and Fontius. Morgan 35; HC 12736; Goff P-353; BMC V, 373. BM; (MH).

1492, Venetiis (Venice): per Bartholomeum Venetum de Ragazonibus. Commentaries of Britannicus and Fontius. Morgan 36; H 12737; Goff P-354; BMC V, 536. BM; (MH).

1494/95, die xiiii Februarii, Venetiis (Venice): sumptu Ioannis de Tridino. Commentaries of Britannicus and Fontius, corrected by Georgius Merula. Morgan 41; HC 12738; Goff P-356; BMC V, 529. BM; (MH).

(*) 1494, die xxii Aprilis, Venetiis (Venice) : [Johannes Tacuinus, de Tridino]. Commentaries of Britannicus and Fontius. Morgan 42 ; C 4703 ; Goff P-355. Huntington Library.

(*) 1495, Venetiis (Venice) : Per Petrum Io. de Quarengis Pergomensem. Commentaries of Britannicus and Fontius. Morgan 43 ; H 12739 ; Goff P-357 ; BMC V, 512. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1497, Venetiis (Venice) : sumptu Octaviani Scoti civis Modoetiensis per magistrum Antonium de Gusago Brixensem. Commentaries of Britannicus and Fontius. Morgan 44 ; HCR 12740 ; Goff P-358 ; BMC V, 577. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1498, July 29, Lugduni (Lyons) : no printer. Commentaries of J. Britannicus and B. Fontius. Morgan 45 ; IGI IV, 234, No. 7509. Pistoia, Bibl. Fort.

1499, ad vi calendas Februarii, Lugduni (Lyons) : opera ac diligentia Nicolai Wolf. Commentaries of Britannicus and Ascensius. Morgan 46 ; HC 12733 ; Goff P-359 ; BMC VII, 329 : Renouard, *Badius* III, 146-7. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1499, die . . . IIII mensis Novembris, Venetiis (Venice) : sumptu Johannis de Tridino. Commentaries of Cornutus, Britannicus, and Fontius. Morgan 47 ; HC 12744 ; Goff P-362 ; BMC VII, 1209 and V, xl ix. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1500, ad quartum idus Maias, in nobilissimo Parrhisiorum gymnasio (Paris) : solerti opera Thielmanni keruer. Commentaries of Britannicus and Badius Ascensius. Morgan 59 ; HC (Add) 12731 ; Goff P-360 ; Renouard, *Badius* III, 147-8 ; IGI. Roma, Biblioteca Angelica ; (MH).

1500, vii Augusti, Lugduni (Lyons) : solerti opera Johannis de Vingle. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Morgan 61 ; HC 12734 ; Goff P-361 ; BMC VII, 315. BM ; (MH).

1505, in nobilissimo Parrhisiorum gymnasio (Paris) ; solerti opera ipsius interpretis [i.e. Badii Ascensii]. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Morgan M 72 ; NUC ; Renouard, *Badius* III, 148-9. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1506, Lugduni (Lyons) : Venundantur . . . a Stephano Gueynard . . . solerti

opera Iohannis de Vingle. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Morgan 73 ; Panzer VIII. 283, 67. NUC. Renouard, *Badius* III, 149 ; Baudrier XI, 203-04. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1507, ad octavum calendas Iulii, in nobilissimo Parrhisiorum gymnasio (Paris) : opera Johannis Barbier impressoris, impensis vero honesti viri Dionisii Roce. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Renouard, *Badius* III, 149 ; Not in Morgan BN.

(*) 1507, ad octavum calendas Octobris, in nobilissimo Parrhisiorum gymnasio (Paris) : solerti opera ipsius interpretis [i.e. J. Badii Ascensii]. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Morgan 79 ; Panzer VII. 533, 199 ; Renouard, *Badius* III, 149. Paris, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève.

(*) 1508, die xvii Julii, Mediolani (Milan) : per Ioannem Angelum Scinzenzeler. Commentaries of Cornutus, Britannicus, and Fontius. Morgan 80. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana.

(*) 1508, ad quartum kalendas Augosti, Rothomagi (Rouen) : venditur sub tribus ferris . . . Rothomagi necnon Cadomi (Caen) . . . ab honesto viro Petro Regnault. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Morgan 81 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1510, Lugduni (Lyons) : venundatur a Petro Ungre et Anthonio Ducet . . . solerti opera Iohannis de Platea et Iacobi Myt. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Morgan 82 ; Panzer VII. 294, 158 and XI. 446, 158 ; Baudrier I, 130 ; Renouard, *Badius* III, 150. BM ; (MH).

(*) [c. 1510, Milan] : Ex libraria Minutiana. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Morgan 84 ; Renouard, *Badius* III, 151. BM ; Manchester, John Rylands Library.

1511, pridie kalendas Februarii, Rothomagi (Rouen) : in officina Radulphi Gaultier . . . sollerti opera Magistri Petri Olivier. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Morgan 85 ; Panzer VII. 296, 167 ; NUC. Siena, Bib. com. ; (MH).

(*) 1511, septimo Octobris, Lugduni (Lyons) : Venundantur Lugduni a Stephano Gueynard . . . solerti opera Iohannis de Vingle. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius

and Britannicus. Morgan 86 ; Panzer VII. 296, 167 ; Baudrier XII, 214 ; NUC. Siena, Bibl. Com. ; (MH).

(*) 1512, Parisii (Paris) : Per Antonium Bonnemere. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Not in Morgan ; Renouard, *Badius* III, 151-2. Lyons.

(*) 1514, Lugduni [Lyons] : Jacobus Myt. With commentaries of Britannicus and J. Badius Ascensius. Baudrier III, 68. No location. Not in Morgan.

(*) 1515, Mediolani (Milan) : per Ioannem Scinzenzeler. Commentaries of Cornutus, Britannicus, and Fontius. Morgan 98 ; Panzer XI. 469, 134b ; NUC. Rome, Bibl. Angelica ; (MH).

(*) 1516, die xxv mensis Aprilis, Venetiis (Venice) : per Ioannem Rubeum Vercellensem. Commentaries of Plautius, Cornutus, Britannicus, and Fontius. Morgan 100 ; Panzer VIII. 435, 803 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1516, 8 cal. Octobris, In Parrhisiorum gymnasio (Paris) : opera Michaelis Maubert, in pensis Egidii de Gourmont. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Adams P 735 ; Renouard, *Badius* III, 152. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

(*) 1520, Parisiis (Paris) : [Ascensius]. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Morgan 109 ; Panzer VIII. 69, 1227 ; Renouard, *Badius* III, 152. BM.

(*) 1520, die XV Decembris, Venetiis (Venice) : in casis Bernardini de Vianis de Lexona Vercelensis. Commentaries of Cornutus, Plautius, Britannicus, and Fontius. Morgan 108 ; Panzer VIII. 461, 1027 ; Adams P 736 ; NUC. Florence, Bibl. Nazionale ; (MH).

1522, mense Augusto. Coloniae (Cologne) : in aedibus Eucharii Cervicorni. Commentaries of Murmellius and Buschius. Morgan 113 ; Panzer VI. 386, 356 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

1522, die vero xxiiii Octobris. Lugduni (Lyons) : solerti opera Ioannis Remy. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Morgan 114. Naples, Bibl. Naz.

1523, [Paris] : Venundantur in aedibus Iodoci Badii Ascensii. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius, Plautius, Murmellius, Britannicus, Nebrissensis, and Scoppa. Morgan 116 ; Panzer VIII. 82, 1363 ; Adams P

737 ; Renouard, *Badius* III, 153-5 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

1525, mense Aprili, Coloniae (Cologne) : in aedibus Eucharii Cervicorni, impensa et aere M. Godefredi Hydorpii. Commentaries of Murmellius and Buschius. Morgan 117 ; Adams P 738 ; NUC. Siena, Bibl. com. ; (MH).

(*) 1525, secunda vero die Octobris, Lutetiae (Paris) : per Nicolaum le Sauetier. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Morgan 118 ; Panzer VIII. 94, 1493 (cf. VIII. 90, 1451) ; Adams P 739 ; Renouard, *Badius* III, 155. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1528, Coloniae (Cologne) : in aedibus Eucharii Cervicorni, impensa et aere M. Godefredi Hydorpii. Commentaries of Murmellius and Buschius. Morgan 123 ; Panzer VI. 403, 511 ; NUC. Oxford, Bodleian ; (MH).

(*) 1531, Parisiis (Paris) : excudebat Christianus Wechelus. Commentaries of Murmellius and Buschius. Morgan 129 ; Panzer VIII. 150, 2078 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1534, Coloniae (Cologne) : ex aedibus Eucharii Cervicorni. Commentaries of Murmellius and Buschius. Morgan 132. BM.

(*) 1534 [Paris?] : [Ascensius?]. Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Morgan 133 ; Renouard, *Badius* III, 155. BN.

(*) 1537, Magdeburgi (Magdeburg) : apud Michaelem Lottherum. Commentaries of Murmellius and Buschius. Morgan 140. Oxford, Bodleian.

(*) 1538, Coloniae (Cologne) : Ioannes Gymnicus excudebat. Commentaries of Murmellius and Buschius. Morgan 142 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1538, Parisiis (Paris) : in officina Christiani Wecheli. Commentaries of Murmellius and Buschius. Morgan 141 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1546, Antverpiae (Antwerp) : Aegidius Diest. Commentaries of Murmellius and Buschius. Morgan 157. Dresden, Öffentliche Bibliothek.

1551, Basileae (Basel) : apud Hier. Frobenium et N. Episcopium. Commentaries of Britannicus, Curio, Ascensius, Plautius, Murmellius, Nebrissensis, and Scoppa. Morgan 162 ; NUC ; Renouard, *Badius* II, 155-6. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1553, Parisiis (Paris) : ex officina Christiani Wecheli. Commentaries of Murmellius and Buschius. Morgan 164 ; NUC. (MH).

1560 and 1563, Pictavis (Poitiers) : apud Enguilbertum Marnesium. Commentaries of Cornutus and Vinetus. Morgan 175 ; Adams P 743 ; NUC. BN ; (MH).

1565, Antverpiae (Antwerp) : ex officina Christophori Plantini. Commentaries of Curio and Pulmannus. Morgan 179 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1568, Coloniae (Cologne) : Martinus Gymnicus. Commentaries of Murmellius and Buschius. Morgan 182. Vatican, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana.

1578, Basileae (Basel) : ex officina Petri Pernae. Commentaries of Valentinus, Volscus, Engelbrecht, and Foquelinus. Morgan 186 ; Adams P 745 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

1582, Basileae (Basel) : ad Perneam Lecythum. Commentaries of Valentinus, Volscus, Engelbrecht, Foquelinus, and Frischlin. Morgan 190 ; Adams P 746 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1585, Antverpiae (Antwerp) : ex officina Christophori Plantini. With Juvenal. Commentaries of Curio and Pulmannus. Morgan 193 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

1601, Lutetiae (Paris) : apud Claudium Morellum. Commentaries of Cornutus, Vinetus, Marcilius, and Tornorupaeus. Morgan 210 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1602, Amstelredami (Amsterdam) : abud (sic) Zachariam Heyns Biblioplam. With Juvenal. Commentaries of Lubinus and Pulmannus. Morgan 212. Paris, Bibl. Mazarine.

1603, Lugduni (Lyons) : apud Antonium Gryphium. Commentaries of Pulmannus and Lubinus. Morgan 216 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1613, Lutetiae (Paris) : apud Claudium Morellum. Commentaries of Cornutus, Vinetus, Marcilius, and Tornorupaeus. Morgan 237. BN ; Vatican.

1613, Lutetiae (Paris) : apud Ioannem Orry. Commentaries of Cornutus, Britannicus, Vinetus, Marcilius, and Tornorupaeus. Morgan 238 ; NUC. Paris, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève ; (MH).

Doubtful composite editions.

1489, Venetiis (Venice). Cum commento variorum. Morgan 32 ; H 12743.

1492, Venetiis (Venice). With Juvenal. Commentaries of Britannicus and Fontius. Morgan 37 ; H 12742.

1507, Lugduni (Lyons). Commentaries of J. Badius Ascensius and Britannicus. Morgan 78.

1544, Augsburg. Commentaries of Plautius, Cornutus, Britannicus, and Fontius. Morgan 151.

I. *Liber Satyrarum*

COMMENTARIES

1. THE ANONYMOUS, OR VULGATE, TRADITIONS AND 'CORNUTUS'.

Introduction.

Throughout the Middle Ages and well into the Renaissance, commentary on Persius is dominated by what may be called the 'vulgate' traditions, sometimes anonymous, sometimes associated with 'Cornutus'. Particularly in the earliest period, the history of these traditions is obscure and controversial; here it will not be possible to do more than to outline the problems, to suggest some tentative conclusions, and to leave the final answers to later studies.

The crucial problem is of course that of the origins and sources of these traditions. We have no manuscripts earlier than the tenth or late ninth centuries, but here we have two anonymous or pseudonymous traditions, a fragment possibly of another, and one named commentary. One of the anonymous traditions, which we shall call Tradition A, is here represented by Leiden, Bibl. pub. lat. 78, of the tenth or eleventh century; here, and often elsewhere, it is attributed to 'Cornutus'. What we shall call tradition B is represented by Křivoklát (Fürstenberg) I D 31 (119) of the tenth century; the manuscript was formerly in Prague and is often referred to as the Prague manuscript. The tradition is regularly anonymous, though it is apparently sometimes cited as Cornutus. Further, some early manuscripts of Tradition A contain a double commentary on *Sat. I*, 11-23; the first form seems to have been accidentally inserted

from another source belonging neither to Tradition A or B. Finally we have the opening section of a named commentary by Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908).

Traditions A and B, as will be shown below in more detail, are often complementary ; particularly in their opening sections, however, there is comparatively little common material. Perhaps they were both dependent on the same body of material ; if so, Tradition B is probably later and may represent a 'second gleaning'. The double commentary in the Leiden manuscript is too short to allow many conclusions about the commentary from which it was drawn, but it does transmit at least one note going back to ancient sources not found in the Leiden or the Křivoklát manuscripts. Finally, the commentary of Remigius of Auxerre draws on material found in both Tradition A and Tradition B. Its presentation is somewhat more unified than that of either the Leiden or the Křivoklát manuscripts, but it does not seem possible to decide whether the unity comes from Remigius himself or from his source.

If we try to describe the commentary material used by the traditions noted and by Remigius, it clearly consisted in part of glosses, some of which went back to ancient sources, but this problem cannot be discussed here. In the second place, there was clearly a commentary, or commentaries, available, though our evidence does not permit us to decide whether there was only one or several. Finally, it does not appear that the source was a single 'commentary' in the sense of a connected and coherent work by one man. Rather we get the impression of scribal work in combining and consolidating all available material (note for example the simple aggregation of material in the commentary on *Sat. I, 1*). Some of this material may well represent an ancient commentary of the time of Jerome or possibly a revision toward the time of Isidore of Seville ; some of it may have been added by the Carolingian scribe from sources such as Isidore, but it does not seem possible to identify such additions precisely.

In the opening sections, which are among the most confused portions of all the early

commentaries, one can recognize that in addition to specific commentary or glosses on the text, three bodies of introductory material were available : 1. a *Vita Persii*, attributed to Probus. 2. a brief account of the nature and history of Satyra. 3. some sort of *Introductio* or *Accessus*. In most cases all of these were simplified and often combined. One has the impression that in both Tradition A and B, the earliest forms we possess reflect confusions resulting from a series of copyings in which the material may have passed from continuous commentary to marginal glosses or *vice versa* ; in any case the commentary on the *Prologus* seems often to include what should be in the *Accessus* ; the *Accessus* includes what seems originally to have been commentary on the *Prologus*.

Finally, there is the problem of 'Cornutus' or, more generally, of the authorship of the Carolingian commentary or commentaries. Cornutus appears as the author of the commentary in many, though not all, of the earliest manuscripts of Tradition A ; he is less frequently associated with Tradition B in the manuscripts, but the medieval citations of 'Cornutus' often seem to refer to this tradition. Beginning with Otto Jahn, in his edition of 1843, there have been many attempts to identify Cornutus and his work, but it cannot be said that they have led to positive results. Jahn (see his edition of 1843 p. cxxxii f.) argued on the base of some glosses in the Juvenal commentaries that there was a Carolingian author by that name and that he was a pupil of Heirc of Auxerre (d. 876). But no Cornutus can be found among the Carolingians. Hans Liebl (see the bibliography below for references) argued that there was both a Carolingian Cornutus and also a thirteenth-century Cornutus, author of the *Disticha Cornuti*. Finally Marchesi tried to show that we could isolate the true contribution of Cornutus through the citations in the manuscript Florence, Laurenz. pl. 37, 20, but a closer examination shows that almost all of these citations are simply of the dominant vulgate traditions. Hence scholars have tended to accept the solution suggested by P. Wessner and more fully developed by J. P. Elder that the name Cornutus was

attached to an anonymous Persius commentary, perhaps because of the remark in the *Vita* that Cornutus edited the *Satyræ* (leviter correxit; al. leviter contraxit), perhaps through a confusion in which a note on *Sat. V* referring to Cornutus may have been taken to refer to the author of the commentary. One might even suggest, though the explanation smacks of *ignotum per ignotius*, that since Juvenal and Persius were so often found together in manuscripts and commentaries, the 'Cornutus' of Juvenal was simply passed on to the companion commentary on Persius.

In any case, it does not appear that further study of the Cornutus problem is likely to lead to substantive results, though the presence or absence of the ascription of a commentary to him may help us to unravel the interconnections within the vulgate traditions. As already stated, in the early manuscripts the name is most frequently attached to Tradition A, though two of the four manuscripts here chosen as representative of the Tradition are anonymous. In later manuscripts, this connection is maintained, but Cornutus seems sometimes to refer simply to any early commentary, or even to any commentary earlier than another which is under consideration. The citations of 'Cornutus' are a special problem in themselves and cannot be treated here, though it has been noted that in the early period they seem, curiously enough, to refer primarily to Tradition B.

If 'Cornutus' is not the author of the Carolingian commentary or commentaries, is it possible for us to ascribe the authorship to anyone else? As of the moment, it does not seem so. Since we have an actual commentary by Remigius Autissiodorensis, one is tempted to search in Auxerre for the author. In the 'Cornutus' commentary on Juvenal used by Jahn, we find the statement: unus pes deest versui Greco, quem Magister Hircus diu exquisitum invenire non potuit (see E. Sanford, CTC I, 176); hence one must consider the possibility that the author was Heiric of Auxerre. Further there is good evidence (see Elder and Mariani) that Heiric was interested in Persius and may have lectured on him. But one can

hardly move from this evidence to a positive conclusion. If the Juvenal 'Cornutus' cites Heiric, one would suppose that Heiric was not the author of that commentary. And as has been indicated, Traditions A and B suggest the work of scribes rather than the lectures or commentary of a scholar. So while one may suggest that Auxerre is a likely origin for the Carolingian commentary and even that its author may have been of the circle of Heiric and Remigius, it does not seem that on the basis of the present evidence one can move on to a more definite ascription.

Note.

An attempt has been made, in the following account of the vulgate traditions, to take account of all the early and significant manuscripts, but no complete census is offered. It must also be remembered that the *Catalogus* is not concerned with glosses as such but only with continuous commentaries extending over the whole work. Finally, it should be noted that for the classification of traditions, the commentary on *Sat. I, 1* is usually the most valuable. The opening sections are often confused and disordered; further the *Vita* and the Introduction are sometimes loosely attached to the commentary and follow a separate tradition. But with the explanation of *Sat. I, 1*, one is on firm ground, and it is here that one must look for the identification of the tradition. In order to give a better basis for judgment and to help identify other examples, we have cited at least one commentary of each tradition at greater length rather than restricting citation to the usual short Incipit and Explicit.

Special bibliography on the medieval vulgate traditions (works dealing with the description of only one manuscript have not been included here but will be found under that manuscript).

G. d'Anna, "Persio semipaganus" *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* V (1964) 181-85; A. Berger, "Zum sogenannten Cornuti Commentum" *Wiener Studien* XXXII (1910) 157-59; S. Consoli, "Studi intorno agli scolii di Giovenale e di Persio" *Rivista di Filologia* X (1922) 38-54; J. P. Elder, "A Mediaeval Cornutus on Persius" *Specu-*

lum XXII (1947) 240-48 ; V. Ferraro, "Accio Labeone : una creature degli scoliasti di Persio" *Studi italiani di filologia classica* XLIII (1971) 79-100 ; idem, "Semipaganus / semivillanus / semipoeta" *Maia*, N. S. XXII (1970) 139-46 ; F. Ghisalberti, "Paolo da Perugia, commentatore di Persio" *Rendiconti, R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, Ser. II, v. 62 (1929) 535-98 ; A. Goebel, *Iuvenaliana und Persiana aus einer Wiener Pergament-Handschrift des X. Jahrhunderts*. Gymn. progr. von Konitz (Berlin, 1859) ; idem, "Ueber eine Wiener Persius-Handschrift s. X mit Glossen und Scholien" *Philologus* XIV (1859) 170-80, 379-87 ; K. F. Hermann, *Disputatio de scholiorum usu et auctoritate in Persii satiris emendandis*. Marburg, 1842 ; idem, *De usu et auctoritate scholiorum in Persii satiris emendandis*] *disputatio altera*, Marburg 1842 ; idem, *Analecta de aetate et usu scholiorum Persianorum*, Göttingen, 1846 ; O. Jahn, in his edition of Persius, Leipzig, 1843, see especially the *Prolegomena* CXIII-CLXXII ; S. Jannaccone, "Rapporti di codici nella tradizione degli scolii a Persio" *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* XLII (1959) 198-213 ; A. Kissel, *Specimen criticum continens Auli Persii Flacci codicum MSS Leidensium collationem*, Zalt-Boemeliae, 1848 ; U. Knoche, *Handschriftliche Grundlagen des Juvenal-Textes* (*Philologus*. Supplementband XXXIII, 1) Leipzig, 1940 ; E. Kurz, *Die Persius-Scholien nach den Bernerhandschriften*, Burgdorf 1889, combines three works published separately in 1875, 1888, and 1889 ; J. Kvičala, *Scholiorum Pragensium in Persii satiras delectus*, *Abhandlungen der koenigl. boehmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* VI, 6 (1873), also published separately Pragae, 1873 ; H. Liebl, *Beiträge zu den Persius-Scholien*, Straubing, 1883) ; idem, *Die Disticha Cornuti*, Straubing, 1888 ; M. Manitius, "Zur Vita und den Scholien des Persius" *Philologus* LXIV (1905) 567-69 ; C. Marchesi, "De codicibus quibusdam adhuc non compertis qui Veronae in Bybliotheca Capitulari adservantur" *Studi italiani di filologia classica* XII (1904) 121-38 ; idem, "Gli scoliasti di Persio" *Rivista di filologia* XXXIX (1911) 564-85, XL (1912) 1-36, 193-215 ; F. Mariani, "Persio nella scuola di

Auxerre e l'Adnotatio secundum Remigium" *Giornale italiano di filologia* XVII (1965) 145-61 ; F. Ramorino "De duobus Persii codicibus qui inter ceteros Laurentianae Bibliothecae servantur" *Studi italiani di filologia classica* XII (1904) 228-60 ; H. Ritter, *Analecta de aetate et usu scholiorum Persianorum*, Göttingen, 1846 ; Thomas, "Miscellen aus Handschriften der Münchener Staatsbibliothek" *Bayerische Akad. d. Wiss. zu Muenchen, Sitzb., Phil.-hist. Cl.* II (1863) 254-60 ; P. Wessner, "Zu den Persius-Scholien" *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* XXXIV (1917) 473-80, 496-502 ; M. Zillober, *Eine neue Handschrift der sechs Satiren des Aulus Persius Flaccus*, Augsburg, 1862 ; A. Zingerle, "Zu den Persius-Scholien" *Akad. der Wiss., Wien, Sitzb., Philos.-hist. Cl.* XCVII (1881) 731-60.

A. The early vulgate Traditions.

1. Tradition A.

The original form of Tradition A appears to be well represented by three closely connected manuscripts : Leiden, Bibl. pub. lat. 78, of the tenth or eleventh century ; Munich, CLM 23577, of the eleventh century ; and Munich, CLM 14482, of the late eleventh or twelfth century. Another important early manuscript is London, British Museum, Royal 15 B XIX, of the tenth century (on the interrelations of these manuscripts, see Clausen in his edition of 1956 p. xiv, and Jannaccone, *op. cit.* 209-13). The commentary will here be studied primarily from the Leiden manuscript, though some reference will be made to the others.*

In the Leiden manuscript the commentary is ascribed to Cornutus both at the beginning and the end. It is also ascribed to Cornutus in the Munich manuscript, CLM 14482, though in CLM 23577 and in the London manuscript the commentary is anonymous. By and large, however, 'Cornutus' seems to have attached itself to Tradition A. In the distribution of manuscripts of the

* We are indebted to Professor Wendell V. Clausen for allowing us to make use of portions of his transcriptions of the four main early manuscripts of Tradition A.

Tradition, it will be noted that they fall into two groups, the first of the tenth through the twelfth centuries, and the second of the fifteenth century.

a) Leiden, Bibl. pub. lat. 78.

Vita (fol. 1) Incipit vita Aulis (sic) Persi Flacci de commentario Probi Valeri sublata. [Inc.] : Aules Persius Flaccus natus est pridie nonas Decembris Fabio Persico Lucio Vitellioque consulibus, decessit octavo kalendas Decembris Rubrio Mario Asinio Gallo consulibus. natus in Etruria Volterris . . . / . . . [Expl.]. a Cornuto ipse tantummodo est emendatus : *Auriculas asini quis non habet?* (Sat. I, 121) ne hoc in se Nero ductum (sic) arbitraretur. Explicit vita Persi Flacci. Incipit adnotatio. Incipit Prologus Persii.

Commentary. (fol. lv). The text appears on the inner portion of the page and the commentary on the outer. It will be noted that the opening lines of the commentary contain material usually found in the *accessus* or introduction. [Inc.] : Satyrae proprium est ut verba humiliiter dicat et omnia sanna faciat quam Sisenna protulit poeta. Item satyra dicitur quae variis rebus continetur. Satyra autem dicitur lex apud Romanos lata quae fucatis verbis fallat audientes ut aliud dicat, aliud vero significet. In hac praefatione dicit se non poetam sed epopoem esse et dicit fame se coactum, sicut et caeteros ad scribendum adspirasse conatum. Quod cum de se dicit non dubium quin de omnibus dicat. *Nec fonte labra pollui* (sic) *caballino* (Prol. 1) *YIΩQYKRINHN* (sic) quod et Hesiodus dicit. Dicitur enim Pegasus errando ad Heliconem pervenisse ibique siti oppressus ungula fodisse, ex quo loco fons editus Musis sit consecratus. Dicit autem se non de illis esse qui sunt egregii Musarum amici. *Caballino* autem dicit, non *equino*, quod satyrae humiliora verba convenient . . . / . . . *Refulserit et refulgeat* (Cf. Prol. 12) Corvos poetas et poetridas picas quod corvino lucro inducti non solum cantare possint sed etiam carmen effingere. *Pegaseum nectar* (Prol. 14). in aliis melos.

O curas hominum (Sat. I, 1). Semetipsum arguit quod sciat neminem esse qui tam robuste velit studere aut vivere quod ipse

relinquat carmina quae vulgus lecturus (sic) non sit, quoniam non sunt vulgaria. Ait ergo *Curas hominum* (Sat. I, 1) inanes, quia sine fructu laborare velint, quoniam minime conveniat robustum ingenium libidini luxuriaque viventi. Sed haec satyra scribitur de his qui publice captant famam ex favore eloquentiae imperitorum. Et hoc velut dialogi genus in principio ex persona interrogantis inducit. *Quantum est in rebus inane* (Sat. I, 1) Graecum est O SONTOKENON. Deest autem humanis ut sit in rebus humanis. Inane autem aut vacuum ac ratione carens. *Quis leget haec?* (I, 2) Hunc versum de Lucilii primo transtulit. Et bene vitae vitia increpans ab admiratione incipit. Dicit autem sibi : Dicturus erat vel tres et reputatione intulit vel duo. *Turpe et miserabile* (I, 3) Turpe si duo, miserabile si nemo. *Nemo*. Interrogat admirans. Nemo si adiuncta persona dicat, Persio dicitur. *Turpe ac miserabile*. Et quasi corrigit dicendo *Quare? Nec mihi polidamas* (I, 3-4). Polidamas est multinuba Polidamas aut Nero quod multis nupsit, aut quod timidus et imbellis ut apud Homerum inducitur. Troiades Romani accipiuntur. Alii Polidamanta populi personam accipiunt quae loquax est et inepta cuiusmodi naturae fuerit Polidamas. Troiades vero nobiores. *Labeonem*. Quia Labeo transtulit *Iliadem* et *Odisseam* verbum ex verbo ridicule satis quod verba potius quam sensum locutus est. Eius est ille versus. *Crudem manducens Priamum priamusque* (sic) *pisinnos* (*Ilias* IV, 45) . . . / . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 26v) *Inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi* (Sat. VI, 80) Chrysippus philosophus Stoicus syllogismum siroten (sic) vocavit, quae per additionem et detractionem exacervatum frumentarii (sic) habere similitudinem ostendit. Ergo poeta hoc dicit : quantacumque avaro abundantia crescat substantiae, non satiatur et sic [in] infinitum cupiditatis desiderium extendit, ut qui eius avaritia [sic] finem voluerit ponere, facile videatur etiam syllogismum Chrysippi definire. Commentum Cornuti de Persio, satyrico more composito, explicit. . . . tur sapiens cernetur fove. Explicat commentum Cornuti.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Bibl. pub. lat. 78, c. 1000 (German?) membr. fol. 1-26. (*Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices manuscripti.* III. 42-43. Scarcia 201. A. Kissel, 'Specimen criticum continens Auli Persii Flacci Codicum MSS. Leidensium Collationem', Zalt-Boemeliae, 1848 4-9; P. Wessner, "Zu den Persius-Scholien" *Wochenschrift für klass. Philologie* XXXII [1917] 473-80; 496-502; S. Jannaccone, "Rapporti di Codici nella Tradizione degli Scolii a Persio" *Giornale italiano di Filologia* XII [1959] 189-213). We are indebted to Dr. Bernhard Bischoff for the dating of the manuscript).

b) A note on the double commentary on *Sat. I*, 11-23.

Of the early manuscripts of Tradition A, Leiden, Bibl. pub. lat. 78 and Munich CLM 14482 and 23577 contain a double commentary on *Sat. I*, 11-23. The contemporary London manuscript, BM, Royal 15 B XIX lacks the doublet; it therefore permits us to identify the intrusion and helps to define its limits. In the later development of Tradition A, the two commentaries were gradually fused, though with some omissions; for an end-point of this development, see the edition of O. Jahn (249-53).

The simplest explanation for the doublet is that in the archetype from which the Leiden and the Munich manuscripts were copied, or at some earlier stage, an extra leaf from another commentary had been inserted into the exemplar from which the copyist was working. The importance of the doublet is that it supplies evidence for another commentary, in existence before these manuscripts were written which was different not only from Traditions A and B but also from Remigius of Auxerre; any theory of the original commentary or commentaries must take account of this evidence.

On the basis of the small amount of material available, this other commentary included both short glosses (perhaps interlinear) and also more extended comments. In one case at least, in the reference to *μωρωγελῶντας* in the explanation of *Sat. I*, 12, the other commentary appears to

make use of ancient material not preserved for us elsewhere in the Persius commentary tradition.

The doublet presents a problem in that here, though nowhere else in the Leiden manuscript, we find a citation of 'Cornutus'.

Albus (Sat. I, 16) aut pallidus pavore recitandi, aut labore scribendi, aut, ut ait Cornutus, veste candida.

The comment is not found in the original Tradition A, but it does appear in Tradition B in the Křivoklát manuscript (see below), where we read: *Albus (Sat. I, 16)* sc. veste candida, nondum purpureum adeptus vestimentum, quod laticlavum dicitur. (ed. Kvicala, p. 10). As so often, it is not easy to draw any significant conclusion from the use of Cornutus, but it is at least clear that before our earliest manuscripts of Tradition A some commentary not identical with Tradition A as we have it was titled 'Cornutus'. It is even possible that the name 'Cornutus' had been attached to a late ancient commentary which was at the base of the Carolingian work.

The following extract includes the opening section of the doublet, through the Cornutus reference, and the closing section. It will be noted that the doublet begins with a section on *Sat. I*, 12-23; it ends with a section on I, 10 (fragmentary) and I, 11.

Leiden, Bibl. pub. lat. 78 (fol. 2v). The portion of the commentary which is found not only in the Leiden and the Munich manuscripts but also in the London manuscript ends (Cf. O. Jahn's edition 249, under 11):

Sic Cicero obiurgavit Caelium ut quidam patruus censor (*Pro Coelio* 11, 25) *Tunc, tunc ignoscite. Nolo.* (*Sat. I, 11*) *TOΕΞΙC* dicere vel ridere.

There follows the doublet which is absent from the London manuscript:

Quid faciam (I, 12) Quasi non posset risum tenere. *Sed sum petulanti splene cachinno* (I, 12). Ordo. Tunc tunc cachinno et caetera. Cachinnus est cum voce risus quem Graeci μωρωγελῶντας dicunt. *Petulanti splene* (I, 12) Quatuor partibus venter continetur, splene, corde, pulmone, felle. Ex quibus autem signa sunt, risus de splene,

sapere de corde, irasci de felle, iactari de pulmone. Petulanti autem luxurioso, ac magno atque habundanti.

Scribimus inclusi (I, 13) includentes (sic) semetipsos, et eleganter suam quoque personam exposuit. *Pede liber* (I, 13) prosa. *Grande aliquid* (I, 14) secundum illorum iudicium qui scribunt tumide et inflate a nimietate spiritus. *Scilicet haec populo* (I, 15) imperitis (?) naso autem dicenda sunt. deridet enim populum qui stultus est, *Pexus* (15) compositus. *Recenti* (I, 15) aut nova, aut recens curata est. *Natalicia sardonice* (I, 16) Sardonix genus gemmae pretiosae. *Natalicia* (I, 16) vel quam (quia?) illi propinqui aut parentes natali die fecerunt, vel quia quidquid praeclarum habemus, natalibus utimur. *Albus* (I, 16) aut pallidus pavore recitandi aut labore scribendi, aut, ut ait Cornutus, veste candida. *Sede celsa*. *Orchiferam* (?) et pulpum dixit. . . / . . . *Hoe* (I, 23) interiectio cum admiratione percunctantis. Et est responsio contra Persium ab eo quem vituperavit. Cum venero ad gravitatem omissis nucibus, (I, 10) quibus pueri ludunt. *Cum sapimus patruos* (I, 11) Patruos dicit severos, cum aequiperemus patruorum sapientiam. antiquae consuetudinis erat filios fratribus nutriendos committere, a quibus et vigor disciplinae plus quam a parentibus impleretur et oblectatio circa nepotes utpote a vicinis parentibus fieret.

Unde et Oratius ait: metuentis patruae verbera linguae (Carm. III, 12, 2). *Tunc tunc ignoscite*. *Tunc tunc ignoscite* (sic I, 11) significat rationem valere tunc praecipue cum severitatem aetatis aspexerit. *Nolo* autem interposita figura est, idest, nolo ridere, sed ignoscere. *Quid faciam* (I, 12) naturale hoc mihi est. *Tunc tunc iteratum accipitur*.

The doublet ends here. What follows is found not only in the Leiden and Munich manuscripts but also in the London manuscript: *tunc pro praecipue* vel etiam asseveratio valde dolentis ut: Me me adsum, qui feci (Virg. Aen. IX, 427) et: Nunc, nunc o liceat crudelem a(brumpere) v(itam) (Virg. Aen. VIII, 587).

c) Other s. XI-XII manuscripts of Tradition A.

(micro.) London, British Museum, Royal 15 B XIX, s. X, membr., fols. 127v-95. Ascribed to Cornutus. Jannaccone groups this manuscript, together with Leiden, Bibl. pub. lat. 78 and Munich, CLM 23577, as our earliest and independent testimony for the vulgate commentary. The London manuscript does not contain the double commentary on *Sat.* I, 11-23. (Warner-Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts* II, 163; Scarcia 244; R. Bentley, *Classical Journal* XVIII (1818) 62-64; Jannacone, *op. cit.*; N. R. Ker, *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* LIII (1949) 153, 170, 176).

(micro.) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14482, s. XII-XV, misc., membr., fols. 118-50v. The commentary is ascribed to Cornutus at the beginning and at the end. The manuscript of the commentary is assigned to the twelfth century in the *Catalogus*, though Lucian Müller assigned it to the eleventh (see Liebl p. 5, note 4). (Halm, *Catalogus* II, 2 179 no. 1463; L. Müller, *Rheinisches Museum* XXIV [1869] 495; Scarcia 288; H. Liebl, *op. cit.*; P. Wessner, *op. cit.* [1917] 473-80; 496-502).

(micro.) — — CLM 23577, s. XI, membr., fols. 96-146. The commentary is anonymous. For the grouping of this manuscript with Leiden, Bib. pub. lat. 78 and London, British Museum, Royal B XIX, see above under the London manuscript (Halm, *Catalogus* II, 4 77 no. 783; Scarcia 300; Jannaccone, *op. cit.*; H. Liebl, *Beiträge* [edits fragments from the manuscript pp. 18-53]; P. Wessner, *op. cit.*).

(*) Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. F. 1. 15., s. XI, membr. fols. 78-94. (Madan, *A Summary Catalogue* II, 1 373 no. 2455; Scarcia 327; H. M. Morgan, *Classical Review* III (1889) 314; G. R. Scott, *Classical Review* IV (1890) 17-19, 241-7; T. A. M. Bishop, *Classical Review* N. S. V (1955) 145).

(micro.) Vatican City, Reginens. lat. 1401, s. XII, misc., membr., fols. 74-81v. Anonymous. These quaternions originally belonged to another manuscript (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 402; Scarcia 506).

(micro.) — Reginensis lat. 1560, s. XI, misc., membr. fols. 80-80v. Anonymous. Fragmentary, on *Prologus* only. (M. Cerrati, *Rivista di Filologia* XL (1912) 113-119; W. Clausen, *Trans. American Philological Association* LXXX [1949] 238-44 [Cerrati and Clausen are concerned with the Persius text in the manuscript]; Scarcia 510).

(micro.) Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 131 s. X, mbr., f. IIv-15. The commentary is fragmentary in the form of marginal and interlinear glosses; only the former will be considered here. Beginning with *Sat.* I, the selections appear to derive essentially from Tradition A, but it is notable that in the comments on the *Prologus* one finds material characteristic of Tradition B. Hence the manuscript may represent an early case of the conflation of the two traditions.

[*Inc.*] : (fol. 3v) *Satyra est genus clarni vel lancis et dicitur a saturitate eo quod plena sit reprehensionibus hominum.*

Videns Persius multos libidinari in scribendo ad hoc tantum ut favorem et laudem populi adquirerent reprehendendo cum indignatione inchoat ex abrupto. Nam ante philosophiae studuit apud Bassum primo, deinde apud Cornutum.

(On *Sat.* I, 1) Se ipsum redarguit quod relinquat carmina quae vulgus lecturum non sit quia non sunt vulgaria, videlicet suae minime convenientia libidini.

Inane dicit vacuum ac ratione carens.

(On *Sat.* I, 4) Polidamas ipse est Nero; polidamas enim dicitur multinuba . . . / . . .

[*Expl.*] : (on *Sat.* VI, 80) ut qui eius avaritiae finem imponere voluerit, facile videatur etiam syllogismum Chrysippi diffinire.

(Endlicher, *Catalogus* 115, no. CCXIX; *Tabulae codicum* I, 19; Scarcia 574; A. Goebel, *Juvenaliana* and "Ueber eine Wiener Persius Handschrift").

d) Fifteenth-century manuscripts of Tradition A

Bern, Burgerbibliothek 223

Annei Cornuti commentum in Aulis Flacci Persii Satyrarum librum incipit. (fol. 180) [*Inc.* of Introduction] Aulus Persius Flaccus natus est pridie nonas Decembris Fabio

Persico Lucio Vitelloque consulibus . . . (a brief *vita*) . . . ne hoc Nero in se dictum arbitraretur. *Satyrae proprium est ut vera humiliiter dicat et omnia cumsanna (sic) quam Sisenna protulit poeta . . . (the nature of satire) . . . aliud dicat, aliud significet. In hac praefatione dicit se non poetam sed se inpoetam (?) esse et dicit fame se coactum sicut et caeteros ad scribendum, quod cum de se dicit non / (fol. 180v) non (sic) dubium quin de aliis dicat.*

Prologus. Nec fonte labra prolui caballino. Ut Hesiodus dicit. Dicitur Pegasus errando ad Eliconem montem pervenisse ibique siti oppressus ungula fodiisse ex quo loco fons editus Musis sit consecratus . . . / . . . induci non solum tentare poema (?) sed etiam carmen effingere. *Pegaseum nectar* (cf. *Prol.* 14), in aliis libris *melos*.

O curas hominum (*Sat.* I, 1) Semetipsum redarguit quod ipse componit vel reliquit carmina quae vulgus lecturum non sit quoniam non sunt vulgaria eo quod minime convenientia non robusto ingenio et libidine viventi. Sed haec *Satyra* scribitur de his qui publice captant famam eloquentiae ex favore imperitorum et hoc velud dialogi genus ex persona interrogantis inducit. Ait ergo *Curas hominum inanes* quia sine fructu laborare velint *quantum est in rebus inane*. Graecum est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] (fol. 206) et sic in infinitum cupiditatis desiderium extendit ut qui eius avaritiae finem voluerit ponere facile videatur etiam syllogismum Chrysippi diffinire. Annaei Cornuti commentum in Auli Flacci Persii librum explicit.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Bern, Burgerbibliothek 223, s. XV, misc. cart. fols. 180-206 (H. Hagen, *Catalogus* 273; Scarcia 39; E. Kurz, op. cit. p. v and passim).

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Library, Ms. lat. 137, s. XV, cart., fols. 1-89. Formerly Phillipps 9618. Anonymous. The Introductory material runs without a break into the commentary proper. (De Ricci and Wilson, *Census* I, 988; Scarcia 80).

(micro.) Fiecht, Stiftsbibliothek (olim Bibliothek des Benediktinerstiftes Georgenberg) IV, 171. a. 1463, cart. fols. 1-34. With Introduction. The colophon reads : Explicit

commentum Cornuti scriptum anno domini 1463 4º kalendas Januarii. (Scarcia 111; A. Zingerle, "Zu den Persius-Scholien" esp. 135-45; idem, *Commentationes Oenipontanae* IV [1909] 2).

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek CLM 19489, (Teg. 1489) s. XI-XII, membr., fols. 65-8. At the end: Anni Cornuti explicit in satyras Persii commentum. (Halm, *Catalogus* II, 3 251, no. 1995; Scarcia 298).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8273, s. XV, membr. fols. 23-99. The scribe of the commentary differs from the one who wrote the text of Persius on fols. 1-21v. (*Catalogus* [1744] IV, 443; Scarcia 375).

(micro.) Vatican City, Vat. lat. 4437, s. XV, membr. fols. 1-86. With Introduction (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 326; Scarcia 549).

— Regin. lat. 1614, 2 mss., cart. fols. 1-36, a. 1439. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 403; Scarcia 512; cf. B. Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova*, Vol. I [Paris, 1739] no. 1714, p. 52).

2. Tradition B.

Contemporary with the earliest manuscripts of what we have called Tradition A, there are other manuscripts which represent a different tradition. Among the earliest and most important is Křivoklát (Fürstenberg), I D 31 (119), even though it is fragmentary, particularly in the later satires; *Satyrā VI* has glosses only at the very end.

The commentary is anonymous in the Křivoklát manuscript and in most other early manuscripts of the tradition. However, the doublet in the Leiden manuscript may be citing Tradition B when it quotes 'Cornutus', and it appears that many of the medieval quotations of Cornutus refer to this Tradition.

It is by no means easy to define the relation of this Tradition to Tradition A, but it must be emphasized that the differences in form, if not in content, are extensive. In the commentary on *Sat. I*, 1, for example, one can break down Tradition A in the Leiden manuscript to four points and Tradition B in the Prague manuscript to five points; there are no points here in common

between the two Traditions, though in other cases there is overlap. On the basis of the relation of the two traditions in the opening sections, Tradition B is richer in additions which seem characteristic of Carolingian rather than of ancient learning. Thus for example in the *Prologue* the Prague manuscript has an extensive account, with allegory, of the story of King Phorcus and his three daughters (see below) and also an account of the characteristics of the parrot (*psittacus*. See below). Very tentatively one might suggest that Tradition B may have been a second, later tradition, drawing perhaps on the same original collection of material as Tradition A, but in the manner of a second gleaning, and adding new material from the standard Carolingian sources. Similarly, in the *Explicit*, the last sentence of Tradition B appears to be a gloss or explanation of Tradition A.

In any case Tradition B did not replace Tradition A but was in part absorbed by it. As early as the tenth century in a Vienna manuscript (Nationalbibliothek 131; see above p. 219) we find a commentary which is essentially of Tradition A but which in the opening section has some material characteristic of Tradition B. By the end of the twelfth century most manuscripts of Tradition A contain a good deal of what was originally found only in Tradition B, and this also holds true for the printed editions of the vulgate.

a) Křivoklát, Castle Library I D 31 [(formerly Prague, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek 119)].

Introduction (ed. Kvičala, 1873 p. 6). The opening is fragmentary. [*Inc.*] *Satyrā est genus . . . [Expl.] Unde et quasi subtristis scribere cum tribulatione inchoat. Fuit autem senator, scientia nobilis, genere Tuscus, discipulus Bassi philosophi et de moribus hominum multa conquestus est. Rabulatio dicitur altercatio cum ira. Satyrā alio modo dicitur lex apud Romanos data, quae fucatis verbis fallit audientes, ut aliud dicat, aliud significet.*

(In the Křivoklát manuscript the introduction is not only fragmentary but confused, and it appears that a portion of the *Vita*

has been included. For comparison, here is the first part of the Introduction as it appears in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. 256 as edited by Kurz, p. 1 (first pagination) :

Satirae proprium est, ut vera humiliter dicat et omnia cum sanna faciat, quam Sisenna protulit poeta. Item satira dicitur, quae variis rebus continetur. Satira item dicitur lex apud Romanos lata quae fucatis verbis fallat audientes, ut aliud dicat, aliud significet.

Satira genus est clarni vel lancis multis ac variis frugum generibus plena. Clarnus potest appellari discus vel mensa, quae referta sacrificiis Veneri consuevit offerri. Dicta autem satira a saturitate, unde in choro Liberi patris ministri vino atque epulis pleni Saturi appellabantur; inde scripturae poematis satirici hunc titulum acceperunt, quod personis factisque satiata abundare videntur. Satira igitur a saturitate, quod plena sit conviciis et reprehensionibus hominum.

In hac praefatione dicit se non poetam . . . The Bern manuscript continues as in the Křivoklát manuscript).

Prologus. In hac praefatione dicit Persius se non poetam sed eppoen esse i. semipoetam. Et dicit fama se coactum sicut et caeteros ad scribendum aspirare conatum. Quod cum de se dicit, non dubium quin de omnibus dicat.

Apologiam facit modo poeta et excusat se quodammodo non ideo scripsisse ut poeta appareret, sed potius impulsu quodam mentis, quia videbat tunc multos poetriae incumbere, et per transitum ostendit, se primum coepisse scribere causa victus, ut salarium mereretur. Salarium est victus unius diei.

Non potavi de illo fonte ut poeta fierem, sicut Ascraeus, qui bibens de fonte Pegaseo mox poeta factus est.

Pegasus volucer equus ungula sua fontem fecit et Musis sacravit, ex quo potentes poetae fiebant.

Nec fonte (*Prol.* 1) Hic fabulam tangit. Phorcus (cod. focus) rex tres filias Gorgonas fertur habuisse . . . Hoc fabulosum est, est tamen veritas quaerenda. Gorgo terror, Stheno (cod. stenio) debilitas . . . Pegasus enim fama dicitur, quia virtus omnia supe-

rans famam sibi conquirit. De quo potent poetae, quia in laudem virtutis videntes eam victricem prosiliunt [this account of Phorcus is lacking in Leiden Bibl. pub. lat. 78. For the sources, see Servius on the *Aeneid* II, 616, and Fulgentius, *Mythol.*] . . . (on *Prol.* 8) Psittacus avis solummodo in Indiae partibus gignitur colore viridi, torque puniceo, grandi lingua et ceteris avibus latiore. Unde articulata verba exprimit ita ut si eam non prospexeris hominem loqui putes. Quae avis pro munere regibus offeratur. Ex natura autem salutat dicens *Xaiqē* (cod. Xairre), i. ave. . . . Nam studet ut loquatur id quod homines atque ideo intra alterum annum aetatis quae monstrata sunt et citius discit et tenacius retinet. Maior est paulo segnior et oblivious et indocilis. Inter nobiles et plebeios discretionem facit numerus digitorum. Qui meliores sunt, quinos digitos habent, ceteri vero ternos. [This account of the parrot is lacking in the Leiden manuscript, though the first part appears in later, conflated manuscripts of Tradition A; see Jahn's edition p. 246-47 on v. 8. For the sources, see Solinus c. 52 (55); Isidorus, *Etymol.* XII, 7] . . . / . . . (on *Prol.* 11-12) I. si spem habuerint ut nummum adquirant pro poemate, omnes poetizabunt (cod. poetizabant). Unde et quidam dicit: Castiget ventrem, tunc homo doctus erit.

Satyra I. Videns Persius multos libidinari in scribendo ad hoc tantum ut favorem populi adquirerent, reprehendendo cum increpatione inchoat ex abrupto. Nam ante philosophiae studuerat, apud Bassum quidem primo, deinde apud Cornutum.

Genus hominum plenum est curis et sollicitudinibus, dum magna student de quibus cupiunt laudari.

Multi sic exponunt, ut *O curas hominum* (*Sat.* I, 1) ironicos esse dictum (legendum fortasse: *dicant*) hominum cogitationes. Alii dicunt cum admiratione dictum.

O curas hominum. Sollicitando (cod. sollicitudo) usque in divinarum rerum tractatum volunt pervenire, qui etiam de divinis rebus tractare voluerunt. Ait ergo, curas hominum inanes, quod sine fructu laborare velint.

O curas. Suspense legendum. Declamationem omnium hominum ponit et tractus est iste versus de Lucilio. Cura dicitur eo quod cor urat. Quantum inane, quantum inanitatis et ratione carens. Inane ὄσον τὸ οὐενόν (cod. OCONTO KHNON) Graece dicitur. Vocat autem hoc caelum inane et hunc aerem, quod utique vacuum est a rebus.

Quis leget haec (Prol. 2) s. quae scripsi cum magno labore. Interrogative (cod. : in̄rogavi te) proloquitur et arguit semetipsum, quod relinquet carmina quae vulgus lectura non sunt vulgaria, quae non conveniunt libidini . . . / . . . [Expl. p. 32v] (on Sat. VI, 80) Hoc dicit : Sicut non potest inveniri definitio syllogismi Chrysippi, ita non potest inveniri qui potest ponere finem cupiditati avari.

A fuller form of the Explicit may be cited from Harvard College Library, Ms. lat. 336 (fol. 38) : *Inventus, Chrysippe* (Sat. VI, 80) Chrysippus philosophus Stoicus syllogismum siroten vocavit quem per adiectionem et detractionem ex acervi frumentarii similitudine ostendit. Ergo poeta hic dicit : quantacumque avaro abundantia crescat substantiae, non satiatur, et sic infinitum cupiditatis desiderium ostendit, ut qui eius avaritiae finem voluerit ponere, facile videatur etiam syllogismum Chrysippi definire. Et est sensus : sicut non potest inveniri definitio syllogismi Chrysippi, ita non potest inveniri qui potest ponere finem cupiditati avari.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Křivoklát, Castle Library, I D 31 (formerly Prague, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek, 119), s. IX-X, fols. 1-32v. At the end on fol. 32v, the *Vita* of Probus. The latest dating, by Prazák, places the manuscript in the tenth century ; J. Kelle and J. Kvíčala suggest late ninth or early tenth ; J. M. Schottky (see below) in 1832 dated it in the first half of the twelfth century. (J. Prazák, Rukopisy Křivoklátské Knihovny (Codices manuscripti Bibl. Castri Krivoklat) Prague, 1969 p. 164 ; J. Kelle, "Die klassischen Handschriften in Prager Bibliotheken" (I. Theil), *Abhandlungen der koenigl. bohemischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften vom Jahre 1871-72*, Sechste Folge, Fuenfter Band (Prague, 1872) f. [a col-

lation of the manuscript with the Jahn edition of 1843] ; Scarcia 420 ; J. Kvíčala, *Scholiorum Pragensium in Persii satyras delectus* [Pragae, 1873] ; idem, *Listy filologické* I [1874] 38-41 idem, *Česke museum filologické* I [1890] 101 f. ; J. M. Schottky, *Prag, wie es war und wie es ist* [Prag, 1832] 424).

Edition :

J. Kvíčala, *Scholiorum Pragensium* 6-38 and the *Vita* p. 39.

b) Other manuscripts of Tradition B.

(*) Bern, Burgerbibliothek 257, s. X, membr., fols. 1v-14. Anonymous. The commentary is fragmentary and consists mainly of notes on the first three folios. Some are in the same hand that wrote the text, some are slightly later. The first notes on Sat. I, 1 begin : Videns Persius multos libidinari in scribendo ad hoc tantum, ut favorem populi adquirerent, reprehendendo cum indignatione inchoat ex abrupto . . . The second begin : Genus humanum plenum est curis et sollicitudinibus dum magna student de quibus laudari cupiunt. (H. Hagen, *Catalogus* 288 ; Scarcia 40 ; E. Kurz, *op. cit.*)

(*) — 265, s. X-XI, membr. fol. 59v-67v. Anonymous (H. Hagen, *Catalogus* 298 ; Scarcia 41 ; the commentary is edited in Kurz, *op. cit.*).

(*) — 665, s. XI, membr. fols. 1-8. Anonymous. The commentary is incomplete and extends only from Sat. I, 1 though III, 76. (H. Hagen *Catalogus* 497 ; Scarcia 48 ; Kurz, *op. cit.*, esp. p. v).

Cambridge, Mass. Harvard College Library, Ms. Lat. 336, s. XI ex., membr., fols. 19-39. Anonymous. (not in Scarcia).

(micro.) Cologne, Dombibliothek, 199 (Darmstadt 2623), s. XI, membr., fols. 58v-63v. Anonymous. Jannaccone, *op. cit.* 207 calls it the earliest personal commentary, but it appears to fall clearly within Tradition B. (Ph. Jaffé-G. Wattenbach 86 ; Scarcia 199 ; CTC II, 196).

(micro.) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Bibl. pub. lat. 82, s. XI, membr. The text of Persius runs fols. 1v-14v, but the scholia extend only over fols. 1v-2 and cover only Sat. I, 1-88 (*Bibl. Universitatis*

Leidensis. Codices manuscripti III, 44; Scarcia 202).

(micro.) — Voss. Lat. Qu. 18. s. XI, membr., fols. 69-90v. Anonymous. A. Kissel (see below) dates the manuscript s. IX ex-X. The text with glosses is followed by an incomplete Vita. Fragments are edited by Kissel pp. 11-19. (*Catalogus [1716]* 378; Scarcia 208; A. Kissel, *op. cit.*; P. Wessel 498).

(micro.) London, British Museum, Add. 15601, s. X-XI in., membr., fols. 60v-74v. Commentary extending Sat. I, 1-IV, 24. (*Catalogue of Additions . . . 1841-45* 51; Scarcia 217).

(micro.) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 526, a. 1470, cart., fols. 6-56v. The manuscript appears to alternate text, with glosses, and commentary, sometimes on separate pages. The opening sections are clearly from Tradition B. At the end of the text of fol. 54v: *Scripsi Hartmannus Schedel de Nurembergo ex veterimo libro Sancti Udalrici Augustae. Anno 1470, die 9 Martii.* (Halm, *Catalogus I*, 1 111; R. Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ausbreitung der italienischen Renaissance*, Freiburg, 1908, p. 110; Scarcia 282).

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14748, s. XII, membr., fols. 39-46v. On Sat. I, 1-IV, 25. The folios originally belonged to another manuscript; the last folio of the last gathering is missing. (Halm, *Catalogus II*, 2 228, no. 1716; Scarcia 290).

(micro.) Ottobeuren, Stiftsbibliothek, 65 VIII, s. XII. The manuscript offers not so much a complete commentary as glosses selected from a larger work. (Scarcia 323; M. Zillober, *op. cit.*, with editions of a large portion of the glosses pp. 18-34).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 8049 s. XI-XIV, misc., membr., fols. 1-15 (s. XI). Anonymous. Commentary through Sat. III, 31. (*Catalogus IV [1744]*, 422; Scarcia 367).

— Lat. 8272, s. XI, membr., fols. 1v-16. There is an introduction, which includes some material usually attached to the *Prologus*, e.g. the story of Phorcus and of his three daughters, and a *Vita*. The commentary itself is found in the margins and becomes

less extensive toward the end. Despite some conflation from Tradition A, the commentary in its opening sections derives essentially from Tradition B. Otto Jahn used this manuscript in preparing his edition of 1843. (*Catalogus*, IV, 1744 443; Scarcia 374; O. Jahn, in his edition of 1843 p. ccviii).

(micro.) Vatican City, Pal. lat. 1710, s. IX-XIV, misc., membr., fol. IV-15v (s. IX). On Sat. I, 1-III, 95. (Scarcia 505).

B. Anonymous adaptations of the vulgate traditions from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries.

The anonymous commentary tradition on Persius was always somewhat fluid. There were changes within both Traditions A and B, and we have also seen that the two tended to fuse toward the end of the twelfth century with the absorption of much of what was in the B Tradition by the A Tradition.

In the twelfth and later centuries we also encounter a qualitatively new kind of change in which the will to transform is more extensive and more directed than what we have seen so far. In the new situation, one soon finds commentaries so much changed that one hesitates to classify them any longer as belonging to the vulgate tradition; surely no sharp line can be drawn between the revisions of the vulgate and new anonymous commentaries making use of the vulgate.

Nevertheless, it seems useful to group a number of commentaries from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries into three other vulgate traditions. The first two appear in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and one may regard them as coming out of twelfth-century literary scholarship and philosophy. It will be remembered that a marked characteristic of the early vulgate traditions was their ‘variorum’ and even confused character. Because of the ways in which the commentaries had emerged from, or had passed through, stages of interlinear and marginal glosses, the Introduction and the early sections of the commentary had been considerably confused. Further, the character of the early vulgate traditions as compilations

left the impression of a mass of material, often contradictory, with no attempt at a general ordering or a decision among various points of view.

In Traditions C and D, we find attempts to remedy this situation. Thus in the most influential example of Tradition C (Florence, Laurenz. pl. 37, 30) we find a firmly ordered Introduction under eight headings; this is followed by an account of *Satyra* and of the satyrs. The anonymous author then presents some introductory remarks on the *Prologus*, which is then given a detailed commentary. Similarly at the beginning of *Satyra I* we find an attempt to see the *Satire* as a unit, by emphasizing that Persius is attacking the whole human race under the three specific headings of readers, reciters, and listeners.

A similar procedure is found throughout the remainder of the work, and another variant on the same theme may be found in Tradition D.

Finally, a somewhat different revision, more in the direction of fifteenth century humanism, is found in Tradition E. In some ways there is less change here than in Traditions C and D, and one might regard Tradition E as a fresh start from something like the early vulgate Traditions. In this case, however, the change is not so much in the direction of what one is almost tempted to call 'scholastic' order, as it is in the direction of the new literary universe of discourse of the Italian Renaissance. The 'barbarisms' of the older commentary are at least partially eliminated; more and more Persius is taken into the Renaissance understanding of the world of the classic authors. It is typical of the commentary that the author remarks in his discussion of *Sat. I, 1* Sed melius est ut exponamus hunc locum quemadmodum Cicero dicit in . . . *De oratore*. But all in all, it remains true that however much transformed, this is still in its essentials the vulgate commentary.

Tradition C.

One may group under Tradition C a number of commentaries of the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries which

reflect a similar organization, though they differ in detail. All begin with a more elaborate introduction than that found in Traditions A or B. This includes older material on Persius' *Vita* and on the nature of Satire, but it is now ordered systematically around the general questions which should be discussed at the beginning of any commentary. All of them organize their analysis of *Satyra I* around the fact that Persius is here attacking the whole human race under the three headings of writers, reciters, and auditors. Of the various forms of Tradition C found from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, it appears that only that of Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana pl. 37, 20 survives in fifteenth-century manuscripts.

a) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana pl. 37, 20.

Introduction (fol. 1). In principio huius libri octo sunt videnda. I. de vita auctoris. II. de causa suscepti operis. III. quae materia operis. IV. quae intentio auctoris. V. quae utilitas. VI. cui parti philosophiae subponatur. VII. quis libri titulus. VIII. quis modus loquendi.

Ad I. Auctor iste nomine Aulus Persius Flaccus, natione Tuscus fuit. Est enim natus in Etruria Vulturis, eques Romanus, genere clarissimus, affinitate primi ordinis viris coniunctus, carmine satyricus . . . Sed a Cornuto emendatus est sic: *Auriculas asini quis non habet?* ne Nero in se dictum existimaret (*Sat. I, 121*). Haec sunt de vita auctoris.

Ad II. Persius apud se deliberavit ut scriberet necne. Incepit et destitit. Postea vero intolerantia vitiorum commotus hoc opus incepit quod et perfecit et scripsit causa suscepti operis. Scripsit enim ut favorem Romanorum captaret. Scripsit etiam causa gloriae, quae est potissima causa scribendi omnibus auctoris, unde Ovidius: Gloria vos acuat. [Ovid, *Ep. ex Ponto I, 5, 57*].

(fol. 1v) Ad III. Materia huius libri est illa communis omnium satyricorum, scilicet, vitium sive reprehensio vitiorum.

Ad quartum. Intentio sua est dissuadere sive dehortari nos a vitiis et persuadere ad virtutes. Nam egressus vitii ingressus ad

virtutes. Et haec est principalis intentio quae per totum libri textum discurrit. Sunt autem secundariae intentiones per singulas distinctiones quas satyras appellamus, et eas suis locis explicabimus.

Ad V. Utilitas est vitiorum depositio, sordium abiection, et per consequens virtutum informatio.

Ad 6. Ethicae supponitur, id est morali philosophiae. Licet enim praexcepta de moribus non tradat, tamen nos ad mores instituit per vitiorum expulsionem.

Ad 7. Titulus talis est. Auli Persii Flacci satyrarum liber incipit. Non dicitur *primus*, quippe cum sit tantum unus. Ubi enim deficit numerus, deficit ordo.

Ad 8. Modus loquendi quandoque dialogus sive dragmaticus, ut in prima satyra; ut in pluribus autem est exegematicus (sic), raro autem mysticus.

Nunc videndum est unde dicatur satyra. Satyra dicitur a *satura* quae est quaedam lanx, vel quidam clarnus vel scutella in templis deorum . . . (a discussion of *satyra* and of *satyri*) . . . Vel dicitur satyra a satyra lege apud Romanos lata, quae verbis fucatis fallit. Sic et satyra aliud dicere videatur et aliud significare.

In hac prima satyra autor utitur prologo in quo reprehendit poetas, non quoslibet sed illos qui sine praemissio exercitio scribebant, hoc solo freti, quod de Pegaseo fonte potassent vel quod in Parnaso monte dormissent. Dicit autem se neque hoc modo neque illo sapientiam acquisisse. Et est causa quare in primis notet homines suae professionis participes, scilicet poetas, ut alii minime putent eum sibi parcitum sive parsurum.

Sciendum est istum prologum iambico metro fuisse scriptum. Sed vitio scriptorum vel metro nobis ignoto, metrum non potest distingui, neque in littera potest assignari. Quidam vero dicunt quod sit prosaice descriptum.

Commentary. [Inc.] : (fol. 2) *Nec fonte* (Prol. 1). Talis ad litteram fiat accessus. Caeteri poetae se profitentur spiritum poesis accepisse vel potando de Pegaseo fonte vel soniando (sic) se in Parnaso monte dormivisse. Sed ego ad poeticum accedo officium hac nec illac ductus occasione et . . .

caballino non equino quod satyrae humiliora convenient. *caballino*, i. Pegaseo quoniam Pegasus equus ille divinus fontem procreasse dicitur . . . / . . . *melos* (Prol. 14) indeclinabile et est ironice dictum. *cantare* sint conati. non solum potuerunt loqui humana voce sed etiam carmina facere.

Sat. I, 1. Finita illa satyra qua usus est pro prologo modo quasi librum suum ingreditur. In cuius prima satyra fere totum humanum genus reprehendit, et in his tribus generibus fere totum humanum genus comprehendit, scriptores, recitatores, auditores, scriptores quia inutilia scribunt, recitatores quia inutilia recitant, auditores quia inutilibus aures praebent. Et in his tribus generibus hominum fere totum genus humanum reprehenditur. Considerans itaque Persius illos inutiliter scribere, illos inutilia recitare, illos inutilius recitatis aures praebere, ingemescentes clamant, dicens *O curas* (*Sat.* I, 1), quod autem ipse satyricus sit ex ipsius libri principio ostendit. Cum enim caeteri auctores ex aliqua delectione incipient, satyrici ex abrupto clament . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] (fol. 27v) *Inventus Chrysippe* (*Sat.* VI, 80) Haec sunt verba Persii de illo avaro. Chrysippus iste quidam philosophus Stoicus fuit qui quoddam inconveniens probare proposuit, et ad hoc multas probationes adduxit et numquam probare potuit, et tamen finem argumentis licet innumeris posuit. Et hoc est *finitor* pro *finis*, vel finitor ipse Chrysippus est inventus, quod dicit, Chrysippus imposuit finem suae probationi; avarus vero numquam imposuit finem suae cupiditati. Unde haec: Maneat enim semper necesse est quae possit expleri cupiditas (Cf. Boethius, *Consolatio III*, Prosa III, 52).

Manuscript :

(micro.) Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, pl. 37, 20 s. XIII, membr., fols. 1-28v. (Bandini, *Catalogus II*, 256; Scarcia 130; C. Marchesi, *op. cit.*).

Editions :

1843 in Jahn, *op. cit.* 238-40. Introduction only.

1912, in Marchesi, *op. cit.* XL (1912) 6-9 Introduction ; 14-36, selections.

b) Vatican City, Regin. lat. 1401.

Liber Satyrarum Persii non textus sed commentum. *Introduction* (fol. 82) [Inc.] : Testante Bo(ethio) in principio uniuscuiusque libri vel auctoris V sunt praedicenda, scilicet quis titulus, quae materia, quae utilitas, quae intentio, cui parti philosophiae supponatur.

Titulus autem istius talis est : Aulii Flacci Persii liber Satyrarum incipit.

Videndum etiam est de vita poetae. Iste Persius fuit natus patre Flacco, matre Fulvia Sisella (?), natus in Etruria Vulterrī pridie kalendas Decembris, regnantibus consulibus Romanis Iuno Sisinnio Vitellio. Mortuo autem patre suo, quidam nobilis matrem duxit. Iste vero cum post mortem patris sex annorum esset, in civitate sua usque ad duodecimum annum studuit. Postea venit Romam, et ibi Remi (sic) Palemonis in grammatica et poetria (?) discipulus usque ad sextumdecimum annum permansit. Inde apud Annaeum Cornutum peritum (?) in artibus virum se transtulit ; ibi socios habuit Lucanum et Bassum.

Composuit autem quosdam versus, quos Lucanus eius discipulus audiens invidit et admirans quod in pueritia sua tantum prae multis profecisset. Persius autem cum de gradu in gradum ascenderet, istum librum composuit xx aetatis suae anno, tricesimo vero anno obiit viii kalendas Decembris. Sed sepultus fuit in praediis suis in via Appia quae per octo millaria distat ab urbe. Matri vero suae possessionem suam reliquit. Cornutus vero librum istum requisitum (sic) a matre sua, quo habito supra ipsum est / (fol. 82, second column) commentatus.

Intentio huius est Romanos communiter reprehendere, primum seipsum postea alios poetas, et sic usque ad nationem. Intermiscuit (?) hoc s. Auriculas asini habet Mida rex, et hoc de Nerone dixit. Cornutus autem timens ne hoc in publicum deferretur dictum de Nerone *Mida rex* ista duo vocabula delevit et sic correxit : Auriculas asini quis non habet ?

Materia Persii fuit vitia Romanorum.

Utilitas est vitiorum exstirpatio et bonorum morum insertio. Vitia enim exstirpat quando male aentes (?) reprehendit.

Cui parti philosophiae supponatur ? liquidο appareat quia ethicae, nam de moribus agitur in hoc libro.

Vero restat videre ubi inventa sit satyra, et unde dicatur satyra, et quid sit. Antiqui solebant facere duo sacrificia in anno, unum s. Bromio, i. Baccho, alterum Nomio, i. Phoebo. Bromin Graece vorax latine (?), inde Bromius, i. Bacchus deus voracitatis. Phoebus dicitur nomius a nomos i. lux, inde Nomius dicitur Phoebus . . . (an account of the rites and how they led to satyric poetry) . . . (fol. 82v) . . .

Satyra dicitur a satyris. Satyri enim dicuntur quaedam animalia simiae similia quae dii silvarum appellantur . . . / . . . eodem modo satyra plena diversis vitiis est.

Nunc quid sit satyra videamus. Satyra dicitur illud quod ab una capitali littera continetur usque ad aliam, sicut in commedia, illud vocatur cena (sic, for *scena*) quae ab una capitali littera usqua ad aliam continetur.

Commentary. [Inc.] : *Nec fonte* (Prol. 1). Persius reprehensurus vitia Romanorum in hoc opere praemittit prologum. Non facit autem more satyricorum aliorum quorum non est prologum praemittere . . . / . . . (on Prol. 13). et notate quod talis differentia est inter poetam et poetrida quia poeta est factor poematis, poetrida vero dans poetica pracepta.

O curas hominum (*Sat.* I, 1). In hac satyra prima intentio Persii est tria genera hominum reprehendere scilicet scribentes et recitantes et auscultantes : scribentes ideo quia inutilia scribunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] : (fol. 101v) *filius terrae* (cf. *Sat VI*, 59) idest antiquus est filius terrae / (fi)lius terrae deputatur et iste Mannius (VI, 60) qui filius fuit terrae. Exit mihi n.g.i. (?) secundum consuetudinem (breaks off).

Manuscript :

(micro.) Vatican City, Regin. lat. 1401, s. XII, misc., membr., fols. 82-101v. (Kristeller *Iter*, II, 402; Scarcia 506).

c) Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek 434.

(fol. 163v) Incipit liber Satyrarum Persii.

Introduction. [Inc.] : Ductor (sic, for *auctor*) iste Persius nomine, natione Tuscus, genere clarissimus, dictandi carmine saty-

ricus, prius Passo (sic, for *Basso*) philosopho dicente (?) didicit, postea vero disciplinam eius egressus ad Cornutum se transtulit. Ad utrumque quandam satyram in fine sui operis scribit, paenultimam Cornuto, ultimam Basso.

Hic primum apud se deliberavit utrum scribit necne. Inchoavit et destitit, postea vero intolerantia compulsus hoc opus incepit quod et perfecit. In quo communem materiam omnium satyricorum, s. vitium habet, et illam communem intentionem eorundem, s. dehortari a vitiis. Et haec est principalis intentio quae per totum libri textum discurrit. Sunt autem secundariae intentiones per singulas distinctiones quas satyras nuncupamus; illas dicemus suis in locis.

Utilitas maxima est, s. vitiorum depositio.

Titulus talis est, Persii liber Satyrorum incipit. Non dicitur primus cum non sit nisi unus. Ubi enim ordo deficit numerus (sic, see Florence, pl. 37, 20: Ubi enim deficit numerus, deficit ordo).

modo videamus unde dicatur satyra. Satyra dicitur a statura quod erat quaedam lanx, vel clarsius (sic, for *clarnus*) vel scutella in templis deorum quae diversis ferocolorum / (164a) generibus replebatur, ita et satyra diversis vitiorum generibus est repleta. Vel ut melius dicamus, satyra dicitur a satyris diis nemorum, propter quasdam qualitates tam satyrae quam satyris convenientes. Satyri enim sunt leves, et nudi, dicaces, derisores, saltatores, capripedes . . . (the author develops each quality briefly) . . . Satyri sunt capripedes i. foetidi quia capra foetidum animal est. Similiter et satyra est foetida propter foetidos sermones quibus utitur.

Hac prima satyra utitur vice prologi in qua reprehendit poetas non quoslibet, sed illos qui sine praemissio exercitio scribebant, in hoc tantum freti quod de Pegaseo fonte bibissent, vel quod in Barnaso (sic) monte dormissent. Et est causa reprehendere, alii minime aestiment persurum (sic). Nunc ad litteram descendamus.

Commentary. [Inc.] : *Nec fon. la.* (Prol. 1). Ipsi dicunt quod vel sompniando in Parnaso monte vel potando de Pegaseo fonte fiunt sapientes. Sed ego hoc non feci. Et hoc

est. *Nec. fon. pro. i.* exterius humectavi labra sicut illi qui se exterius humectabant et intus ab humore sapientiae sicci erant. *Caballino.* i. Pegaseo. Hic tangit fabulam, Tres sorores erant Stennio, Euriale, Medusa . . . Cornutus ita allegorizat hanc fabulam . . . (164v) Inter illos et poetas facit comparationem propter nimiam gar-/ (165) rulitatem et hoc est cor(vos) poetas idest similes poetis effectas (sic?) *Can(tare) Pega* (*seium*) *me(los)* (Prol. 14) idest. Pegaseiam dulcedinem. *Melos* dixit ironice.

O curas hominum. (Sat. I, 1). Finita satyra qua usus est pro prologo quasi librum suum ingreditur in quo reprehendit fere omne genus hominum. Reprehendit scriptores et recitatores, auditores. Scriptores quia inutilia scribunt, recitatores quia inutilia recitant, auditores quia inutilibus recitatis aures accomodant. Consideras (sic, for *considerans*) autem illos inutiliter scribere, illos inutilia recitare, illos quoque inutilibus recitatis aures praebere, quasi ingemiscens exclamat. Et satis ex ipsius libri principio patet ipsum esse satyricum. Cum enim caeteri auctores ex quadam delectatione incipient, omnes satyrici ex abrupto incipiunt . . . / . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 182) (on Sat. VI, 80) q.d. Chrysippus proposito suo finem invenit, inconveniens probare non / (fol. 182v) potuit. Sed avarus voto suo numquam finem imponit, quia nunquam satiabitur. Chrysippus iste suscepit quoddam inconveniens probare et plures argumentationes induxit, neque illud inconveniens probare potuit, et ideo finem sua probatio imposuit. Explicit.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek 434 (Irm. 264), s. XIII-XIV, membr., fols. 163v-182v. (H. Fischer, *Die lateinischen Pergamenthandschriften* I, 521-26; Scarcia 101).

d) Oxford, Bodleian, Canon. Bibl. lat. 34.

The manuscript contains fragments of a Persius commentary on isolated folios at the beginning and the end. One fragment extends from the middle of the commentary on Prol. 1 through Prol. 11; the other includes the commentary on Sat. I, 71-97. The fragments preserved correspond very

closely with the text of Tradition C as it is found in such fifteenth-century manuscripts as Vatican, Ross. lat. 801, Augsburg, Stadtbibliothek 2^o cod. 119, and Fiecht, Stiftsbibliothek IV, 171.

Fol. III (249 alt.) omnes famam volunt habere quamvis eam non mereantur opere.

Nec fonte labra (*Prol.* 1). In hoc primo versu notat Hesiodum Ascraeum poetam quem imitatur Virgilius in *Georgicis*, qui hoc solo fatus quod de fonte illo potavit absque alio praemissu exercitio poetavit . . . (This portion of the Oxford fragments corresponds with what is found in Vat. Ross. lat. 801. See below.) . . . [Expl.] *Ut ramale vetus* (I, 97) . . . displicens est sicut cortex arboris vetustate qui sole est fissus tempestate deturpatus praegrandi est vel degrandi (sic, cf. Sat. I, 97 *vegrandi*). Superest interior cortex quasi interiora et exteriora reopta (sic) et rusticiter dicta (end of page) . . .

Manuscript:

(micro.) Oxford, Bodleian, Canon. Bibl. lat. 34, s. XIII, membr. Fragments of commentary on isolated folios at beginning and end (Coxe III, 261; Scarcia 332).

e) Fifteenth century manuscripts of Tradition C.

1. Vatican, Ross. lat. 801.

Introduction. [Inc.] : (fol. 1) Auctor iste nomine Persius natione Tuscus genere clarissimus carmine satyricus, Basso philosopho docente primo didicit, post vero eius egressus disciplinam causa maioris et subtilioris philosophiae ad Cornutum magistrum suum se transtulit . . . (the introduction includes an extended discussion of satire and also of meter) . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 4) Iterum corvo (sic) poetas et poetridas cantare credas Pegaseum melos (cf. *Prol.* 13-14).

Commentary. [Inc.] : *Nec fonte etc.* (*Prol.* 1). nec requiritur istud enim nec requiritur aliud, q.d. poetae illi vel potando de Pegaseo fonte vel se soniendo (sic) in Parnaso se sapientiam dicunt acquisisse et se poetas esse profitentur . . . (after an account of the fable of Phorcus and his three daughters, the author returns to the *Prol.*) . . . *Nec fonte labra* (*Prol.* 1). In hoc primo versu notat Hesiodum Ascraeum poetam quem

imitatur Virgilius in *Georgicis* qui hoc solo fatus quod de fonte illo potavit absque alio praemissu exercitio poetavit . . . / . . . corvos poetas et poetridas picas vocavit, picas eos feminino genere propter eorum lasciviam et mollitiem . . . (deleted?) *Pegaseum melos* (*Prol.* 14). poeticam dulcedinem et est ironia, hoc melos indeclinabile.

O curas hominum (*Sat.* I, 1). Finita illa satyra in qua usus est prologo modo quasi librum ingreditur. In cuius prima satyra fere omne genus humanum reprehendit. Sic quidem reprehendit scriptores, recitatores, auditores, qui inutilibus recitatis aurem praebent. In his tribus generibus hominum fere totum genus humanum comprehenditur. Considerans itaque autor illos inutiliter scribere, illos inutiliter recitare, illos inutiliter audire, ingemiscens exclamat. Quod autem ipse satyricus sit ex ipsius libri principio satis patenter ostendit. . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 39v.) *Inventus Chrysippe* (*Sat.* VI, 80). Iste fuit quidam Stoicus qui quoddam inconveniens promisit se probare et ad probandum infinita adduxit argumenta. Neque tamen probare potuit et tamen finem argumentis suis quamvis innumeris (MS: inmoneris) opposuit. Avarus vero numquam avaritiae sua finem inveniet. Unde Boethius : Maneat enim semper necesse quae possit expleri (*Consolatio III*, Prosa III 52). *Acervi.* Acervosae cumulationis. *In rugam* (*Sat.* VI, 79). tractum est a vestibus. Deo gratias. Amen, 1439.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Vatican City, Ross. lat. 801, a. 1439, cart., fol. 1-40. Attributed to Cornutus. (Scarcia 519).

2. Other fifteenth-century manuscripts of Tradition C.

(micro.) Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 303, s. XV, misc., cart., fols. 83bis-107v. Anonymous. Inserted between fols. 83 and 84 is a smaller folio, in the same hand, containing an Introduction. (Mazzatinti IV, 69; Scarcia 6; Kristeller, *Iter* I, 5).

(photo.) Augsburg, Staats-Kreis- und Stadtbibliothek, 2^o cod. 119, s. XV, cart., fols. 68-100v. Anonymous. G. C. Mezger, *Geschichte . . . 84*; Scarcia 7).

(micro.) Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, cod. 12, Busta I, no. 10, fols. 1-65v, s. XV, cart., fol. 1-65v. (Frati, "Indice dei codici latini . . ." 112, no. 21; Scarcia 51).

(micro.) Fiecht, Stiftsbibliothek (olim Bibliothek des Benediktinerstiftes Georgenberg) IV, 171, a. 1463, cart., fols. 37v-115. The colophon reads: Explicit commentum super Perseo poeta satyrico feliciter pridie kalendas Februarias 1463. (A. Zingerle, "Zu den Persiusscholien"; idem. *Commentationes Oenopontanae* IV [1909] 2; Scarcia 111).

(micro.) Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Gamma H 6, 56 (Campori 54), s. XV-XVI, misc. cart., fols. 1-25v. With Introduction. Anonymous. (L. Lodi, *Catalogo* 43; Kristeller, *Iter* I, 390; Scarcia 276).

Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Aldini 407. s. XV, 2 mss., cart., fols. 1-28. (De Marchi-Bertolani, *Inventario* I, 229-30; Scarcia 403).

(micro.) Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, H. 63, s. XV-XVI, misc., cart., fols. 45-82v. With Introduction. Anonymous. (Mazzatinti V, 153 no. 578; Kristeller, *Iter* II, 58; Scarcia 407).

(micro.) Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana 50, s. XV-XVI in., cart., fols. 139-204v. Anonymous. Commentary on Sat. I, 1-IV, 3 and VI, 38-80. (Mazzatinti. XXIX, 22; Kristeller, *Iter* II, 64; S. Ferri, *Studi italiani di filologia classica* N.S. I (1920) 324 no. 17).

(micro.) Vatican, Vat. lat. 2741, s. XV-XVI, misc., cart., fols. 1-15. Anonymous. Ends with Sat. V, 125 (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 353; Scarcia 536; S. Lattes, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'histoire*. XLVIII [1931] 352).

Tradition D.

a) Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana S. XXV, 1.

Introduction (fol. 147) [Inc.] Aulus Persius Flaccus natus est pridie nonas Decembris . . . / . . . ne hoc in se dictum Nero arbitraretur.

Persius hic diu dubitans an poetiae inumberet . . . / . . . Fuit autem Senator genere Tuscus, discipulus Bassi philosophi.

Hoc vero initium carminis, videlicet praefatio, tragicum est a declamatione scan-

dere incipiens. In hac autem praefatione / (fol. 147v) apologiam idest excusationem facit. Et excusat se quodammodo non ideo scripsisse ut poeta appareret, sed potius impulsu quodam mentis, quod tunc videbat multos poetiae incumbere, ut inde salarium mererentur. Salarium vero est praebenda unius diei. Unde ostendit se coactum ut scriberet, unde non poetam se videri vel vocari vult. Et per suam personam vult intelligi aliorum personas qui ob famem scribebant.

Satyrae proprium est ut vera humiliter dicat et omnia consona faciat. Item satyra dicta quae variis rebus continetur, s. rex (sic, for *lex*) apud Romanos lata quae fucatis verbis fallit audientes, ut aliud dicat aliud vero significet.

Nec fonte labra prolui caballino (*Prol.* 1). Quod Hesiodus dicit. Dicitur enim Pegasmus equum alatum ad Heliconem montem errando pervenisse . . . / . . . *Petridas* (sic) *picas* (*Prol.* 13). i. poema vel petriam (sic) componentes picis comparatos. *Melos* (*Prol.* 14) vel nectar Pegaseum, i. dulce carmen.

O curas hominum. Opus principale agreditur et ponit O ad exprimendam indignationem et ex abrupto incipit i. ego curas hominum dico esse inanes, i. exinanitas. Vel curas hominum i. genus humanum plenum curis et sollicitudinibus dum circa inania student. de quibus / (fol. 148) laudari cupiunt. Ait ergo. *Cura ho. inanes*, quos sine fructu laborare videt. *Quis leget haec?* (*Sat.* I, 2) . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] (fol. 171) *Inventus Chrysippus tui finitor acervi* (*Sat.* VI, 80) Chrysippus philosophus Stoicus syllogismum soritem vocavit quem per adiectionem et detractionem ex acervi frumentarii similitudine ostendit. Ergo poeta hoc dicit: Quantacumque avaro abundantia crescat substantiae, non satiatur, et sic in infinitum cupiditatis desiderium extendit, ut qui avaritiae eius finem voluerit impnere, facile videatur etiam syllogismum Chrysippi definire.

Explicit Cornuti commentum in Persium.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, S. XXV, 1. s. XII, membr., fols. 147-171. (R. Zazzeri, *Sui codici* 457-58; J. M. Muccioli, *Catalogus* II, 163; Scarcia 85).

b. Fifteenth-century manuscripts of Tradition D.

1. Bern, Burgerbibliothek 539.

Introduction. [Inc.] : (fol. 24) Aulus Persius Flaccus natus est pridie nonas Decembris Fabio Persio Lutio Vitelioque consulibus . . . (there follows the *Vita*) . . . (fol. 24v) ne hoc in se dictum arbitraretur.

Persius hic diu dubitavit utrum militiae an poetriae incumberet, tandem ad satyram scribendam animum applicuit, et cum coepisset, utramque rem inchoavit. Unde ex sua ipsius animi mutabilitate scribere inchoavit. Fuit autem senator genere Tuscus, discipulus Bassi philosophi. Hoc vero initium carminis, videlicet praefatio, tragicum est a declamatione scandere inciens.

In hac autem praefatione apologiam, idest excusationem, facit et excusat se quodammodo, non ideo scripsisse ut poeta appareret, sed potius impulsu quodam mentis, quod tunc videbat multos poetriae incumbere, ut inde salarium mererentur; salarium est praebenda unius diei. Vel ostendit se fame coactum ut scribebat. Unde non poetam se videri vel vocari vult, et per suam personam vult intelligi aliorum personas, qui ob famem scribebant.

Satyrae proprium est ut vera humiliter dicat et omnia cum sanna (?) facit. Item satyra dicitur quae variis rebus continetur. Item satyra lex apud Romanos lata quae fucatis verbis fallit iudicantes ut aliud dicat, aliud significet.

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Nempe (sic) fonte labra prolui caballino.* Quod Exodus dicit. Dicitur enim Pegasum equum alatum ad Heliconem montem errando pervenisse ubique (sic) siti oppressum ungula fodiisse ex quo loco fons editus Musis fuit consecratus. . . . Credas poetas nostros corvos, i. corvis comparatos, qui corvino lucro inducti non solum cantare possunt sed etiam carmen effingere. *Poetridas picas* (*Prol.* 13) poema vel poetriam componentes picis comparatos. *Melos* (*Prol.* 14) nectar Pegaseum, idest dulce carmen. *O curas hominum* (*Sat.* I, 1) Opus principale aggreditur et ponit O ad exprimendam indignationem et ab (sic) ex abrupto incipit, id est ego curas hominum dico esse inanes, id est esse

inanitas vel curas hominum, id est ingenium humanum plenum curis et sollicitudinibus dum circa inania student, de quibus laudari cupiunt. Ait ergo curas hominum inanes, quos sine fructu laborare videt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 61) *Inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi* (*Sat.* VI, 80). Chrysippus philosophus Stoicus syllogismum soriten posuit et vocavit quem per adiectionem et detractationem ex acervi frumentarii similitudine ostendit. Ergo poeta hoc dicit: quantacumque avaro abundantia crescat substantiae, non satiatur, et sic in infinitum cupiditatis desiderium extendit, ut qui avaritiae eius finem voluerit imponere, facile videatur etiam syllogismum Chrysippi diffinire.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Bern, Burgerbibliothek 539, s. XV, cart., fols. 23-61. Followed by an incomplete commentary on Juvenal in the same hand. Both commentaries were part of another manuscript of French origin. (Hagen, *Catalogus* 449; Scarcia 44; Kurz, op. cit. v-vi.; Sanford, CTC I, 199).

2. Other manuscripts of Tradition D.

Cambridge, Mass. Unnumbered manuscript bound with edition of Bartholomaeus Fontius, *Commentary on Persius* (Venetiis, 1482 = HC 12721), with shelf-mark Inc 4444 (A). Not in Scarcia. The volume was formerly Phillipps 2897 (cf. *Cat. lib. mss. in Bibl. D. Thomae Phillipps* London, 1968 p. 33); the manuscript is in an Italian hand of the fifteenth century, and is numbered pp. 1-21. The commentary is fragmentary and goes through *Sat.* II, 66 at the bottom of p. 20. P. 21 begins with *Sat.* III, 15 and goes through III, 28; the verso is blank. For the most part the manuscript appears to follow closely in Tradition D, but it is interesting that in the neighborhood of *Sat.* I, 11 an Introduction has been intruded; curiously enough this is the exact point at which in Leiden Bibl. pub. lat. 78 and other manuscripts a double commentary appeared (see above p. 217). The location of the Introduction may be briefly indicated:

(fol. 2) . . . *Et nostrum istud vivere triste* (*Sat.* I, 9) i. nostram vitam tristem. *Nucibus relicitis* (I, 10), i. ludis puerilibus dimissis vel depositis.

In principio istius libri videndum est quae sit materia, quae intentio, quae utilitas, quae causa suscepti operis, quis titulus et cui parti philosophiae supponatur.

Virtutes, mores, et honestum sunt materia Persii in hoc libro.

Intentio ipsius est invitare auditores ad virtutes et mores . . . (the author goes through a rather truncated introduction and divides the work into its parts ; he goes on into an exposition of *Sat.* I, 1 but quickly slips to I, 11) . . . et tractat de instructione vitae nostrae, prima Satyra s. *O curas hominum* (*Sat.* I, 1). Utitur prologo et excusat se non ideo scripsisse ut poeta appareret sed potius impulsu mentis, quia tunc videbat quosdam poetriae intendere propter victimum unius diei. unde ostendit se coactum fame ut scriberet et per suam personam vult intelligi aliorum personas qui ob famem scribebant.

Venero ad gravitatem omissis nucibus (cf. I, 10) quibus pueri ludunt. Cum sapimus patruos (I, 11). patruos dicit severos . . .

(micro.) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Acquisti e Doni 265 (Phillipps 9222 and 654) a. 1451, membr., fols. 1-51. Anonymous. With an introduction. The colophon reads : Ego Thomasinus filius Laurentii de leve de mozanicha brusata scripsi hunc Persium MCCCCCLI die XI mensis octobris. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 102 ; Scarcia 138).

(micro.) Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1220 I (N.I. 35), a. 1497, cart., fols. 21-106. With Introduction. The manuscript also contains Bartholomaeus Fontius, *De locis Persianis*. (J. Lamius, *Catalogus* 192 ; S. Morpurgo, *I Manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, v. I, 287 ; Scarcia 178.).

London, British Museum, Harleian 4741, s. XV, cart. (Nares, *Catalogue* III, 198 ; Scarcia 236).

(micro.) Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 50 sup., s. XV, cart., fols. 153-82. With Introduction. (R. Sabbadini, *Studi italiani de filologia classica* XI (1903) 202-03 ; Scarcia 256).

(micro.) — — N 160 sup, s. XV, cart., fols. 1-48v. Anonymous. With introduction ; on *Sat.* I, 1-V, 48 ; fols. 50-99 on *Sat.*

I, 47-VI, 7. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 302 ; Scarcia 263 ; Marchesi, *op. cit.* XXXIX (1911) 583-4).

(micro.) — — R 7 sup., s. XV, cart., fol. i-54. Anonymous. With Introduction. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 309 ; Scarcia 267.).

(micro.) Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braldense AD XIII 41, s. XV, misc., cart., fols. 140-175v. Anonymous. With Introduction, fols. 140-141. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 356 ; Scarcia 272).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 8276, s. XV, cart., (*Catalogus*, IV 1744, 444).

(micro.) Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 1350 (T. 4. 15), s. XV ex., misc., cart., fols. 272-86. With Introduction. (Narducci, *Catalogus* I, 567-68 ; Scarcia 424).

(micro.) Vatican City, Vat. lat. 1518, s. XV, membr., fols. 110-116v. With Introduction. (Nogara, *Codices* 40-41 ; Scarcia 529).

— Vat. lat. 1662, s. XIV ex.-XV in., membr., fols. 15-57v. With Introduction. (Nogara, *Codices* 138 ; Scarcia 532).

— Vat. lat. 2738, s. XV, misc., cart., fols. 335-82v. Anonymous. On *Sat.* I, 92-VI, 80. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 351 ; Scarcia 535 ; S. Lattès, *Mél. Archéol.* XLVIII [1931] 342).

— Ottob. lat. 1146, s. XV, cart., fols. 110-39. With Introduction. (Scarcia 490 ; E. M. Sanford, CTC I, 206 ; R. Sabbadini, *Scuola e Studii di Guarino Guarini veronese* [Catania, 1896] 93 ; G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio* [Studi e Testi 75] 248 n.).

(micro.) — Ottob. lat. 1434, s. XV, membr., fols. 124-74. Anonymous. With Introduction. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 417 ; Scarcia 492).

— Ross. lat. 800. (X, 179) s. XV in., cart. fols. 2v-64. With Introduction. Explicit Cornuti commentum in Persio. (Scarcia 518).

Tradition E.

1. Florence, Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, Pl. 52, 4.

Introduction. [Inc.] : (fol. 133) Aulus Persius Flaccus natus est pridie nonas Decembrium, Fabio Persio L. Utellio (sic) consuli-bus . . . (a Vita of Persius) . . . (fol. 134v) in eum modum a Cornuto ipse est emenda-

tus : *Auriculas asint quis non habet* (*Sat.* I, 120) ne hoc Nero in se dictum arbitraretur, in quem constabat esse compositum.

Satyrae proprium est ut vera humiliter dicat et omnia sana faciat . . . (a brief collection of definitions adapted from the older accounts) . . . Satyra igitur a satiate dicta eo quod plena sit convitiis et reprehensionibus hominum.

Commentary. *Nec fonte labra prolui cabbino* (*Prol.* 1). Quod Hesiodus dixit. Dicitur enim Pegasus errando ad Eliconem pervenisse ibique siti oppressus ungula fodisse, ex quo loco fons editus Musis sit consecratus et qui bibit de eo protinus efficitur poeta . . . / . . . *Corvos poetas* (*Prol.* 13). volucres poetae studentes quod corvino lucro induci non solum cantare possunt, sed etiam carmina effingere. *Cantare credas* (*Prol.* 15). non solum poterunt loqui humana voce, sed etiam carmina facere.

O curas hominum (*Sat.* I, 1). Suspense est legendum, et ponit exclamationem; vel omnem (sic) genus humanum plenum est curis et sollicitudinibus, dum magna student, de quibus cupiunt laudari, quod multi sic exponunt; vel *O curas hominum* ironice dictum sit, 'O hominum, cogitationes inanes', alii vero cum admiratione dicunt dictum, 'o curas hominum' quorum sollicitudo usque in divinarum rerum tractatum idole (sic); Marchesi: *audet*) pervenire, qui etiam de divinis rebus tractaverunt; exponunt: quantum est in ipsis, inquit, tractatibus credendum est inane. Sed melius est ut exponamus hunc locum quemadmodum Cicero dicit in libro IV *De oratore* (sc. *De oratore* III, 7) . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] : (fol. 178) *Inventus, Chrysippe, tui servator agelli* (sic. cf. *Sat.* VI, 80). hoc dixit: sicut non possunt (sic) inveniri diffinitio syllogismi Chrysippi, ita non potest inveniri qui possit ponere finem cupiditati avari. Chrysippus Stoicus philosophus fuit, qui syllogismum quendam qui sirotum (sic) dicebatur adinvenit quem per additionem et detractionem acervi frumentarii habere similitudinem ostendit. Ergo poeta hoc dicit: quantacumque abundantia avaro crescat substantiae, non satiatur et sic infinitum cupiditatem suam extendit, ut qui eius avaritiae finem value-

rit ponere, facile videatur etiam syllogismum Chrysippi definire.

Finis. Hunc librum scripsit Bastianus Pistoriensis.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, pl. 52, 4, s. XV, membr., fols. 133-78. (Bandini, *Catalogus II*, 547-48; Marchesi, *op. cit.* XL (1912) 193-201; Scarcia 133).

Edition:

1912. Marchesi, *op. cit.* published selections pp. 201-06.

2. Other manuscripts of Tradition E.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, pl. 53, 23, a. 1463, cart., fols. 147v-202. With Introduction. Marchesi, *op. cit.* XL (1912) 193 says that this manuscript, pl. 54, 4, and Riccard. 664 are so similar that they must have been copied one from the other or from a common source. The colophon reads: Hunc librum transcripsit Francischus Philippi Pancratii de Oricellariis, die secunda Ianuarii 1463. (Bandini, *Catalogus II*, 679; Scarcia 135; Marchesi, as above).

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 664, s. XV, membr., fols. 161-210v. With Introduction. See the remarks on the preceding manuscript. (*Inventario e Stima* 17; Scarcia 171; Marchesi, as for preceding manuscript).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8275, s. XV, cart. (*Catalogus IV*, 1744, 444; Scarcia 377).

Vatican City, Urb. lat. 664, between 1444 and 1464, membr., fols. 126v-168. With Introduction. (Stornaiolo, *Codices* 174-75; Scarcia 527).

(micro.) Verona, Biblioteca Comunale 1182-83, fols. 1-33. Bound with another manuscript containing Nonius Marcellus (cf. Biadego, *Catalogo* p. 132, no. 190; not in Scarcia).

C. The printed 'Cornutus'.

Somewhat surprisingly, there were no early printed editions of any form of the vulgate commentary. However in 1499, 'Cornutus' was printed in an edition also containing the commentaries of Johannes Britannicus and Bartholomaeus Fontius. It was reprinted four times, or possibly five,

but then dropped out of sight. In 1563 Elias Vinetus produced what he thought was an *editio princeps* of Cornutus, from a manuscript notably different from that used in 1499; this was twice reprinted with slight changes in 1601 and in 1613. Meanwhile in 1585, in his famous edition of Juvenal and Persius, Petrus Pitheus published what he called 'Glossae veteres' on Persius, but these are in effect selections from the vulgate tradition, probably chosen by Joseph Scaliger.

1) the edition of 1499.

Johannes Bonardus Sacerdos Veronensis published a 'Cornutus' at Venice in 1499, together with the commentaries of Britannicus and Fontius. He does not tell us what sources he used, but his manuscript is clearly associated with Tradition D, and as E. Kurz pointed out (*Die Persiusscholien* p. v-vi) seems to have been close to Bern, Burgerbibliothek 539. The particular manuscript must have been very corrupt, and Bonardus appears to have made no attempt to correct it. Before the Commentary itself, he prints what he calls a *Vita* but what is actually an Introduction.

Introduction (ed. of Venice, 1499). *Vita Pauli* (sic) Persii Flacci equitis Romani per Cornutum philosophum eius praceptorum foeliciter incipit. [Inc.]: Aulus Persius Flaccus natus circa pridie nonas Decembris, Fabio Persio, L. Vitellio consulibus . . . (a form of the *Vita* attributed to Probus) . . . ne hoc in se quis arbitraretur.

Persius hic diu dubitans utrum militiae an poetriae incumbet, tandem ad satyram scribendam animum applicavit, et cum coepisset scribere utramque rem inchoavit, donec ex sua ipsius mutabilitate scribere inchoavit. Fuit autem sciratus (sic, for *senator*), genere Tuscus, discipulus Bassi philosophi. Hoc vero initium carminis est praefatio tragicum a delectione scandere incipiens. In hac autem praefatione apologiam, idest excusationem facit, et excusat se quodammodo non ideo scripsisse ut poeta appareret, sed potius impulsu mentis quodam quod tunc videbat multos poetriae incumbere ut inde salarium mererentur. Salarium est praebenda unius diei. Unde

ostendit se coactum ut scribebat, unde non poetam se videri vult vel vocari et per suam personam vult intelligi aliorum personas, qui ob famam (sic) scribebant.

Satyrae proprium est ut vera humiliter dicat et omnia cum fama (sic) faciat, Ita satyra dicta est quia variis rebus constat, s. lex apud Romanos lata quae fugatis (sic) verbis fallat audientes ut aliud dicat, aliud significet.

Dedication. Clarissimo domino Angelo Marcello magnico (sic, for: *magnifico*) patritio Veneto, Ioannes Bonardus Sacerdos Veronensis felicitatem [Inc.]: Cum singulare tuum in litteras patrocinium et peculiarem in me humanitatem semper prospexerim, nullus dignior visus, cui iucundissimos hos labores meos, idest Cornutum eruditissimum Persii vatis praceptorum ac eiusdem interpretem fidissimum diu mancum, lacerum, et temporum incuria undecunque depravatissimum operosa industria mea in pristinum candorem quantum licuit redactum dicarem, sub tuoque nomine diligentissimo viro Ioanni Tacuino imprimendum tradidi. Quare, colende domine, ut ad graviora audientius accingam, serena, ut quaeque soles, fronte tenue hoc munusculum suscipito, quod erit incredibilis meae in te observantiae monumentum certissimum. Hos igitur breves quidem sed non poenitendos commentarios (cum a publicis negotiis otium dabitur) degustes oro, non enim poteris candidas eius enarrationes non amare, cuius poema (sic) magna admiratione colueris. Bene valeat magnificentia tua, cui me unice commendo.

Edition:

1499. See Composite Editions.

1508, die xvii Julii. See Composite Editions.

1515. See Composite Editions.

1516, die xxv mensis Aprilis. See Composite Editions.

1520, die XV Decembris. See Composite Editions.

1544. See Doubtful Composite Editions.

Note: O. Jahn in his edition of 1843 p. 240 f., printed the second part of the Introduction from the *ed. princeps* but the material p. 241, line 22 through p. 242 is not found in the copies of the edition that I have seen.

Doubtful editions :

1480, Venice. S. Jannaccone, *op. cit.* p. 199 declares that the *editio princeps* was published in 1480 at Venice by Jo. Bonardus, but I have found no other trace of the edition.

1549, Paris : Robertus Stephanus. Fabricius, BL II, 165 writes : Scholia antiqua ante Pitheum ediderat Robertus Stephanus 1549. 8. locupletiora Elias Vinetus Pictavis 1563. 4. See Morgan 160, who also cites Ebert 11226. Not in Renouard, *Estienne*.

2) The edition of 1560-63.

As noted, the earlier editions of Cornutus seem to have dropped out of sight, and in 1563 Elias Vinetus published at Poitiers what he believed to be an *editio princeps*. In his preface he tells us that he used three manuscripts, one which he and his friend Gulielmus Martinus had 'discovered' in 1545 at Dax, and two others which belonged to his friends Franciscus Berna and Iohannes Amarito. It is not clear how Vinetus arrived at the text which he published since he tells us both that the three manuscripts differed widely and also that he himself made no changes. In any case his text contrasts sharply with that of the edition of 1499 and is clearly representative of Tradition A rather than of D.

Vinetus was later informed of the existence of the earlier edition, and he planned to use it and some additional manuscripts for a revised edition of his own. He wrote to Pierre Daniel, sometime after 1558 :

De Cornuto quod scriptum erat in bibliotheca illa legeram et Iacobum Gupium aliquosque amicos nostros, qui Lutetiae erant, de hoc percontatus fueram, sed negarunt omnes se vidisse unquam eum Persii interpretem, et Robertum Stephanum edidisse non alterius quam Nebrissensis in Persium commentaria. Gaudeo autem plurimum de isto Veneto exemplari [the edition of 1499] ex quo et altero illo tuo et eo, quod post Pictaviensem editionem nobis commodavit Io. Tillius, Brionensis episcopus, alteram editionem spero longe emendatiorem fore (Vinetus goes on to cite readings from the manuscript of Tillius) . . . Cited by O. Jahn, in his edition of 1843, p. cxvii from a Bern manuscript.

The new edition planned by Vinetus did not materialize, but his edition of 1563 set the pattern for later printings. His text was published in 1601 and in 1613 with few changes but with some additions from a manuscript of Iohannes Roussatus (see below, unde *Editions*). And Otto Jahn in 1843 based his text essentially on the edition of 1613, though he tells us that he also consulted Paris BN lat. 8272 and the edition of 1499.

Epistola of Vinetus (ed. of Poitiers, 1560-63). De Cornuto philosopho et grammatico ; de Cornuti in Persii Satyras commentario, ac de commentarii commentique significacione. [Inc.] : Anneus Cornutus Stoicae disciplinae philosophus, quem amicum et magistrum suum tantis effert laudibus Persius Flaccus in Satyra quinta . . . (Vinetus distinguishes Cornutus the philosopher from Cornutus the grammarian and author of the commentary on Persius) . . . Quod certe ita interim habet, ut nisi Gellius et Macrobius Cornuti grammatici eruditionem nobis commendassent, semidoctum hominem fuisse iudicaremus. Nam in hoc commentario multa quidem perquam erudita et antiquitatem multam redolentia, et quae nisi legissent novi interpretes Persii, non pauca in eius libello ignorassent, sed in eodem id quoque offendes, indocta multa et inepta. Accidit enim illi, quod Asconii Pediani, Donati, Servii, Placidi et aliorum veterum commentariis. Primum enim imperitos librarios nactum est, quod genus nihil non corrumpere solet ; deinde qui describere properantes, laborem fugiebant totum describendi, multa contraxerunt ; postremo non defuerunt, qui plurima infercirent, in primisque illi, quibus doctissima enarratio, quae fortasse pro vetusto more breviuscula erat, ad intelligendum poetam obscurum et tenebricosum minime sufficiebat. Atque ita non pauca interiecerunt et sua et aliena undique collecta doctorum hominum indocitorumque scholia. Sic non magis unius Cornuti videtur, quod publicamus in Persium commentarium, quam unius Donati, quod Donati nomine prostat in Terentium, ut illa multis locis te fallant nisi cum iudicio legas. Qui autem huius Persiani commentarii meminerunt Hermolaus Barbarus, Bap-

tista Plautius, Lilius Ferrariensis, ac alii horum aequales (antiquiores equidem proferre non possum, qui se illud vidisse scripto testatum reliquerint). Nescio quam bona habuerint exemplaria, sed nostris scio nihil inveniri posse corruptius. Fuerant autem haec tria, quorum unum nos et Gulielmus Martinus Voltanus clarissimae civitatis Burdigalensis procurator Aquis Augustis (Dax, in France) in vetusta libraria anno Christi millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quinto repereramus; alterum Francisci Bernae Santonensis; tertium Ioannis Amaritonis Arverni fuit. Quae magis varia in conferendo deprehendimus, quam diversa loca unde fuerant conquisita. In iis ergo libris tale fuit, quale hic vides Annaei Cornuti commentarium. Nihil in describendo mutavi nisi si quae voculae corruptae videbantur, Nihil detraxi, quod aliquando sum expertus quam periculosum sit, ea statim contra vetusti codicis fidem auctoritatemque delere aut mutare, quae in alienis scriptis non probas.

Optavissem quidem certe hoc commentarium in lucem dare purius emendatiusque, sed ad eam rem antiquis codicibus opus fuit, qui non suppetebant alii, quam quos dixi, neque habui unde alios conquirerem, et haec qualiacunque sint, ita edere melius duxi quam pati litterarum studiosos diutius huius commentarii desiderio se torquere.

Quod autem ad vocem commentum attinet . . . (Vinetus discusses the ancient and contemporary usage of *commentum*, *commentarius*, and *commentarium*; he attacks the position that *commentum* is barbarous Latin) . . . [Expl.] : Et hinc *commentator* pro interprete et commenti scriptore, frequens in Servii commentariis. Quod ergo fuit in antiquissimi exemplaris titulo *commentum*, si quis minus probet, id in *commentarium* illico mutare, mihi non leve visum est flagitium.

Introduction. [Inc.] : Aulus Persius Flaccus natus est pridie Nonas Decembris . . . (the *Vita*, essentially as in the 1499 edition) . . . ne hoc in se dictum arbitraretur.

Satyrae proprium est, ut vera humiliter dicat, et omnia cum sanna faciat, quam Sisenna protulit poeta. Item satyra dicitur quae variis rebus continetur. Satyra item

lex apud Romanos lata quae fucatis verbis fallit audientem ut aliud dicat, aliud significet.

In hac praefatione dicit se non poetam sed semipoetam esse et dicit fame se coactum sicut et caeteros ad scribendum, quod dum de se dicit non dubium quin de aliis dicat.

In Satyram primam.

Nec fonte labra (Prol. 1). Ut et Hesiodus dicit. Dicitur Pegasus errando ad Heliconem . . . / . . . *Corvos poetas* (Prol. 14). quod (sic) corvino lucro inducti non solum cantare possunt se (sic) etiam carmen effingere. *Pegaseum nectar* (Prol. 14). in aliis est melos.

O curas hominum (Sat. I, 1). Semetipsum redarguit quod ipse relinquit carmina quae vulgus lecturum non sit, quoniam non sunt vulgaria, et quod minime convenient robusto ingenio et libidini iuventuti (sic) . . . / . . . [Expl.] *Inventus Chrysippe* (Sat. VI, 60). Chrysippus philosophus Stoicus, syllogismum *σωρίτην* posuit et vocavit . . . Ergo poeta hoc dicit : quantumcunque avaro abundantia crescit substantiae, non satiat, et sic in infinitum, cupiditatis desiderium extendit, ut qui ei (sic) avaritiae finem voluerit imponere, facile videatur etiam syllogismon (sic) Chrysippi diffinire.

Elias Vinetus.

[Inc.] : Ita habuit in nostris exemplaribus antiquissimi grammatici enarratio, sive Cornutus is sit, quem Gellius et Macrobius inter alios Virgilii commentatores celebrant, sive alius quispiam Cornutus, sive aliquis alius veterum grammaticorum nominis alterius. Me namque non fugit, quae extant in Persium et Iuvenalem vetusta commentaria, Hermolao Barbaro, Georgio Vallae, Antonio Mancinello, et quibusdam aliis placuisse Probi esse, non Cornuti cuiusquam, sed antiqui codices et quem Berna noster habuit alium Iuvenalis interpretem non poenitendae antiquitatis Cornuto commentaria illa ascribunt. Et ea qui Probi esse contendunt, videant, quem Probum esse hunc ve lint. Aulus Gellius, Suetonius, Eusebeii Chronicorum interpres Hieronymus, Marcum Valerium Probum, Berytum illum grammaticum, seniorem ut arbitror esse ostendunt quam qui in Persium et Iuvenalem commentaria potuerit facere.

Bibl. : O. Jahn, in his edition, Prolegomena CXVII-CXVIII and CLXVII-CLXVIII; Jannaccone, *op. cit.* 200.

Editions:

1560-63. See Composite Editions.

1601. See Composite Editions. According to the titlepage the *Commentum* is here: cum veteri codice manuscripto collatum et multis in locis auctum et emendatum, Ex Bibliotheca C. V. Ioannis Roussati, Consil. Reg. Praefecti Calvimontii et Propraetoris Lingonensis; on the verso of the titlepage it is stated that the additions "e veteribus membranis" are marked by square brackets, while the omissions in these manuscripts are marked by parentheses.

1613. See Composite Editions.

1843. The edition of Otto Jahn rests essentially upon the edition of 1613, though he also made some use of the *editio princeps* and of Paris, BN lat. 8272.

1886, Berlin. The revision of Jahn's text edition of Persius, Juvenal, and Sulpicia (Berlin, 1868) by F. Buecheler. Buecheler includes selections from 'Cornutus'. He states his principle of selection as follows: Instrumentum necessarium ne decesset, scholia antiqua Persii et Iuvenalis versibus adiunxi. . . . recensionem scholiorum sic ut fieri aliquando oportet exactam ad variorum auctorum codicumque indolem ac fortunas minime affectavi neque officii mei esse duxi. immo vero quia carminum gratia scholia edebam, scholiastas autem parvi faciebam, cavebamque ne confertis nugis aut deliramentis malum magnum etiam maius redderem, ad Pithoei exemplum hanc libertatem usurpavi ut abicerem quae molestia insulsa nullius usus esse viderentur esse, integrum relinquem quidquid inest eruditionis antiquae, denique media illa quae ad hos quidem poetas nihil sed ad sermonis rerumque posteriorum et grammaticorum Byzantinorum vel barbarorum intelligentiam aliquantum conducunt, omittem aut adsumerem ex commodo (cited from Buecheler's 1893 edition p. xiii).

1893, Berlin. With Juvenal and Sulpicia, ed. F. Buecheler.

1910, Berlin, ed. F. Leo. p. xxiii. SCHOLIA secundum Buecheleri rationem tractavi . . .

3) The 'glossae veteres' of Petrus Pithoeus.

In his important 1585 edition of Juvenal and Persius, Petrus Pithoeus published what he titled as 'Glossae veteres' on Persius. In his Introduction to the edition (the Introduction is cited in full in CTC I, 235-36), Pithoeus explains that he has relied upon a single manuscript (Montpellier 125); he regrets that many of the original readings have been erased and replaced by others. But in this difficulty, he found some help from marginal notes :

adeo ut mihi recentioris scripturae vestigia quasi notae indicesque fuerint ad veterem indagandam atque eruendam, quam adiectae passim ad utrumque marginem interpretationes interdum suppeditarunt; saepe nos et ipsae deseruerunt. Earum porro quem auctorem nominatim laudem, non habeo, cum nullum praferat codex ille, quo hac parte usi sumus unico; quamquam non ignoro a plerisque non postremae notae scriptoribus Probo tribui commentaria non in Iuvenalem modo, sed et in A. Persii satiras illa, quorum hic quoque bonam partem emendatiorem damus, usi etiam hac in re consilio iudicioque amicorum, atque in primis Ios. Scaligeri viri incomparabilis, de quo quidquid praeterea dixero, minus erit.

Pithoeus' explanation is far from clear, and one may doubt that he is being completely open. The manuscripts Montpellier, 125 and 212 contain some of the *glossae* but not all of them (see P. Wessner, *op. cit.* 501; and Jannaccone, *op. cit.* 201); all are found in such manuscripts of the commentary as Leiden, Bibl. pub. lat. 78. The source of the *glossae* is explained more probably in a letter of Joseph Scaliger to Casaubon after the latter had included them in his edition of 1605 (see below 237).:

Laudo, quod glossae veteres ad Persium attexueris. Scito illas ita a nobis excerptas a Pithoeo editas fuisse. Chirographum earum meum una cum veteribus glossis Iuvenalis, quas itidem ex prisco exemplari Iuvenalis et ex editione Georgii Vallae collegeram in aedibus meis Aginni invenies apud Puteanos fratres, si modo non periit. Patri enim eorum dedi, et fortasse Pithoeus quae-

dam aliter edidit ac ego scripsi, quod tamen non puto. Ego illarum omnium glossarum eclogarius fui (cited by O. Jahn in his edition CLXV-CLXAI, with other evidence).

It appears then that the *Glossae veteres* are in effect a selection made by Joseph Scaliger of what he regarded as the more ancient, and accordingly more valuable, material preserved in Tradition A. But the ambiguity of Pithoeus' introduction led many scholars of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to believe that the *Glossae veteres* were in fact parts of an ancient commentary antecedent to and independent of the medieval vulgate tradition.

Glossae veteres (ed. of Paris, 1585).

Vita. [Inc.] : Aulus Persius Flaccus natus est pridie nonas Decembris, Fabio Persico, L. Vitellio consulibus . . . / . . . [Expl.] : ne hoc Nero in se dictum arbitraretur.

Glossae. [Inc.] : *Verba nostra conari* (Prol. 9). Et *blandiri* legitur.

Pegaseum melos (Prol. 14). In aliis est, *nectar*. *Quantum est in rebus inane* (Sat. I, 1). Graecum est δσον τὸ κενόν.

Quis leget haec? (Sat. I, 2) Hunc versum de Lucillii primo transtulit . . . / . . . *Pavisse* (Sat. VI, 77). Legitur et placuisse, quoniam venales antequam in catasta imponuntur, cantant universi pariter more gentis suae.

Inventus Chrysippe (Sat. VI, 80). Chrysippus philosophus Stoicus syllogismum σωγίτην vocavit, quem per adiectionem et detractionem ex acervi frumentarii similitudine ostendit.

Editions :

1585, Lutetiae (Paris) : apud Mamertum Passonium. With Juvenal and Sulpicia. Morgan 195 ; NUC. BM ; BN ; (MH).

1590, Heidelbergae (Heidelberg) : with device of Commelinus. With Juvenal and Sulpicia. Morgan 197 ; NUC. BN ; (MH).

1597, Veronae : apud Discipulum. With the paraphrase of F. Cerutus. Morgan 203 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

1601. See Composite Editions.

1605, Parisiis (Paris) : apud Ambrosium et Hieronymum Drouart. With the commentary of Casaubon. Morgan 218 and 219 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1610, Heidelberg. With Juvenal and Sulpicia. A reprint of the edition of 1590, above. Morgan 231.

1613. See Composite Editions.

1615, Parisiis (Paris) : apud Hieronymum Drouart. With the commentary of Casaubon. Morgan 243 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1648, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden) : Apud Franciscum Hackium. ed. Cornelius Schrevelius. Morgan 277 ; NUC. BM ; (MH). Reprinted Leiden 1658 ; 1664 ; 1671 ; and Amsterdam, 1684.

(*) 1789, Lipsiae (Leipzig) : apud Sviker-tum. ed. F. W. Reiz. Morgan 372 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1822, Zurich, in : *Eclogae poetarum Latinorum*, ed. I. C. Orellius. Morgan 404.

(*) 1833, Zurich. Reprint of 1822. Morgan 422. (MH).

(*) 1843, Lipsiae (Leipzig), Breitkopfius et Haertelius., ed. O. Jahn. Jahn in his edition of the *Scholia* prints the *Glossae veteres* in extended type and marks them off by asterisks.

2. REMIGIUS AUTISSIODORENSIS

The commentary of Remigius is the earliest named commentary we possess, and it is also earlier than the extant manuscripts of any other commentary. Vat. Regin. 1560 (s. X-XI ; according to Elder, p. 243, note 20, Dom Wilmart suggested in conversation that the Remigius text was written s. IX-X at Fleury) contains only the commentary from Sat. I, 1 through I, 73, but the commentary appears to have at one time been complete, since the anonymous commentary of Florence, Laurenz. pl. 37, 20 of the thirteenth century (see above, p. 224) cites Remigius on Sat. VI, 29 : vel, ut dicit Remigius, nepa est quidam serpens qui fetus suos devorat cum famescat. Inde nepos dicitur quasi patrimonium devorans sive dissipans (cited by Marchesi, *op. cit.* 152. For other citations of Remigius, see P. Wessner, *op. cit.* 500). Since the manuscript gives the text as 'secundum Remigium', perhaps we have a student's report on lectures rather than a written commentary by Remigius.

In the commentary on Persius, as in his other works, Remigius seems to have served largely as simplifier and vulgarizer. Further it seems clear that he is adapting another commentary or commentaries, and there is little in his work which is not to be found in the vulgate traditions. It should be emphasized that Remigius draws on material found in both Tradition A and Tradition B. That he is drawing upon this material, rather than that Tradition A and B are drawing upon him is shown by the fact that he glosses the phrases found in the earliest manuscripts of the traditions. Thus in the following comment on *Sat. I*, 4 Remigius glosses the *imbellis* of the Leiden manuscript (see above, p. 216) *Polidamas populus est loquax et imbellis . . . et ponitur hic pro Nerone qui imbellis fuit, i. non fuit ausus bellare* (Marchesi, *op. cit.* p. 4, italics mine). And earlier he similarly glosses *ex abrupto* in the opening comment of the Křivoklát manuscript on *Sat. I*, 1 (see above p. 221): *Videns Persius multos libidinari in scribendo . . . inchoavit et ipse ex abrupto, i. ex aspero* (Marchesi, *op. cit.* p. 4, my italics).

One must conclude either that Remigius had both traditions before him as he wrote or lectured or, what seems more likely, that he was drawing on the same Carolingian commentary which may have been the source of both Tradition A and Tradition B.

It might also be noted that the scribe of Vat. Regin. lat. 1560 seems to have worked from another manuscript since the text contains a number of corrections and additions. The scribe seems also to have collated the Remigius commentary with another, since a number of marginal comments in the same hand contrast an interpretation of Remigius with an *aliter*. It seems that this other commentary corresponded in content with Leiden, Bibl. pub. lat. 78 (Mariani, *op. cit.* 153-54).

Vita (Vatican City, Reginensis lat. 1560, fol. 141) Incipit *Vita Aulii Flacci Persii satyrici secundum Remigium*. [Inc.]: *Aules dictus est Persius ab Aulide civitate. Flaccus dictus est ex nomine patris et est illi praenomen Persius proprium nomen . . . / . . .* [Expl.] Set (corr. in: *sed*) a Cornuto fuit

emendatus ita: Auriculas asini quis non habet (*Sat. I*, 121), ne Nero in se arbitraretur dictum fuisse. Et sciendum quia iste Persius anno aetatis suae tricesimo hominem exivit vitio stomachi corruptus. Vita explicit; annotatio incipit.

Commentary (the opening section of the commentary contains what is usually separated as an Introduction and passes without a break into a discussion of *Sat. I*). [Inc.]: *Satyrae proprium est ut humiliter loquatur sicut iste qui caballino (Prol. 1) dixit non equino, et in sequentibus semipaganus (Prol. 6), i. semivillanus. Non pompatice, i. non superbe. et omnia sana faciat, i. omnia dicat iuxta mensuram. Cum enim modum, i. mensuram excedunt poetae, quodammodo insaniunt. Satyra genus est clarni vel lancis. Clarnus autem dicitur discus vel mensa multis ac variis / (fol. 141v) frugum generibus referta. Ergo satyra dicitur quasi saturata a saturitate, eo quod vitiis et insectationibus, i. reprehensionibus multorum sit plena.*

In hac igitur praefatione dicit se Persius non esse se poetam sed epeponem (sic) i. famelicum et esurientem. Et nimia fame coactus sicut et alii poetae ad hunc librum describendum aspirasse fertur, sicut ille ponit exemplum de avibus quae fame ventris coactae formant, i. resonant humanam vocem, et non est dubium quod de se ipso dicit, quin de omnibus dicat.

Haec satyra scribitur de his qui publice captant famam ex favore eloquentiae imperitorum, et hoc velud dialogi genus in principio ex persona interrogantis inducit. *Videns Persius multos libidinari in scribendo ad hoc tantum ut laudem et favorem populi adquirerent. Reprehendendo cum indignatione et admiratione inchoavit et ipse ex abrupto, i. ex aspero docens (corr. in: dicens).*

O curas huminum (*Sat. I*, 1). sub. (i.e. supple) inanes, vacuae, et inutiles quia sine fructu laborant. Semet ipsum ergo redarguit primum, quod relinquat succendentibus carmina quae vulgus lecturum non sit quia non sunt vulgaria et minime convenient libidini. *O quantum est in rebus inane. i. vacuae, cum dicit in rebus. OSON TO KENON. Graeca figura est. . . / . . .* [Expl.]

(fol. 147) (on *Palilia* Sat. I, 72) . . . Palilia vero tam privata sunt quam publica et est genus hilaritatis et lusus (interlinear note : hic latenter tangit Romanos ex rusticis et pastoribus originem ducere). Unde, i. ex rusticis, Italus (?) natus est, et tu o Quinti.

Bibl. : J. P. Elder *Speculum* XXII (1947) 240-48 ; Marchesi, *op. cit.* XL (1912) 1-9 ; F. Mariani, *Giornale italiano di filologia classica* XVII (1965) 145-61.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Vatican City, Regin. lat. 1560, s. X-XI, misc., membr., fol. 141-47v. (Scarcia 510 ; W. Clausen, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* LXXX (1949) 238-44 ; M. Cerrati, *Rivista di Filologia* XL (1912) 113-119). We are indebted to Professor Wendell V. Clausen for allowing us to make use of his transcription of the Vatican manuscript.

Editions :

1912, Marchesi, *op. cit.* XL (1912) 3-5. The Introduction and some selections.

1942, Elder, *op. cit.* 244-5 and 247-48. Selections to show a) Remigius' adaptation of the Vulgate, and b) his original comments.

1965, Mariani, *op. cit.* p. 157-160. The passages original to Remigius.

Note : Both Elder and Mariani appear to have collated Remigius mainly with Tradition A ; Mariani, in particular, includes as original to Remigius comments found in Tradition B in the Křivoklát manuscript.

3. ANONYMUS LEODIENSIS (c. 1077-80), by Bernhard Bischoff, University of Munich.

The commentary which is rather elaborate but is preserved for only about half of the text (Sat. I, 62-IV, 10), seems to be independent of the Scholia ; it is extremely medieval in its character ; it often misunderstands the text rather badly, just because of its methodological ambitions ; on the other hand, by applying what he reads out of his author to the conditions of his own time and world, the commentator gives us a strange insight into the mentality of his period.

Manuscript :

Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 868, pp. 194-197, 198A, 198B, 199-201, saec. XI² (after 1076). The five folios of 12 x 12 cm contain

in tiny script up to 111 lines per page (p. 198B) ; in the margins the script is at times unreadable ; on p. 201, the second copyist stopped his work before the end of the page, after having written not more than 25 lines.

[Inc.] : (I 62) < *Hic re>prehendit de pari illos, qui cum sint peccatores et propter vicia sua derideantur ab aliis, numquam propter illam deri<sionem> . . .*

(Expl.) : (IV 10) 'libre' .i. mentis alicuius ita librantis .i. considerantis rem ut libra. (after this, a few blank lines follow).

Cf. (G. Scherrer), *Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* (Halle, 1875), p. 300 (without a mention of Persius). Not in Scarcia.

The commentary can be clearly dated and localized : (II 6 f.) 'tollere' .i. ad aliquem honorem perducere etiam illum. 'cui' est 'vis' .i. qui posset pacificare duos reges sicut Rudolfum et Heinricum, si iam vellent congregari, quod malum est (a similar phrase, without the names, appears shortly before). The kings are Henry IV. and Rudolf of Swabia, who was elected as an opposing king on March 15, 1077, and died on October 15, 1080 ; if the word *congregari* refers to the imminent first encounter, the terminus ad quem for the composition of the commentary would be the battle of Mellrichstadt (August 7, 1078). A second mention of the king (Henry) appears in the commentary on I, 95, a line that is explained as an example for vain efforts : *sicut rex mandaret Leodiensibus, ut ei venirent in adiutorium contra Saxones . . .*, against the Saxons, Henry's enemies, against whom he fought since 1074 (the citizens of Liège remained faithful to the king in all his struggles ; he died there in 1106). The city is mentioned twice more : (I 69) *Sicut magister Nizo ad comparationem magistri Lamberti Leodiensibus nocere nihil potest, tamen eum numquam poterant pati in illo loco, ubi ipsi erant, sed eum expulerunt ab illis*, and in a juxtaposition of examples illustrating how praise and blame may be increased by comparisons : (I, 65 f.) *Laudem ut ei dicam : 'Nizo est valens sicut magister Lambertus.'* *Vituperationem* : 'Hugo est garrulus sicut ille pessimus lecator qui est

in Leodio.' Otherwise, there is only one reference to the markets of nearby Maastricht : (I, 133) Nonare (sic) vocatur illud forum, quo multi conveniunt in anno (read nona?) sicut Traiectum ad missam sancti Johannis (June 24), et illa meretrix vocatur 'nonaria' . . . From these repeated allusions we may infer that the commentary was written in Liège which was the seat of one of the most famous schools of the prescholastic period (G. Kurth, *Notger de Liège et la civilisation du X^e siècle*, Paris, 1905 ; E. Lesne, *Les écoles de la fin du VIII^e siècle à la fin du XII^e (Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, 5), Lille, 1940, 349ff. ; E. de Moreau, *Histoire de l'Église en Belgique*, 2, 2^e ed., Bruxelles, 1947, 297ff. ; H. Sproemberg in : W. Wattenbach-R. Holtzmann, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, *Deutsche Kaiserzeit* I, 1, Berlin, 1938, 124ff., and I, 4, Tuebingen, 1948, 715ff. ; H. Silvestre, 'Renier de Saint-Laurent et le déclin des écoles liégeoises au XII^e siècle,' in : *Annales du Congrès archéologique et historique de Tournai*, 1949).

The high regard for master Lambert—who is considered superior to master Nizo (see above on I, 69)—appears also from two other passages : (II, 42) Numquam dicetur tibi : Tu es .i. habes, sicut magistro Lamberto : Tu es (?) sapiens, and : (I, 102) 'reparabilis' .i. clericus aliquis re .i. multipliciter habilis esse par Lamberto, Lanfranco, Brunoni, et multipliciter in Prisciano, in dialectica et rhetorica. The statement about Lambert's relation to the people of Liège (see above on I, 69 nocere) is not clear. He is placed on the same level with the world famous teachers Lanfranc (of Bec, from 1070 to 1089 archbishop of Canterbury) and Bruno (until 1076 scholaster of the cathedral in Reims, died 1101) ; perhaps the reference is to a scholaster active in Liège, whose day of death (December 31) is recorded in a necrology of the monastery of St. Laurentius of the eleventh century (ed. M. Coens, *Analecia Bollandiana* 58, 1940, 78 ; according to p. 56, the entries extend to 1090). The scholaster of Utrecht of the same name (ca. 1080 - ca. 1120) would at best have just begun to be famous at the time when the commentary was written (cf. about

him J. M. de Smet, 'L'exégète Lambert, écolâtre d'Utrecht,' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 42, 1947, 103-110). Even less likely a candidate is the Lambert who was a monk of St. Lawrence in Liège and composed a lost allegorical commentary on Aesop's fables, as Reiner of Liège jokingly reports in his *De ineptiis cuiusdam idiotae*, lib. I (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* 20, 598). Nizo (Nithard) according to the commentary on I, 69 was expelled by the citizens of Liège ; it would hence be quite possible to identify him with that scholaster Nizo who is attested for Sainte-Croix in 1063 (Kurth, l.c. 257 n. 4 ; Lesne l.c., 359). Hugo is not clearly called magister (already above, on I 65 f., garrulus) ; but he could be a competitor, since he is cited as an example for an undeserved reputation (ibid. : 'Hugo est bonus philosophus' non secundum me . . . , sed secundum suam reputationem). The other names, dominus Robertus (I, 93), Berhardus and Franco (both I, 134) are insignificant.

The commentary aims in two ways at a coherent method, and this is characteristic of its manner of exposition : It emphasizes on the one hand the explanation of words, and attempts on the other hand a unified explanation of each satire, according to a Leitmotiv, as it were.

A dependence of the commentary on the Scholia can nowhere be proven beyond doubt. Yet we must consider the possibility that the author utilized at least some reminiscences of an earlier exposition ; for although the interest in a direct lexicographical interpretation is not predominant, some rare words and difficult passages are successfully explained (e.g., II, 42 'pingues (v.l.) patine' scilicet quia impletæ sunt bono lardo .i. 'crassa tucceta') ; other explanations are wrong (e.g., III, 76 'mena' .i. 'unguentum'), and often the line between the explanation of a word and of the meaning is not clearly drawn. The author rarely makes use of etymology (e.g., III, 84 'nihil' componitur ex non et ilus .i. aliquid ; IV, 1 'magistrum' .i. qui maior in statione est ; I, 133 'petulans' .i. petendo volans propter nimiam lecaturam) ; 'pontifices' .i. facientes pontem populis ut possint pervenire ad celum (II,

10) is given a Christian turn. In III, 72 the etymological explanation homo dicitur ideo quia natus est ab humo secundum veteres is criticized and replaced by another.

The commentary makes ample use of the pedantic analysis and explanation of composite verbs and of similar nominal compositions, as a rule defining each preposition by an adverb (sometimes by two or by the negation). Examples : ad : iuxta ('afflate .i. flate iuxta I, 123) ; con- : simul (s. positum II, 73), or ex toto (ex t. mittere II, 4) ; de- : deorsus (-m) ('dedecus' .i. illa res . . que facit esse deorsum istud vocabulum decus I, 81), or parum ('demersus' .i. parum mersus III, 34) ; di-, dis- : diverso modo, diversus a ('dirimebat' .i. emebat . . . diverso modo quam aliquis I, 94) ; 'discinctus' .i. diversus a cincto III, 31) ; ex- : extra ; in- : intus (also 'ignovisse' .i. intus novisse .i. bene novisse II, 24), or non ('infusa' .i. non fusa III, 13) ; pro- : porro (p. mittere III, 65 ; prudens .i. p. videns IV, 4, cf. Isidore Etym. 10,20, etc.) ; re- : multipliciter ('relictia' .i. multipl. licita III, 38) ; se- : seorsum (s. ductis II, 4) ; sub- : sursum, susum ('sufficiat' .i. sursum .i. satis faciat III, 4) ; 'suspendere' .i. pendere .i. librare et considerare susum a 'lance' IV, 10). In this way often a very forced meaning results which is then taken as the basis of the interpretation. In a similarly rigid manner Inchoativa and Iterativa (even apparent ones) are defined : (III, 113) 'temptemus' nos, .i. temnamus nos frequenter 'fauces' nostras. It is another recurrent trait that demonstrative pronouns are paraphrased (e.g., I, 79 'hos' .i. demonstrabiles ; II, 55 'illud' .i. a longe demonstrabile), and that nouns with attributes are completed by the word ens (e.g., I, 73 'dentalia' dico entia 'Quinti'). This systematic treatment of meanings and forms expresses a belief in the regularities of language that may have been nourished by an interest in dialectic (see below). Sometimes the influence of Priscian may be noticed : (I, 111) ista vox laudis significativa . . . 'Euge' ; cf. I, 65 ; II, 70. The explanation 'Euchion' .i. bonum filium .i. vinum (I, 102) shows a rather weak knowledge of Greek words. The author's own language has a colloquial touch ; ille

is frequently used like an article. It also contains curses (I, 128 'Lusce,' vade in odium dei) and words of abuse (e.g., III, 8 'huc' .i. istum locum ubi iste diabolus iacet). The commentary is undoubtedly one of the oldest texts where the word family 'lec(c)are, lec(c)ator, lec(c)atura' is frequently used (cf. e.g., I, 133, see above, and III, at the beginning, see below) ; on the other hand, the term 'curialis' is already treated as an attitude (see below on I, 82 'Trossulus').

Whereas there is in general a lack of genuine lexicographical precision, in the explanation of the content things are frequently understood in a medieval fashion. As a result, the commentator separates the elements of Persius' metaphors and speculates about each element separately. E.g., III, 10-14 (the tools of writing) : 'positis bicolor membrana capillis' is a nice smooth cap of fur, 'carta' and 'harundo' are a parchment leaf and a pen, 'calamus' is the unclean drinking cup, 'sepia nigra' a fish that tastes well but has become spoiled, 'fistula' a street-player, and so on. Already in III, 19 he explains : in 'tali calamo' .i. in tali filio.

Also the allusions to ancient history, mythology and geography do not interest the author who refers so gladly to places and historical events of his own world. Only once (I, 94) he goes so far as to propose an allegorical explanation as an alternative : Ad litteram sic : 'Delphin' est quoddam animal in mari quod cum venit aliquando ad Nerea qui est deus maris ipse Nereus videns illud advenire etiam si iratus erat .i. si fecerat mare in motu esse statim quievit. Ad figuram accipimus aliquem sacerdotem qui ita bonus est quod quando deus irascitur cito mitigat eum, etc. Elsewhere he glosses Mercurius as deus sapientiae (II, 44) and knows of 'Atis' (I, 93) as a sacerdos Zibebe que colitur in Berecintho monte. On III, 56 he mentions Pythagoras, but he fails to mention Socrates on IV, 1f., or those names to which III, 39f. refer. Some names he explains at random. Examples : (I, 76) 'Acci,' non cuiuslibet, sed 'Brisei' .i. qui erat de Brisio oppido ; (I, 82) 'Trossulus' .i. qui parum est curialis, quia Troes erant multum curiales ; (III, 45) 'verba Catonis'

(morituri) .i. magistri mei ; (I, 130) Cuius erant ille eminae? 'Areti . . . edilis.' Lucilius (I, 114) is ille sacerdos, Numa (II, 59) ille optimus vir ; 'Caliroen' (I, 134) he first explains antonomastically : .i. delectationem, and then he calls her quaedam meretrix. So little importance is given to names that sometimes they are not even recognized as such : (I, 116) 'flaccus' .i. iners ; (III, 74) 'umbris' .i. servientibus tuis . . . umbra est locus qui obscurat aliquem . . . ; (IV, 3) 'pericli' .i. illius rei, quae te facit periclitantem ; and in an especially grotesque case : (II, 1) 'macrine' (see below).

Whereas the details are completely disconnected, it is another characteristic of the commentary that it sees on the other hand a unified content in each satire and insists on it in phrases that recur in shorter or longer intervals. In Sat. I (preserved from line 62 on) the poet deals out blame in all directions : (62) Hic reprehendit de pari illos qui cum sint peccatores . . . (63) Hic repr. illos qui dum reprehenderentur ab aliquo probo viro . . . , etc., and finally (134) Hic reprehendit illos magistros qui habentes (h̄ns ms.) nobiles pueros sub se ante primam docent eos diligenter, post prandium ortantur eos ut eant occidere porcos et anseres dicentes : 'Vos estis nobiles et ideo nemo faciet vobis malum' . . .

Also in Satires II-IV, blame is emphasized at the beginning as the task of the satire. But according to the commentator, only one person or a group are here being criticized ; and he emphasizes in the introduction either the particular thoughts of the seducer to worldliness (II), the particular reproaches of the relatives of the lazy (III), or those of the poet against the hypocrites (IV). (II inc. :) Hic reprehendit quandam lecatorum, qui quandam religiosum hortabatur ad lecaturam sic dicens ad illum : 'Ne' .i. an, subaudis : transibimus nos 'diem hunc' .i. demonstrabilem in sanctitate, 'macri' .i. ut non simus bene saturi et potati? . . . et alia causa, quare non debes esse religiosus . . . et vere stultus es, quia . . . et alia causa . . . , etc. etc. (III inc. :) Hic reprehendit quandam iuvenem . . . dicetis vos mihi . . . et dicetis . . . , etc. etc. (IV inc. :) Hic reprehendit Persius illos, qui

cum viciosi sint, praedicant et reprehendunt alios de peccatis . . . : Tu tractas . . . et ista verba tractas . . . , etc. etc.

Among the other liberal arts, only dialectic is drawn upon a few times, but these passages do not go beyond playful joking (II, 26 f. 'quia' tu 'non iaces triste' .i. tristiter in 'lucis,' quia manum tuam non portavit aliquis lupus in aliquem lucum et caput leo in alium et diabolus ventrem in tertium lucum, quia una eademque substantia non potest uno eodem tempore esse in diversis locis) or simple allusions to the difference between figurative ('per simile') and logical predication (e.g., III, 48 f. et ita 'sermo' est 'in voto' sicut ego dico : 'ecclesia est in animo meo,' non quod ipsa substantia sit in animo, sed ita est in animo quod ipse animus circumdedit eam, quia nihil aliud cogitat nisi de illa ecclesia).

The commentator has violated the meaning of Persius' lines innumerable times, but the goal of his commentary was not to convey linguistic or antiquarian erudition, but to inculcate persuasively some moral teachings. It is for this reason that he refers so frequently to the ideals and deficiencies of the men of his own time, and to the conditions prevailing in the school, the church and the social system of his period. This pedagogic attitude also explains his tendency to express value judgments, for which he prefers such terms as valentia, valens, and conversely vilitas, vilis ; e.g. II, 18 : 'ne' .i. an 'est' .i. habet ille Jupiter tale esse 'ut cures ponere hunc' .i. demonstrabilem in vilitate 'prae' aliis et illi homini 'cuiquam' .i. qui est duplicitis valentie, etc.

In addition to mentioning known masters by name (see above), he speaks with disapproval of bad teachers (see above on I, 134), but also of badly advised parents (I, 79) : Hic reprehendit illos dominos, qui cum habent filios, nolunt illos tradere magistris, sed docent eos in hospicio et postquam per ventum est ad hoc, quod debent lectionem (lege)re (?) in choro et ignorant, quomodo debent pronuntiare 'dominus' . . .

The aim of instruction is the training in the trivium (cf. above on I, 102; also III, 24) ; even the despiser of the gods says (II,

17) : ego, qui non curo adherere diis, omnes artes scio .i. Priscianum et dialecticam et alia si aliquid est, quod nescio, illud est vilissimum.

As a profession, a clerical career is proposed to the pupils. Especially in III the lazy student is repeatedly exhorted : (III, 1) certe tu fieres episcopus, nempe fieres patriarcha, (III, 19) tu debes vigilare, quia posses fieri capellanus episcopi et posses praedicare aliis (cf. III, 27.) ; the sacerdotes are admonished also by the bishops to preach before the people (I, 107 f.). Commenting on the 'prex emax' in II, 3, the purchasing of a bishopric or of an abbey from the king is being recalled. The relationship between the domini or milites and the clerici and sacerdotes appears in different ways : the latter can receive legacies (II, 54), but also be cheated in their compensations (I, 92) ; their admonitions are disregarded by the milites (II, 9 : quando ipse accedit ad hos milites in curia, dicent ei : 'O presbiter, vade introrsum cantare psalmos tuos'), and they may even be threatened with beatings (I, 113) ; on the other hand, also laymen are mentioned who show reverence to priests, monks and bishops (II, 69).

In commenting on the 'bracati Medi' (III, 53), the author mentions the representation of hell and paradise in paintings that are intended to admonish the people. The vain effort described in II, 55 ff. is compared with the simplemindedness of the peasants : quia illi rustici quando vident illas reliquias in ecclesia circumdatas auro, credunt illas multo sanctiores quam illas, ubi non est aurum.

Frequently the moral views of a rather rough period are reflected. Among the bad actions that are repeatedly mentioned, we notice theft, robbery (IV, 7 'turbae calidae' ad aliquid bonum faciendum .i. voluntarie quia ille animus turbam monere ad hoc volebat, quod si aliquis latro alicui peregrino sua auferret suspenderetur et illi peregrino de suo turba illa restitueret . . .), homicide and whoring. The author reprehends the sin of eating meat at Lent (II, 68), the habit of visiting taverns (I, 83 ; I, 102 Hic reprehendit illos, qui, cum possent fieri valentes clerici, cotidie vadunt ad ta-

bernas et bibunt), and even secret eating and drinking (I, 105 'Menas' illa domina 'est' .i. comedit non modo in camera sua, sed 'et' .i. etiam 'in udo' .i. in coquina, quae uda est, quia exenterantur porci et pisces et alia, vel 'in udo' .i. in aliquo cellario ubi vinum et cervisia et non solum ista haec facit sed 'et' .i. etiam 'Atis' ille probus sacerdos).

But attention is also called to the good and meritorious actions : praying and fasting (I, 103 ; IV, 1) and almsgiving (I, 103 ; II, 3f.). In II, 7, as we mentioned before, where examples for the miraculous gifts of the blessed and pious are mentioned, the raising of ten dead persons is surpassed in merit by the reconciliation of two hostile kings.

The commentator from Liège has hardly conveyed a genuine understanding of the Roman poet Persius, but he proves consistently how the reading of this difficult 'ethicus' may serve the goals of a moral education, sometimes in an amusing fashion.

Bibl. : B. Bischoff, 'Living with the Latinists,' in : *Classical Influences on European Culture A. D. 500-1500*, ed. R. R. Bolgan (Cambridge, 1971), 85-92.

4. VENTURA DE FORO DE LONGULO

A manuscript at Bergamo (Bibl. Civica, Lambda VII 25) contains a fragmentary commentary (*Sat.* III, 112-IV, 37 and VI, 56-80) by Ventura de Foro de Longulo ; the commentary is dated 1253 or 1263. The commentary consists of both interlinear and of marginal glosses. Only the marginal glosses will be noted here. Throughout there is frequent close dependence on the vulgate commentary ; compare the Explicit with that of Tradition C (see above p. 227). In the colophon the author states that he has extracted what seemed useful from many commentaries. The commentary shows some knowledge of Greek.

Commentary. [Inc.] : (fol. 1). The first comment refers to the text on the preceding folio, now lost, and is a comment on III, 111. Ad illum dicit qui sese mollitiei dedicaverat. Fingis quod non possit os tuum delicatum cibos durissimos transglutire. . . .

Satyra quarta. Haec satyra potest vide-ri (?) eadem cum praecedenti et reprehendit illum eundem adolescentem cuius meminit superius qui cum nihil sciret verum tamen esse volebat. Vel sic Satyra per se reprehendit illos qui honoris cupidi supra modum aetatis suae, quia per media nimis gubernacula quaerunt suscipere. . . . *Quo fretus? dic hoc, magne pupille Pericli* (*Sat. IV*, 3). Cornutus. *Quo fretus.* unde presumptuosus tu rem populi tractas, dico *magne pupille Pericli.* merito dicit, *pupille*, quia tutela philosophi avunculi sui Pericli fungebatur. et pupilli suos dicunt tutores quibus tutelam gerunt. *Magne Pericli.* Pericli, vel Periclii, vel pupille magni Pericli, idest magistro Pericle. vis facere, idest praecipitas regere, verbi gratia vere timeamus, rex puer est. . . . [Expl.] *Inventus Chrysippe* (*Sat. VI*, 80). haec sunt verba Persii de illo avaro. Chrysippus iste quidam philosophus Stoicus fuit qui quoddam inconveniens probare proposuit et ad hoc multas probationes adduxit nec ultra loqui potuit et tamen finem argumentis suis licet inanis posuit. Et hoc est *finitor*. Finis vel finitor ipse Chrysippus est inventus. Chrysippus imposuit finem suae probationi. Avarus vero numquam imposuit finem suae cupiditati. Unde Boethius: maneat enim semper necesse est quae possit expleri cupiditas (*Consol. III*, prosa *III*, 52).

The last folio of the codex contains a comment on *Sat. VI*, 1. *Admovit iam bruma foco te Basse Sabino.* Sicut penultimam satyram scripsit ad Cornutum doctorem suum valde sibi familiarem. . . . Bassus autem in hiemali tempore ad Sabinos secessit. Persius vero in Liguria erat. Persius eum alloquitur.

Ego Ventura de Foro de Longulo hunc librum scriptitavi et ex diversis commentariis quod utile visum fuit extraxi. Complevi autem in festo Sancti Stephani currente MCCLIII (so Cremaschi; Uccelli reads MCCLXIII).

Bibl.: P. A. Uccelli, in *Archivio storico italiano*, Ser. II, vol. XXII (1875) 138-56; G. Cremaschi, "Un codice e un commentatore bergamasco di Persio del secolo XIII (A.D. MCCLIII)", *Bergamum* 40 (N.S. 20) 1946, 21-29; idem, "I codici di Persio nella Biblio-

teca di Bergamo", *ibid.* 46 (N.S. 26) 1952 1-18.

Manuscript:

(photo.) Bergamo, Biblioteca civica, cod. Lambda VII 25. a., 1253 or 1263, membr., fol. 1-4. The manuscript once belonged to Gasparinus Barzizza: fol. 4. Iste Persius est mei Gasparini de Barziziis de Pergamo. (Cf. the articles by Uccelli and Cremaschi cited above; Kristeller. *Iter I*, 7; Scarcia 22). Information and photographs supplied by the Rev. Mons. Luigi Chiodi, Director of the Library.

Edition:

In the article by P. A. Uccelli, cited above, pp. 143-56. Some corrections to Uccelli's readings are suggested in the first article by G. Cremaschi, also cited above.

Biography:

Ventura de Foro de Longulo (Ventura di Foro Bergamasco) is perhaps to be identified with a Ventura de Pergamo [Bergamo], the author of an *Ars dictaminis* preserved in an Oxford manuscript (Canon. Ital. 157, *Summary Catalogue IV* (1897) 415), but there appears to be no other information on him. G. Cremaschi (*op. cit.* 1946 p. 24) suggests on the basis of the Persius commentary that he was a layman and perhaps a teacher. We are indebted to Professor James J. Murphy for information on the Oxford manuscript.

5. JOHANNES DE LEVEDALE.

The commentary of Johannes de Levedale, a *submonitor* of the schools at Louvain, was completed some time before 1334; it is preserved in only one manuscript. According to B. Hauréau the sole object of the commentary is to interpret the text; there are only short digressions, for the most part historical.

Introduction (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 18570, f. 23). [Inc.]: Materia huius libri est sermo satyricus de commendatione virtutum et reprehensione vitiorum factus, vel est ipsa satyra quod pro eodem sumitur. Causa efficiens fuit Persius civis quidam Romanus. . . . (the end of the Introduction is not clearly marked but appears to

be... Ambitio et avaritia et non pauca praeter haec alia).¹

Nec fonte (*Prol.* 1) with marginal glosses : In (?) hoc prologo Persius reprehendit eos qui simulabant se omnem didicisse philosophiam somniando vel potando, cum hoc non posset fieri sine longo exercitio. . . . et in hoc reprehendit illos qui student spe vel amore lucri plus quam amore virtutis et scientiae.

O curas hominum (*Sat.* I, 1). Hic Persius more satyrico reprehendit eos qui vitia scribunt, qui recitant, qui audiunt sub dialogo sibi formans poetam (?), scilicet poetae videntur placere populo per mollia carmina. . . . [Expl.] (end of text) *in rugam decies* (*Sat.* VI, 79) idest decuplam omnem substantiam meam, (ergo), tu avare *depinge*, idest describe, ubi sistam terminum avaritiae (et) *O Chrysippe finitor tui acerbi*, idest multiplicationis divitiarum (?) omnino est impossible, est (sic, for es ?) *inventus*.

Explicit expositio Persii satyrici copulata (compilata ?) a magistro Johanne de Levedale bonae memoriae submonitor quondam scholarum Lovaniensium. Finita anno domini M^o CCC^{mo} XXXIIII^o in vigilia beati Thomae Apostoli.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 18570, a. 1334 (apparently the date when the *Expositio* was finished, though Johannes de Levedale had died earlier), membr., fols. 23-45v. (Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits VI* [1893] 113 ; L. Delisle, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* XXXI (1870) 563 ; Scarcia 400). Information supplied by Mlle. Marie-Pierre Laffitte of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Biography :

It has proved impossible to discover anything about Johannes de Levedale except what is contained in the manuscript, that he had been a *submonitor* of the schools at Louvain and that he died before 1334.

5a. ANONYMUS ERFORDIENSIS, S. XIV.

An anonymous commentary on Persius is preserved in an Erfurt manuscript of the fourteenth century; the manuscript is difficult to read, both because of the form

of the letters and because of the extreme abbreviation. The commentary is characterized by full, almost scholastic, divisions of the text.

Commentary (fol. 38). [Inc.] : *Nec fonte labra etc.* (*Prol.* 1). Dividitur in prohemium et tractatum, secundum ibi *O curas hominum* (*Sat.* I, 1). Prohemium in tres partes (?) tres errores quibus poetae antiquitus insistebant. Primo ergo tangit arrogantię et inanem gloriam, secundo avaritiam ; modo propter illud —— (?) antiqui poetae scripserunt, secundum ibi *Quis expedivit* (*Prol.* 8), tertium *Quod si dolosi* (*Prol.* 12). Primo dicit *Nec fonte labra* (*Prol.* 1) ; tangit ibi fabulam quae talis est. Forcus rex dicitur tres habuisse filias. . . . *Pegaseum* (*Prol.* 14) dulciter —— (?) et quod —— (?) spargitur.

O curas hominum (*Sat.* I, 1). Hoc est pars executiva. Dividitur in sex partes. . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 58v). *Inventus Chrysippe* (*Sat.* VI, 80). Persius subtiliter respondet habendi cupido quod. . . . sed tu cupide numquam finires tuam cupiditatem ; vero quando tibi plura parasti, tanto plura petis et habendis acrius ardes et ideo non depingam (et del.) ubi sistes quia nescio (?) nunc sic facere.

Manuscript :

Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek der Stadt, Ampron. qu. 388 (= Ampron. Poetrie 27), s. XIII-XIV, misc., cart. et membr., fol. 38-58v. (Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis* 650 ; Scarcia 98).

6. MAGISTER SALIBENE.

An early fourteenth-century manuscript of the Biblioteca Angelica at Rome contains a commentary attributed to Magister Salibene ; the same commentary is found anonymously in a fifteenth-century manuscript of the Biblioteca Comunale in Siena. In the Rome manuscript Salibene is identified as 'in trivio praeceptor', but he appears to be otherwise unknown.

Commentary (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, ms. 1392, fol. 21). [Inc.] : *Nec fonte labra* (*Prol.* 1). More satirorum incipit loco prohemii a quadam reprehensione in qua reprehendit poetas malos credentes bene dic-

tare, licet studio non ita vacaverunt neque vacant. *caballino*, idest Pegaseo et dicitur Pegasus (sic) ab equo Pegaso nato ex sanguine Medusae. dicit *credas* (*Prol.* 14), idest credere potes. *Pegaseum melos*, idest dulcedinem Pegasei fontis, hoc dicit propter Hesiodum qui dicebat poetam qui poetavit (sic, for : *potavit*) in fonte Pegaseo.

O curas hominum (*Sat.* I, 1) Praemissio prohemio aggreditur tractatum et scribit hanc satyram primam in qua tria genera hominum reprehendit, primo poetas inutiliter et male scribentes et haec inutiliter auscultantes et recitantes inutilia. . . . [Expl.] : *Tu inventus, O Chrysippe, finitor tui acervi* (VI, 80). Chrysippus fuit quidam Romanus qui finxit quaestiones adeo cautas et involutas et nemo poterat ipsas solvere et quia liber iste est valde occultus et involutus ideo dicit quod Chrysippus sit finitor ipsius. Amen amen amen.

Explicit commentum Persii secundum Magistrum Salibenem in trivio praeceptorem.

Manuscripts :

(micro.) Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, ms. 1392 (T. 6. 6.), s. XIV inc., membr., fols. 21-43v. (Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum. . . in Bibliotheca Angelica* I, 590 ; Scarcia 426).

(micro.) Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, K V 4, s. XV, cart., fols. 86-102. (N. Terzaghi, "De codicibus latinis philologicis. . ." p. 401 ; idem, "Index codicum latinorum classico-rum. . ." p. 404, n. 4 ; Kristeller, *Iter II*, 168).

Biography :

Nothing appears to be known of 'Magister Salibene' except what is found in the Roman manuscript and in the commentary itself.

7. PAULUS PERUSINUS.

The commentary of Paulus Perusinus, which he wrote in the first half of the fourteenth century, is preserved for us only in one fifteenth-century manuscript ; it has been carefully analyzed by F. Ghisalberti (see below under *Biography*.) As Ghisalberti has noted, the basis of Paulus' commentary is the 'Vulgate', which he used very frequently ; he attributes glosses known to him to Cicero, Remigius, and Cornutus (eleven

scholia cite Cornutus directly). In addition to authors referred to in the 'Vulgate', Paulus adds others where they seem pertinent ; the mythological material is especially detailed, reflecting the author's interest in the *Genealogia Deorum*. Geographical notes are culled from Isidore, Solinus, and Avicenna ; for lexicography Paulus uses Papias, Uguccione da Pisa, and the Syrian Serapion, translated by Gerard of Cremona. We may accept Ghisalberti's judgment that the commentary is not only interesting evidence for Latin studies at the court of Robert of Anjou (1309-43) but that, while it is constructed along the lines of the medieval commentaries, in some respects it foreshadows those which were produced by the humanists of the fifteenth century. It is dedicated to Robert of Capua, a member of the Angevin court.

Dedication (Cremona, Biblioteca Statale, cod. Governativo 109, fol. 115). Ingenuo ac magnifico domino. domino et benefactori suo Otrebore Ytimor Ellyverla [i.e. Roberto comiti Alteville] Paulus de Perusia servus et devotus vester salutem in eo qui dominantium noscitur dominus, et singulis eum invocantibus dat salutem. [Inc.] : Solebatis egregie Vulterrani poetae salebrosa dictamina sub larva quadam figurarum umbratili ac bivio trivioque verborum cum quadam aspectus praeludio (*aspectu pre ludio* : Ghisalberti) et hilaritate festiva Johannis Coci Neapolis otiosae partis minime et durarum juglandium distractoris nuces insecabiles dictitare. . . . Ego (*ergo* : Ghis.) igitur licet mandatis vestris contraire non debeam, cum a vobis quasi dependeat quasi (om. Ghis.) esse meum, quia tamen leporina timiditas hyemalis iam senii, qua virium solet languere potentia, hebetari vena naturalis ingenii, ignorantiae induci nebecula, et per amplius famulatus memorialis essentiae pigritare, me praesto non credidi vestras assumere solito iussiones. Vos siquidem, ne otiis effeminare sterilibus et temporis desidiis enervarer, ad Aulis Persii nucetum densissimum, prius facientes ingressum, quadam violenta iussionis manerie et inductione Sirenaea, ut illud prosequar, coegistis. [Expl.] : Ut particularum fragmina quae in illorum latibulis ex incu-

ria modica remanserunt suis partibus haerent. Et ut fuit vestra meaque propositionis intentio totus ex illis durioris testae nucleus habeatur.

Introduction. [Inc.] : Aules Persius Flaccus, ut ex commentariis Valerii Martialis habetur, natus est in Etruria in civitate quae Vulterra dicitur pridie nonas Decembris Fabio Persico et Lucio Vitellio consulibus [Expl.] : Derisoria ut Persius in primo *O curas hominum o quantum est in rebus inane* (*Sat.* I, 1). Responsoria ut apud Juvenalem : Ecce iterum Crispinus adest mihi saepe vocandus ad partes (*Sat.* IV, 1-2).

Nec fonte labra prolui caballino (Prol. 1) . . . *Nec fonte* etc. In hoc primo versu notat Persius Esiodum Ascensem poetam, quem imitatur Virgilius in *Georgica* (sic?) qui cum nullius pretii haberetur hoc solo fretus quod de fonte Pegaseo potasset absque alio praemisso exercitio se dicebat esse poetam. . . . (on Prol. 14) quae poetiam scribit, *cantare idest cantu componere posse. Pegaseum melos idest poeticam carminis dulcedinem et est yronia. Melos indeclinabile nomen est.*

O curas hominum (*Sat.* I, 1). Finita prima satyra qua usus est prologo modo quidem librum suum aggreditur in cuius hac prima satyra fere totum humanum genus reprehendit. Siquidem reprehendit scriptores, recitatores, et auditores. . . . [Expl.] : *ubi inventus sistam* (VI, 79-80). idest in quo loco finem faciam, vel ubi sistam idest ad quotum numerum acquirere desinam vel ubi sistam idest ubi finem capiam amoris negotiorum et deponam modum cremento substantiae. Amen gratias.

Explicant glosae super Perscio secundum interpretem subtilissimum Paulum de Persio familiarem quondam serenissimi principis domini Roberti Ierusalem et Siciliae regis illustrissimi.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Cremona, Biblioteca Statale, cod. Gubernativo 109, s. XV, misc., cart., fols. 115-176v. (Mazzatinti LXX, 83-84; F. Novati, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* IV (1884) 332-3; F. Ghisalberti, "Paolo da Perugia, commentatore di Persio", *Rendiconti del Regio Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, ser. II, vol. 62 [1929]

535-98; Scarcia 90). We are indebted to Dr. R. Barbisotti of the Biblioteca Statale for the gift of a microfilm of the manuscript.

Edition :

Selections have been edited by Ghisalberti (see above under *Manuscript*).

Biography :

Paulus Perusinus (de Perusia; Paolo da Perugia) flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century; he was born at Perugia and died in 1348 at Naples. He went to Naples from Perugia at an unknown date. By December 1324 he had become a member of the royal court; in 1327 he was Secretary, and in 1337 *notaio della cancellaria*. Boccaccio refers to him as *Magister et custos* of the Royal Library; there seems little doubt that he took material from Paulus' *Collectiones* for Book XV of his *De genealogia deorum*. As librarian, Paulus was active in the collection of Greek manuscripts for King Robert.

Works : Commentary on the *Ars poetica* of Horace (Naples, Bib. Naz. cod. V. F. 21) and on Persius; *Liber Genealogiae tam hominum quam deorum* (*Collectanea, Collectiones*).

Bibl. : Cosenza III, 2645-46; V, 1003-05; G. Koerting, *Geschichte der Literatur Italiens im Zeitalter der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1880) 145-6; P. Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme* II, 136.

Ghisalberti, *op. cit.*; F. Torracca, "Boccaccio a Napoli" *Archivio storico per province napoletane* XXXIX (1914) 229-67.

8. FRANCISCUS DE BUTIS.

The commentary of Franciscus de Butis was composed in 1386 at the urging of Tedaldo della Casa, the copyist of the works of Petrarch. Franciscus had long lectured on both Persius and on Horace, *Ars poetica*; he now decided to write out both courses of lectures, and two manuscripts of the Persius work survived, though the one at San Gimignano, which was available early in this century, is now lost.

The commentary continues to make use of the vulgate tradition, though usually without acknowledgment. Thus on *Sat.* I, 4, for example, Franciscus remarks :

nec Polidamas, id est Nero imperator. Interpretatur Polidamas multinuba, id est *proles amans a prolis et amo dictus*, quia Nero multis nupsit et multas recepit uxores (cf. O. Jahn, ed. of 1843, p. 248).

Dedication (Milan, Bibl. Ambros., E 3 Sup., with some additions from the lost San Gimignano manuscript, as transcribed by F. Ramorino). [Inc.] : Movit tua caritativa exhortatio, O frater in Christo Thedalde, me devotum tuum Franciscum de Buiti (sic?) de Pisis, ut semel id agerem, quod quotiens lecturus fuerim id agere convenisset. Ideo ut tibi obsequerer, m(ihi) vero labores demerem, et idem [id San Gimignano] acceptantibus prodessem, lecturam poetiae Horatii Flacci Venusini sub integumento exemplorum latentis et Satyrarum Persii Vulterrani habentium sententiarum difficiles aditus, continuationum diverticula fallenchia, et vocabulorum peregrinorum frequentiam scribere ut edidi sum aggressus. Quam iuvante divina gratia completam charitati tuae transmitto, ingenio tuo perspicaci iudicium utriusque committentes, et ubi opus fuerit, correptionem. Quae si recte composta fuerit, auctorem deum cognoscito, si minus, me vero ineptum et eius inutile instrumentum. Vale.

Incipiunt commentarioli super Persium editi a magistro Francisco (del. : de Buiti) de Pisis per instantiam et petitionem (del. : Fratris Thedaldi de Mucello) ordinis minorum . . .

Introduction. [Inc.] : In exponendis auctoribus quaerenda sunt tria principaliter, scilicet causarum explanatio, tituli libri expositio, et partis philosophiae assignatio. Quorum primum super libro Satyrarum Persii quem exponere intendimus offert nobis considerandum quod causarum quatuor species sunt circa auctorum initia explananda, scilicet causa efficiens, causa materialis, causa formalis, et causa finalis. . . . [Expl.] : Et non dicitur primus quia unus liber tantum est.

Ultimo sciendum est quod subponitur parti philosophiae ethicae, i.e. morali, quia de virtute et moribus tractat.

Commentary. [Inc.] : Nunc ad litteram accedendum est. Circa quam est sciendum quod mos est satyrorum incipere a narratio-

ne, et sic autor incipit a reprehensione poetarum qui vendicant sibi nomen poetae per somnium vel per potionem de fonte Musarum. . . . (de Butis goes on to divide the *Satyrae* as a whole, giving the lemmata with which each section begins). . . . Ultimo contra avaros et prodigos insistit ibi *Admonit te bruma* (Sat. VI, 1). Dicit vero (?) primo sic : *Nec fonte labra* (Prol. 1).

Ista est prima Satyra Persii in qua reprehendit poetas qui induebant falsum nomen poetae, reprehendendo eos maxime qui volebant effici poetae sine doctrina et videri cum non essent. . . . (end of Prol.) ubi latius loquitur reprehendendo poetas, recitatores, et auscultatores, quam credo integrum esse cum priori et unam esse satyram quia de poetis.

O curas hominum (Sat. I, 1). Ista est secunda Satyra secundum quosdam, sed mihi videtur eadem cum praecedente, quando eadem est materia videlicet poeta, recitator, et auditor et ipse auctor. . . . [Expl.] : *sistam* (Sat. VI, 79) idest ubi sistere possum, idest necubi quia mundana sunt insatia bilia, deus autem aeternum est bonum perfectum quod satiat mentes nostras cui sit honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

MCCCLXXXXV die prima Martii Flor (entie) Thedaldus ordinis minorum. (Tedadlo della Casa di Mugello was both a copyist and a collector of manuscripts. He left his collection in 1406 to Santa Croce in Florence (Sabbadini, *Scoperte* II, 175).

Bibl. : U. Noni Pesciolini, "Di un codice sangimignanese ignoto delle satire di Aulo Persio", *Miscellanea Storica della Valdelsa* XIII (1905) 88-91 ; F. Ramorino, "Il Codice 13. K della Biblioteca di S. Gimignano" *ibid.* 207-36.

Manuscripts :

(micro.) Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, E 3 sup., s. XIV, misc., membr., fols. 1-54. (Kristeller, *Iter* I 297 ; Scarcia 258).

(*) San Gimignano, Biblioteca Comunale. 23 (13 K), early fifteenth century, fols. 52-64. Ramorino p. 232 (see Bibliography above) notes that toward the middle of fol. 56 a marginal note indicates the absence of commentary on 19 lines of the poem ; this commentary was found added

by a later hand at the end on f. 64. (Mazzatinti LXXXVIII (1972) 115-116; Scarcia 443. The folios which contained the Persius commentary are now missing. Information on the manuscript supplied by the Sindaco of San Gimignano.)

Biography :

Franciscus de Butis (Francesco da Buti) was born in Pisa in 1324 and died there July 25, 1406. He held various public offices at Pisa and occupied the chair of *Grammatica* in the *Studio Pubblico*. He was one of the first to lecture in Italian on the *Divina Commedia*; as in the case of Persius, after many years of lecturing, he turned the lectures into a book.

Works : Italian commentary on Dante, *Divina Commedia*; *Regulae grammaticales et rhetoricae*; Commentary on Persius and on Horace, *Ars poetica*.

Bibl.: Chevalier, *Biobibliographie* I, 738; Mazzuchelli II, 4 (1768) 2468-69; Ramorino, *op. cit.* 231-32; T. Simonelli, in *Uomini illustri Pisani* IV (1792) 159-90; R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese* (Catania, 1896) 40; Tiraboschi V, 2 (1807) 498, 646.

9. FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ANONYMOUS COMMENTARIES.

a) Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, 21089-90.

[*Inc.*] : (fol. 97) Intentio huius poetae est reprehendere vitia et extollere virtutem; ad illam quoque lectores operis inducit. Reprehendit autem hoc primo loco poetas ineptos, qui cum ingenio exercitatione que careant saepe, tamen ad scribendum accedunt. . ./. . . Hoc carmen est iambicum trimetrum. . . et iambum in primis. . .

(*Sat.* I, 1) In hac satyra accusat vacuas curas et vanitates hominum praesertim scribentium vana sine fructu propter gloriam tantum et locatur in libro primo per dialogum. . ./. . . [*Expl.*] : (fol. 113v) (*Sat.* VI, 80) Chrysippus fuit philosophus Apollonii Solensis filius, et hic Cleanthes dicitur de quo Cicero in 2º *De natura deorum* inquit. . . Alii dicunt eum trecenta et undecim volumina de dialectica struxisse. . . Nunc Persius videns non esse finem nec modum in avaritia, inducit filium avari dicentem. *O Chry-*

sippe. . . ubi sistam, i. ubi ponam finem avaritiae quod hoc facere non possit quia crescit amor nummi quantum pecunia crescit. Et sic est finis Persii.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 21089-90, s. XV, cart., fols. 97-113v. (P. Thomas, *Catalogue* 100; Scarcia 62).

b) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 5594.

(fol. 237) Auly Flacci Persy poetae Satyrarum opus. [*Inc.*] : Parnasus mons est Aoniae quae est pars Boeotiae, unde Musae dictae sunt Aonides; ibi fons est Musarum. . ./. . . (end of *Prologus*) Redarguit illos poetas qui spe lucri carmina ineptissima componere non verentur.

(*Sat.* I, 1) In hac satyra prima materiam aggreditur principalem et eam dividit in quattuor partes, in prima habens consultationem cum amico Cornuto. . . in secunda parte reprehendit scriptores, in tertia recitatores, in quarta auditores reprehendit. Et incipit ex abrupto sermonem. . ./. . . [*Expl.*] : (*Sat.* VI, 80) Chrysippus philosophus fuit sectae Stoicae qui cum habuit quadraginta annos incepit scribere librum in quo coacervatim omnia scripserat, quae sibi venerant in mentem. Et scripsit usque ad annum octuagesimum, ita quod putabant aliqui suum librum nunquam habiturum finem. Quando tandem finivit, ita Persius etc. per hoc notat isto carmine suum finivisse opus sicut Chrysippus.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 5594, s. XV, cart., fols. 236-255v. (Halm, *Catalogus* I, 3 24-25 no. 193; Scarcia 286).

c) Naples, Bibl. Naz. V D 17.

(fol. 1) other hand : Aquili comment. in Persium. [*Inc.*] : *Nec fonte labra* (Prol. 1). Iambici metri genera tredecim enumerat Ser(vius) in *Centimetro* inter quae hipponacium quod trimetro acatalectic constat. . . . (the following folios combine specific commentary on the *Prologus*, with other material sometimes found in an introduction, e.g. a discussion of satire and of poetic inspiration). . . (fol. 9) Martialis : Saepius in libro memoratur Persius uno / Quam levis in

tota Marsus Amazonide (Epigr. IV, 29, 8-9). Et ut superflua recidamus, ad Persium revertor.

O curas hominum. (Sat. I, 1). Stupidus poeta curis hominum circa inania positis principium ab exclamacione sumpsit, ut qui diu tacuerit demum vitiis vocem emittere cogatur. . . . [Expl.] (fol. 106) *O Chrysippus tu inventus finitor acervi tui.* Pingue (?) ubi sistam, ubi morer, nec ad ulterius lucrum progrediar. Prior tamen placet magis sententia quam damus Persio contra avitudinem illius quem induxisse per mimesim diximus, Chrysippus autem ut scribit Laertius libro (sic, fragmentary at the end).

Manuscript:

(micro.) Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale V D 17, s. XVI, cart. (Kristeller, Iter I, 415 ; not in Scarcia).

d) Naples, Bibl. Naz. XIV D 22.

[Inc.] : (fol. 59) *Nec fonte prolui caballino* (Prol. 1). Teste Martiale libro epigrama. 4º, Saepe in libro numeratur (sic) Persius uno (IV, 29, 8) et teste Quint. de iudicio auctorum, Multum et verae gloriae quamvis uno libro meruit Persius. Sed antequam ad ea quae sunt operis perveniamus, praeponenda sunt de vita ipsius poetae, de titulo, de carmine iambico, de satyra, et in qua philosophia continetur. . . (there follows an introduction under the headings listed) . . . (fol. 61v) videtur Persius versari in his omnibus partibus (sc. philosophiae) idest quando publice, quando private et domestice vivendum sit. Iam ad ea quae sunt operis perveniendum est.

Nec fonte labra prolui caballino (Prol. 1). Quae sunt ipsius operis attingamus in primis ut non invocat Persius teste (sic) omnino in poetria nec deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus inciderit. *Melos* (Prol. 14). Graeca est dictio, dicitur suavitas et dulcedo ; *melos Pegaseum*, idest suavitatem Pegasei fontis et dulcedinem poeticam.

O curas hominum O quantum est <in> rebus inane (Sat. I, 1). Haec satyra constituta est in genere deliberativo. Tria enim facit. Primo dubitat an sit scripturus satyram et constituit nemini parcere neque senioribus neque iunioribus. . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 126v.), *Inventus finitor tui acervi* (Sat. VI, 80) idest

qui finiat tuum syllogismum qui numquam finitus est, nam semper multiplicibus tuos syllogismos (sic ; tuis syllogismis?) in infinitum vel acervi idest operis tui de logica vero quod consumpsisti fere omnem hereditatem. Et sic est finis.

Quamquam in hoc commento plures incorrectiones reperiuntur, attamen puto mihi non veniunt imputandae cum paucitas mei ingenii originale minime (?) valuit emendare.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, XIV D 22, s. XV ex., cart., fol. 59-126v (Kristeller, Iter I, 409 ; Scarcia 310).

e) Pisa, Bibl. Univ. 690.

[Inc.] : (fol. 223). Etsi nos in exponendo libello plurimum operis in praemittendo prooemio conteramus, dubito ne videamur pictoribus vanis aut sculptoribus similes, qui cum imaginem facturi, si in capite fingendo modum excederent nec aliis partibus convenient, equidem irridendos putarem. Igitur pauca prius praetermissa (sic), s. de poetae vita, de libri titulo, de intentione eius, ad carmina exponenda veniemus.

Aulus ergo noster Persius Flaccus ex Vulturio (sic) municipio oriundus. . . . (there follows a brief treatment of the three points mentioned). . . (fol. 223v) statuit illos imitari ut sua tempora carperet. Satis pro re dixisse arbitror, admodum (sic) veniamus ad expositionem.

Nec fonte labra prolui caballino (Prol. 1). Non est proponere satiricorum brevi quid sint dicturi neque invocare mos fuit, sed sola indignatione incipere statim ab ipsa. Reprehendit in principio malos multos poetas qui audebant sua carmina Musis dicare. . . / . . . quasi dicat : quid facerent si X cantorum nummos consequerentur aut etiam si spes esset et qui sunt inepti ut corvi canarent ut poetae viderentur.

O curas hominum O quantum est in rebus inane (Sat. I, 1). Incipit cum indignatione quasi velit reprehendere vanas curas hominum / (f. 224) et sunt verba Persii, et tamen quod reprehendit alios suspicabatur nullus lecturus. Sua enim scelera avide audit nemo. . . . [Expl.] : (f. 232) *excussit. . . aristas* (III, 115) pilos. rectum (?) ad simili-

tudinem horrescunt pili ob timorem, et excutiuntur etiam. tu dicis et facis ea quae horesces (sic) non sanus nam durat solum sed sunt non esse sani sed insani hominis (sic?).

Manuscript:

(micro.) Pisa, Biblioteca Universitaria 690 (Roncionii 11), a. 1451, cart., fols. 223-32. The commentary extends only through *Sat. III, 15.* (Mazzatinti XXIV 58 no. 680; Scarcia 415; Kristeller, *Iter II*, 76; C. Vitelli, "De Codice Roncioniano Scholiorum in Iuvenalem", *Studi italiani di filologia classica* X [1902] 29-39 at 30-31).

f) Pistoia, Bibl. Fabroniana 317.

[Inc.] : Si in tam vario litterarum genere et tam diversa scriptorum copia latinis aliquantum gloriari licet, in hoc uno potissimum licet et iure contingit quod cum caeteras omnis fere bonas artes omnis fere disciplinas a Graecis inventas acceperint, satyrarum auctores ipsi soli extiterunt... (a brief history of Latin satire to Persius)... Persius cuius opus cum pro ingenioli mei viribus exponentum suscepimus, nonnulla breviter ac necessario ante textus expositionem tangenda putavi: primo enim quae auctoris vita, secundo quis operis titulus, tertio quae sit eius intentio, quarto quae carminis qualitas.

Aulus Persius Volterranus patre Flacco Sisenna matre natus... (the points are developed in order, with an account of satire included under the discussion of the title)... Notandum tamen est quod in versibus iambicis ultima syllaba semper indifferenter ponitur. Sed haec hactenus, deinceps ad exponentum textum veniamus.

Nec fonte (Prol. 1). pro argumento et materia huius primae Satyrae quae tamen et quasi exordium operis praemittitur revocandum est memoriae quod alibi etiam notatum est et potissimum apud Juvenalem quodam tempore fuisse tantam scriptorum confluentiam Romae.... Intendit itaque in hac prima Satyra Persius carpere et reprehendere huiusmodo ostentatores et iactatores homines bestios (sic) qui cum numquam studuerint numquam bonis artibus invigilaverint, se doctos velint perhibere. Facit autem hanc satyram tripartitam.

Primo enim tanquam optimus satyricae facultatis professor indignabundus ingreditur.... deinde ostendit multo frequentiorem eorum scriptorum concursum et confluentiam futuram Romae si pretium conferri sibi speraverint.

Nec fonte labra prolui caballino / Nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnasso. Indignabunde et clamose proferendus est textus ut in Horatii principio: *Qui fit Maecenas (Serm. I, 1, 1)* et Juvenalis, *Semper ego auditor tantum (Sat. I, 1).*.... Ita se iactant ut existimes eos data spe pretii posse egregie scribere, cum tamen sint rudes penitus et ignari.

O curas hominum. O quantum est in rebus inane. Haec est secunda satyra in qua intendit tria potissimum facere Persius, s. primo reprehendere scriptores, secundo scriptorum recitatores (et eorum materiam).../[Expl.]: *Inventus Chrysippe tui finitor acervi* ut dicamus, quantacumque avaris crescat rerum abundantia. numquam tamen satiantur, immo sic in infinitum eorum desiderium extenditur ut qui avaritiae finem voluerit imponere, facile etiam syllogismum Chrysippi definire posse videatur. De syllogismo Chrysippi lege apud Horatium *Epistula paenultima*, qui qualis sit et quomodo fiat per hosce versus illic notatur :

Utor permisso, caudaeque pilos ut equinae
Paulatim evello demo unum demo et item
unum

Dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi
Qui redit in fastos et virtutem aestimat
annis. (*Epist. II, 1* 45-48). Exemplum de
syllogismo Chrysippi, si centum anni faciunt auctoritatem poetae, ergo et nona-
ginta; si nonaginta, ergo et octuaginta; si
octuaginta, ergo et septuaginta, et sic de
singulis, donec numerus ad unum usque
destruatur.

Finis Aulii Flacci Persii Oritii (?) commenti optimi et copiosissimi, die octavo Januarii 1462 Ferrariae.

Manuscript:

(photo.) Pistoia, Biblioteca Fabroniana 317, a. 1462. It will be noted that the Explicit corresponds closely with that of the anonymous commentary in Venice, Marc. Zan. lat. 458 (1658); see below p. 252).

There are also correspondences as well as differences in the opening portions of the commentaries, and it may be that the two are reports of the lectures of a single scholar. (Mazzatinti I, 276 no. 148; Scarcia 417; Kristeller *Iter* II, 76). We are indebted to Dott. Giancarlo Savino of the Biblioteca Fortegueriana for the gift of photos of the manuscript.

g) Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, ms. 1350.

Introduction. [Inc.] : (fol. 286v) Nota quod ad exponendum libros solent plerique auctores vitam praeponere ut ea cognita auditoribus is gratior fiat. . . (nine lines on the *Vita followed* by a gap). Satyra talis est carmen est reprehensorium et dicitur satyra a saturae quae in sacris deorum diversis ferulis referta super altare ponebatur. . . (eight lines) [Expl.] : sed vilibus et cotidianis utitur sermonibus.

Commentary. [Inc.] : Nempe (sic) nec fonte. (Prol. 1) Fabula talis est quod Forcus habuit quatuor (sic) filias quarum una nomine Medusa pulcherrima vagans per litus, Neptunus istius amore captus persecutus est eam. . . . (fol. 287) *corvos poetas* (Prol. 13). poetris poetridas, vel dos, pro feminine, ex hoc poeta pro masculino. *pegaseum melos* (Prol. 14) dulcidinem eam Pegaseam.

O curas hominum (Sat. I, 1) Tacitum verbum ex indignatione, sic Ver(gilius) Quos ego. . . (Aeneid I, 135) item exclamantis et indignantis et potest iam haberi admirative (?). . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 299v) (on Sat. VI, 80) etiam me multiplicando divitias meas aliquem finem imponere. *tui acervi*. argumentationis multiplicando semper res ut conmeniat (?) de primo ad ultimum.

Manuscript:

Roma, Biblioteca Angelica 1350 (T. 4. 15), s. XV ex., miscell., cart., fol. 286v-299v. (Narducci, Catalogus I 567, 68; Scarcia 424).

h) Venezia, Marc. Zan lat. 458 (1658)

Introduction. [Inc.] : (fol. 1) Aulus Persius Volaterranus patre Flacco, Sisenna matre natus pridie nonas Decembbris Fabio Persico L. Vitellio consulibus. . . (there follows a brief *Vita*). . . de quo Quintilianus X *Oratoriarum Institutionum* libro : multum

et verae gloriae hoc uno libro Persius emeruit. Titulus est: Auli Persii Volaterrani Liber Satyrarum Incipit. . . (the title leads into a discussion of meter, in particular iambic meter). . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 1v) Ali quando Trochaeum et Tribracum improprie quidem cum venia exponendo aperiemus nec quemquam fugiat ultimam syllabam in versibus iambicis indifferenter ponit.

Commentary. [Inc.] : *Nec fonte.* (Prol. 1) Persius in hac prima satyra intendit carpere et reprehendere ostentatores qui cum numquam bonis artibus invigilaverint insolentia quadam et temeritate se doctos profiteri (?) non erubescant. . . . *cantare* (Prol. 14) carmen effingere. *Pegaseum melos*, idest cantilenam haustam de fonte Pegaseo Muisis dedicato. Vel *melos Pegaseum* idest nectareum vel dulce carmen.

O curas hominum (Sat. I, 1) Principale aggreditur opus et ponit O ad exprimendam indignationem et ex abrupto incipit, idest ego curas hominum dico. Et secundum aliquos haec est secunda Satyra. *O quantum inane.* quanta inanitas in rebus humanis, q. d. vana sunt quae saepenumero cogitant et propterea nihil effectus inest rebus ipsis. Nam si uno modo mortales cogitant, alio modo deus ipse disponit. Vel *O curas* ac si di(ceret) inutiles et sine fructu quia elegi mihi quae minime convenient perversis viventium moribus. . . . *Inventus Chrysippe tui finitor acervi* (Sat. VI, 80). ut dicamus, quantacumque crescat avaris rerum abundantia, numquam tamen satiantur. Immo sic interim eorum desiderium extendet, ut qui finem avaritiae imponere voluerit, facile etiam syllogismum Chrysippi diffinire posse videatur. De quo syllogismo lege apud Horatium in penultima *Epistola*, II, 1 45-48 qui qualis sit et quomodo fiat per hosce versus illic notatur.

Utor permissio caudaeque pilos ut equinae Paulatim vello et demo unum, demo etiam unum

Dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi Qui redit infaustos (sic) et virtutem aestimat annis.

Ut in hoc exemplo patet: Si centum anni faciunt auctoritatem (?) poetae, et nonaginta; ergo octoginta. Si octoginta, ergo

septaginta (sic), et sic de aliis donec numerus ad unum usque destruatur.

Manuscript:

Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. Zan. lat., 458 (1658), s. XV, cart., fols. 1-43v. It will be noted that the Explicit corresponds closely with that of the commentary found anonymously in Pistoia, Bibl. Fabroniana 317 (see above p. 000). There are also correspondences as well as differences in the opening portions of the two commentaries, and it may be that they are reports of the lectures of a single scholar. (A. M. Zanetti 181 ; Kristeller, *Iter II*, 211 ; Scarcia 564).

i) Wien, Oesterreichische Nationalbibl. 3094

Vita Persii (fol. 214v) [Inc.] : Aules Persius Flaccus Lunensis civis filius natus Etruriae vola teris (sic) civitate pridie nonas Novembbris ut Valerius Probus scribit Lucio et Vitellio consulibus.../[Expl.] : inter satyros poetas Latinos quorum primus Lucius vel Lucilius, secundus Horatius, ipse Persius tertius cuius memoria collenda est argento aere auro marmore carminibus.

Argumentum. [Inc.] : Quidam ignavi cum indocti sint et arrogantes quadam verborum ineptia se ipsos claros ostendere nituntur exponunt hunc illos poetas reprehendere intendisse quod a Musis in Parnassum montem deportati Helicona fontem degustarunt et divinorum poetarum animos intra se suscepserunt.../[Expl.] : quomodo magis ego propter studium et litterarum et amore glorie debeo studuisse et modo quae didici audere scribere.

The text of Persius follows fol. 215a with some interlinear and with full marginal glosses. The marginal glosses read. [Inc.] : Parnassus mons est, ut Strabo et Valla scribunt, Phocidis qui Boeotiae accumbit, et ad occidens Phocidis locatur. Ovidius.... (fol. 215v) *O curas hominum* (*Sat. I*, 1). Haec prima satyra scribitur de his qui publice captant famam eloquentiae et favorem imperatoris (sic). . . ./[Expl.] : (fol. 235v on *Sat. VI*, 80). Chrysippus princeps sectae Stoicorum inventus est tertius post Zenonem, scripsit trecentos et undecim libros in dialectica. . . . crescit et mortuus est. Unde bene per translationem. . . (?) ad

avarum ut finem in rebus ponat ne periculis se exponat ut heredem ditet.

Finis 1494.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3094 (Phil. 67), s. XV, misc. cart., fols. 214v-235v. a. 1494. (S. Endlicher, *Catalogus codicum philologicorum* 7 no. XIV ; *Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum* II, 195 ; Scarcia 579).

10. SOZOMENUS PISTORIENSIS.

A commentary which is found anonymously in two manuscripts (British Museum, Harleian Ms. 3989, and Yale University Ms. 58) is probably the work of Sozomenus Pistoriensis, though it shows considerable dependence on the earlier commentary of Franciscus de Butis and many passages are repeated verbatim (see above, p. 247). The Harleian manuscript is an autograph of Sozomenus, and it is dated by A. C. de la Mare in the neighborhood of 1427 (*The Handwriting of Italian Humanists* I, 1 p. 100 ; see below under *Biography* for full title). The Yale manuscript is a copy made by Bartholomaeus de Baldinottis in 1461, at a time when Bartholomaeus was only sixteen and was probably studying under Nicolaus Fabronius in Pistoia (see A. Chiti, *Tommaso Baldinotti*, Pistoia, 1898, p. 16 bis, 24, 29, 37).

The argument that Sozomenus was the author and not simply the copyist of the anonymous commentary rests in part upon his early and continued interest in Persius, in part upon the relation of the commentary to other Sozomenus manuscript material connected with Persius.

In the neighborhood of 1415-20, or perhaps a little later (see de la Mare, *op. cit.* p. 100), Sozomenus copied out a text of Persius (Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, A. 16), to which he also added glosses. These glosses have parallels both in the commentary of Franciscus de Butis and also in the anonymous commentary of the Harleian and Yale manuscripts, but they are verbally closer to the latter. It is also clear that this Persius text was the basis of the anonymous commentary. Sebastiano Ciampi in 1810

noted the variants of the text of the Pistoia manuscript as against the standard tradition (S. Ciampi, *Notizie*, Pisa, 1810, p. 33). The text offers a somewhat unusual recension, yet all of the first ten variants are also found in the anonymous commentary. Finally, Ms A. 33 at Pistoia contains a notebook of Sozomenus with Persius material at the end, including a *Vita Persii* and an introduction to the *Satyræ* (see A. Mancini, "Un quaderno di scuola di un umanista celebre" p. 288; for full reference see below under *Biography*). It is particularly significant that Sozomenus here works out fully the story of Phorcus and his three daughters; such a treatment had been found in the vulgate Tradition B and is included in the anonymous commentary, but it is lacking in Franciscus de Butis.

All in all, therefore, the available evidence makes it extremely likely that the anonymous commentary is the work of Sozomenus himself, though it is still possible that he may have served simply as the copyist of an earlier revision of the commentary of Franciscus de Butis.

Introduction. [Inc.] : (Yale University Library, Marston Collection 58 fol. 1) Persius Flaccus satyricus poeta Vulterrī nascitur anni mundi DCCXXXIII (sic), imperii Tyberii anno XXI. Item moritur Persius anno aetatis suae XXVIII, anno imperii Neronis VIII. Haec Eusebius de temporibus. Ceterum cum de eo Persio mihi apud alios fide dignos plura non sint comperta, puto melius tacendum quam multa de eo dicere... Scripsit ergo Satyram in qua primum Lucilium imitatus est, sed etiam Neronem illius temporis principem culparerit, dicens auriculas asini rex Mida habet. Quod dictum Cornutus correxit dicens: auriculas asini quis non habet, ne Nero in se dictum crederet. Huius unici libri varia vitiorum genera sunt materia....

Utitur ergo prologo in hac prima Satyra in qua reprehendit poetas et maxime illos qui sine litterarum (MS liderrorum) praemisso studio (? word partly in worm-hole) scribebant et hoc solo freti quod de Pegaseo fonte potassent vel quod in Parnasso somniassent, unde neque isto neque illo unquam dicit se sapientiam fore consecutum. Et

hic est quod poetas reprehendit et primum suae professionis homines reprehendit ut alii nec putent contra ipsorum vitia se fore taciturnum. Creditur tamen poetam scripisse hunc prologum iambico metro, licet vitio scriptorum sit corruptum.

Commentary, (Prol. 1) *Nec fonte labra.* Prima haec satyra reprehendit [ms. reprendit] poetas qui sibi falsum nomen poetae induebant, qui maxime volebant effici poetae sine doctrina et videri cum non essent. Unde istud *nec* requirit aliud, quod poetae illi vel potando de pegaseo Monte (sic) vel somniando in Parnaso monte se sapientiam acquisisse et poetas esse profitentur. . . . [Expl.] : *cantare* (Prol. 14) idest describere. *pegaseum melos* idest poeticam dulcedinem vel musicam et hic est hyronia. *melos* suave dulcis sonus, dulcus cantilena a suavitate dicta. Papia [i.e. Papias the Lombard, *Vocabularium*].

O curas hominum (fol. 6, *Sat.* I, 1) Finita illa satyra secundum aliquos, sed melius credo dicere finito prologo [ms. prolago], quia eadem est materia, videlicet poeta, recitator, et auditor et ipse author, sed quicquid sit dividitur in quinque partes quia primo author ponit admirationem suam super vanitatem poetarum, quia non scribunt nisi sicut credunt placere populo; secundo reprehendit recitantes lasciva et obscoena, et tam scriptores et auditores obscoenorum et quorum (Harleian 3989: ex quo) fere totum genus humanum reprehendere videtur, ibi *scribimus inclusi* (I, 13). Tertio redit ad poetas sive authores, introducendo adulatorem ad defendendum partes authoris et se reprehendentem ibi *tum vetulae auriculas* (I, 22). Quarto redit ad recitatorem et adulatorem ponendo altercationem suam cum ambobus, ibi *os* (sic) *pueris monitus* (I, 79). Quinto introducit reprehensorem suum supradictis et excusationem suam, ibi (I, 107) *Sed quis opus teneras.* . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 77) *Finitor tui acervi* (VI, 80). quem numquam finivisti tu sistam, idest sistere possim, idest necubi quia bona mundana sunt insatiabilia; deus autem aeternus est bonum perfectum, quod satiat [corrected from *santiat*] mentes nostras, cui sit honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Ego Bartholomaeus de Baldinottis scripsi
anno MCCCCLXI.

Manuscripts :

(micro.) London, British Museum, Harleian 3989, s. XV, cart. et membr., fols. 1-81. A note in Greek at the end lists Sozomenus as the owner. (Nares, *Catalogue III*, 101; Scarcia 235).

New Haven, Yale University Library, Marston Collection 58, anno 1461, fols. 1-77 (unnumbered).

Biography :

Sozomenus Pistoriensis (Franciscus Luccae, Sozomeno, Zomino da Pistoia) was born in Pistoia in 1387, the illegitimate son of ser Bonifazio di Jacopo. In 1402 he studied in Pistoia under Antonio di ser Salvi da San Gimignano. He was apparently ordained in 1407 and studied canon law at Padua for the next years, with interludes at Florence. When his studies were completed, he moved to Florence; he was active in church affairs and attended the Council of Constance in 1417. Meanwhile his interests turned more to humanistic matters, and in the 1420's he was engaged in private teaching at Florence. In 1431 he was appointed for a year to the Florentine *Studio* to lecture on poetry and rhetoric, and he may have done so earlier. Sozomenis also taught at Pistoia in 1448. His pupils included Leonardo Dati, Matteo Palmieri, Pandolfo di Gianozzo Pandolfini, and Francesco di Paolo Vettori. During the last years of his life, Sozomenus seems to have devoted himself mainly to an immense universal chronicle, running from the creation to the middle of the fifteenth century. He died in 1458. He left his large library to the charitable foundation of the Opera di San Jacopo in Pistoia. Many of his books are now in the Biblioteca Forteguerriana in Pistoia; a large number are in the Harleian collection in the British Museum.

Bibl.: Chevalier, *Bio-Bibliographie* I, 2 4310; Cosenza IV, 3298-99 and V, cards 1687-88; Joecher IV (1750) 705.

Augusto Mancini, "Un quaderno di scuola di un umanista celebre", *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere, ed Arti* LXXXVIII (1928-29) 279-88; Alberto Mazzanti, "Ancora del Sozomeno", *Bollettino storico Pistoiese* XXXVIII (1935) 148-53;

A. C. de la Mare, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists*, Vol. I, Fasc. I (Oxford, 1973) pp. 91-105 with Plates XX-XXI. The present biography is largely drawn from de la Mare; R. Piattoli, "Per la biografia dell'umanista Sozomeno", *Bollettino storico Pistoiese* XXXIV (1932) 135-47; idem, "Nuove ricerche intorno all'umanista Sozomeno", *Rivista storica degli archivi toscani* V (1933) 239-48; idem, "Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca dell'umanista Sozomeno", *La Bibliofilia* XXXVI (1934) 261-308; R. Sabbadini, "La biblioteca di Zomino da Pistoia", *Rivista di filologia* XLV (1917) 197-207; Mazzanti, *Inventari, Aggiunte e correzioni al Vol. I*, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, Pistoia, by Giancarlo Savino (Firenze, 1962). For the Persius manuscript copied by Sozomenus, see no. 7, p. 11; C. E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani* (London, 1972) 368-69, a list of Sozomenus manuscripts in the Harleian collection, with a brief biography; G. Zaccagnini, "Uno storico umanista pistoiese", *Studi di letteratura italiana* II (1900) 209-60; idem, "introduzione" to *Sozomeni Pistoriensis Chronicon Universale* (Rerum italicarum scriptores, new edition, XVI, 1) 1908; idem, "L'insegnamento d'Antonio da S. Gimignano in Pistoia e il Sozomeno" *Bollettino storico Pistoiese* II (1900) 7-12; F. A. Zaccaria, *Biblioteca Pistoriensis* (Augustae Taurinorum, 1752) 28-57.

11. GUARINUS VERONENSIS.

Guarinus' commentary on Persius, like the somewhat earlier commentary on Juvenal, is based on classroom lectures which he delivered in Venice, Verona, and Ferrara. In the six manuscripts which I have studied, there are some variations in the phraseology, as well as some individual omissions and additions. The earliest dated manuscript (1458) is now at Modena and bears no ascription to the author in the manuscript itself, though the hand-written catalogue has a pencilled attribution to Guarinus. The Vatican and Ambrosian codices, also unascribed, differ from the others in having inserted after the note on *Sat. I*, 9 outlines of all six satires. The two manuscripts in Venice are dated 1465 and 1471 respectively.

I have chosen the earlier one (lat. XII. 21) as the basis for the data given below; it alone contains the dedication, by Francis-cus Roellus Ariminensis to Cardinal Bartholomaeus Roverella.

Dedication (Venice, Marc. lat. XII 21 fol. 1-2). Excellentissimo in Christo Patri dno. dno. B(artholomeo Roverellae) Cardinali Ravennati dno. suo praestantissimo Franciscus Roellus Ariminensis R. (sic) p.d. [Inc.] : Do tibi, praestantissime domine, commentariolos Persii Volaterrani editos per Guarinum nostrum Veronensem in quo quantus ornatus, quantaque sententiarum gravitas existat dicendum esse minus constitui, praesertim cum libellus talis viri sit ut eius dignitas per se mirum in modum laudetur. Atque is est ut eum Hortensii ac Ciceronis illius libri equoperandus (sic) nemini dubium esse potest minimeque alterius laudationis indigeat. Non enim ignoro suam singularem prudentiam suam divinam sapientiam, quas quidem virtutes verbis complecti et difficillimum esse mihi ac (sic) Ciceronis res illustrissime gestas divinis laudibus extollere vellem. Talis profecto suus liber est ut non ab immortalis (sic) ingenio sed a divino potissimum spiritu scriptum non ego solum in animum induco meum, verum etiam omnes qui eum legerint sibi facile ita esse persuadent. Sed quid suum divinum ingenium appello? immortalem (sic), quod immortalem esse semper fere omnes intelligunt. Verum et si hoc mihi assentatorie dici videtur quare, quaeso, ab eruditissimis discipulis suis, quare ab aliis doctis ac bonis viris qui ut ei fides adhibeatur digni sunt (sic) quique suum librum lectitarunt dicentes se quanto magis eum ornatissimum legebant tanto majore cupiditate ac ardore eum lectitandi incendebant (sic). Intelliges si haec a me assentandi gratia dici possunt, quid enim de talibus viris dici potest. Itaque ego sibi quantum in me est gratias ago quod me suis laudibus diiudicavit (sic). Neque credo quae a me dicta sunt non assentandi gratia neque quod eis dignus sim sed amore singulari in me impulsura (sic) dixisse. Praeterea rogo, obsecro, obtestorque, praestantissime domine, ut velis cum omni cura studio ac diligentia in his studiis humanitatis corroboro-

ratis viribus tuis animum adhibere et ad divinam eloquentiam nervos tuos intendere ut possis consequi auctoritatem dignitatem in sacrosancto Romanorum cardinalium tuorum (sic) ac denique diademam pontificalem. Habes Calcidium tuum sane virum disertissimum et eloquentissimum dicendi et scribendi hac aetate nostra excellenter, sunt tibi multa alia adiumenta, nisi tibi defuerint eloquentissimum virum evades (sic). De me vero sic persuadeas velim id iuris et auctoritatis et potestatis in me habere quod in caeteros tuos servitores doctissimos et ornatissimos habes. E domo nostra die XVIII Decembris M CCCCLXV.

The illuminated initial which follows the Dedication encloses the figure of a student kneeling on a parquet floor before Guarinus, who is sitting in a low-backed chair and wearing a red robe.

Commentary. Guarini Veronensis viri disertissimi atque clarissimi oratoris commentariola in Persium feliciter incipiunt.

Introduction. [Inc.] : Ad librorum expositionem solent plerique auctoris vitam praeponere ut ea cognita auditoribus is vita gravior fiat et liber ipse maiori cum auctoritate legatur. . . . [Expl.] : Sunt autem in primo versu spondei duo, primus videlicet et ultimus. Et sciendum hanc primam satyram loco prohemii esse compositam.

Nec fonte labra (Prol. 1). Ut paulo ante in vita diximus, hic poeta ad scribendum impulsus est maxime quia imperitorum Romae infinitus poetarum numerus erat, qui poemata conficiebant. . . . *Pegaseum melos* (Prol. 14) per dulcedinem et suavitatem divinae poesis quae ex Pegasei fontis gustu comparatur. Alias melos significat membrum, hic est dulcedo.

Sat. I. In hac satyra exequitur ipsius propositum, in qua exemplarina (sic, deleting *pla* with dots) tria maxime reprehendit personarum genera, scriptores videlicet imperitos, auditores, et recitatores inanes, et eam tractat in dialogi modum. Introducit quendam ex suis amicis colloquentem. Perite autem reprehendendo inania hominum vota et studia, ut satyrus ex abrupto et indignatione prorumpit in verba sicut Juvenalis *Semper ego auditor tantum?* (Sat. I, 1). *O curas hominum* (Persius, Sat. I, 1), Tacuit

enim verbum, id est *dico* nimia ex indignatione sicut Virgilius *Quos ego* (*Aen.* I, 135). Intellegitur autem : dico esse inanes vanitates. [Expl.] : (fol. 69v) et doce me multiplicando divitias meas aliquem finem imponere. *Tui acervi* (*Sat.* VI, 80) argumentationis, multiplicando semper res ut cum veniant de primo ad ultimum etc. Finis τέλος Guarini Veronensis viri disertissimi atque clarissimi commentariola in Persium feliciter explicunt.

Manuscripts :

Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana C 45 sup., s. XVI in., paper, fols. 1-52. Incomplete ; ends at *Sat.* V, 30, with the following folios blank. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 297 ; Scarcia 255).

Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana N 160 sup., s. XV, cart. The manuscript contains two commentaries of which the second contains much Guarinus material but is incomplete at the beginning and the end. It begins on fol. 50 with the commentary on *Sat.* I, 47 and ends on fol. 99 with the commentary on *Sat.* VI, 7. (C. Marchesi, *op. cit.* 583-4 ; Kristeller, *Iter* I, 302 ; Scarcia 263).

Modena, Bibl. Estense. 405 (Alpha F 6, 25), a. 1458 ? fols. 1-51v. The colophon reads : Finis recollectarum sive glossellarum in Persium 1458 Jan. XXVIII Patavii. Has recollectas ab Antonio Palazolo habui ex suo exemplari quod summis precibus ab illo extorsi. Franciscus Petrarcha de Persio (different hand, which also added some notes, especially quotations from classical authors). No mention of Guarino. This manuscript follows Vat. lat. 2711 more closely than it does the two Venice codices. (Kristeller *Iter* I, 371 ; R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini veronese* [Catania, 1896] 93 ; Scarcia 274).

Vatican City, Vat. lat. 2711, s. XV, cart., fols. 111-150. No ascription to Guarino, but the same basic commentary with some additions and omissions. After the commentary on *Sat.* I, 9, the manuscript contains outlines of all the *Satyrae*, ending (fol. 114) : positis argumentis omnium Satyralium Persii, revertimur ad scriendum super secundam quia superius eam omisimus. On fol. 150 the manuscript reads at the end : O Persi, si quibus notus es, mihi

cerne notus et penitus es perditus. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 314 ; Scarcia 534).

Venice, Bibl. Marciana, Marc. lat. XII. 21 (4687), a. 1465, cart. et membr., fols. 1-70. Neat humanistic hand with a marginal index by the same scribe. The codex was previously in the Monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 240, R. Sabbadini, *op. cit.* above under Modena, 93 ; Scarcia 562).

Venice, Bibl. Marciana, Marc. lat. XII 199 (3956), a. 1471-72, cart., fols. 1-46. Cursive script. No ascription to Guarino in the commentary. The elaborate frontispiece bears the note : Sua vero sibi pecunia comparavit Jacobus Morellus Bibl. Venetae custos. Venetiis MDCCCLXXVIII. A. Persii Satyrae cum commentario Guarini Veronensis. fol. 1 Scripsit Paulus Ramusius Ariminensis Patavii anno MCCCCLXXI et LXXII. fol. 46 Expositiones A. Persii finiunt quas Paulus Ramusius Ariminensis decimo secundo kalendas Octobris hora quindecima volanti calamo transcripsit. MCCCCLXXII Paduae.

The commentary is substantially the same as that in the other Venice manuscript but has some omissions and additions. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 243 ; R. Sabbadini, *op. cit.* 93 ; Scarcia 563).

Biography :

See CTC I, 204. Add to the bibliography : Luciano Capra "Contributo a Guarino Veronese" *Ital. med. e umanistica* XIV (1971) 193-247 ; E. Garin, "Guarino Veronese e la Cultura a Ferrara" in his *Ritratti di Umanisti* (Firenze, 1967) 69-106.

12. OMNIBONUS LEONICENUS.

Omnibonus' commentary on Persius was written before 1460. In contrast to the wide diffusion of his commentary on Juvenal, the Persius commentary survives in only one manuscript, in the Biblioteca Comunale Bertoliana of Vicenza. The commentary is on an elementary level ; many scholia are taken word-for-word from the 'Vulgata' ; and a few Greek words are found. There is no indication of other sources, nor does this commentary appear to be related to any other of the humanist commentaries I have studied.

Commentarium per Oratorem clarissimum Omnibonum Leonicenum editus super Satyris Persei. Prologus primo incipit (Vicenza, Biblioteca Comunale Bertoliana, cod. G. 6. 8. 24, fol. 21).

Introduction. [Inc.] : In principio huius operis breviter quaerendum est quae materia quae intentio quae utilitas quae causa quis titulus cui parti philosophiae supponatur. Materia hujus operis est mores et virtutes et honestum tractare. . . . Itaque editum librum omnes mirari ac diripere coeperunt. Calphurnio cuius rogatu composuerat tradidit edendum. Et in librī suis praecipue Lucilium imitatur.

Super prima Satyra. *Nec fonte labra prolui caballino* (Prol. 1). Quod Esiodus dicit. Dicitur enim Pegaseum equum allatum (sic) ad Elicone (sic) montem errando pervenisse ibique siti oppressum ungula fodisse terram. Ex quo loco fons editus Musis fuit consecratus. . . . (on Prol. 13 f.) Corvos idest corvis comparatos quia corvino luctu induiti non solum cantare possunt sed etiam carmen effingere. Poetridas picas idest poema vel poetriam componentes picis comparatos. Melos idest dulce carmen.

O curas (Sat. I, 1) Principale opus aggreditur ad exprimendam dementiam et ex abrupto incipit quod est ad satyricum. *O, scilicet, dico ; curas hominum.* genus humanum plenum sollicitudine quod cura inania studet dum se laudari cupit. *inane* idest inanitas. . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 100v) (on Sat. VI, 80) et sic infinitum cupiditatis desiderium extendit ut qui avaritiae eius finem voluerit imponere, facile videatur etiam Chrysippi syllogismum diffinire δέλος (sic). Explutus die 20 Septembr. MCCCCLX, Ind. VIII^a

Manuscript :

(micro.) Vicenza, Biblioteca Comunale Bertoliana G. 6. 8. 24. (now 7. 1. 85), s. XV fol. 21-100v. On the fly-leaf : Scripta per me Ludovicum de Saracinis civem Vicentini. ff. 1-15 contain the text of Persius ; 15-20v are blank, as are 101-106v. ; 107-45, other texts ; 145v-146v blank. A description and a partial xerox copy was supplied by Dr. Maria Cristofari, Vicediretrice of the Biblioteca. (Mazzatinti II 78-79 No. 491 ;

Kristeller, *Iter* II 302 ; R. Sabbadini, *Lettere inedite di Ognibene da Lonigo* [Lonigo, 1880] p. 6, n. 1 ; Scarcia 568).

Biography :

See CTC I, 209. Add to the bibliography : Cosenza III, 1974-78 ; V 1004. Vatican, Reg. lat. 1555, fol. 59-68 is an unpublished letter of Omnibonus to Federicus Gonzaga and fols. 68-69 contain verses by Omnibonus on the death of his teacher, Victorinus Feltensis.

13. THOMAS SCHIFALDUS.

The commentary of Schifaldus was written in 1460 and dedicated to Giovanni Tommaso Moncada. The author said of himself in his *De viris illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum* : *Quis est in Sicilia qui Schifaldo peculiaria verba suo lepore, suis salibus, sua eloquendi arte praedita non liquido dignoscatur?* (cited by Cozzucli p. 27. See below for full title), but these qualities are unfortunately not in evidence in the pedestrian commentary preserved in one Palermo manuscript. The material is commonplace ; the author's main interest lies in literal interpretations and in the explanation of grammatical constructions. As Cozzucli observes (p. 51), the commentary contains no trace of philological criticism. The following example may illustrate Schifaldus' procedure in tracing derivations ; on *Sat. I, 10* he explains *nucibus relicta*s as follows : *nux a nocte dicenda est eo quod nobis obscuras manus facere solet.* I find no close connections between this commentary and the other humanistic commentaries here considered.

Dedication : (Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, cod. 2 Qq D 69, fol. 1) [Inc.] : Dedi operam, Johannes Thoma illustrissime, lucubratiunculas meas hoc tempore omnino edere ut praestantissimorum virorum et eorum quidem latinae linguae diligentium circumtonare aures profecto queant. . . . (Schifaldus mentions with praise his teacher Franciscus Patritius). . . . [Expl.] : tua igitur si hilare iucundaque (sic. *iucundaque*?) ineptias meas suscepereis idque ipsum exploratum habeas ad majora studia tua me benignitas provocabit.

Introduction. [Inc.] : Persii praestantissimi poetae vitam neminem quidem cui merito

ob litterarum diligentiam fides adhibenda esset scriptam reliquise me legisse memini, sed quaedam diversis in codicibus aut vera aut verisimilia de eo cum scripta animadverti, quorum profecto ea quae annotatu digna visa sunt excerpti, ut sive inepte sive proprie dictum esse quicquam intellexerit. . . . [Expl.] : Reliquum est ut ipsius opusculi dicta quid sibi velint explicemus omnibusque protinus edisseramus.

Commentary. [Inc.] : *Nec fonte labra etc.* (Prol. 1). Hoc carmen quod quidem in suo hoc opere pro praefatione Persius utitur iambico trinarico acathaletico constare videtur in quo quidem de more satiricorum a reprehensione sua accusationeque incepit *Pegaseum melos* (Prol. 14) Fons caballinus Pegaseus quoque appellatus est ab alato equo cuius nomen Pegasus erat. *Melos* indeclinabile nomen melodiam ipsam significat, Horatius in 2º libro carminum : *Descende caelum (sic?) et dic age tibia (?) reginae longum Caliopae melos* (See Hor. *Carm.* III, 4 1 ff.).

O curas hominum (*Sat.* I, 1). Haec est prima satyra huius auctoris in qua supervacanias (?) curas inanesque hominum cogitationes nec non laudes gloriam atque honores falso immeritoque quaesitos reprehendit. . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 150) Quam ob rem Persius ad id illudens (sic) pro solerte mercatore (?) ad Chrysippum apostrophat depingue (sic) inquit O Chrysippe ubi ego finitor acervi tui sistere debeam (Cf. VI, 79-80). Haec omnia quae quidem in commentariolis meis adjeci ex praestantissimorum virorum fontibus haus. Valeto atque vale.

Commentarioli impersium (sic) satiricorum principem quos quidem Schifaldus ad Johannem Thomam Monti Catinum illustrissimum regiumque adolescentem scripsit anno ab Jesu Christo Millesimo CCCCLXº (sic) ad quem hoc carmen quoque scripsit.

Quem superi afficiunt caelesti munere dignum

. . . .

(line 4) Sed mihi da veniam, Montecatine, precor.

Schifaldus.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, cod. 2 Qq D 69, a. 1472, cart., fols. 1-150.

On fols. B-D (fly-leaves), the manuscript contains a life of Schifaldus.

Schipaldi vita. Donum D. Joannis Mariae Amato Can. 1728.

Sebastianus Bagolinus discipulus M. Gentilucii Spoletini viri patricii Romani qui scripsit libros duodecim Davidiados opus heroicum cuius initium fuit : Bella virum (?) pacemque cano, gesta inclita regis. . . quod opus exactum morte ipsius auctoris typis adhuc mandatum non est magna latinae linguae iactura. Sed nos diutius in titulo evagati sumus. Fuit quidem cui cognomen erat Schifaldus Alcamensis patriae [Expl.] : scriptitans me calfacerem anno MCCCCCLXXXVII 29 Novembbris.

On fol. 151, there is a short poem of the scribe :

Septima lux fuerat mensis numerata Decembris

In qua Schifaldi escriperat istud opus Jacobus Adragnus Adragno natus Jiulo (sic)

Tersenos annos natus ephebus erat.

(Space)

Mille deus noster trivit natalibus annos et quadrigentos numerabant ordine cuncti (sic)

septuaginta duos addentes insuper annos.

τέλος

Shifaldus (sic)

At the end after the text of Persius there is a later note of Sebastianus Bagolinus : (fol. 172v) MCCCCLXXIIº mensis Julii. . . Alcamii hoc opus transcripsit Jacobus.

(*I manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo* II, 1 (1934) 126-127; L. Boglino, *I manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo* III, 330; Kristeller *Iter* II, 27; Scarcia 352).

Biography :

Thomas Schifaldus (Tommaso Schifaldo) was born in Marsala (?) c. 1430 and died after 1495. He was a Dominican, though the date at which he took holy orders is unknown. Franciscus Patricius was one of his teachers. He studied at the University of Catania, as well as at Siena and Rome. He later taught at Catania as well as at Messina (1460-69), at Palermo in the Studio di San Domenico, at Marsala (1491) and at Mazzara (1495). Schifaldus belonged to the

circle of humanists in Italy which included Aurispa and Panormita.

Works: *Vita Petri Hieremiae Panormitani O.P.*; *De viris illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum* (manuscript at Palermo); *Bucolica in plures Eclogas distributa*; *De adventu Caroli Magnanimi regis Franciae*; *Ars metrica*; *Elegiae*; commentaries on the Psalms, on the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, on Persius, and Juvenal (cf. CTC I, 238).

Bibl.: Chevalier, *Biobibliographie* II, 4174; Cosenza V 1639; J. Quetif and J. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* I (1719) I 882. V. di Giovanni, *Filologia e Letteratura Siciliana* III (1879) 186-225.

G. Cozzuoli, *Tommaso Schifaldo umanista siciliano del sec. XV, Notizie e Scritti inediti* (Documenti per servire alla Storia di Sicilia, Ser. IV, vol. VI, Palermo, 1897); N. Pirrone, "Thomae Schifaldi commentaria atque Persii et Horatii vitae ex eius sublatae" *Atti dell'Accademia Properziana di Assisi* II (1905) 12.

14. MARTINUS PHILETICUS.

Martinus Phileticus, in the dedication of his commentary to Alessandro Sforza, asserts that there were in circulation more than two hundred copies of the lectures on Persius which he had delivered to his students. He also informs us that because of his success with his lectures on Persius, he proposes to write commentaries on Juvenal and on the *Ars poetica* of Horace. Since there is evidence in Riccardianus 1190 that the Juvenal commentary was copied in 1469-70, the commentary on Persius must have been composed before this date. The commentary is based on lectures given at the University of Rome, and it is dedicated to Alessandro Sforza of Pesaro for whose children Phileticus had served as tutor for several years beginning 1455-56.

Phileticus' commentary is of high quality. It contains pertinent quotations from a variety of classical and post-classical authors, and it avoids some of the far-fetched derivations which we have observed in some contemporary commentaries.

The complete commentary survives in three manuscripts, which differ only in minor points. I have followed the text of Ottob. Lat. 1256, since it alone contains the dedication. In Ms. Vat. lat. 2710 the handwritten catalogue ascribes the commentary to Gaspar of Verona, under whom Phileticus had studied, but this ascription is clearly erroneous (see below, under manuscripts).

Dedication. (Ms. Ottob. Lat. 1256, fol. 50v) Magnanimo principi Alexandro Sphortiae, S.P.D. [Inc.]: Quemadmodum memores grati et boni agricolae de messibus suis spicreas coronas parvosque uvae racemos penatibus afferre consueverunt, sic ego primitias studiorum meorum, magnanime princeps, ad te dare iam dudum inceperam. Sequarem inceptum. Quodcumque e sensu manabit nostro, tibi soli dicare constitui, sic enim facere me cogit clarissimarum virtutum tuarum praestantia, singularis humanitas, innata clementia, incredibilis beneficentia, amplitudo rerum gestarum vel pace vel bello, quibus omnibus tuum nomen immortalitati commendatum est. . . Haec autem quae nunc mittimus, anno superiori in hac urbe publice dedimus sub innumerabilium clarorum virorum censuris, cum me ad id genus interpretationis Gymnasium exceperam, ubi maxima doctissimorum virorum copia vocem cum in hac re meam tum in Tusculanis quaestionibus audiebat. . . Legebam equidem poetam hunc Persium, qui cum nimis durus videretur nec facilem se daret auditoribus meis, qui et docti erant et habebantur, hanc interpretationem ipsis ex tempore dictavimus, et plusquam bis centum huiusc expositionis hoc usque, quod scimus, volumina exiverunt, quae quoniam non minus (MS nimis) utilis et jocunda (hoc ausim dicere) quam ipsum opusculum poetae visa est, volui ut in tuo nomine appareret. Quod si laudabis, idem in Juvenalis et Flacci operibus factitabo, quae non breviora quam ista Persii scripta videntur exposcere. Videbis quid in hoc poeta clarissimo sentiamus, quem tanti facere sunt soliti et frequentissime lectitare Augustinus, Hieronymus, Quintilianus, Martialis. Huius expositionis hoc fuit initium: Consueverunt plerique omnes etc.

Martinus Phileticus vir clarissimus hanc super Persium interpretationem in gymnasio Romano innumerabili auditorum multitudini ex tempore dictavit, et ego Marianus inter caeteros collegi praecipiti calamo.

Introduction. [Inc.] Consueverunt plerique omnes auctorum interpretes multa dicere, priusquam expositionem aggrederentur, vel in primis eorum mores et instituta vitae, quos explicandos acceperunt. Nos autem aliqua ex parte istorum viam atque rationem secuti pro multis pauca dicere instituimus. Persius est nobis exprimentus, quam ob rem primum quod de eo sentimus dicendum est, inde alia dabimus quae ad rem nostram pertinere videbuntur. . . (three columns of quotation from classical authors) . . . [Expl.]: ne arroganter neque insolenter hanc scribendi provinciam accepisse videatur, et vesanos et rudes poetas et temerarios ob hoc ipsum posset licentius accusare. Hanc igitur sententiam Persius his carminibus explicavit.

Nec fonte labra prolui caballino etc. (Prol. 1). In hoc primo versu Hesiodum intellexit et ait: hoc modo non ego degustavi Castalii fontis aquam quemadmodum Hesiodus ut possem tam cito prodire poeta (?). . . . *Pegaseum melos* (Prol. 14) poeticam suavitatem a fonte Pegaseo dictam quem a Musis et poetis cultum esse nemo est qui nesciat. Melos autem duo significat et Graecum est: dulcedinem et membrum. inde meledoni idest cura quod membrum corredit denominata est.

O curas hominum (Sat. I, 1). Materia huius satyrae et argumentum est trium personarum accusatio scriptorum scilicet et recitantium et auditorum qui mali sunt crudes et lascivi. . . . [Expl.]: Qui inventus est finitor (VI, 80). . . . et ita Persius acervum sive pro argumentatione qua ipse semper multiplicando utebatur sive pro libro quodam inter septuaginta volumina quem quadragesimo anno incepit et octogesimo finivit, inde paucis post diebus vitam cum morte commutavit. Finis.

Explicant collect(ione)s Persii per me Marianum Mari Prenestinum sub voce Phileti ci praecipiti calamo.

Bibl.: G. Mercati, "Tre dettati universitari dell'umanista Martino Filetico sopra Persio, Giovenale ed Orazio" *Classical and*

Mediaeval Studies in Honour of E. K. Rand (New York, 1938) 221-30.

Manuscripts:

Florence, Riccardiana 635, s. XV ex., misc., cart., fols. 158-166. This manuscript has the introductory material and the commentary of Phileticus only through Sat. I, 60 nec linguae est irrisionis genus cum tantum linguas foras emittunt ad illudendum. The Riccardiana inventory notes that this manuscript is a copy of Riccardiana 1190. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 194; Scarcia 168).

Florence, Riccardiana 1190, a. 1469-70, cart., fols. 65-117v. By the same hand as Phileticus' commentary on Juvenal which follows and in which the scribe is identified as Petrus Pacinus Pisciensis "Martini philetici ferentinatis. . . per Me Petrum Pacinum Piscensem eius auditorem collecta, Rome tempore Pauli Secundi anno eius sexto" f. 117v. (Morpurgo, *Mss. Riccardiani* I, 252; Scarcia 177).

Vatican City, Ottob. Lat. 1256, s. XV, cart., fols. 50v-101v. In the hand-written catalogue the commentary is erroneously ascribed to Marianus Praenestinus, who was its copyist. The MS also contains Fileticus' commentaries on Juvenal and on the *Ars poetica* of Horace. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 417; Scarcia 491; cf. the article by G. Mercati cited above).

Vatican City, Vat. lat. 2710, s. XV, cart., fols. 4-56v. In the hand-written catalogue for this section of the Vatican codices the commentary is ascribed to Gaspar of Verona, under whom Phileticus had studied. The ascription is evidently based on the fact that Gaspar's name occurs on the line following the conclusion of the commentary on Persius, where it refers to the commentary on Juvenal which follows in the same hand. In the marginalia of the Persius commentary certain scholia are ascribed to Gaspar, indicating that he was not the author of the commentary itself. The marginal notes also contain references to Lorenzo Valla. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 314; Scarcia 533).

Biography:

See CTC I, 211-2. To the bibliography add: D. M. Robathan, "A Postscript on Martino Filetico", *Mediaevalia et Humanistica* VIII (1954) 56-61.

15. CHRISTOPHORUS LANDINUS

Landinus' commentary, as well as that on Juvenal, is found in a Milan manuscript (Bibl. Ambrosiana J 26 Inf.), which is dated 1462 and which is based on Landinus' lectures in Florence. Landinus makes use of the Vulgate tradition, but he adapts it to his own mode of expression. Pertinent quotations from Horace, Juvenal, Festus, Servius and others are frequent, and some Greek words occur. Such expressions as *aliqui volunt* and *hoc ignoro an sit* are characteristic of Landinus' *collecta*.

Commentary. (fol. 193v.) *Expositio opusculi Auli Persii Flacci a Landino suscepta.* [Inc.] : *Nec fonte labra prolui caballino* (*Prol. 1*). Quoniam (suprascr. : ea) quae in huiusmodi poematibus referendis adhibentur, si alias ab iisdem (? suprascr. : iam) tractata sunt (del. ? minus utilitatis quam esse) plus ostentationis (suprascr. : minus autem) utilitatis in se continent, idcirco nunc nos de vita poetae quaedam libabimus. Aulus igitur Persius ex municipio Volaterrano oriundus fuit patre equite. . . . Haec vero satiricula, quae loco paene prohemii est ex liricis ac diversis carminibus constat. . . . Dicit igitur se non esse ex iis qui poetas se praedicant et omnibus ostentent ut nonnulli alii iactabundi fuerunt. . . . [Expl. of Prol.] melos per Pegaseum idest suavitatem repletam musicis cantibus. τὸ μέλος significat eam suavitatem quae ex concentu plurium vocum resultat. Per Pegaseum idest valde pegaseum quasi valde musicum. De Pegaso paulo superius satis diximus.

O curas hominum (Sat. I, 1). Ex prima satyra quam loco prohemii esse diximus facile cognosci potest quaenam scribendi nostri poetae sit intentio, nempe ut in virtutis hominum feratur. . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 225 damaged, fragmentary) popa quae fiebant in sacris omento idest (torn off) ut superius diximus. *Vende animum lucro* (Sat. VI, 75) scilicet quasi preponere vitam his (torn off).

Manuscript:

Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana J 26 Inf., s. XV, cart., fols. 193v-225. After the Landino commentary on Juvenal : *Haec ad expositiōnēm Juvenalis gratis sint pro ingenio meo a*

Landino collecta, quibus Kal. Julii extreman manum posuimus (in the same hand as the Persius commentary). (Kristeller, *Iter I*, 326 ; Marchesi, *Rivista di filologia classica XL* (1912) 195 ; A. Amelli, *Rivista delle Biblioteche e degli archivi XXI* [1910] 186 ; Scarcia 271).

Biography :

See CTC I, 209-10 Add to the bibliography : E. Garin, ed. *Testi inediti e rari di Cristoforo Landino e Francesco Filelfo* (Florence, 1949) 3-11 ; 39-41 ; Cristoforo Landino, *De vera nobilitate* ed. M. Lentzen (Geneva, 1970) ; Cristoforo Landino, *De vera nobilitate*, ed. M. T. Liacci (Florence, 1970),

R. Cardini, *La critica del Landino* (Florence, 1973) ; M. Lentzen, *Studien zur Dante-Exegese Cristoforo Landinos* (Cologne, 1971).

16. PHILIPPINUS ITALUS.

The commentary of Philippinus Italus is preserved only in one Leiden manuscript, which also contains fragments of his commentary of Juvenal (cod. Voss. Lat. fol. 83). The manuscript is not dated but the dedicatee of the Persius commentary, Nicolaus Pintel (or Pontel) was vicar-general of Cardinal Jean de Balue for the Abbey of Fécamp during the period 1469-73 (See Leroux de Lincy, *Essai historique et littéraire sur l'Abbaye de Fécamp* [Rouen, 1840] 333-336), though in the dedication he appears only as its 'elemosinarius'. Further, an edition of Persius published about 1477 at near-by Angers (Morgan 15) contains a short poem by Philippinus Italus.

Excepit claros Andegavense poetas

Ut studium ! Persi, tu cito sculptus ades.
Gallorum egregias sic sculptus perge per
urbes

Ut possit spacium cernere glosa suum.

Philippinus italus poeta
Lauro insignitus.

It would seem likely therefore that the commentary is to be dated in the neighborhood of the late 1470's.

Dedication. (Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, cod. Voss. lat. fol. 83, fol. 1) Reverendo Patri ac religiosissimo domino Magistro Nicolao Pintel in sacra theologia

doctori necnon divinae abbatiae Fiscamensis [Fécamp] elemosinario bene meritissimo Philippinus Italus poeta salutem plurimam dicit. [Inc.] : Quamquam multa sunt, vir litteratissime, quibus homo caetera animantia prorsus antecellit, illud tamen et singulare et maximum esse videtur, quod unusquisque hominum a natura mortalis sibi ipsi felicem immortalitatem comparare possit. . . . Sane licet his solummodo causis nos impellas ut Persium poetam exponamus. . . . Nam in primis ipsum textum scribemus et eundem correcte scriptum tractu calami subsignabimus ut a glosa prima facie differat. Tum excerptemus vocabula et ea declarabimus, eorum aut obscuritatem aut graecitatem (sic) aut metaphoram, quae apud Persium plurima est, exponentes, id quoque et de fabulis et de historiis faciemus. Deinde sensum ponemus per pausas ipsius textus et ultimo construemus et ordinabimus ubi opus esse videbitur, numen Christi implorantes. Sic enim putamus fore ut qui litterarum latinarum prima elementa noverit Persium et clare et dillucide satis intellexerit. Nunc ad textum proficiscamur.

Prima Satyrarum Persii. [Inc.] : *Nec fonte labra prolui caballino* (Prol. 1) Persius ergo Italus fuit natus Volterriss quae civitas est in montibus Tusciae. Studuit Romae sub Basso grammatico et tandem sub Cornuto philosopho. . . . (on Prol. 14) scilicet fonte Gorgoneo Meducino (sic) dedicato Musis, et sic homines temerarii et de se plus quam aequum est praesumentes et jactantes reprehenduntur a Persio.

O curas hominum et quantum est in rebus inane (Sat. I, 1). Materia huius satyrae est haec videlicet : Persius consideravit Romae esse plurimos poetas sed nullo (sic) bonos nec utiles. Tempore ipsius Persii omnes poetae scribebant et componebant libros fatuos et stultos. . . . [Expl.] : (the commentary is fragmentary at the end. On fol. 644v there is the lemma : *Iacet ipse in littore* (Sat. VI, 29-30). There is a gap between f. 644 and 646 ; f. 647v contains the lemma : *Nunc et de cespite vivo* (Sat. VI, 31-32). There may be another gap between f. 648-49. The text breaks off incompletely with f. 648v :). . . ideo Persius admonet istum

Hieronymum ut det amico nunc suo de suis bonis optimis et non de frivolis aut supervariis (On f. 649 begins the commentary on Juvenal, without introduction).

Manuscript :

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, cod. Voss. lat. fol. 83, sec. XV, cart., fols. 1-648v. Much information on the manuscript has been supplied by the Librarian, Dr. P. F. J. Obbema. (*Catalogus librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae*, Leiden, 1716 p. 374 ; Scarcia 206).

Biography :

It has not been possible to discover further information about Philippinus Italus beyond that supplied by the commentary and the poem in the Angers edition of Persius. These establish connections with Angers and the abbey of Fécamp, probably in the 1470's. He signs the poem as poet laureate, but even this does not supply positive identification. There is a possibility that Philippinus Italus is Filippo Vagnone, who won the laureate about 1475, but there does not appear to be any evidence which would connect Vagnone with Angers or with the name Philippinus Italus (on Vagnone see V. Lancetti, *Memorie intorno ai poeti laureati* (Milano, 1839) 193-94 and A. Bozio, "Urna sepolare di Filippo Vagnone poeta laureato" *Miscellanea di storia italiana* XV (Torino, 1874) 455-68.

17. ANONYMUS ANNI 1475 (Johannes Lachus ?)

The manuscript Florence, Bibl. Naz., Magliabechianus VII. 1105 contains a commentary of which no other copy is known. The manuscript also contains the text of Persius, at the end of which it reads :

(f. 13v) 1475. Explicit intortus per totum Persius orcus
Explicit obscurus per totum Persius orbem.
Qui tu (suprascr. : *lector*)
scripsit (deleted word, perhaps *lector*) crede fuisse Joannem
Quem dei conservent secundum semper in orbe.

Qui tu lector scripsit Mazzum
(deleted) fuisse putato
Hic liber Persius scriptus et
auditus fuit ab Jo(anne)

Ant(oni)o sub Dno. Jo(ann)e Lacho Florentino 1475 primo anno quo Florentiae appulit.

At the beginning of the commentary itself, however, we read: Joannisantonii Maczii super Persium commentarium (fol. 20).

It is by no means easy to interpret these contradictory statements. It would appear, however, that Johannes Maczius (or Mazzus) was simply the scribe and not the author of the commentary and that he was also the one who took down the lectures of Johannes Lachus. But neither Maczius nor Lachus can be positively identified from other sources, and in our present state of knowledge, it seems best to withhold any final judgment as to authorship.

The commentary itself is undistinguished and lacking in originality. The author uses the 'Vulgata' as a nucleus; he then rephrases the comments in simple language, doubtless intended for dictation to a class. The Prologue is designated as *Satyra I*, *Satyra I* as *II*. Some Greek words are used in connection with derivations; corrections of spelling are frequent. All in all, the commentary bears more relation to its medieval predecessors than to the more fully developed works of Renaissance scholars.

Commentary. (Firenze, Bibl. Naz. cod. Magl. VII 1105 fol. 20) [Inc.]: At ipse semi-paganus ad sacra vatum carmen hoc etc. (Prol. 6-7) Fuit a principio intentio poetae nostri eos poetas carpere qui quidem lucri et avaritiae causa poetae efficiuntur et qui propter divitias acquirendas ad scribendum sua carmina contulere (sic). ./. . quasi carmen suavissimum et valde poeticum ut sunt illa carmina quae sunt et fiunt et dicuntur in monte Pegaso monte nympharum,

II Satyra. O curas hominum (Sat. I, 1). Dicimus primam satyram loco prohemii in qua p(oeta) noster captavit benevolentiam a parte sua et contentionem a parte adversariorum. Modo aggreditur opus suum principale. ./. . [Expl.]: (fol. 68) last lemma:

ingeminat. . . tremulos cachinnos. . . naso crispante (Sat. III, 87) quod etiam fit hac tempestate cum (al)iqui philosophi et viri doctissimi disserant et disputent de aliqua re et ibi ubi disputatur sint homines negligentes et ignorantes qui adsint ipsi disputationi cum nihil intelligent, solent deridere ipsos disputantes et doctissimos viros. (end of page and paragraph).

fol. 68v blank.

fol. 69 continuation of the Persius commentary by another hand from Sat. III, 90 through V, 50. The Incipit is illegible, and the manuscript contains many blank pages. The last lemma, on fol. 84, is *Saturnum*. [Expl.]: concluserat esse ortos sub eodem sydere et eodem astro.

Manuscript:

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, codex Magliabechianus VII. 1105, a. 1475, cart., fols. 20-68. The script is cursive with many corrections. The text of Persius on fol. 1 begins at Sat. I, 35, with no title or identification of author. Information on the manuscript was supplied by Dott. Filippo Di Benedetto of the Library. (A. Galante, "Index codicum classicorum Latinorum qui Florentiae in Byblitheca Magliabechiana Adservantur" *Studi italiani di Filologia classica* XV (1907) 129; Kristeller, *Iter I*, 124; Scarcia 157).

Biography:

It is possible that the Johannes Lachus mentioned in the manuscript is to be identified with Johannes Francisci Lachius, the copyist of Ms. Riccardinus 619 (Scarcia 166) containing the *Satyrae* of Persius and reading at the end: f. 258 Explicit liber Persii Bulterrani scriptus per me Johannem Francisci (*supra-script.*, perhaps in a different hand: Lachii) die quarta Januarii 1461 (*subscr.* perhaps in a different hand: paucis agnitus). Further, Ms. Laurentianus 90 sup. 48, containing several philosophical works of Cicero, was copied by Johannes Francisci Lacus Florentinus, rector Ecclesiae S. Nicolai ultra Arnum. Similarly the Antonius Maczius of the manuscript may possibly be identified with the Antonius Mazzi who died in 1502. (Information supplied in part by Dott. Filippo Di Benedetto).

18. BARTHOLOMAEUS FONTIUS.

Fontius has the distinction of having produced the first commentary on Persius to appear in print. In 1477 his *In Persium Poetam Explanatio* was published, without the text, in Florence by the printing press of S. Iacopo di Ripoli, where its author served as proof-reader. The commentary was again published at Venice in 1480, this time with the text of Persius, and it was frequently reprinted. Fontius' purpose was to give a simple explanation of his author for the use of students. That he himself recognized the short-comings of his commentary is clear from his later work, *De locis Persianis*, written in 1488; this is found in two manuscripts but was not printed until 1621. (see below under b). In these revised notes, which were dedicated to King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, Fontius apologizes for his youthful errors in the *Explanatio*, dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, and adds pertinent material from Latin authors whom he had not read when he composed the early commentary. Among the sources quoted are Quintilian, Valerius Maximus, Lucan, Juvenal, Apuleius, and Martianus Capella. It has been noted to his credit that Fontius did not use his commentary for personal invective, as did some of his contemporaries, nor for the display of encyclopedic information (C. Marchesi, *Bar tolomeo della Fonte* [Catania, 1900] p. 118). He seems to have had only a slight knowledge of Greek in his early years; he was familiar with the Vulgate scholia; he had no interest in metrical problems; and he sometimes commented on the obvious. Fontius' own estimate of his work may be judged from a comparison of his dedications to Lorenzo and Matthias (see below). In a postscript to Taddeo Ugoletti found after the *De locis Persianis*, he writes: Illud sane tacitus praeterire non volo nec debo, me in hoc commentario Persiano quaedam ostentatione potius puerili (ut tenera cum scripsi ferebat aetas) quam ulla necessitate exposuisse.

a) *Explanatio in Persium Poetam.*

Dedication. (ed. of Florence, 1477) Prooe-
mium in Persium Poetam ad Laurentium

Medicem. [Inc.]: Quamquam, Laurenti, poetae omnes vel ad benedicendum vel ad honeste vivendum plurimum conferunt, ii tamen in primis legendi sunt, qui non solum jocunda auribus, sed utilia quoque animis excolendis emoneant. . . . Caeterum hoc unico artificioso volumine exponendo licet plus multo fuerit oneris quam honoris, quod gloria numquam par interpretem atque auctorem consequitur, quia tamen non spe laudis sed ut tibi gratificarer ad interpretandum accessi, satis si tibi fecero, non parvam laudem me consecutum putabo. . . . [Expl.]: In tua vero liberalissima beneficentissima que natura cum iam pridem spem omnem posuerim ut re potius quam verbis animum tibi meum significem, hos ad te commentarios Persianos meae in te fidei atque observantiae testes mitto. Mox, ut spero, favente te qui ut potes ita etiam cupis adiuvare quam plurimos, et ad maiora animum excitabo, et cum primum facultas dabitur, ampliori te munere cumulabo.

Persii vita. [Inc.]: Persium aggressuro in primis necessarium visum est, eius vitam ac satyram brevi oratione percurre. . . . (Fontius offers a short life of Persius and a brief history of satire). . . [Expl.]: meliores tamen auctores a silvestribus satyris in vetera fabula institutis nominavere. Verum his breviter de poetae vita ac satyra enarratis, explanationem ipsam aggrediamur.

Explanatio. [Inc.]: Nec fonte labra prolui caballino (Prol. 1). Quo maiore animi libertate alios deinde corrigeret, se ipsum in primis corripit, quod festinanter nimium poeta prodierit. . . . [Expl.]: Per pegaseum melos (Prol. 14) valde Pegaseum, idest poeticum persuavem et dulcem cantum. Melos autem sicut et sophos genere neutro indeclinabiliter ponitur.

O curas hominum et quantum est in rebus inane (Sat. I, 1). Hac satyra scriptores lenocinio verborum plausum popularem captantes et auditores lectoresque scripta lasciva et mollia magis quam virilia comprobantes reprehendit. . . . [Expl.]: Inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi (VI, 79-80). . . . in quibus omnia ad eam artem spectantia et coacervavit et diligenter absolvit. Ob quod ait, sui acervi, hoc est dialecticorum

librorum cumuli finitorem Chrysippum repertum esse.

There follows a letter to Franciscus Saxettus on weights and measures.

Manuscripts :

Florence, Laurent. 54, 23 s. XV, fols. 1-91. Dedication copy to Lorenzo dei Medici, with stemma of the Medici family enclosed in a wreath of laurel on f. 1. (Bandini, *Catalogus II*, 679 ; Scarcia 136).

Florence, Riccardiana 666. (M IV 25), s. XV. (Kristeller, *Iter I*, 178 ; Scarcia 173).

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 292 (Phil 388), s. XV ex., membr., fols. 122. (S. Endlicher, *Catalogus codicum philologicorum latinorum* p. 122 ; *Tabulae I*, 40-41 ; Scarcia 575).

(micro.) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 43 Aug. fol., fols. 15v-114r. (O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek*, Part II, vol. III, 242-3 ; Scarcia 589).

Editions :

1477, Firenze (Florence) : apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli. Commentary alone. Morgan 701 ; HR 7226 ; BMC VI, 621 ; Goff F-241. BM ; (MH).

1480, Venetiis (Venice) : [printer of the 1480 Martial]. Morgan 18 ; HC 12735 ; BMC V, 296. BM ; (MH).

1481, [Treviso, Paulus de Ferraria]. Morgan 22 ; H 12719 ? = H (not C) 12720 = 12727 ; BMC VI, 898 ; Goff P-342. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1482, die XIII Martii, Venetiis : per Baptista de Tortis. Morgan 24 ; CR 4702 ; BMC V, 322 ; Goff P-343. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1482, die vi Decembris. Venetiis (Venice) : per Baptista de Tortis. Morgan 25 ; HC 12721 ; BMC V, 322 ; Goff P-344. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1482, mensis Decembris die XXIIII, Venetiis (Venice) : per Magistrum Renaldum de Novimadio Theutonicum. Morgan 26 ; HC 12722 ; Goff P-345 ; IGI IV # 7498. BM ; BN ; (MH).

(*) 1484, Mediolani (Milan) : Magister Antonius Zarotus. Morgan 29 ; H 12723. Milan, Bibl. Ambros. ; (MH).

(*) 1484, die X Septembris : per Dionysium de Bertochis et Peregrinum de Pasquali-

bus. Morgan 28 ; HCR 12724 ; BMC VII, 1139 ; Goff P-346. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1485, Venetiis (Venice) : per Antonium de Bactibobus. Morgan 28 ; H 12725 ; BMC V, 404 ; Goff P-347. BM ; (MH).

[c. 1485, Lyons, Guillaume Le Roy]. Morgan 19 ; C 4700 ; Goff P-348. BN ; (CtY).

(*) 1490, Mediolani (Milan) : Magister Ulnericus Scinzenseler. Morgan 33 ; HR 12726 ; BMC VI, 765 ; Goff P-349. BM ; (MH).

1491. See Composite Editions.

1492. See Composite Editions.

1494/5 die xiii Februarii. See Composite Editions.

1494, die 22 Aprilis. See Composite Editions.

1495. See Composite Editions.

1497. See Composite Editions.

1498. See Composite Editions.

1499, die IIII mensis Novembris. See Composite Editions.

1508, die xvii Julii. See Composite Editions.

1515. See Composite Editions.

1516, die xxv mensis Aprilis. See Composite Editions.

1520, die XV Decembris. See Composite Editions.

1544. See Composite Editions.

(micro.) 1621, Francofurti (Frankfurt) : sumptibus Ioannis Caroli Unckelii. In *Opera exquisitissima Bartholomaei Fontii Florentini* pp. 76-256. Not in Morgan ; cited by C. Trinkaus, 'A Humanist's Image...' (see below for full title) p. 128.

Doubtful Editions :

1492. See Doubtful Composite Editions.

1493, Venetiis (Venice) per Antonium de Bactibobus. Morgan 40. H 12728 ? = H 12725.

1544. See Doubtful Composite Editions.

b) *De locis Persianis.*

Dedication. (Riccard. 1220). Loca quae-dam recognita. Bartholomaeus Fontius De locis Persianis ad Mathiam Corvinum regem Pannonium. [Inc.] : Dubitavi aliquantis-per, Matthia Corvine rex, dicaremne maies-tati tuae perbrevem perque humilem hunc sermonem, habitum nuper cum Tadeo Ugho-

letto, viro ad tuam bibliothecam perficiendam aptissimo. Maluissem enim donare tibi aliquod opus insignius et regiae celsitudini tuae convenientius, cui non nisi multis lucubrationibus expolita et egregia decet dicari opera. Verum tui excellentiam animi mecum reputans, non dona sed affectus donantium intuentis, decrevi eum tandem ad te transmittere, putans fore tibi non inicundum, praesertim cum ad eum referendum sim adhortatus ab homine maiestatis tuae studiosissimo. Nam Tadeus nuper domi me scriptantem cum invenisset, "Quid" inquit "hoc est operis quod nunc habes in manibus?". Cui ego, "De locis Horatianis". Tunc ille quibusdam ex his percursis, "Hoc" ait "utile erit opus et gratum multis sed... prudenter feceris ante operis editionem si ea emiseris in quibus mihi saepius retulisti te parum tibi ipsi satisfecisse..." Hic ego, "Recte quidem, Tadee, mones prius quam aliorum errata ut mea corrigam; neque vero pudebit exemplo magnorum virorum quae olim adulescentulus in Persium non recte scripserim emendas... ingeniosi viri et multa magna nihilominus habituri errores suos simpliciter fateantur, quos ego dum emulor libenter quoque me ipsum errasse fateor, ne alii, me duce, decipiantur".

"Age ergo", Taddeus inquit "ordinatum ab operis initio cuncta exequere". Tunc ego, "Ita" inquam "ut petis agam; singulaque locabo in suis locis quorum est omnium hoc primum".

Ex prima Satyra.

Cantare credas per Pegaseum melos (Prol. 14). Non enim per Pegaseum ut in pluribus etiam codicibus reperitur sed quinquesyllabum pegaseum, ut in quarto sede iambum hic versus habeat, scribi debet....

Non siquid turbida Roma elevet, accedat (sic *Sat. I*, 5-6). Quamquam non ab repositum a me fuit cum corrupto populus Romanus iudicio sit, si aliquem extulerit et laudaverit populari iudicio non accedas.../... (On *Sat. VI*, 80) quare praestat non de logice absoluta sed acervali argumentatione Persium nostrum intellexisse.

Epilogus. [Inc.]: Acceppisti ex me, Taddei, quae mihi hactenus visa sunt emendatione indiguisse ex quibus licet aliqua videan-

tur neque a poetae proposito neque a communi fere omnium sensu discedere. . . . [Expl.]: alias enim et una erimus et siquid praeterea invenerimus acriore iudicio persequemur. Vale.

Manuscripts:

(micro.) Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 1220 I (N. I. 35), a. 1497, cart. fols. 106v-114r. (S. Morpurgo, *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, v. I, 287; Scarcia 178).

(micro.) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 43 Aug. 2^o, s. XV ex., membr., fols. 3-15. This manuscript, and the 1621 edition based on it, differ in phrasing from the Florence manuscript, both in the dedication and in the work itself. (O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Part II, Vol. III, 242-43; C. Csapodi-K. Csapodi Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana* [Shannon, 1969] 76; Scarcia 589).

Biography:

See CTC I, 228. The following titles should be added. For editions of Fontius, see also: *Epistolarum libri III*, ed. Ladislaus Juhász (Bibliotheca scriptorum medi recentisque aevorum) Budapest, Bologna, 1931; *Carmina*, ed. Iosephus Fógel et Ladislaus Juhász (Bibliotheca scriptorum medi recentisque aevorum) Lipsiae, 1932. For further monographs, see S. Caroti and S. Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio di Bartolomeo Fonzio umanista fiorentino* (Milan, 1975); Charles Trinkaus, "A Humanist's Image of Humanism" *Studies in the Renaissance* VII (1960) 91-94; idem, "The unknown 'Quattrocento' Poetics of Bartolomeo della Fonte" *Studies in the Renaissance* XIII (1966) 40-122.

19. JOHANNES BRITANNICUS.

The commentary of Britannicus first appeared in 1481 and was frequently reprinted.

Dedication. (ed. of Brescia, 1481). Johannes Britannicus Brixianus senatui populoque Brixiano salutem. [Inc.]: Cum multa et varia in rebus humanis sint, in quibus hominum ingenia exerceri solent, quippe cum alii arma sequantur, alii agricolationi

intenti sint, alii struendis opibus inhaereant, et alii alia id genus opera complectantur, quae omnia cum aliqua ex parte per se clara et laude digna esse possint, meum tamen semper fuit iudicium litterarum studia ea esse quae omnibus sine controversia praeferantur. . . . [Expl.] : Cum igitur, cives optimi, nulla prorsus commotus gloria hoc tantum oneris susceperim, sed ut industria mea eis (so ed. of 1486) qui.me ad hoc hortati sunt morem gererem, vos rogo hos commentarios ea benevolentia et liberalitate suscipiatis qua a me scripti sunt. Valete.

Vita Persii. [Inc.] : Persius Flaccus in Thuscia Volaterras habet patriam quod cum Eusebius testetur, ipseque in ultima sua Satyra innuit. . . . [Expl.] : tenuum opum se fuisse declarat illic. Quis expedivit psittaco suum chere picasque docuit nostra verba conari. Magister artis ingeniique largitor venter. (Prol. 9-11).

Commentarii. [Inc.] : Satyra carmen est ut Diomedi placet apud Romanos maledicuum, ad hominum vitia carpenda comoediae priscae charactere compositum. . . . itaque more satyrico opus suum ex abrupto incipiens in Trimetrum iambicum erumpit docens non ea se facilitate poetam factum esse qua Hesiodus et Ennius poetae facti dicuntur, sed egestate et rerum difficultate coactum ut versus faceret.

Nec fonte labra (Prol. 1). Versus est senarius iambicus qui et trimeter nominatur. Constat enim pedibus sex, recipere potest iambicum locis omnibus, maxime apud tragicos. . . . *Pegaseum* (Prol. 14). . . Quorum meminit ita Cicero in oratione pro Publio Quintio : O hominem fortunatum qui eiusmodi nuntios seu Pegasos habeat.

O curas hominum (Sat. I, 1). Reprehensurus hac satyra varia poetarum in componendis carminibus vitia, eos in primis satyrica indignatione persecutur, qui inani quadam carmina scribunt ostentatione. . . . [Expl.] : *inventus* (Sat. VI, 80). id est ostende, designa mihi ubi, idest in quo divitiarum loco inventus sistam, hoc est pedem figam, ac si dicat tantam esse suam, without shelf mark; cupiditatem ut nullo pacto ei finem ex se reperire queat. Sicque poeta cupiditatem avari insatiabilem esse ostendit.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. F VI 34, s. XVI, fol. 1-32v (G. Haenel, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum* [Leipzig, 1830] 527. Scarcia 13 (with shelf mark A.V. 34 and without mention of Britannicus). For a discussion of the manuscript see p. 283 below.

Editions :

1481, Brixiae (Brescia) : Per Magistrum Gabrielem Tarvisinum et Paulum eius filium. Morgan 679 ; GW 5556 ; HC (+ Add) R 3987 = H 12729 ; BMC VII, 965 ; Goff B-1213. BM ; (MH).

1486, Brixiae (Brescia) : per Iacobum Britannicum. Morgan 31 ; HC 12730 ; Goff P-350 ; IGI IV, 233 # 7501. BM ; (MH).

1491. See Composite Editions.

1492. See Composite Editions.

1494/5, die xiii Februarii. See Composite Editions.

1494, die xxii Aprilis. See Composite Editions.

1497. See Composite Editions.

1498. See Composite Editions.

1499, ad vi calendas Februarii. See Composite Editions.

1499, die IIII Novembris. See Composite Editions.

1500, ad quartum idus Maias. See Composite Editions.

1500, vii Augusti. See Composite Editions.

1500, die xxi Julii, Brixiae (Brescia) : per Iacobum Britannicum Brixianum. Morgan 60 ; H 12732 ; BMC VII, 983 ; Goff P-351. BM ; (MH).

1505. See Composite Editions.

1506. See Composite Editions.

1507. See Composite Editions.

1508, die xvii Julii. See Composite Editions.

1508, ad quartum calendas Augusti. See Composite Editions.

1510. See Composite Editions.

c. 1510. See Composite Editions.

(*) 1511, Lugduni [Lyons] : J. de Vingle. Panzer, VII, 296, 167 ; Baudrier XII, 214 ; not in Morgan. Troyes.

1511, pridie kalendas Februarii. See Composite Editions.

1511, septimo Octobris. See Composite Editions.

1512. See Composite Editions.
 1514. See Composite Editions.
 1515. See Composite Editions.
 1516, die xxv mensis Aprilis. See Composite Editions.
 1516, 8 cal. Octobris. See Composite Editions.
 1520. See Composite Editions.
 1520, die XV Decembris. See Composite Editions.
 1522, die xxiiii Octobris. See Composite Editions.
 1523. See Composite Editions.
 1525, secunda die Octobris. See Composite Editions.
 1534. See Composite Editions.
 1551. See Composite Editions.
 1613. See Composite Editions.
Doubtful Editions:
 1492. See Doubtful Composite Editions.
 1503. Brescia. Morgan 70 (Morgan simply refers to 'some bibliographers').
 1507. See Doubtful Composite Editions.
 1544. See Doubtful Composite Editions.
Biography:
 See CTC I, 232. Add to Bibliography : *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* XIV (1972) 342-43 (by U. Baroncelli).

20. RAPHAEL REGIUS.

During the 1480's at Padua, Raphael Regius was engaged in a bitter dispute with Johannes Bergomensis, better known as Calphurnius Brixensis. In the course of the dispute, according to Regius' account, students who were dissatisfied with the teaching of Calphurnius asked Regius to lecture on Persius to them. Regius did so and composed a short commentary on Persius ; the commentary apparently has not survived, but we have some material from it in a *Disputatio* against Calphurnius published by Regius in 1490 : "... quibus (i.e. the students) ego non solum morem gessi, sed enarrationes quoque meas in commentariolum unde haec fere descripta sunt redegi" (sig. b₆b of the edition cited below).

Regius' *Disputatio* begins with four conclusions dealing with Persius ; the six following conclusions deal with a text of

Valerius Maximus, with two questions of rhetoric, and with texts of Vergil, Cicero, and Ennius.

Dedication. (ed. of 1490). Raphael Regius Hermolao Barbaro Salutem. [Inc.] : Disputationem quam mihi nuper et ineptiae et convicia et foedissimi cuiusdam Calphurnii errores in media Academia Patavina expresserunt, studiosissimi iuvenes ut emitam efflagitare non desistunt. Huic aliquid patrocinium cum nuncupatione quoque comparare instituerem, tu mihi in primis cui ipsam dicarem, occurristi. . . . [Expl.] : Quare si tibi recte videbor in hac reprehensione sensisse, nihil est mihi dubitandum quin doctissimus quisque meam sit probaturus opinionem. Vale maximum studiorum decus. Paduae, idibus Maiis, MCCCCLXXXVIII.

Raphaelis Regii Conclusiones et Quaestiones in nonnullos errorum cuiusdam Calphurnii Bestiae. . . . (A list of the questions to be discussed).

Raphaelis Regii in nonnullos errores cuiusdam Calphurnii bestiae disputatio.

[Inc.] : Tametsi gravissimo clarissimae huius Academiae iudicio poteram esse contentus quo me ex auditore professorem, ex discipulo doctorem effecit, cuiusdam tamen Johannis Bergomensis, qui perosus patriam ac nomen sibi a parentibus impositum mavult Calphurnius Brixensis nominari, calumnias in me saepius privatim publice que iactatas semel in iucundissimo conspectu vestro, eruditissimi iuvenes, retundere et confutare decrevi. . . (Regius tells at some length the story of the dispute, particularly as it concerned the chair of rhetoric at Padua). . . Quam ob rem quo melius faciliusque an muneri profitendae in tanta academia rhetorices aptus sit diuidicare possitis, dum primam conclusionem grammaticam expono, quaeso attente audiatis. Tametsi autem iste oratorum princeps suae facundiae suavitate nos omnes indignos putat, mihi tamen cum ipso sermonem esse vobis persuadeatis velim.

Polidamanta pro Nerone et Troiades pro Romanis inepte nimium acceperunt qui sic illud Persii exposuerunt :

Ne mihi Pulydamas (sic) et Troiades Laeonem Praetulerint. (*Sat.* I, 4-5).

Si quid a vulgo paedagogorum differes, vanissime Calfurni, numquam tam ineptas expositiones tantosque errores in enodandis Persii *Satyris* disseminasses. . . . (Regius in questions II and III discusses Sat. I, 76-8 and 123-26. The last question deals with the *acervus Chrysippi* of Sat. VI, 80). . . . [Expl.]: Quod enim quidam putant ad Sori-ten argumentationem referendum mihi ea-tenus probatur, si intelligunt Chrysippum sorite per additionem fuisse usum in ea constituenda divitiarum summa qua unusquisque deberet esse contentus. Sed de argumentatione avarus minime sentire vide-tur. . . . (There follows a further attack on Calfurnius and then the other questions). . . . [Expl. of the Disputatio]: neque committeres ut invitis ac reclamantibus ingeniosissimis quibusque iuvenibus clarissimam omnium Academiam tuis ineptissimis simul ac flagi-tiosissimis lectionibus pollueres atque in-famares.

Edition:

1490, Venetiis (Venice) : Guilelmus Anima Mia Tridinensis. HC 13810 ; BMC V, 411 ; Goff R-116 ; not in Morgan. BM ; (CtY ; MH).

Biography:

Raphael Regius (Raffaele Regio, da Bergamo) was born toward the middle of the fifteenth century at Bergamo ; he died at Venice in 1520. He studied under Marcus Musurus and at the University of Padua where in 1482 he became Professor of Greek, Latin, and Rhetoric. At Padua he had a bitter dispute with Johannes Calphurnius, but he had a wide circle of friends both among scholars such as Hermolaus Barbarus, Hieronymus Donatus, and Aldus Manutius and among rulers such as Johannes Franciscus III Gonzaga and Sigismund, King of Poland. From 1508 until his death Regius was professor at Venice.

Works: Editions or commentaries of Cicero, Horace, Quintilian, Ovid, Plutarch ; translation of Basil into Latin ; polemics against Johannes Calphurnius and Marinus Becichemus ; De laudibus eloquentiae ; a funeral oration on Aldus Manutius ; Oratiōnes ; and Epistolae.

Bibl. Chevalier, *Biobibliographie* II 3918 ; Cosenza IV, 3018-21 and V, 1519 ; Joecher

III, 1964-65 ; Tiraboschi VI, 3 (1809) 1049-53.

A. Medin, "Raffaele Regio a Venezia", *Archivio Veneto-Tridentino* I (1922) 237-44.

21. JOHANNES BAPTISTA CANTALICIIUS.

Cantalicius' commentary on Persius is preserved only in a Paris manuscript (BN lat. 8277). It is dedicated to Franciscus Maria, Bishop of Viterbo from 1472 to 1491, when he was transferred to Terni ; the bishop's reign thus provides chronological limits within which the commentary must have been composed.

Dedication. (Paris, BN, lat. 8277) Cantalycii ad praestantissimum praesulem Fran-ciscum Mariam episcopum Viterbi commen-tarii in Satyras Persianas. Cantalycius domino suo F. M. Viterbii episcopo sal. p.d. [Inc.] : Incredibilis quo te prosequor amor, praestantissime praesul, ac benivolentia singularis voluerunt me seria tua negotia atque gravissima otia meis ineptiis inter-turbare. . . . ut eam scilicet interpretatio-nem quam in Persianas satyras evigilarem tibi absque ulla erubescencia dedicarem. . . . Nam cum philosophiam omnem theologiam-que plenissime omnium biberis, bonas horas poetarum fabulamentis te tradere nequa-quam existimabam. Verum tamen cum Bartholomaeus Scandianus, vir literatissimus quo familiarissime utor et dominationis tuae potentissima tuba, atque hinc non minus vir egregius atque homo doctissimus Libe-ratus noster qui sub dominatione tua offi-cium scribae secretarii (sic) sapientissime gessit me ad id efficiendum saepius hortaren-tur, ancipitem animum confirmarunt. Ta-ceo excellentissimum virum legum inter-pretem quam sanctissimum, auditorem ius-titiae tuae integerrimum Franciscum Rutil-onium, qui me ad rem adeo animavit ut vigiliarum mearum vindicem ac patronum munificentissimum mihi comparasse non dubitem. At cui melius Persiana interpre-tatio poterat dedicari quam illi qui Persium admodum familiarem haberet ? Hoc enim aiunt prae caeteris poeta te delectari qui cum tua theologia vitiorum genus omne di-verberat virtutemque per omnia suadet et docet. Hic a plerisque obscuritate verborum

ex academia poetarum exploditur. . . Qui-dam temporibus nostris cum publicam grammaticam profiteretur occepissetque Persium auditoribus interpretari ad primam deficiens lectionem codicem fune suspendit atque illum scutica non modicum verberavit. Volo, inquit ineptus, suae obscuritatis det poeta meritissimas poenas. . . Ego certe, humanissime princeps, qui huius poetae studiosissimus extiti, putavi me rem gratissimam facturum simul et quam plurimis utilissimam, si in eius satyras hos quos ad te mittimus commentariolos elaborassem. . . erit certe, crede mihi, operae pretium si quandoque vacaverit eum perlegere. Quod si tuam humanissimam reverentiam non parvi facere nostra cognovero, totam in te se mea Musa convertet. Vale felix.

Ad praestantissimum praesulem F. M. epigramma.

Scriperat in mores viridi quae Persius aevo

. . . / . . .

(line 10) A cunctis poterit liber in orbe legi.

Ad librum endecasyllabum

Audax quo properas rogo libelle

. . . / . . .

(line 12) Dum quaeris tibi premium laboris.

Title: Cantalycii commentarii in Satyras Persianas ad praestantissimum praesulem Franciscum Mariam epsicopum Viterpii.

Poetae vita. [Inc.]: Lutius Aulus Persius Volaterrae Etruriae urbis nascitur pridie nonas Decembris, Tiberio imperante atque anno eius imperio (sic) XXI^o ex Flacco patre et matre Fulvia Sisenna nobilissimis clarissimisque parentibus. . . . [Expl.]: Reliquit patrimonium non mediocre quod omne suae matri legavit hac lege ut in partem (? corr. ex: in patrem) Cornutum acciperet. Bibliothecam vero Chrysippo reliquit quam aiunt a Cornuto subreptam.

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Nec fonte labra* (Prol. 1). Oratorie Persius arrogantiam evitans satyris suis hoc epigramma in modo excusationis praemittit ne videatur cuiusque insolentiae accusandus propterea quod ad aliquid scribendum exiverit cum iuxta illud Juvenalis: tot ubique vatibus occurras (Sat. I, 17-8). . . . *Pegaseum melos* (Prol. 14), id est poeticam suavitatem atque dulce-

dinem a fonte Pegaseo dictam qui Musis poetisque omnibus est dedicatus.

Nec fonte labra (Prol. 1). Hoc epigramma habet versum trimetrum archilochium achathaeticum (sic) et hypercatalecticum. Trimetrum autem appellatur quia constat ex tribus pedibus duplicatis. . . . [Expl.]: Est aliud carminis genus quod appellatur brachicatalecticum, hoc est cui duae syllabae desunt. Alia qualitas carminis. *O curas hominum* (Sat. I, 1) dactylica est per totum.

In primam Satyram.

O curas hominum o quantum est in rebus inane (Sat. I, 1) Huius operis materia est quam Juvenalis his versibus pronuntiavit: Quicquid agunt homines votum timor ira voluptas/Gaudia discursus nostri est farrago libelli (Sat. I, 85-86). Nam omnium satyrorum intentio est hominum vitia effulmine, virtutes persuadere. Satyra autem tota Latina est ut ait Quintilianus, licet a Graecis hoc scribendi genus defluxerit. . . . [Expl.]: (on Sat. VI, 80) qui et septuaginta volumina scripta reliquit quae XXXX^o anno suscipiens LXXX^o definivit inde paucis post diebus diem mortis obivit. *Tui acervi* (VI, 80) id est tuarum coacervatarum argumentationum.

Epilogue: Habes igitur, praestantissime praesul, nostram super Persianas Satyras interpretationem cui nec ego ut iurisconsulti sigillum veritatis appono, verum illi profundissimo ingenio tuo elimandam atque castigandam transmitto. Quod cum humanitatem tuam effecisse cognovero, satis lucubrationes meas commendasse credidero. Vale.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8277, s. XV, membr. et cart., fols. 1-138 (*Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* IV, 444; Scarcia 379). We are indebted to Mlle. Marie-Pierre Lafitte of the Bibliothèque Nationale for information on this manuscript.

Biography:

See CTC I, 227.

22. JOHANNES TABERIUS.

Johannes Taberius completed his commentary on Persius in September 1495; it is preserved in one manuscript at Paris.

Commentary. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8278, f. 1) [Inc.] : *Nec fonte labra prolui caballino* (*Prol. 1*). Persiana interpretationi quattuor ista auspicium dabunt : poetae vita, titulus, materia, explanatio. Aulus Persius Flaccus ut Eusebii *Chronica* attestantur olympiade ducentesima tertia anno vigesimo primo Tiberii Caesaris Voleterre natus est. . . (on f. 3 the 'introduction' passes without paragraph into the commentary on the *Prologus*) carpens ergo ambitiosos et vanos poetas qui inanibus fabulamentis se prodiisse iactant ut imagines gipsias (sic) et coronas hederaceas consequantur, reprehendens etiam illos qui cum nulla sint doctrina, optimi poetae haberi volunt, se amore virtutis poeticae carmen Musis dedicare dicit.

Nec fonte labra (*Prol. 1*). Ego, inquit Persius, non ea ostentatione ad scribendum accedo ut dicam me creatum optimum poetam degustatis Musarum aquis aut per vana somnia. Ad Hesiodi et Ennii alludit fabulam. Hesiodus poeta Graecus olim pastor fuit, qui cum ad Heliconem patris greges pasceretur a Musis inventus in Heliconem tractus dicitur magnus effectus poeta aquis Musarum prius degustatis. . . . *refulserit* (*Prol. 12*) respexit pecuniae splendorem, si splendor pecuniae ad oculos pervenerit, hoc toto versu significat Persius se non egestate non spe lucri sed Musarum amore scribere et hic sensus optime quadrat si sequentia diligenter inspiciantur.

Satyra.

O curas hominum, o quantum est in rebus inane (*Sat. I, 1*). Pime (sic, for : *Primae*) satyrae argumentum est contra vanos et ambitiosos poetas qui molli et lascivo carmine plausum popularium captant cum utilia potius poemata et componere et recitare melius foret. . . . [Expl.] : (f. 116v) *Chrysippe finitor tui acervi* (*Sat. VI, 80*) Sorite (?) syllogismi invenias et facias finem divitiis meis quia ego invenire nescio, non quod se insatiabilem dicit sed. . . *finitor tui acervi*, quia solus sciebas finem syllogismi tui invenire. *Depinge* (*Sat. VI, 79*) designa. ubi in quo divitiarum termino. *inventus sistam*, consistam et pedem figam, q.d. inexplebilis est heredum avaritia.

Ex praeceptionibus Joannis Taberii cumulatissimi grammatici absolutissimum rethoris (?) Calendis Septembbris anno MCCCCXCV exercitu Veneto sociorumque (?) in (Fornovensi ?) agro ad sedandam Gallorum efferatam insolentiam existente non inutile operosae iuventuti opusculum.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8278, a. 1495, cart., fols. 1-116v. (*Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae IV* (1744) 444; Scarcia 380). Information supplied by Mlle. Marie-Pierre Laffitte of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Biography :

Johannes Taberius Brixensis (Giovanni Taberio da Brescia) flourished in the late fifteenth century. He was born in Rovato, a town near Chiari, in the province of Brescia ; hence he is sometimes called *Rovatensis*. Taberius taught grammar, eloquence, and Greek ; he was Professor of Greek and Latin at Brescia. Among his friends were Franciscus Barbarus Minor, Helias Capreolus, Franciscus Buccardus, and Aldus Manutius, who in 1502 addressed to Taberius the dedicatory letter of the *De urbibus* of Stephanus Byzantius. Augustinus Saturnius was his pupil.

Works : Only the Persius commentary seems to have survived ; Taberius was known as a grammarian but no grammatical works are extant ; in 1486 he edited and extensively revised the commentary of Omnibonus Leonicenus on Lucan.

Bibl. : Cosenza IV 3359-60 ; V, 1729.

23. ANTONIUS VOLSCUS PIPERNAS.

In 1578 Johannes Thomas Freigius edited a volume which in addition to the commentary of Antonius Foquelinus (see p. 289 below) contained three previously unpublished commentaries, by Antonius Volscus Pipernas, by Philippus Valentinus (see p. 292, below), and by Philippus Engelbrecht Engentinus (see p. 285 below). In his dedication, Freigius tells us that he had received the commentaries of Valentinus and Volscus from the printer of the volume, Petrus Perna, while he had obtained the

commentary of Engelbrecht from the library of his father. There is no indication of the date or circumstances of the commentary of Volscus.

Dedication of Freigius. (ed. of Basel, 1578). Johannes Thomas Freigius Gulielmo Adolphi [for Adolpho] Scribonio S. [Inc.] : Physicam tuam secundum leges methodicas κατὰ παντὸς, καθ' αὐτοῦ, καθόλου πρῶτον in ordinem redactam, proximisque nundinis editam, summa cum voluptate legi. . . . Sed ut ad eam rem maior tibi animus addatur utque inter nos arctior familiaritas contrahatur, hos in Persium commentarios (quos a P. Perna typographo acceptos multis laboribus correxi et transscripsi), tibi inscribere constitui. Valentinus praeter alia cum reliquis communia hoc proprium habuit, quod cum Persio Horatium diligissime ubique contulit, quem etiam Tiguri suis his commentariis illustravit. Volscus autem maiorem verborum rationem habuit, licet ex Plinio et historicis pleraque ex poetis etiam fabulis, quae ad obscura authoris loca illustranda facerent, non segniter conquisierit. His ergo ex parentis mei Nicolai Freigii bibliotheca adieci ea quae is a Philippo Engelbrechto Engentino poeta festivissimo (qui Friburgi Brisiacorum poetam olim docuit) publica acroasi quasi sua fecerat. Adieimus etiam Foquelinum qui (ut Rami discipulum agnoscis) praeter grammaticam, rhetoricae, ethicam, politicanam, historicam, poesin, etiam logicam quasi priorum θρηγών superstruxit. . . . Hoc ergo mei erga te amoris et benevolentiae signum benevolo animo excipito, meque inter tuos amicos, vel in extrema cera, scribito. Vale. Datum Altorfii Noricorum. Anno MD LXXVIII.

Commentarius Volsci. [Inc.] : (Prol. I, 1 f.) Magna dissimulatione Neronis principis avaritiam et iniqua tempora accusat. Nam dum se tutari nititur, quamobrem ad scribendum Satyras ex aliorum consuetudine velut repentinus poeta animum appulerit. . . . *Pegaseum melos* (Prol. 14) idest dulcissimum cantum, qualem Pegasides, idest Musae, solent reddere, si refulserit tantilla spes nummi, invenies poetas qui dulcius cantabunt quam Pegasides.

O curas (I, 1). Consueverunt qui Satyras scribunt ante omnia declamatores et rudes poetas carpere, qui cum alia ratione non possent, muneribus audientium favorem sibi conciliabant. . . . *Chrysippe* (VI, 80). . . Ingenii solertissimi fuit. Epicurum in scribendo imitatus est, nam volumina trecenta et undecim de dialectica scripsit.

Editions :

1578. See Composite Editions.

1582. See Composite Editions.

Biography :

Antonius Volscus Pipernas (Privernas, de Priverno; Antonio Volsco da Piperno) was born about the middle of the fifteenth century; his name is derived from Piperno near Frosinone, in the province of Rome. He was a professor at the University of Rome, and a member of the Roman Academy of Pomponio Leto. He devoted his study to Ovid, Nonius Marcellus, Persius, Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius; only his commentaries on the *Epistulae* and on the *Heroides* of Ovid seem to have been published.

Bibl.: Chevalier, Part I, Vol. II, 4718; Cosenza, V, 1907-8 and VI, 294; G. C. Giuliari, *Della letteratura veronese* (Bologna, 1876) 126, 130, 138, 222, 260; B. Pecci, "Contributo per la storia degli Umanisti nel Lazio" in: *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* XIII (1890) 451-526 at 535-55.

24. JODOCUS BADIUS ASCENSIO.

Badius' first publications on Persius were the short comments on *Satyra* II, 61-75 included in his *Sylvae morales* printed at Lyons in 1492 (HC 15191; Goff B-3). In 1499 he published a full commentary, the letter of dedication to which is dated January 27, 1499. The commentary was frequently reprinted, and in 1523 Badius revised and expanded it.

a) the edition of 1500.

Dedication. (ed. of Lyons, 1500) Jodocus Badius Ascensius Levino Mauro et Gulielmo Diviti, cultioris litteraturae proceribus et concivibus atque coamicis optimis S. D. [Inc.]: Crebra et ferme quotidiana studiosorum efflagitatione lacesitus Persii familiarem sane atque parabilem explana-

tionem quam ipsis et in Valentino perquam celebri gymnasio et in Lugdunensi clarissimo emporio ac litterarum olim iam confugio, profitendo praelibaveram, adhuc indigestam fateor et in plusculos annos pre mendam, edere ac plane prostituere coactus sum, non quod vel ea mihi vel ipse mihi ob eam placerem, sed quia studiosorum votis diutius obluctari his humeris non poteram, praesertim cum non minus utilitatis ex ipsa familiaritate atque non indiligenti, si quidem ita censem, negligentia quam ex diligentiori lima bonae opinionis ac gloriae accessurum sperarem. Neque enim omnes sine paeceptore vel argutiores commentarios vel abstrusiuscula poetarum sensa comprehendere possumus. . . . Hanc autem lucubratiunculam nostram, concives optimi, vestris clarissimis nominibus nuncupo ac dedico, non abs qua vel famae vel eruditio nis aliquid expectetis, sed quae a vobis praesidium sperat certissimum. Adiecimus exactissimos Johannis Britannici commentarios eo quidem animo ut quibus nostra sordescet humilis familiaritas, illius sublimes delectent argutiae. Postposuimus vero, non quia eos minoris faceremus, sed ut grammatices tyrunculi e regione textus familiar rem eius expositionem habeant. Accesserunt praeterea Philippi Beroaldi et Angeli Politiani dii boni qualium virorum paelections, ut eis post rerum verborumque indicem veluti hypocratico quodam mulso nostra lecturus os ieenum imbuat. Haec summa est. Valete litterarum decora et, quod facitis, nos redamare pergit. Ex officinia nostra Lugdunensi, anno a natali salvatoris nostri MDCCCCC ad sextum calen. Februario.

Vita Persii et quorundam aliorum per Jodocum Badium annotatio. [Inc.]: Poetae huius vitam ex superiori commentario notiore puto quam ut de ipsa plura dicam. Memineris tamen lector qui in nostram sententiam iturus es. . . . [Expl.]: Explanatio nostra ponetur ante Brixianos commentarios; in qua hoc ordine procedere constitui, ut primo argumentum ponamus, deinde filum seu contextum eius particulae quam simul interpretatam voluerimus. Tum interpretationem potissimum vocabulorum de quibus alii minus abunde meminerint. Et

ultimo loco verborum ordinem seu ut dicunt constructionem litteralem.

Familiares commentarii. [Inc.]: Et primo ipsius paefactionis argumentum.

Praeludendo docet satyram se scribere posse. *Nec fonte labra* (*Prol. 1*). Quia poeta non immerito in male atque inepte, id est indecore aut ad indebitum finem, sribentes aut recitantes poemata primam satyram scribere constituerat. . . . *Pegaseum* (*Prol. 14*), idest quale canunt qui se Pegaseio, idest caballino fonte potos glorian tur, quod dicit, si labor hoc potest praestare avibus, atqui non potest mihi minora cum ex natura aptior sim. Innuit ergo se quoque posse satyram scribere, et ideo auspicatur cum summa indignatione dicens *O curas* etc. (*Sat. I, 1*).

O curas hominum (*Sat. I, 1*) In hac prima satyra reprehendit poeta ineptum scriptorem ut poetam, qui ad indebitum finem, videlicet ad ostentationem aut inanem gloriam scribit. . . .

O Chrysippe finitor tui acervi (*Sat. VI, 80*) idest qui finem aliquando statuisti scripturis tuis, *depinge ubi sistam* (*Sat. VI, 79*), idest in quantis divitiis ego inventus sistam. . . . [Expl.]: neque expositiones nostras poetae menti aut caeteris dictis repugnantes convincet, rideat cum lubebit, sed quia hactenus candidus fui nec quemquam lacesivi, verbum non amplius addo.

b) The edition of 1523

Dedication (ed. of Paris 1523). Jodocus Badius Ascensius, Domino Joanni ab Lugduno Acrolucio viro anxie docto et cum primis observando S. D. [Inc.]: Magna providentiae benignitate et aequo illo, licet in paucos, Jovis amore, Joannes circumspettissime, protensis et ferme aequis passibus, insignem theologum, admirandum philosophum, et praestantem oratorem, fratrem tuum Oliverium nuper. . . defunctum, assequeris. . . . (Badius praises Oliverius and also Johannes, who has been working on commentaries to Cicero's orations, though Badius has not yet been able to publish them. He is grateful for Johannes' patience). . . quod tam patienter tamque longanimitate hanc Auli Persii, satyrici argutissimi, cum doctissimis magnorum virorum,

praesertim Johannis Baptistae Plautii, commentariis, impressionem hactenus expectare dignatus es. Plus enim quadriennio in manibus meis sunt, nec enim potui prius illis imprimendis locum indipisci. Quam culpam eo confidentius agnosco et fateor, quod tantae dilationi paria reponere molior. Nam praeter eos quos tunc habebam commentarios, alteros duos neutiquam poenitendos, Aelii videlicet Nebrissensis et Johannis Murmelii Ruremundensis, nactus sum. Meosque supra trigintos annos elapsos, non parum auxi, cum tamen constituerim ea in illis expungere quae tum iunior pueris dictaveram, nisi futuros veritus essem, qui reliquos mancos et semiplenos suclamarent, quique sententiam mutasse arguerent, quod licet nulli vitio dandum censem, si saniorem acceperit, in hoc tamen opere mihi nequaquam faciendum constituit. Nam quae tunc a nullo admonitus sensi nunc lectis nonnullis aliter sentientibus non recanto, ne tamen prave pertinax arguar, constantis opinionis rationem subinde apertius superaddendam duxi. Quae omnia limatulo tuo iudicio, non vulgari trutina, sed interioris artis statera atque examine suffulto, subiicio. Boni itaque consule ac vale, magnae spes altera Galliae. E chalcographia nostra ad decimum Calendas Martias sub pascha supra sesquimillesimum, tertium atque vigesimum.

The Incipit and the Explicit are the same as in the 1500 edition.

Editions :

1499, ad vi kalendas Februarii. See Composite Editions.

1500, ad quartum idus Maias. See Composite editions.

1500, vii Augusti. See Composite Editions.

1505. See Composite Editions.

1506. See Composite Editions.

1507 ad octavum calendas Iulii. See Composite Editions.

1507, ad octavum calendas Octobris. See Composite Editions.

1508, ad quartum kalendas Augusti. See Composite Editions.

1510. See Composite Editions.

c. 1510. See Composite Editions.

1511, pridie kalendas Februarii. See Composite Editions.

1511, septimo Octobris. See Composite Editions.

1512. See Composite Editions.

1514. See Composite Editions.

1516, 8 cal. Octobris. See Composite Editions.

1520. See Composite Editions.

1522, die vero xxiiii Octobris. See Composite Editions.

1523. See Composite Editions.

1525, secunda vero die Octobris. See Composite Editions.

1534. See Composite Editions.

1551. See Composite Editions.

Doubtful Editions :

1507. See Doubtful Composite Editions.

Biography :

See CTC I, 231.

25. SCIPIO FERRARIUS

The commentary of Scipio Ferrarius was licensed for printing January 30, 1501, and it appears to have been a very early work of the author.

Dedication. (ed. after 1501, Jan. 30) Illustrissimo Principi Gulielmo Marchioni Montisferrati, Scipio Venetus Georgii filius de Verolongo S. P. D. [Inc.] : Cogitanti mihi cui potissimum has studiorum meorum primitias dicarem, princeps illustrissime, occurristi in primis tanquam fulgentissimum sydus duce quo res meae initium caperent, inchoatae melius perficerentur. . . . Haesitaveram prius has pueriles quodammodo nugas tanto principi destinare, nec nisi ad regem regia, sic ad principem digna principe munera tradere. Verum cum ex genitore meo istinc e ditione tua oriundo et innumeris aliis, praesertim ex clarissimo equite viro integerrimo et apud illustrissimum Venetorum dominium oratore tuo Urbano de Ferra Longa, de clementia et magnanimitate, mira ante annos prudentia et morum facilitate, deque incredibili erga litteratos et litterarum studia, quibus plurimum delectaris, observantia accepissem, et probavi consilium meum et intrepido animo ausus sum iudicio et censurae tuae haec mea scripta subjecere. . . . Suscipe igitur pusillum munus, ne erubescat, hilari fronte et perseveranti animo perlege. Non ingratos nec

inutiles ut autumo ex eo fructus percipies.
Vale nostri spes unica saecli.

Letter to the author. Franciscus Rossetus Veronensis studiosissimo adolescenti Scipioni Veneto Georgii filio de Monteferrato. S. P. D. [Inc.] : Elaboratas in Aulum Persium summa cura et ingenio glosas tuas, Scipio mi suavissime, cum perlegissem, incredibili tum gaudio, tum admiratione affec-
tus sum, quod adolescentulus adhuc tam operosam provinciam et audacter suscepisses et quod factum cuvis arduum videri pote-
rat strenue naviterque absolvisses. . . .
[Expl.] : Is est enim qui aevo nostro inter principes Italos sicut nobilitate et maiorum stemmatibus reliquos antecellit, ita tanquam Martis alumnus armis praestantior et omni studiorum genere eminentissimus apparebit. Vale, studiosissime mi Scipio, et quod dici solet πέμπτε εἰς ἔσχατον τὴν ἐπιστήμην.

Vita Persii. [Inc.] : Persium aggressuro in primis necessarium visum est eius vitam percurrere. Aulus Persius Flaccus patre Flacco, matre Fulvia. . . . [Expl.] : In eo namque mira carminis acerbitate summa eius ingenii virtus indicatur auctore Quintiliano, lib. 10, Plinius in praefatione libri naturalis historiae, Haec doctissimum omnium Persium legere nolo (I, Praef. 6).

Introduction. (Satyra quid) [Inc.] : Satyra est cibi genus ex variis et diversis rebus conditum, farcimen, sc. ut scribit Varro, ex uva passa polenta, nucleis pineis musto conspersis, et granis mali punici. . . . [Expl.] : Principium igitur factum ab indignatione more satyrico et ex abrupto opus suum incipiens tanquam affirmet quod ab adversario longa disceptatione obiiciebatur se nullum prorsus cum Musis commercium habere, ut sit sensus, fateor me nec Hippocrenem bibisse nec somniasse in monte Par-
nasso ut de se alii iactant. Et gestu adju-
vandum.

Commentary. [Inc.] : Nec (Prol. 1) conjunctio est disjunctiva, ut nec legit nec scribit. Ponitur et pro non adverbio. Turpil. Nec recte dici mihi iam dudum audio. . . . *Mellos* (Prol. 14). . . . Fitque repercussio dulcior aura melo, sed hoc loco geminavit ill. ut scansionis stet ratio, ut Vergilius li. I, 30 Relliuias Danaum.

O curas hominum (I, 1). Reprehensurus hac satyra varia poetarum in componendis carminibus vitia, eos in primis satyrica indigne-
natione persequitur qui inani quadam ostentatione carmina scribunt. . . . *Tui acervi* (VI, 60). . . . quod bonum est, id optabile est, quod optabile expetendum, quod expetendum laudabile, quod laudabile honestum, quod honestum bonum.

There follows a *Tabula*. On the last page are printed the *Periodiae* of Johannes Petrus Valerianus, and also a four-line poem : Ad Scipionem Persii interpretem.

Edition :

After Jan. 30, 1501 : [Venice, no printer].
Morgan 56 ; Reichling 671 ; Goff P 352 ;
IGI IV, p. 236. Oxford, Bodleian ; (MH).

Biography :

Scipio Ferrarius de Monteferrato (Scipio Venetus, Scipione Ferrari) was born late in the fifteenth century ; he is called an *adulescentulus* in a letter attached to the edition of c. 1501 (see the letter of F. Rossetus, above) ; his father was a physician and a printer at Venice. Scipio lost the sight of one eye at the age of three. He studied under Franciscus Rossetus. In addition to his commentary on Persius, he took part in editing an edition of Galen, published in 1522

Bibl. : Chevalier, *Biobibliographie* II, 1492 ; Cosenza IV, 1385 ; G. C. Giuliani, *Della letteratura veronese al cadere del secolo XV* (Bologna, 1876) 341-42 ; G. Vinay, *L'umanesimo subalpino nel secolo XV* (To-
rino, 1935) 159-61.

26. JOHANNES BAPTISTA PLAUTIUS.

The commentary of Johannes Baptista Plautius was published in 1502, with a commendatory letter from his teacher, Philippus Beroaldus.

Philippus Beroaldus ad Lectorem (ed. of Bologna, 1502). [Inc.] : Commentarios in poetas non parum multi quotidie cum laude componunt, inter quos Johannes Baptista Plautius apprime studiosus, doctus, ingenii acumine praepollens, et mihi discipulus, nuper condidit haec annotamenta ad enodandos Persii satyrographi nodos mire con-
ducientia. Est itaque caligo poematis tene-

bricosi, immissa luce, discussa, et salebitas laevigata. Lector ingredere, citra offensionem a carcere ad metas usque discurses. Vale.

Johannes Baptista Pius ad Plautium.

[Inc.] : Magnus Aristarchus titulum si laudis Homerus.

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[Expl.] : (line 10) Major honos quantum vi-
lior arte furor.

Dedication. Ad magnificum Jacobum Antonium de Sancto Vitale Belfortis comitem et equitem auratum Johannis Baptistae Plautii epistola. [Inc.] : Cum, magnifice comes Jacobe Antoni omniumque eruditorum favissor constantissime, a principe philosophorum nihil in vita esse utilius quam nobis ipsis finem aliquem metamque nostris actionibus statuere. . . . [Expl.] : Quod si tibi gratum et non iniucundum cognovero, sublimi feriam sidera vertice et te tanto vindice vitilitatorum linguas cote livoris acuminatas et invisorum qui tantum legunt ut carpant vituperorumque morsus virulentos haud pertimescam. Vale faustiter et genio faven-te meque clientulum tuum si non amare saltem diligere ne dedigneris, qui te veneror et colo.

There follow twenty lines of verse by Nicolaus Aldrovandus, 14 lines by Camillus Aldrovandus, a note by Plautius on his use of *eques auratus*, and a list of errata.

Letter to the Reader. Johannis Baptistae Plautii Fontilatensis ad lectores epistola. [Inc.] : Ut in exponendis auctoribus et praecipue in poetis qui, ut scribit Plato ημυν (sic) ωσπερ πατερες της σοφιας εισι ηγεμονες id est nobis tanquam patres sunt et duces sapientiae. . . . [Expl.] : qui in Protagora ait sapientes omnes qui mala turpiaque committunt praeter voluntatem peccare in qua non in facto crimen est (ut inquit Apostolus). Sed quod instat agamus ne veniam antequam peccaverimus deprecari videamur.

Vita poetae. [Inc.] : Aulus Persius Flaccus non Ligur, ut quidam somniant, sed He-truscus patre Flacco, matre Fulvia olym-piade ducentesima tertia imperante Tiberio Volaterris natus est. . . . [Expl.] : idest plurimi homines mali qui et ignorant quod pro defensione veritatis και τα οικεια αγα-

ρειν δει idest etiam propria iugulare et refel-lere oportet, ut scribit Aristoteles.

Introduction. [Inc.] : Satyrarum genera duo agnoscimus, alterum antiquius tam a Graecis quam a Latinis usurpatum, alte-rum recentius, quod cum ab antiquiore defluxerit, Latini tantum excollerunt. . . . [Expl.] : opus est ergo magnanimitate et fiducia quandoquidem illius qui per igno-rantiam neglegentiamve aberraverit debita poena nulla alia sit quam ut sciens efficiatur et diligens, ut apud Plinium auctor est Hermocrates.

Commentary. [Inc.] : Nec fonte labra (Prol. 1). De poetis et poetarum studiis scriben-tes, sicut de aliis rebus varia, diversa, et penitus dissentanea tradiderunt. . . . Pegaseum (Prol. 14). . . . Eusebius hunc equum cuiusdam mulieris fuisse tradit, Pale-phatus [in his *De incredibilibus*] Persei. Vel dictus est Pegasus quod fontem ungula per-cussum foderit, quod his Propertius asseverat. Visus eram moli recubans / Heliconis in umbra Bellerophontaei qua fluit humore equi. (*Eleg.* III, 3, 1-2).

O curas hominum (Sat. I, 1). Graecorum poetarum moris est eodem tempore propo-nere simul et invocare. Homerus in *Iliade* . . . depinge ubi sistem.

Inventus (Sat. VI, 79-80). . . . [Expl.] : Fuit autem Chrysippus philosophus Apollo-nii Solensis filius, de quo Cicero quaedam, nonnulla Valerius, plurima Laertius tradi-derunt.

Editions :

1502, Bononiae (Bologna) : per Caligulam Bacilierum. Morgan 68 ; Panzer VI. 321, 13 ; NUC. Ferrara ; (MH).

1516. See Composite Editions.

1520, die XV Decembris. See Composite Editions.

1523. See Composite Editions.

1524, Parisiis. Not in Morgan. BN.

1551. See Composite Editions.

Biography :

Johannes Baptista Plautius (de Plotis, Giovanni Battista Plozio) was born at Parma in 1485 and flourished in the first part of the sixteenth century. He was a patrician of Novara, in Piedmont, and studied at Bo-logna, where he lived in the home of Jo-hannes Franciscus Aldrovandus. Among his

teachers were Philippus Beroaldus the Elder and Johannes Baptista Pius. Plautius taught at the University of Bologna. In addition to his commentary on Persius he wrote on the law and composed poetry.

Bibl. : Cosenza IV, 2851-2 and VI, 1441-42 ; Ferrari, *Onomasticon* p. 547 ; Ireneo Affò and A. Pezzana, *Memorie degli scrittori e letterati Parmegiani* (Parma, 1789-1833) III, 232 ; VI, 440 and 959 ; Joecher VI, 382 ; S. Mazzetti, *Repertorio di tutti i Professori della Università e dell'Istituto delle scienze di Bologna* (Bologna, 1848) 249.

27. ANTONIUS NEBRISSENSIS.

The commentary of Nebrissensis was first published in 1503 and was later frequently reprinted.

Dedication. (ed. of Seville, 1504) Aelii Anthonii Nebrissensis grammatici in A. Persium Flaccum poetam satyricum interpretatio ad illust. Do. Johannem de Stunica Cisterciensis militiae magistrum, quondam Dalcantara, nunc eiusdem ordinis praesulem amplissimum, archiepiscopum Hispalensem Romanaeque ecclesiae cardinalem dignissimum. [Inc.] : Admonuisti me identidem, pater amplissime, ut in A. Persii Flacci Satyras commentarios certis quibusdam a te praescriptis legibus componerem, ut breves, ut dilucidi, et quod brevitati maxime repugnat, ut nihil quod necessarium esset omitterem, tales denique quales illi fuissent, quos in opera Vergilii tuo iussu perscripsimus. . . (Johannes admired Persius but found him difficult). . . Addebas praeterea legisse te quorundam interpretum in hoc opus enarrationes, perlongas illas quidem et quae nonnumquam patientia lectoris abuterentur, sed quae tibi interdum minime satisfacerent, utpote in quibus complura desiderantur. Ego vero tametsi eram occupatus atque in medio cursus fervore illius operis, quod de sacrarum litterarum grammaticae iam pridem parturio, non potui non obsequi imperio tuo. . . . Nec ignoro quantae sit difficultatis poetas interpretari, hunc praesertim quem tuis auspiciis tuoque imperio explicare aggredimur, quantae praeterea audaciae post tot praeclaros viros qui in hoc opere insudarunt aliquid novi afferre.

Quibus ego quemadmodum concedo eruditonem longe maiorem atque plurimarum rerum cognitionem, ita illud mihi possum meo quodam iure vendicare, quod est grammatici proprium, omnium prope clausularum sensa exprimere, singulas particulas etiam illas quae sunt in promptu per alias notiores aut aeque notas exponere, orationis partes ordinare et quod fieri Quintilianus paecepit, quoties opus fuerit, versus quosdam etiam paraphrasi vertere.

Quid quod et viri quidam doctissimi qui post illos priores scripserunt dum aliud agunt, quosdam locos praeter aliorum opinionem interpretati sunt, ut quod Hermolaus Barbarus in septimum librum Naturalis Historiae exposuit : *ast illi tremit omento popaverter* (*Hist. Nat.* XI, 37) ; | quodque Angelus Politianus in prima quam unicam vidimus Centuria argumentum illius Satyrae cuius initium est *Rem populi tractas* (Persius, *Sat.* IV, 1) et illud *non in festuca lictor quam iactat ineptus* (*Sat.* V, 175), illud praeterea : *praesto est mihi Manius heres / Progenies terrae* (*Sat.* VI, 56-57) ; et quod Philippus Beroaldus in quibusdam suis annotationibus, *Qui prior es, cur me in decursu lampada poscis?* (*Sat.* VI, 61-2), et illud in calce operis *Inventus Chrysippus tui finitor acervi* (*Sat.* VI, 80) ; at alii item alia. Nos quoque nonnihil de nostro attulimus, ne penitus aliorum vestigiis insistere videremur. Sed de his hactenus, ne quod Aristoteles vetat fieri, extra opera plura sint quam opera. Vale.

Commentary. [Inc.] : *Auli Persii Flacci.* Hic titulus duo quae sunt in cuiusque operis indice necessaria tangit, auctorem videlicet et libri materiam. . . . Dicta autem est satyra a satyris in quorum habitu iocantes rustici inducebantur huiusmodi se carminibus lacescentes.

Nec fonte labra (*Prol.* 1). Carmen est trimetrum iambicum hippoacticum, sive galliambon sive choliambon sive cylliambon sive scazon ; habet enim in sexto loco spondeum. . . . *Mellos Pegaseum* (*Prol.* 14) . . . Quare lectio communis defendenda est, et *mellos* per duplex L scribendum, vel ita legendum, *Cantare Pegaseum mellos credas.*

O curas hominum (*Sat.* I, 1). Cum poetae satyrici sit hominum perversos mores insec-

tari, ab eo in quo ipsi poetae maxime peccant, initium facit, ostendens eos magis ex vulgi opinione quam ex re ipsa laudem quaerere. . . . [Expl.] : *Inventus finitor tui acerbi* (*Sat.* VI, 80) idest qui in soritis illis argumentationibus, quae videbantur progredi in infinitum, aliquem tamen modum finemque invenisti. Modus autem divitiarum, ut Seneca in epistolis inquit, primus sit habere quod necesse est, proximus quod satis est. Nam cum sint instrumenta, debent ex primo *Politicorum* Aristotelis esse proportionata fini.

Editions :

(*) 1503, Hispali (Seville) : arte et ingenii Stanislai Poloni necnon Jacobi Cronberger Alemani sociorum. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual* 223845. Not in Morgan. Seville, Bibl. Colombina.

1504, Hispali (Seville) : impressa impensis permagnis Ioannis Laurentii librarii, arte et ingenio Iacobi Kromberger Alemani. Palau y Dulcet 223846 ; NUC ; not in Morgan. Salamanca, Bibl. Universitaria ; (MH).

(*) 1505, Logroño, Arnao Guillem de Brocar. Palau y Dulcet XIII, 162 ; not in Morgan. Madrid, Bibl. Nac.

(*) 1512, Lugduni (Lyons) : [no printer] Morgan 88. BM.

(*) 1512, Toleti (Toledo) : impensis, ingenio, et arte Nicolai Gazini ex Pedemontium et Joannis de Villaiquiam sociorum. Palau y Dulcet 223847 ; not in Morgan.

1514, Compluti (Alcalà de Henares) : Arnaldi Guillermi sumptibus. Morgan 95 ; Palau y Dulcet 223848. BM.

(*) 1515 ? Alcalà. Palau y Dulcet 223849 ; not in Morgan. Salamanca, Bibl. Univ.

1516. See Composite Editions.

(*) 1517, Compluti (Alcalà de Henares) : Arnaldi Guillermi sumptibus. Morgan 103 ; Palau y Dulcet 223850. BN.

(*) 1521, Compluti (Alcalà de Henares) : in officina Arnaldi Guillermi. Palau y Dulcet 223851 ; not in Morgan. New York, Hispanic Society.

1523. See Composite Editions.

(*) 1526, Compluti (Alcalà de Henares) : in officina Michaelis de Eguia. Morgan 120 ; Palau y Dulcet 223853. Madrid, Bibl. Nac ; (MH).

(*) 1527, [Paris] : Ex officina Roberti Stephani. Palau y Dulcet 223854 ; Morgan 771. Madrid, Bibl. Nac.

(*) 1529, Lucronii Cantabriae (Logroño) : in aedibus Michalis (sic) de Eguia. Morgan 125 ; Palau y Dulcet 223855. Venice, Bibl. Marciana.

1551. See Composite Editions.

Doubtful Editions :

1503, Logroño. Palau y Dulcet XIII, 162.

1506, Logroño. Palau y Dulcet *ibid.*

1514, Alcalà, *ibid.* (in contrast to the known edition of 1514, Alcalà, this edition is said to have 32 folios).

Biography :

Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis (Elio Antonio de Nebrija or Lebrija) was born in 1441 at Nebrija (Nebrissa Veneris) in Andalusia ; he died in 1522 at Alcalà de Henares. Nebrissensis began his studies at Salamanca but before he was yet twenty went to Italy and remained there ten years. In Italy he studied Greek and Hebrew at the Spanish College in Bologna. On his return to Spain he taught first at Seville (1473) and then at Salamanca. In 1502 Cardinal Cisneros delegated to him the task of revising the Latin and Greek text for the Polyglot Bible, and in 1509 he was appointed Royal Historian. In 1513 he moved to the University of Alcalà where he held the chair of *Eloquentia Latina*.

Works : Nebrissensis wrote a Latin grammar *Introductiones in Latinam grammaticam* (1481) and also a Castilian grammar *Grammatica sobre la lengua castellana* as well as a dictionary of the two languages *Dictionarium Latinum-Hispanicum et Hispanicum-Latinum*. He commented on Aristotle, Cicero, Persius, Prudentius, Quintilian, and Sedulius ; he edited Pomponius Mela ; and he translated into Latin the Spanish chronicles of Falagar. In addition he composed a *Lexicon Juris Civilis*, a treatise *De liberis educandis*, and a number of short poems.

Bibl.: J. S. Díaz, *Manual de Bibliografía de la Literatura Española* (Barcelona, 1963) 106 (bibliography) ; *Encic. Italiana* XXIV (1934) 480 (by Salvatore Battaglia) ; M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Bibliografía hispanolatina clasica* (Madrid, 1902) 844 ; *Catalogo*

de la Exposicion bibliografica de Elio Antonio de Nebrija (Barcelona, 1950); F. González Olmedo, *Humanistas y Pedagogos españoles: Nebrija (1441-1522) debelador de la barbarie* (Madrid, 1942); idem, *Nebrija en Salamanca (1475-1513)* (Madrid, 1944); P. Lemus y Rubio, "El maestro Elio Antonio de Nebrija" *Revue Hispanique* XII (1910) 459-508; idem, "Notas bibliográficas" *Revue Hispanique* XXIX (1913) 13-120; R. B. Tate "Nebrija the Historian" *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* XXXIV (1957) 125-46.

28. CURIUS LANCILOTTUS PASIUS.

The commentary of Lancilottus Pasius is preserved only in one manuscript at Modena (Est. lat. 414) dated 1508. The work is dedicated to Duke Alfonso of Ferrara, who succeeded his father in 1505, and hence Pasius must have completed it sometime between 1505 and 1508. After the commentary the manuscript contains an index which is primarily directed to the passages where Pasius has corrected the errors of earlier commentators, including Politian. The index is dedicated to Hieronymus Magnaninus, a secretary of Duke Alfonso.

a) The commentary

Dedication. (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, lat. 414 (Alpha H. 5. 17) fol. 1v). *Illustrissimo et excellentissimo Duci Alfonso Atestino Cur(ii) Lanciloti Pasii Ferrarensis laureati in Persii obscuri (sic, for obscurissimum librum?) luculentissima commentaria. Epistola.* [Inc.]: Cogitanti mihi, illustrissime du-cum splendor AlfONSE, quam variis ingenis vita nostra exerceatur et eorum praecipue qui tempus ipsum fallere ludis ac rebus vili-bus indignum existimant, succurrit illud immortalis dei munere collatum esse. . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 2) nostrum librum si non ampli-tudini tuae videatur parem ferre tenorem, sapiens tamen amoris e flamma, e civis tui fidelissimi cultu prodisse cognosces. Vale felix.

Title: Ad inclytissimum et excellentissi-mum Prin(cipem) Alfonsum Atestinum Fer-rarii Regii Mutinaeque ducem celebrri-mum, Curii Lanciloti Pasii Ferrarensis lau-

reati in Persii librum obscurissimum lucu-lentissima commentaria foelici auspicio.

Introduction. [Inc.]: Plures fuisse Persios legimus e quibus ille praecipue recitandus est de quo Cicero in secundo *De oratore* hiis verbis: C. Lucilius homo doctus et pertur-batus. Persium non euro mea scripta le-gere. . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 4) in quo Quintiliiani iudicio plurimum verae laudis me-ruit. Quapropter sic Martialis: Saepius in libro memoratur Persius uno quam Lelius tota Marsus Amazonide (Martial *Epigr.* IV, 29, 8).

De satyrarum generibus. [Inc.]: Satyra-rum duo feruntur genera, prius Graecum, alterum Latinum, illud antiquius ex tra-goedia fluxit. Nam ut scribit Laertius tra-goedi quattuor certabant poematibus. . . . [Expl.]: anno urbis CCCCXC. Eusebius scribit Livium temporibus Ennii fuisse, nec mirum si vocat tragoediarum scriptorem, siquidem haec fluxit a tragedia.

De satyra Latina. [Inc.]: Alterum genus satyrae a Latinis, auctore Quintiliano, in-ventum, ideoque haec tota nostra est, Argee (sic) comoediae charactere composita, pri-mum ad carpenda hominum vitia. . . . [Expl.]: Priscianus affirmat in libro de ver-sibus comicis dicens postremo loco in iambico iambum vel pyrrichium omnino veteres posu-isse inveniuntur. Terentiani quoque scriptoris antiqui de iambico metro carmina probant.

Commentary. A. Flacci Persii Volater-rani in *Satyrarum librum prologus.* [Inc.]: *Nec fonte labra prolui caballino* (Prol. 1). Eo artificio proloquitur Persius in inanes ambitiones quas antiqui iactantius et anti-quorum imitatores sectati sunt se relinquere quasi inferiora scripturus. . . . res enim fuisse aperta quod non decet satyram in operis initio contra principem unde est quod ait in satyra *hic tamen infodiam* (Sat. I, 120).

Satyra prima. [Inc.]: *O curas hominum, o quantum est in rebus inane* (Sat. I, 1). More satyrico ostenditur initium ut Juvenalis et Horatii ab indignabunda et effusa ora-tione quo jure et merito priores versus pro-hemium seu proloquium diximus non saty-ram. . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 103v) Statua Chry-sippi fuit in porticu quae est a portis Athe-niensibus ad Ceramicum locum ubi erant

imagines eorum (corr. ex : *deorum*) aeneae
quotquot fuerunt digni. Autor Pausanias.

b) The index.

Dedication. (fol. 104v) Clarissimo D. Hieronymo Magnanino illustrissimi ducis Alfonsi Archigramm(atico) a secretis dignissimo, Curii Lanciloti Pasii Ferrariensis Laureati in Compendiolum Scriptorum |Persianorum epistola. [Inc.] : Poetarum fuisse morem, vir clarissime Hieronyme, accepimus cum primum coepit Phoemonoe (sic) versibus oracula canere, ut ad templi umbilicum et ipsi commorantes gloriose canenti accinrent. . . . [Expl.] : Accipe igitur, vir clarissime, non quia maiora non sis meritus, Locomorum observatorum in tui memoriam Compendiolum quod Persium lecturis non sit inutile, sed qui (sic) ut corpore principi ita memoriae tuae nomen (sic, read : nomine) splendori operis, quod illi dicavimus, foelix adsideas. Vale, Lanciloti tui memor.

Ex Regio Lepidi tertio decimo Calendas Ianuarias, secundi ad tercentesimum lustrum Christianum anno tertio.

(fol. 105) D. Hieronymo Magnanino foelicitatem. Cur(ii) Lanciloti Pasii Ferrariensis Laureati Adnotanones (sic) compendiariae in loca in quibus nonnulli interpretantes Persium, apices litterarum secuti videntur aberrasse. Apud quae (sic) legere est ea quae ab illis illepede vel negligentius enarrata non sine ignorantiae vel (sic) nota effusa. Haec (?) autem e plurimis recensentur quae legere est dispersa per opus nec non quae ab illis omittuntur necessaria nec indecora poterunt inter legendum observari.

Alfonsi Numine.

[Inc.] : De Persio et eius vita. De satyra et eius generibus. De genere quo prologus constat. Inibi error Politiani Economi. . . / . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 110) Post C octogesimus secundus error. *Finitor acervi* (Sat. VI, 80).

Illepeda sunt C XXXVI numero. Illepeda autem vocatur quae priores vel inepte vel non curiose vel diminute protulerunt, ita ut acutus lector quid videatur desideraturum fuisse (sic) quibus rebus videtur inter legendum sublatus decor et gratia. $\tau\acute{e}\lambda\sigma$.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Modena, Biblioteca Estense, lat. 414 (Alpha H. 5. 17), a. 1508 (for the date,

see the end of the Commentary), fols. 1-110 (Kristeller Iter I, 371; R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci* (Firenze, 1905) I, 149 and 168; Scarcia 275).

Biography :

See above, p. 186.

29. HERMANNUS BUSCHIUS PASIPHILUS.

The 1522 edition of the Commentary on Persius of Johannes Murmellius (see below p. 283) contains an exchange of letters between Murmellius and his friend Hermannus Buschius. The letters are not dated, except that Buschius' was written "XII Cal. Aprilis". Since the letters are not included in the Murmellius edition of 1517 which was also the year of his death, the interchange of letters should probably be placed in that year but too late for the edition. Murmellius writes that he has heard through students of Buschius' lectures on Persius and hopes that he may obtain a copy. In a long letter of reply Buschius includes specimens of his work on the *Prologus* and on *Satyra I* but indicates that he has no time to send more.

If a complete commentary ever existed, it does not appear to be any longer extant. However a Basel manuscript contains what are said to be selections from the commentary of Buschius as well as from those of Johannes Britannicus and of Johannes Cubicensis. The selections are very fragmentary, and it has not been possible to determine their relationship to the material found in Buschius' letter to Murmellius. The letter and the manuscript will therefore be treated separately.

a) The letter to Murmellius

Letter of Murmellius to Buschius (ed. of Cologne, 1522). Johannes Murmellius Hermanno Buschio suo. [Inc.] : Si vales, bene est ; ego quidem valeo. Accepi, Pasiphile suavissime, ex aliquot studiosis hominibus, te cum istic Persii satyras non sine gloria enarrares, ex varia et recondita eruditione nonnulla in medium protulisse, quae in pervulgatis commentariis minime lectitentur. Quare cum his diebus ego quoque (tametsi non sat idoneus professor) in eun-

dem Persium sim impacturus, oratum te velim ut pro humanitate tua, quae uno omnium ore (nec immerito) celebratur, me participem facias eorum, quae vel Marte tuo inventa vel ex veteribus et fortasse nondum publicatis commentariis exquisita nostris studiis non indigna censueris. Habebis me tibi hoc nomine magis obnoxium, nec istorum quicquam citra honorificam tui mentionem nominis publicabo. Vale decus nostrum, et Murmellium tui amantissimum dilige.

Letter of Buschius to Murmellius (ed. of Cologne, 1522) Hermannus Buschius Pasiphilus Murmellio suo. [Inc.] : Omni ex parte, quas ad me dedisti, litterae tuae mihi placuerunt, Murmelli humanissime, nec erat quod in illis culparem tantillum praeter brevitatem. . . . Petis a me quasdam meas in Persium enarrationes, quas me hic auditoribus meis dictasse (ut ex tuis litteris intelligo) quorundam istic studiosorum sermo vulgavit, quod in eis fortasse loca quaedam illius poetae secus quam ab aliis interpretibus a me explicata putas. In nonnullis sane ab illis, fateor, dissensi, et etiam mihi dissentio, fortasse non recte.

Et ut loca quaedam tibi commonstrarem, iambicon scazon illud, quod quasi operis vestibulum advenientem lectorem statim excipit, cur a poeta appositum quaeve eius argumenti notio neminem adhuc video satis explicasse.

(Prologus)

[Inc.] : Alii eum in poetas libidinosos aut alias vitiosos invehi arbitrantur, alii alia quaedam, sed nusquam ferme remota erroris nebula, suspicantur. Ego autem dico proprie denuntiationem esse reprehensionis in nobiles Romanos, gloriam doctrinae ex vitiis suis aucupantes. Quid potest dici simplicius? Hoc tamen isti grammatici verbosissimis ambagibus non sunt assecuti. Prima enim Satyra Persii in nobilibus duo praecipue damnat, inutiles inquam fabulas levitatemque materiae in scribendo, et sordes illiberalitatemque erga doctos quosque, non poetas modo, verum alios etiam, ut grammaticos, rhetores, historicos, quam reprehensionem etiam Juvenalis tota septima Satyra peragit. Haec duo igitur velut propositione praelibantur primum et quasi ante denuntiantur nobilibus hoc scazonte a

Persio. Nam per fontem caballinum, *Heli-conidas*, palladam Pyrenem (Prol. 1 and 4) inutilem materiam scriptorum notat, quam propterea ut dicit relinquit etiam illis, qui imaginibus et statuis laureatis sibi rem factam esse credebant, per quos sine dubio vellicat nobiles Romanos qui haec insignia virtutis sine ulla virtute impudenter recipiebant prava quorundam deferentium adulatio-ne. Per reliqua enim *Quis expeditivit psittaco suum chere* (Prol. 8), et quae sequuntur ad finem usque taxatur avaritia eorumdem nobilium. . . . [Expl.] : Est ergo quasi Satyrae sequentis propositio quaedam, ut supra dixi, hic choliambus. Hactenus de prologo Persiano, nunc vero de prima operis ipsius satyra videamus.

(Satyra I)

[Inc.] : Hanc in poetas malos scriptam fere omnes consentiunt. At cur in solos poetas illam Persius potius quam generaliter in quosvis scriptores malos? Quod non poetas mordeat haec Satyra solum, sed etiam prosa oratione scribentes, vel ille versiculus abunde arguerit *Scribimus inclusi numeris, ille hic pede liber* (Sat. I, 13). . . . Quare non ignorantiae vitia, nisi obiter, sed vitae et morum dishonestamenta castigare et reprehendere principaliter nunc in scriptoribus Persium argumentum interim est illud, quod primo statim versu inquit *O curas hominum o quantum est in rebus inane* (Sat. I, 1). Non quantum est, inquit, in litteris, in syllabis, in verbis sed quantum est in rebus inane. Quis leget haec? nemo, hercule, nemo vel duo vel nemo. . . . Infero et concludo paucis, nihil aliud esse hanc primam Satyram Persii quam reprehensionem nobilium Romanorum et proprie senum studio et otio scribendi per turpes et indignas nugas, ad inanes gloriolas auditorumque assentatiunculas nequiter abutentium.

[Expl.] : Habes, Murmelli, tantum de prima Satyra Persii et liminari eius choliambo, meam sententiam, nam de reliquis mihi scribere modo non vacat. Quam si probas gaudeo; sin improbas, poenitet profecto temeritatis quod novo hoc modo in scaenam coram te Roscio litterario prodire non extimuerim. Vale et ista, qualiacunque tandem videbuntur, boni consule. XII Cal. Aprilis Coloniae.

Editions :

1522, mense Augusto. See Composite Editions.

1525, mense Aprili. See Composite Editions.

1528. See Composite Editions.

1531. See Composite Editions.

1534. See Composite Editions.

1537. See Composite Editions.

1538, Coloniae. See Composite Editions.

1538, Parisiis. See Composite Editions.

1546. See Composite Editions.

1553. See Composite Editions.

1568. See Composite Editions.

b) The fragments in the Basel Manuscript.

Ms. F VI 34 of the Universitaetsbibliothek at Basel bears the title : In A. Persii satyras VI Britannici et Hermanni Buschii et Jo. Cubicensis explanationes manuscriptae. Below, in another hand it is stated that the volume was bought "Basileae in publica auctione an. dni. MDXXIIII ; the manuscript is therefore not much later than the printed edition containing Buschius' letter.

The material attributed to Britannicus seems to consist of extracts from the printed editions of his commentary (see above, p. 267 f.). There does not appear to be anything from Cubicensis except the six-line summary of the *Argumenta* of the *Satyræ* which was printed in a Heidelberg edition of Persius of about 1500 (Morgan 48 ; Goff P-340). The selections from Buschius show some connections with his thought as found in the letter to Murmellius, but it does not seem that they are extracts from that letter.

Collectanea ex diversis auctoribus commentatoribusque in sex Satyras Persii adiectis quibusdam Buschii explanationibus (fol. 1v). . . [Inc. Buschius] : (fol. 5) Buschius. Fons caballinus graece ἵππονορήνη dicitur. Ἰππός enim equus κρήνη fons est (sic). Hunc equus alatus ungula primus aperuit a quo etiam fons Pegasus est dictus. The last passage assigned to Buschius appears to be on fol. 29v : Argumentum Buschii in sextam satyram. In hac novissima satyra. . . .

Manuscript :

(micro.) Basel, Universitaetsbibliothek, Ms. F VI 34, s. XVI, fols. 1-32v. (G. Haenel,

Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum (Leipzig, 1830) 527 ; Scarcia 13 and 18. Haenel and Scarcia cite the manuscript twice, under Buschius as AV 34 and without shelf mark under Britannicus ; the correct shelf-mark was ascertained by Paul Oskar Kristeller).

Biography :

See below pp. 391-92.

30. JOHANNES MURMELLIIUS.

The first edition of Murmellius' commentary is dated 1517. It is divided into a paraphrase, or *Ecphrasis*, and *Scholia*.

Dedication (edition of Cologne, 1517). Johannes Murmellius Ruremundensis Alardo Amstelredamo suo salutem plurimam dicit. [Inc.] : Superioribus mensibus, vir doctissime, tuas accepi litteras, sane quam elegantes, unaque cum eis acceptissimum mihi munus, Christiani principis institutionem saluberrimis refertam praeceptis ex Erasmi laudatissima nobis officina depromptam, quam utinam principes semper in manibus haberent. . . . Remitto tibi, quo crimen ingratitudinis si non depellam, at certe differam, meas enarratiunculas in Persium satyrographum subscisivis, ut aiunt, horis hac aestate praeter alia quaedam compositas, in quibus hoc unum maxime studui, relictis grammaticorum dissensionibus, veram Persianae sententiae medullam studiosis porrigure, et in quantis interdum vulgares glossematarii (sic) versentur erroribus, facere palam ; quod an consecutus sim aliqua ex parte iudicent erudit. . . . Vale et hoc qualecumque munuscum, ut a tui amantissimo profectum, boni consule. XVI Calendas Novembri Alcmariae.

Ecphrasis. [Inc.] : (Prol. 1) Nec proli labra mea in fonte Heliconis Musis sacro, quem Pegasus equus alatus ungula sua dicitur aperuisse, nec memini somniasse in Parnaso duos vertices habenti. . . . ut facile credat quispiam corvos poetas, hoc est raukos, stridulos, ineptos versificatores, et picas poetrias, idest garrulos, loquaces, obstreperos versifices (sic) cantare Pegaseum melos, hoc est conari, tentare, et suo iudicio canere poeticum et quidem dulcissimum carmen.

Satyra I

(Sat. I, 1). O varias et superfluas mortalium curas. O quanta est in rebus vanitas. Quis leget haec carmina mea mordacissima?.../[Expl.]: (on Sat. VI, 80) Duplica rem tuam, O Chrysippe; feci, iam res mea est duplex, iam multiplicatur mihi quarto, iam decies. O Chrysippe, qui est iuventus [for inventus] finitor tui acervi.

Scholia. [Inc.]: Versus sunt iambici σκαζόντες idest claudicantes; habent enim in fine pro iambo spondeum, qui pes maior est quam sextus in senario perfecto..../[Expl.]: (on Sat. VI, 80) Duplica rem tuam, O Chrysippe; feci, iam res mea est duplex, iam multiplicatur mihi quarto, iam decies. O Chrysippe, qui est iuventus [for inventus] finitor tui acervi.

Satyra I

[Inc.]: Hac Satyra invehitur in Romanos nobiles ac opulentes, maxime senes quorum carpit ambitionem... *O curas hominum* (Sat. I, 1) Exclamatio est satyrica in varias hominum et quidem stultissimas curas, et abruptum principium indignanti aptum..../[Expl.]: (Sat. VI, 80). Recta autem utitur apostropha ad Chrysippum Stoicum, cum ipse in hoc opere maxime Stoicos imitetur. De acervo meminit et Martianus Capella, Chrysippus cumulet, proprium consumat acervum.

Editions:

(*) 1516, Daventriae (Deventer): ex officina litteratoria Alberti Paefraed. Morgan 101; Nijhoff, I. 607-8, 1699. 's Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

1517, Coloniae (Cologne); In officina libraria Quentelliana. Morgan 104; NUC. (MH).

1522, mense Augusto. See Composite Editions.

1525, mense Aprili. See Composite Editions.

1528. See Composite Editions.

1531. See Composite Editions.

1537. See Composite Editions.

1538, Coloniae. See Composite Editions.

1538, Parisiis. See Composite Editions.

1546. See Composite Editions.

1551. See Composite Editions.

1553. See Composite Editions.

1568. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Johannes Murmellius (Johann Murmel) was born at Roermond, in the duchy of Geldern, in 1480 and died October 2, 1517 in Deventer. He began his studies under Alexander Hegius at Deventer and in 1497 entered the University of Cologne where he received the Master's degree in 1504. Meanwhile he had begun teaching in the Cathedral School at Münster, where he defended humanism against the medieval tradition. Here he also began the composition of textbooks, many of which were of great influence. In 1508, after quarrels with his rector, he left the Cathedral School and became Rector of the Ludgerischule. In 1513 he moved again to become the Rector of the school at Alkmaar; the next years were a period of intense literary activity. In 1517 the sack of Alkmaar drove him to Deventer, where he died soon after.

Works: Murmellius wrote a number of books for school use such as an *Opus de verborum compositione*, a chrestomathy from Tibullus, Ovid and Propertius, *Enchiridion scholasticorum*, and the *Pappa puerorum*, an exercise book for beginning Latin, of which at least 30,000 copies were printed. He edited or commented on Persius, Alcimus Avitus, Boethius, and Juvenal. His most important poetic work was the *Elegiarum moralium libri quatuor*, and he also wrote an influential defense of humanism, *Scoparius in barbarie propugnatores et osores Humanitatis*.

Bibl.: A. Horawitz, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* XXIII (1886) 65-66; R. Stupperich, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 3rd. ed. IV (1960) 1192; Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* II 74-5, 16023-16023k; VII, 176 57169.

D. Reichling, *Johannes Murmellius, Sein Leben und seine Werke. Nebst einem ausführlichen bibliographischen Verzeichniss sämmtlicher Schriften.* (Freiburg i. Br. 1880); *Ausgewählte Werke des Münsterischen Humanisten Johannes Murmellius*, ed. A. Bömer (Münster, Regensburg 1892-5).

31. PHILIPPUS ENGELBRECHT

Engelbrecht's commentary was first published by J. T. Freigius in 1578 (for the edition, see above p. 272), and Freigius tells us that he had obtained the commentary from the library of his father and that it was derived from the lectures of Engelbrecht, who had formerly taught poetry at Freiburg im Breisgau. At the end the commentary is dated as August, 1525.

Commentary (ed. of 1578, Basel). [Inc.] : (*Prol.* 1 f.) *Scazon est praefatio Persiana, atque adeo hoc verum est, ut quotquot interpres Archilochium censem, carminis structuram ignorasse videantur. . . .* (*Prol.* 14) *Melos. . . Unde et Marcellus festivissimus poeta Politianum deridet.*

Posse negas dici melos facunde
poeta

...

(line 4) Nec, nisi qui laudat nectar, inepta
canit.

O curas (*Sat.* I, 1). Per totam hanc Satyram poetarum sui temporis ambitionem notat, qui usque adeo a vulgi iudicio pendebant, ut in scribendis molioribus carminibus nullum modum observare viderentur. . . . [Expl.] : *Acervi* (*Sat.* VI, 80) tuorum volūlumin, quae accumulasti in maximos acer-
vos. *Cappadocas.* Cappadocia regio Armeniae finitima.

Anno 1525. Cal. Augusti. Friburgi Bris-
goiae.

Editions :

1578. See Composite Editions.

1582. See Composite Editions.

Biography :

Philippus Engelbrecht Engentinus (Philip Engelbrecht) was born about 1499 in Engen in Baden (hence called 'Engentinus') and died September 12, 1528 in Strassburg. He studied in Wittenberg in 1508 and in 1514 he matriculated at Strassburg, where in 1515 he became lecturer on poetry, a post he held until his death. Engelbrecht had many contacts with the humanists of his time and corresponded with Erasmus. He openly expressed his sympathy with the Lutherans and as a result had difficulties with the Rector and the Senate at Freiburg.

Works : Engelbrecht's most important work was a praise of Freiburg : *Friburgica, florentissimae urbis Friburgi. . . descriptio- nem complectens*. His other poems included an *Epithalamium in nuptias Duc. Saxoniae et Margarethae princ. de Anhalt* and a *Vita Divi Lamberti Episcopi Traiectensis*. In addition to his commentary on Persius, he edited the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus.

Bibl. : A. Horawitz, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* VI (1877) 134-6; Heinrich Grimm, *Neue deutsche Biographie* IV (1959) 529-30.

Joseph Neff, *Philipp Engelbrecht (Engentinus).* Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus am Oberrhein. Beilage zum Programm des Progymnasiums in Donaueschingen, 1896-7, 1897-8.

32. CAELIUS SECUNDUS CURIO

Annotatiunculae attributed to Curio were first published in 1528; they were designed for school use and had a wide circulation with frequent reprints. The *Annotationes*, like the comparable ones on Juvenal (see CTC I, 232), are anonymous in the editions; the usual title is simply 'Cum annotatiunculis in margine adiectis, quae brevis commentarii vice esse possunt'. For the attribution to Curio, see Morgan 124 and Renouard, *Colines* p. 128; the *Annotatiunculae* are not listed among the works of Curio in the recent biography by Kutter (see under Biography, below).

In 1551 a small number of *Nova Scholia* by Curio were added to his edition of the commentary of Johannes Britannicus.

a) The *Annotatiunculae*

Annotatiunculae. (ed. Paris, 1528) [Inc.] : (*Prol.* 1) *Haec praefatio quae primae satyrae argumenti vice est, notat quorundam stultitiam et sordes, qui sine labore poetam nasci putant, ipsi interim nihil cuiquam donantes.*

(*Sat.* I, 1) *In scriptores qui tantum ad voluptatem inepta quaedam et nihil ad bonos mores facientia scriberent. . . .* [Expl.] : (*Sat.* VI, 68) *An parce et sordide, inquit, me vis vivere ut haeres nequiter et*

perdite mea consumat, me macerem inedia
ut ille saginetur?

Editions :

1528, Parisiis (Paris) : Apud Simonem Colinaeum. With Juvenal as are all the following editions. Morgan 124 ; Renouard, *Colines* p. 128 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1533, Lugduni (Lyons) : Apud Seb. Gryphium. Morgan 131 ; Baudrier VIII, 71. Ravenna.

(*) 1534, Lugduni [Lyons] : apud Seb. Gryphium. Fabricius BL II, 167 ; Baudrier VIII, 77 ; not in Morgan. No location.

(*) 1535, Lugduni (Lyons) : apud Ioan. Moylim, alias de Cambrai. Morgan 136 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1535, Lugduni (Lyons) : apud Seb. Gryphium. Morgan 135 ; Baudrier VIII, 86 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1535, Parisiis (Paris) : Apud Simonem Colinaeum. Morgan 137 ; Renouard, *Colines* 254. (MH).

(*) 1536, Lugduni (Lyons) : apud haereses Simonis Vincentii. Morgan 139. Bologna, Bibl. Univ.

(*) 1536, Lugduni [Lyons] : apud Sebastianum Gryphium. Baudrier VIII, 95 ; not in Morgan. Lyons.

(*) 1538, Lugduni (Lyons) : apud Sebastianum Gryphium. Morgan 143 ; Baudrier VIII, 115 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1541, Antverpiae (Antwerp) : per Jo-hannem Hillenium. Morgan 145. Utrecht.

(*) 1541, Lugduni [Lyons] : apud Seb. Gryphium. Morgan 144 ; Baudrier VIII, 147. (MH).

(*) 1542, Parisiis (Paris) : Excudebat Io. Ludoicus Tiletanus. Morgan 147 ; Renouard, *Colines* 361. (MH).

(*) 1544, Parisiis (Paris) : Excudebat Io. Ludoicus Tiletanus. Morgan 150 ; Renouard, *Colines* 398. BM.

(*) 1545, Antverpiae (Antwerp) : J. Loeus. Morgan 153. Univ. Jena.

(*) 1549, Venetiis (Venice) : apud Hieronymum Scotum. Morgan 161. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1551, Lugduni [Lyons] : apud Seb. Gryphium. Morgan 163 ; Baudrier VIII, 252. (MH).

(*) 1553, Lugduni [Lyons] : apud Seb. Gryphium. Baudrier VIII, 265 ; not in Morgan. Carpentras.

(*) 1556, Lugduni (Lyons) : apud Ioan-nem Frellonium. Morgan 168 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1556, Lugduni (Lyons) : apud Antonium Vincentium. Morgan 169 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1558, Parisiis (Paris) : H. de Marnef. Morgan 171. Leeuwarden.

(*) 1559, Antverpiae (Antwerp) : excudebat Ioannes Loeus. Morgan 173 ; NUC. Oxford, Bodleian ; (MH).

(*) 1559, Lugduni [Lyons] : apud haered. Seb. Gryphi. Baudrier VIII, 293 ; not in Morgan.

(*) 1562, Lugduni (Lyons) : apud Antonium Vincentium. Morgan 176 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1564, Lugduni (Lyons) : apud Ioan-nem Frellonium. Morgan 178. Vienna ; Leeuwarden.

b) *The Nova Scholia*

In the edition of Persius and Juvenal published by Froben at Basel in 1551, comments by Curio on both authors are found within the commentary of Johannes Bri-tannicus. The new comments by Curio, of which there are comparatively few, are identified by an initial C, at the beginning, and S, at the end, of each added note, (for the notes on Juvenal and for Curio's general letter of dedication, see the article on Juve-nal by Eva Sanford, CTC I, 233-34).

Curio tells us in the letter of dedication that he has edited and revised not only the text of the poets themselves but also that of the commentators: Itaque corrupta emendavi, dubia confirmavi, obscura illus-travi, diminuta supplevi, id quod non in ipsis poetis solum feci, verum etiam in ipso-rum explicatoribus.

He adds the following particular com-ments on Persius :

Persius multos habuit interpretes, credo obscuritate et difficultate invitatos (est enim Persius obscurus et sane difficilis), quae duo praeclara ingenia alliciunt, ignava deterrent, fortassis etiam operis parvitas, quod putarent se quicquid erit laboris cito exanturos. Ubi autem ingressi essent, plura occurrabant quam putassent. Hinc pro sua quisque vi-rili conatus est strenuam navare operam et difficilem alioqui auctorem facilem et

planum reddere, nonnulli quoque ut eruditionem ostentarent, quorum tamen ostentatio, dum multa comportata et congesta reperiet, nec ingrata nec inutilis erit lectori. Mihi certe ingrata non fuit interpretum copia, qua non mediocri levatus sum labore. Aliquid tamen etiam Persio pro iucundo sermone gratiae retulimus. Nam et eius aliquot locos explicavimus et nonnihil quoque ipsos iuvimus interpretes, id quod lectores facile animadventer.

Nova Scholia (ed. of Basel, 1551). [Inc.] : (p. 431) *Numera meliore lapillo* (*Sat.* II, 1). . . . Hic ergo *Thressa*, non *cressa*, apud Horatium lego (*Carm.* I, 36, 10), ut apud Flaccum *Argonauticon* ii libro *Carasque thoris inducere Thressas* (II, 132). . . . [Expl.] : (p. 639) *Patritiae immeiat vulvae* (*Sat.* VI, 73). . . . Immeiere dicuntur, qui urinam continere nequeunt, quod Graeci dicunt *ἔμονγεῖν*. Ulpianus Jurisc. facere urinam dicit, sed ad rem obscoenam significandam translatum est, idque est e propinquo.

Edition :

1551. See Composite Editions.

Biography :

See CTC I, 234. Add to the Bibliography, Markus Kutter, *Celio Secundo Curione. Sein Leben und sein Werk* (1503-69). Basel, 1955.

33. CHRISTOPHORUS HEGENDORFINUS

The paraphrase of Persius by Hegendorfinus is extant only in a single edition, assigned by the British Museum to Basel, c. 1540. In the dedicatory poem, Hegendorfinus states that the work arose out of his school lectures.

Dedicatory Poem (ed. of Basel?, 1540?) Christophorus Hegendorphinus eruditio Iuveni Rabano Eysenhet, S. D.

[Inc.] : Cum nuper Persi Satyras, Rabane,
disertas
Coepissem pueris exposuisse
meis
Item ne trito si tramite forte do-
cendi
Torqueret pueros Persius ille
rudes,

Nam multum est durus, multaque
caligine tectus
Persius, a paucis Persius exposi-
tus,
Consilium hoc coepi, Paraphrases
scribere in omnes
Autoris Satyras, quam facile
ipse queam.
. [Expl.] :

(line 25) Vive, vale, nobis iuvenis charissime,
vive,
Vive memor nostri, vive valeque
diu.

There follow the two-line *argumenta* of the *Satyrae* by Johannes Murrillius.

Paraphrasis. [Inc.] : Otiosas o vanas hominum curas. O quanta est in rebus humanis vanitas. Sed ut ad me veniam, mihi scripturienti Satyras has aliquis dixerit: Ecquis has, quas scripturus es Satyras legit? Verum heus tu, mihi ne hoc dicis? Tibi, inquam. Nam nemo me Hercule has Satyras legit, vel ad summum unus et alter, vel quod mihi magis verisimile est, nemo. [Expl.] : Sed O Chrysippe philosophe Stoice, qui es inventus descriptor acervi argumentationis, qua ceu acervo quodam voces inter se mutua cognatione coniunctae congeruntur, demonstra tandem mihi certos fines intra quos avaritia constat.

Edition :

[1540, Basel?]. Morgan 725. BM; BN.

Biography :

Christophorus Hegendorfinus (Hegendorphinus, Hegendorfer) was born in 1500 in Leipzig and died Aug. 8, 1540 in Lüneburg. He was a pupil of Petrus Mosellanus. Hegendorfinus was early involved with the Lutheran movement, and he was therefore called to the school at Lüneburg where he defended Luther's ideas. In 1525 he became the successor of Mosellanus at Leipzig. Later we find him at Frankfurt where he became Dr. Juris in 1536. In 1539 Hegendorfinus was called to Rostock to help with the restoration of the University and there in 1540 he became Professor Juris Romanii. However in 1540 he returned to Lüneburg as the town Superintendent but died shortly afterwards of the plague.

Works : Exegetical works, in addition to the Persius, include commentaries on the

Dialectica of Petrus Hispanus, and on the Verrine orations and the *Topica* of Cicero. He edited a number of classical authors: Aristotle, Dio Chrysostomus, Cicero, Demosthenes, Lucian, Nonnus, and Terence. Hegendorfinus also wrote Latin poetry and two important Latin comedies: *Comoedia Nova* and *De sene amatore*.

Bibl.: *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie XI* (1880) 274 (Krause and Ludw. Geiger); K. Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung I*, 331 8077-81; VII, 93 54979.

O. Clemen, "Ein Brief von Christoph Hegendorfer" *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts XXVI* (1936) 137-38.

34. HIERONYMUS BRASSAVOLUS.

A commentary by Hieronymus Brassavolus dedicated to Aloysius Estensis is found in a Vatican manuscript. The manuscript, apparently autograph, bears the date 1544, but it does not seem that this can be correct. While there are a number of possibilities for Hieronymus Brassavolus as author (see G. M. Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori II*, 4 p. 2029), it is clear that the dedicatee must have been Cardinal Luigi d'Este, who was born in 1538 and died in 1586 (on him see the *Enciclopedia italiana XIV* (1932) 398). Thus the author must have been the Hieronymus Brassavolus who was the son of Antonio Musa and who was born in 1536. In his preface he speaks having composed a commentary on Persius when only a *puer* and possibly this may be the reason why the excessively early date was added to the manuscript.

In the commentary the author has drawn freely upon Greek and Latin authors in his attempt to throw light upon the obscurities of Persius, and at one point he quotes five lines from the *Plutus* of Aristophanes. That his derivations were not always sound may be seen from the following examples: I, 51 veratrum est herba illa quae alio nomine elleborum appellatur; sic autem denominatur ab avertendo, eo quod mentem avertat. I, 101 menas carmen quoddam est quod in festivitatibus Bacchi ipsi caneabantur.

(Vatican, Ross. lat. 989)

Dedication. Illustrissimo atque excellen-
tissimo Principi Aloysio Estensi Hieronymus Brassavolus. S. P. D. [Inc.]: Mirum profecto est, princeps illustrissime, mentem humanam varia continuo excogitare eadem-
que facere nec unquam ab huiuscemodi animae ac corporis functione desistere, at
semper novi aliquid in medium afferre cu-
pit, quo cum se homini natam sciat, aliquid ei comparet. Hinc vero cum divina philosophia,
medicina, leges, omnesque scientiae, tum etiam artes ipsae originem duxerunt,
et maxime poetica ipsa. Quae scientia cum inventa sit, ut omnes animi affectus extin-
guat, laetitiam inducat, maerorem pellat, hocque secundum multiplices affectus fiat,
merito et ipsa varia est, diversas habet
formas et ab omnibus hac de causa amatur,
fovetur, ac veneratur. Mihi quidem facultatis
huius pars illa, in qua vitia hominum
carpuntur bonique mores laudantur, adeo
placuit ut puer adhuc circa eius principis
Persii lectionem diu laboraverim et com-
mentaria quaedam super hanc partem com-
posuerim. Duo autem ad eius lectionem me
impulerunt, cum rerum varietas brevitati
quodam artificio adjuncta, tum etiam scire
a Divo Hieronymo idem factum esse, qui
quidem cum huius authoris lepore illectus
satyras eius percurreret, in locum quendam
difficiliorem forte fortuna incidit, quem cum
non intellegereret nec ingenii sui acumine
penetraret, statim in haec verba prorupit,
"Persi, si non vis intelligi, suspenderis".
Caeterum, Princeps illustrissime, labore
hunc tibi devoveo, inscribo, ut detractores
ac maledici tuo nomine deterreantur,
neque caninum dentem in eum exercere
studeant, quem quidem si eo vultu accipies,
quo caetera omnia soles, nec tuae nec pa-
rentum humanitati deficies. Vale.

Introduction. [Inc.]: Duabus de causis
ductus hunc authorem Persium Flacum
(sic) poetam satyricum interpretari consti-
tui, cum ut in exponendis authoribus promp-
tus fierem, tum etiam ut varios poetarum
procedendi modos annotarem. Cum vero
antequam liber aliquis incipiatur inter-
pretari (corr. ex.: aggrediatur), nonnulla ip-
sius contemplanda sint quae a Graecis
προλεγόμενα a Latinis praelibamina vocan-

tur. Sunt autem haec titulus operis, intentione scribentis, numerus librorum, qualitas carminis, et poetae vita.../[Expl.] : Haec vero de poetae vita et de his quae a Graecis προλεγόμενα, a Latinis praelibamina dicuntur, sint satis. Iam vero ad litterae explanationem accedamus.

Pauli Persei Flacci Poetae Celeberrimi Prooemium Incipit. [Inc.] : (Prol. 1). Intendit Persius in his carminibus derridere (sic) illos qui putant se optimos poetas non posse fieri nisi fontes ac loca Musis consecrata frequentaverint. Imprimis autem Hesiodum poetam arguit, qui cum oves patris ad pabulum duxisset cumque in undis caballini fontis potasset, statim poeta clarissimus evasit, unde sic in illum prorumpit. *Caballinus* (Prol. 1) est possessivum deductum ab isto nomine *caballus*, quemadmodum et *equinus* ab *equo*. Notanda autem est humilitas poetae qui utitur his humilioribus verbis ne iactantiam quandam p[ro]ae se ferat. . . ./[Expl. of Prologus] : fitque repercusso dulcior aura melo. Sed hoc loco geminatur L ut ratio scansionis stet.

Pauli (sic) Persii Flacci poetae celeberrimi (sic) prooemium explicit.

O curas hominum. . . (Sat. I, 1). In hac prima Satyra reprehensurus est poeta homines illos qui carmina suis temporibus componebant ea de causa ut apud populum iactantiam quandam p[ro]ae se ferre (MS praeseferre) possent. Maxime autem inter alios Neronem arguet eumque ambitiosum saepissime vocabit, quoniam et domi suae et in theatro propria carmina recitabat. Incipit autem ex abrupto ut maiorem denotet indignationem, et inquit *O curas hominum* (Sat. I, 1) heu cogitationes virorum, heu miseri, quidnam excogitat homo O heu! . . . tui acervi (Sat. VI, 80) tuo cumulo vel acervo mihi a te assignato. Quod autem non detur terminus vel finis ipsi avaritiae satis patere potest ex isto carmine Juvenalis cum cecinit *Crescit amor nummi* (Sat. XIV, 139) vel etiam ex Aristophane in *Pluto*. . . (five lines of Greek are cited). . . ./[Expl.] : verum si talenta aliquis sumat sexdecim, multo plures desiderat sumere sexdecim. Et si hos possiderit, (sic) quadraginta volet, vel dicet non esse vivendam ipsi vitam, quibus carminibus ostendit nullum terminum esse ipsis divitiis.

Finis. Deo immortali gratia est agenda, qui ad finem usque huius laboris me pervenire permisit.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Vatican, Ross. lat. 989 (XI 139). Paper. Apparently autograph. Dated 1544. Provenance : Bibliotheca Capuccinorum Conceptionis of Naples; see F. Gollob "Die Bibliothek des Jesuitenkollegiums in Wien XIII (Lainz) und ihre Handschriften". *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akad. der Wiss., Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl.* CLXI (1909) No. 7 p. 15. (Kristeller, *Iter II*, 467 ; Scarcia 521).

Biography :

Hieronymus Brassavola (Girolamo Brasavola) of Ferrara was born January 25, 1536 and died October 13, 1594. He was the son of the famous Antonio Musa Brasavola, and he was noted for the wide range of his knowledge in Philosophy, Medicine, and Greek. He was Professor in these subjects at Ferrara, and he succeeded his brother as First Physician to Duke Alfonso II d'Este.

Works : *De officiis Medici libellus*; *In primum Aphorismorum Hippocratis librum expositio*; *Tabulae Logicae*; *Lezioni Atestine libri due*.

Bibl. : G. Gliozzi, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* XIV (1972) 52-53 (with bibliography); G. M. Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia* II, 2029.

35. ANTONIUS FOQUELINUS

The commentary of Antonius Foquelinus was first published in 1555, and he tells us in the dedicatory letter to Petrus Ramus that he had composed it the preceding year.

The copy of the 1555 edition in the Burgerbibliothek in Bern (Hn 24, formerly G 37 see H. Hagen, *Catalogus Codicum Bernensium* [Bern, 1875] p. 540) has notes of Foquelinus and of P. Daniel. Foquelinus' notes appear to be in preparation for a new edition. The edition contains interleaves with corrections and revisions. Some alternate readings by Foquelinus also occur within the text itself and are frequently referred to vet. cod.

Dedication (ed. Paris, 1555). Praefatio ad Petrum Ramum, eloquentiae et philosophiae Regium Lutetiae Professorem. [Inc.] :

Non ignoras, Petre Rame, quemadmodum olim agricolae fructuum suorum primitias iis potissimum diis consecabant quorum numine tempestivam aliquam messis ubertatem et copiam sibi viderentur perceperisse. . . . Quare si quem te et suavissimo fratre tuo Audomaro Talaeo, in liberalibus humanarum artium studiis doctore et magistro, doctrinae et eruditionis fructum consecuti sumus, si quid ex plenis eloquentiae et philosophiae tuae fontibus in nostros rivulos deducere conati sumus, si quam totis fere novem annis, quibus apud te fuimus, exercendae in bonis authoribus logicae et rhetoricae artis rationem didicimus, verendum credo nobis non erit ne parum iustum his nostris in Persii *Satyras* exercitationibus testandae erga te voluntatis debitaeque gratiae causam habuisse videamus. . . . Nam cum anno superiore diebus et horis extraordinaireis, quae solae mihi Aristotelicam philosophiam docenti et profitenti ad haec recolenda humanitatis studia relictæ fuerant, Auli Persii *Satyras* tanta cum voluptate discipulis meis pæregerem, ut prope nemo mihi inter Latinos poetas alius aut sententiarum pondere gravior aut verborum splendore ornati videretur, tentare volui an qui a nonnullis velut per nebula scripsisse putaretur et Boeotica quaedam aenigmata collegisse putaretur tuis artibus excoli et aliquam interpretationis lucem accipere posset. . . . feci, Rame, et magno quidem diuturnoque studio feci, quod te in Cicerone, Virgilio, Aristotele caeterisque primariis authoribus explicandis et interpretandis facere animadvertisi, et ad singularem docendi interpretandique praestantiam tuam, sin minus imitatione, voluntate vero proxime accessi. . . . [Expl.] : Sed de his hactenus, iam enim ad poetæ nostri vitam festinat oratio. Vale. Datum Lutetiae in Prellio tuo Calend. Aprilis anno a Christo nato 1555.

Commentary. [Inc.] : Commentationis hu-
ius meae consilium tibi breviter in praefatione
aperui, deinceps attende quaeso. . . . *Nec
fonte* (Prol. 1). Prius argumentum quod poe-
ta sit, per dissimilitudinem tractatur hoc
modo, Quamvis in caballino fonte non bi-
berim. . . . *Melos* (Prol. 14). . . . caeterum
μέλος a Graecis et Latinis in eadem
voce usurpatur pro concentu congruente et

consentiente ex unius vel diversarum vo-
cum sono, et vide Budaeum in commen-
tariis.

Primae Satyrae Commentarius. Praefationis sententia generalis fuit et universa, quod Persius poema scribere debeat. Prima vero Satyrae specialior est quæstiō. . . . *O curas* (Sat. I, 1) Prima summaque, ut ante dixi, scribendæ satyrae ratio ex adiuncta vanitate et inani scriptorum ambitione ducta hoc primo versu proponitur; simile est illud : *O curvae in terris animae et caelestium inanes* (Sat. II, 61). . . . [Expl.] : *Acervi* (Sat. VI, 80). . . . ad cuius captiones dissolvendas Chrysippus stationes quasdam invenerat, ut ante dictum est, unde finitor acervi a Persio nominatur. De Soritis quatuor libros a Chrysippo conscriptos refert Laertius.

Editions :

1555. Parisiis (Paris) : apud Andream Wechelum. Morgan 166 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

1578. See Composite Editions.

1582. See Composite Editions.

Biography :

Antonius Foquelinus (Antoine Fouquelin or Foquelin) flourished toward the middle of the sixteenth century. He came from Chauny in the Vermandois and studied under Cujas. Foquelinus taught Aristotelian philosophy at the Collége de Prellaeum in Paris as well as law at Orleans. He composed his *Rhétorique* for Queen Mary Stuart. He was still alive in 1576 in Leiden.

Works : Quod Aristotelis doctrina de virtute nec legitima nec vera sit, oratio (1548) ; *La rhétorique française* (1555 and 1557) ; *Praelectiones Aurelianæ de vulgari et populi substitutione, Lib. 2 Instit.* (1559) ; and the commentary on Persius.

Bibl.: Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle* (1959) 324 10233-10237 ; *Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises* (xvi^e Siècle) ed. G. Grenet (1951) 329.

36. PETRUS GALLANDUS.

A sixteenth-century manuscript at Brussels contains *Annotationes* on Persius by Petrus Gallandus (d. 1559). The same manuscript contains, in a different hand, the

Annotationes of Adrianus Turnebus (see, below p. 292), but there is no indication of the date or circumstances of the notes of Gallandus.

Annotationes Petri Gallandi viri doctissimi in A. Persii Satyras. (Brussels, Bibl. Roy., cod. II 58) *Origo satyrae.* [Inc.] : (f. 57) *Satyra a diis sylvestribus lascivis et petulantibus nomen habet. Carmen est maledicuum (?) ad irridenda et coarguenda hominum vitia. . . . de quo Horatius Carmine qui tragicō vilem certavit ob hircum / Mox et agrestes satyros nudavit (Ars poetica 220-221).*

[There is no commentary on the *Prologus*].

O curas hominum (*Sat.* I, 1) *Principium ex abrupto per exclamacionem indignanti accommodatissimum. Vel duo vel* (I, 3) *Sermo est praeruptus, nam duo vel tres dicturus erat. . . .* [Expl.] : (f. 69v). *satur anseris extis* (*Sat.* VI, 71) *Ad futura anserum (?) respexit quia rectus / (f. 70) olim in maximis delitiis. Unde Juvenalis: Anseris ante ipsum magni* (*Sat.* V, 114) *quem et Horatius* (*Sat.* II 8, 88) *Pinguibus et fissis* (sic) *pastum iecur anseris albi* (sic) *Singultiet inguine vena* (*Persius Sat.* VI, 72). With this lemma, the notes end.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. II 58. s. XVI ff. 57-70. Not in Scarcia.

Biography :

Petrus Gallandus (Pierre Galland) was born in 1510 in Aire and died in 1559. He was a Canon of Notre Dame at Paris. In 1545 he succeeded Dionysius Lambinus as Professor of Latin Eloquence at the Collège de France and held that position until his death. During the last years of his life he was engaged in violent polemic with Petrus Ramus.

Works : an edition of Quintilian ; a funeral oration on Francis I ; *Pro schola Parisiensi contra novam academiam Petri Rami* ; *Petri Castellani vita* ; *De Caleto recepta. . . carmen elegiacum*.

Bibl. : Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle* 328, nos. 10343-350 ; Abbé Goujet, "Pierre Galland" *Mémoire sur le Collège Royal de France* I (438-47) ; G. Grenet, *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises* (xvi^e Siècle) 340 ;

L. Froger, "Les hommes de lettres au xv^e siècle dans le diocèse du Mans II. Pierre Galland" *Revue de la Renaissance* II (1902) 189-91.

37. JULIUS CAESAR BULENGERUS

Two manuscripts at Troyes contain the commentary of Julius Caesar Bulengerus on Persius. One of them dates the commentary as 1587 ; the other also contains Bulengerus' commentary on Juvenal, *Satyra XIV* (see CTC II, 425-26).

Annotationes in A. Persii Flacci Satyras a Magistro Julio Bulengero data anno 1587 (Ms. Troyes 1278, fol. 1). *De satyrae ortu et progressione. Satyram nonnulli contendunt a satyra lance nomen invenisse quae variis cibis in nobilioribus deorum sacris referseretur (?)*. Aelianus tamen. lib. 3 variae historiae cap. 40 ab ea ratione dissentit. Sic enim ait. . . . (fol. 2v) *Saepius in libro memoratur Persius uno / Quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide* (Martial, Epigramm. IV, 29, 7-8).

Nec fonte labra prolui. Pegasus Medusae sanguine natus in Heliconis tractus cum evolasset ungulæ ictu fontem Castalium expressisse dicitur. Eius rei meminit Statius Saty. (sic) lib. 2 cum ait. . . . [Expl.] : *a canibus lacerari fecit sic apud eundem Homerum prima vocis μελεται id est cura non semel producitur.*

O curas hominum (*Sat.* I, 1). *Abruptum est et plane satyricum exordium quo poetas qui famam ingenii plus iusto ambiunt inseccatur. Sic Juvenalis exorditur ex abrupto satyra prima. . . .* [Expl.] : (last lemma, *Cappadocas* VI, 77) *idest articulo currentem servum (?) cum venditur Servius currentes eos omnes vendam nisi tu viceris.* [Troyes, Ms. 2041. *plaudebant teste Nichandro circulo currentem servum cum venditur. Naevius currentes eos vendam nisi viceris*].

Manuscripts :

(micro.) Troyes, *Bibliothèque Municipale* 1278, a. 1587, misc., cart., fols. 1-73v (*Catalogue Général. . . Départements. 4^o Sér. II* 524 ; Scarcia 466).

(micro.) — —, 2041, s. XVI, misc., cart., fols. 80-154v. In the sections cited, there are minor differences in wording from the text

as found in Ms. 1278. (*Catalogue général... Départements*, 4^e Sér. II 833 ; Scarcia 467).

Biography :

See CTC II, 426.

38. PHILIPPUS VALENTINUS.

J. T. Freigius first published the commentary of Philippus Valentinus in 1578 (for the edition, see p. 272 above). Freigius tells us that he received the work from the printer of the volume, Petrus Perna. The commentary is dated at the end as Zurich, November 6, 1560. The identification of the author is not certain but the most plausible solution is that he was Filippo Valentino, friend and associate of Castelvetro, who had been compelled to flee Italy in fear of the Inquisition ; it will be noted that the author cites Petrarch in the Explicit of the commentary.

Commentary (ed. of 1578, Basel). [Inc.] : *Prolui* (Prol. 1). Virgilius. *Pleno se proliuit auro*. Utitur et Horatius. *Somniasse*. Ad somnium Hesiodi respicit. *Pallidam* (Prol. 4) *Pallidam ad studia refert...* Melos (Prol. 14). . . . ut Horatius *hoc juvat et melli est*, et maxime pro poetica suavitate, cum ait : *Manare poetica mella te solum credidi*. Virgilio et Horatio dulces Musae vocantur persaepe.

O curas (Sat. I, 1). Ex philosophi persona aut vulgaris cuiusdam. Vel secum colloquitur, Petrar. *pur de le mille una utile fatica*. (sic. *Trionfo della Morte* I, 91). *Rebus humanis*. *Inane* ut illud, caelestium inanes. . . . [Expl.] : *Rugam* (VI, 59) pro implicam, quasi decuplex sit. *Chrysippi*. Proverbiale *Chrysippeus acervus*, pro re infinita.

Tiguri, die 6 Novembris, anno 1560.

Editions :

- 1578. See Composite Editions.
- 1582. See Composite Editions.

Biography :

Philippus Valentinus (Filippo Valentino or Valentini) flourished toward the middle of the sixteenth century. He came of an important family in Modena and early showed great gifts. His friend Castelvetro tells us that at the age of seven he was able to compose letters, verse, and Ciceronian orations in Latin. Along with Castelvetro, Valentinus fell into trouble over alleged

Protestant sympathies after 1545. He left Modena and for a while was Podestà at Trent. In 1557 he returned to Modena. Valentinus went to Rome to be examined and renounced his heresies. However he did not await the final decision but fled, and if he is correctly identified with the author of the above commentary, was in Zurich in 1560. Tiraboschi (*Bibl. mod.* V, 317-18) writes that he can find no trace of Valentinus after 1558 but believes he was still alive at the time of his wife's death in 1567.

Works: According to Castelvetro, he produced nothing but some Latin and Italian poetry as well as an Italian translation of the *Poetics* of Horace into *Terza Rima*.

Bibl.: L. Ferrari, *Onomasticon* 676 (under Valentini); L. A. Muratori, *Vita di Lodovico Castelvetro*, in: *Opere Varie Critiche di Lodovico Castelvetro* (Bern, 1727 [Reprint München 1969] p. 16 and 21 f.; G. Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca modenese* (Modena, 1781-86) V, 306; VI, 204; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia VII*, 3 (1781) 32 and 216.

39. ADRIANUS TURNEBUS.

Two commentaries attributed to Turnebus are extant. The first, titled *Annotationes*, is found in a Brussels manuscript and in several printed editions ; the second was extracted by an unknown editor from the scattered comments in Turnebus' *Adversaria*.

a) The *Annotationes*.

In the sixteenth-century manuscript at Brussels the work is entitled : *Annotationes in A. Persii Satyras breves et luculentae per Adrianum Turnebum*. In the printed editions Turnebus is not mentioned ; the text appears "cum doctissimi cuiusdam viri commentariis numquam antehac in lucem editis". In view of the reputation of Turnebus as a humanist of some stature, his contribution to scholarship is in this case disappointing. Certainly the term *Annotationes* is more fitting than that of *Commentarii* ; one wonders whether the author himself wished to remain anonymous.

Annotationes (ed. Paris, 1557). [Inc.] : *Nec fonte* (Prol. 1). Hoc prooemio significat ma-

gno labore se poetam esse factum, non ut ferunt veteres repente poetam extitisse. Innuit quoque se propter paupertatem versus scribe re.../. . . *Melos*. λ interdum apud Graecos naturam habet duplicitis, itaque prior syllaba producitur, ut etiam apud Homerum. Legendum putat *nectar* Politianus, sed melius *melos*.

O curas (*Sat.* I, 1). Ut ex Fabio colligere licet, Persii tempore effoeminata et lasciva erat compositio. Hac igitur satyra Persius poetas reprehendit et rhetores, qui effoeminata pronunciatione utebantur. . ./. . . [*Expl.*] : (*Sat.* VI, 80) Ait igitur, Chrysippum, quamquam multa scripserit de dialectica, attamen et syllogismo acervali et caeteris praceptionibus tandem modum invenisse, contra avaros nullum habere finem pecuniae congerendae.

Pavisse catasta (*Sat.* VI, 77) Quemadmodum ergastulum locum dictum in quo servi operabantur, ita catasta loci dicebantur in quibus servi vendebantur.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. II, 58, s. XVI, fols. 1-51v. Carelessly written in a cursive script. Not in Scarcia.

Editions :

1557, Parisiis (Paris) : apud Thomam Richardum. Morgan 167. The BN lists the edition as 1555, the BM as 1556. BM ; BN ; (MH).

(*) 1558, Parisiis (Paris) : apud Thomam Richardum. Morgan 170. Bibliothèque Mazarine.

(*) 1564, Parisiis (Paris) : apud Thomam Richardum. Morgan 177.

b) The commentary extracted from the *Adversaria*.

Turnebus had devoted considerable attention to Persius in his *Adversaria*, the first two volumes of which were published in Paris 1564-65. In 1567 an anonymous editor extracted and revised many of the comments from the *Adversaria* and published them as a separate commentary.

[*Inc.*] : (ed. of Paris, 1567). *Nec fonte labra* (*Prol.* 1). Excusare se hic videtur cur non poema aliquod heroicum sed satyram ludat, quae in poematis huiusmodi ac ne poematis quidem propemodum numeranda esse videatur [Compare *Adversaria*, X, 13

fol. 190v]. . ./. . . Satyram se scribere profitetur, quae nihil eget advocatione Musarum, nec Apollinem e Parnasso sollicitat. Porro censeo legendum *Cantare Pegaseum melos credas* (*Prol.* 14) Turn. Lib. 10, cap. 13.

In Satyram primam.

Et natalitia (*Sat.* I, 16) Olim die natali dona missitari solebant ab amicis et notis. *Ecce modo heroas* (*Sat.* I, 69) Vide. Turn. Lib. 9, Cap. 31. . ./. . . [*Expl.*] : *Cappadocas rigida* (XVI, 77). Rex enim Cappadocum mango est et venalitiarius, qui mancipiorum greges venarium habet. Vide Turn. lib. Advers. XXII, cap. VIII.

Edition :

1567, Lugduni (Lyons) : apud Antonium Gryphium. With Juvenal. Morgan 181 ; Baudrier VIII, 350 ; NUC. Bibliothèque St. Geneviève ; (CtY ; MH).

Biography :

See CTC, I, 150 and II, 15.

40. THEODORUS PULMANNUS.

A short commentary on Persius was attached by Theodorus Pulmannus to his Juvenal-Persius edition of 1565 ; the commentary was revised and expanded from two pages to thirteen in the edition of 1566. For the introductory letter to the edition, see CTC I, 234.

a) Edition of 1565.

[*Inc.*] : *Nec fonte labra* (*Prol.* 1). Vide Adriani Turnebi *Advers.* lib. x, cap. xiii. *Cantare credas Pegaseum melos* (*Prol.* 14). Politianus, *Miscell.*, cap. xlivii *nectar* legendum contendit. Scoppa, *Collect.* cap. xxxivii, Politiani sententiam repudiavit, et *melos* veram lectionem esse docet. Al. *Cantare Pegaseum melos credas*.

Sat. I. *O quantum est rebus inane* (*Sat.* I, 1). *Ne mihi Polydamas* (*Sat.* I, 4). . . *rupto iecore exierit caprificus* (*Sat.* I, 25). . . *neque enim mihi cornea fibra est* (*Sat.* I, 47). . ./. . . [*Expl.*] : *curto centusse licetur* (*Sat.* V, 191) idest, centum assibus, Budaeus, *De assibus* lib. 1. *Tui finitor acervi* (*Sat.* VI, 80) Acervus, Graece sorites, Gyrald. *Annot.* Dial. V.

Edition :

1565, Antverpiae (Antwerp) : ex officina Christophori Plantini. Morgan 179 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

b) Edition of 1566.

[*Inc.*] : *Nec fonte labra* (*Prol.* 1). Versus illi quos suis Satyris prooemii loco Persius praetexuit, verbosissimis et diffusissimis explicati commentariis, non satis tamen mihi enucleati videntur. . . . *Cantare credas Pegaseum melos.* Politianus *Miscell.* cap. xlivii *nectar* legendum esse contendit. Scoppa *Collect.* cap. xxxviii legit *cernas Pegaseum melos* Politianique sententiam repudiat, et *melos* veram esse lectionem docet, quam etiam mavult Turnebus, lib. x, cap. xiii. Junius *Pegaseum melos credas.*

O quantum est rebus inane (*Sat.* I, 1). Junius *inanis*. Inanes a Latinis plerunque intelliguntur homines jejunii animi, et laudis ambitiosi et honoris cupidi. . . . [*Expl.*] : *curto centusse licetur* (*Sat.* V, 191)... (as in the 1565 edition).

Editions :

1566, Antverpiae (Antwerp) : ex officina Christophori Plantini. Morgan 180 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

1585, Antverpiae (Antwerp) : ex officina Christophori Plantini. Morgan 193 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

1602. See Composite Editions.

1603. See Composite Editions.

Biography :

See CTC I, 234-5. Add to Bibliography : Joecher VI, 1045-46.

41. GUILLELMUS DURANDUS

A Latin-French edition of Persius published in Paris 1575 was accompanied by a Latin commentary of Guillelmus Durandus ; the dedication to the commentary is dated Senlis 1567.

The volume opens with three short notices in French : 1. *Le traducteur aux poetes françois.* 2. *Le traducteur au lecteur salut.* 3. *Le congé que donne l'auteur à son œuvre.*

Dedication. (ed. of Paris, 1575) Reverendo in Christo patri Domino Petro Chevalier episcopo Sylvanectensi, Guillelmus Durandus apud Sylvanectenses Consiliarius regius S. P. D. [*Inc.*] : Mirabuntur forsan plerique, antistes dignissime, quod cum iudiciorum laboribus publicisque muneribus omnino aut magna ex parte essem occupatus. . . . [*Expl.*] : dum in caetero nostri conaminis et

laboris rationem habeant. Bene vale. Datum Sylvanecti, anno ab incarnato verbo 1567.

Prooemium in Persium. [*Inc.*] : Mentis humanae tanta est vis atque facultas ut si illius acies circa ardua traheretur, coelorum ambitum facili negotio penetraret. . . . [*Expl.*] : eamque ad sua perfecta principia (quibus a suo opifice donata erat) reducere cupierit hunc libellum diligenter et exacte legat et ediscat.

There follow, in French, a *Discours de l'excellence de la poesie et première invention des Satyres* and the *Argument des six Satyres*.

Commentary. [*Inc.*] : *Labra prolui* (*Prol.* 1). More pecudum quae dum bibunt integra labra totamque velut promuscidem aquis immergunt, aviditate potus incitatae. . . . *Pegaseum melos* (*Prol.* 14). . . . *melos* autem idem est quod cantus, carmen, vel cantilena. *Pegaseum ergo melos* hic ponitur pro concentu poetico. *Pegasus enim unguila sua fontem* in Helicone aperuit, qui musis dicatus fuit.

O curas (*Sat.* I, 1). Peculiare et proprium est Satyricis, initio suorum operum excandescere, et ex abrupto stomachari, utendo interrogatione aut exclamazione. . . . [*Expl.*] : *Tui finitor acervi.* Alludit ad sorites, idest acervos Chrysippeos, quippe cum Chrysippus argumentaretur, in infinitum pene progrediebatur diffusus per multiplicacionem numerorum, eius tamen argumentatio concludebatur, et animus avarus (ut ait Seneca) numquam lucro satiatur.

Brevis Epilogus sextae Satyrae Persii, fol. 18 (for 81)v. Ex hac Satyra concludemus esse certum modum in rebus tenendum et certos fines quod ultra citraque non est transgrediendum. Persius enim reprehendit sordidam avarorum vitam. . . . Itaque Lector, quisquis es, qui macula avaritiae mentem tuam defoedasti, ex hac Satyra tanquam ex speculo labem, quam in te repieres, expurga et liberalitatis tramites resumito.

Poem of Gobertus Durandus (fol. 82 unnumb.). Gobertus Durandus, in summa Parisiensi Curia patronus, patri lyricum carmen dicat.

[*Inc.*] : *Orpheus Ditis cytharoedus olim Astra Plutonis loca Dythrambis*
. . . .

[Expl.] : (Line 19) Persicae interpres faciliis
Charibdis
Astra reviset.

Edition:

1575, Parisiis (Paris) : ex typographia Dionysii a Prato. Morgan 534 ; Adams P 744 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1586, Paris : Dupré. Cf. Morgan 534. Paris Bibl. Ste. Geneviève.

Biography:

Guillelmus Durandus (Guillaume Durand) was born c. 1525 and died in 1585. He was a poet of Paris and also served as councillor of the king in the *présidial* (a court of first instance for civil and criminal cases) of Senlis.

Works: *Enchiridion* (a paraphrase, in Alexandrine verse, of the Old Testament) ; *Libellus de moribus in mensa servandis*, *Ioanne Sulpicio Verulano authore cum familiarissima et rudi juventuti aptissima elucidatione gallico-latina Guillelmi Durandi* ; commentary on Persius.

Bibl.: A. Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle* 238, 9137-39 ; *Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises*, ed. G. Grenet (xvi Siècle) 279.

42. ELIAS VINETUS.

Elias Vinetus published some scattered comments on Persius in his edition of the text and of 'Cornutus' in 1560-63 (For the 'Cornutus', see above, p. 234).

Annotationes. [Inc.]: Quod ait Cornutus, Persium decesse anno aetatis tricesimo, Hieronymus in Eusebii *Chronicis* tradit mortuum esse anno aetatis suae undetricesimo. . . . Et Marcus Fabius Quintilianus libro decimo *Institutionum oratoriarum*, de satyra loquens : Multum et verae gloriae, quamvis uno libro, Persius meruit.

In quartumdecimum versum Satyrae primae. Unicum fuit exemplar ex multis, quae inspeximus, quod hic *melos* haberet pro *nectar*. . . . [Expl.] : (VI, 51) Inter multa exemplaria vetusta quae excussimus evolvimusque, unicum fuit, quod hic haberet *haud audeo pro non audeo*. Quidam novorum commentatorum contendit recte scribi *non audeo, pro quo Iodocus Badius legeret non ausim*.

Haec autem paucula Elias Vinetus annotabam in Persii Flacci Satyras, cum eas et earum antiquum interpretem ex diversis exemplaribus pro viribus emendarem Berbezili in patria, et apud Engolimenses, quo vere Burdigala secesseram, anno post Christum natum millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo septimo.

Editions:

1560-63, Pictavis (Poitiers) : apud Enghilbertum Marnefium. Morgan 175 ; NUC. BN ; (MH).

1601. See Composite Editions.

1613, Lutetiae : apud Claudium Morellum. See Composite Editions.

1613, Lutetiae : apud Ioannem Orry. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Elias Vinetus (Elie Vinet) was born in 1509 in Planches, of the commune of Médard-de-Barbezieux, and died at Bordeaux May 14, 1587. He came from a working-class family and began his studies at Barbezieux. He continued at Angoulême, at the University of Poitiers, where he took his Master's degree, and finally at Paris, where he studied Greek and mathematics. In 1539 he went to Bordeaux to become Regent of the Collège de Guienne. For a short time, beginning in 1547, he was in Portugal among those engaged in founding the new College at Coimbra. Vinet returned to Bordeaux in 1549, and from 1562 until his death he served as the Principal of the Collège de Guienne.

Works: *L'antiquité de Bordeaux et de Bourg-sur-Mer*, and similar works on Angoulême, Saintes, and Barbezieux ; editions or commentaries of Ausonius, Cicero (*Somnium Scipionis*), Euclid, Eutropius, Florus, Persius, Pomponius Mela, Priscian, Sextus Victor, Sidonius Apollinaris, and Suetonius. He translated into French Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni*, and Proclus, *Sphaera*.

Bibl.: A. Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la Littérature française du seizième siècle* (1959) 688-89, 21886-21920 (with full bibliography) ; *Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises*, xvi^e Siècle (1951) 701 ; Nicéron 27 (1738) 222-30.

A la mémoire du Saintongeais Elie Vinet, ed. Gaston Chevrou (Bordeaux 1910) ; Courteault, "E. Vinet". *Actes Acad. Bordeaux*

LXXI (1909) 339-69 ; Paul Gambier, "E. Vinet, Saintongeais (1509-1587)" *Pays d'Ouest*, April, 1948, pp. 16-24 ; E. Labadie, *Bibliographie historique d'Elie Vinet* (Bordeaux, 1909).

43. NICODEMUS FRISCHLINUS.

Nicodemus Frischlinus published a paraphrase of the *Satyrae* in 1582 and dedicated it to Ludwig Duke of Württemberg.

Dedication (edition of 1582). Illustrissimo principi ac Domino D. Ludovico duci Wirtenbergensi et Deccensi Comiti Montis Belgarum etc. Domino suo clementissimo, Salutem per Christum Nicodemus Frischlinus. (there follow 78 lines of elegiac couplets) [Inc.]: Quid mihi cum satyra dices, mītissime princeps

Quae tantum est mores carpere nata malos ?

. . . / . . .

[Expl.]: Quodsi forte tuus mea calculus orsa probarit,
Hunc Flaccum excipiet Flaccus in arte prior.

Paraphrase. [Inc.]: (Prologus) Credo ego vos lectores mirari, quid sit quod cum tot summorum poetarum libri et praeclarissimorum vatum opera passim nunc extent, ac multi hodie nobilissimi oratores atque poetae sint, qui sua scripta et carmina in lucem proferunt, ego quoque ad scribendum veniam, qui neque cum superioribus illis neque cum his qui nunc scriptitant ingenii gloria nec auctoritate sim comparandus. . . . / . . . (Prol. 14) Neque vero credentur illi carmen tritum aut vulgare composuisse, sed sublime et omnibus numeris absolutum, adeoque ab ipsis novem Musis, ad Pegaso fontem elaboratum. (*Satyra I*). O cogitationes hominum inanes. O curas de rebus mortalium praeposteras et vanas ; O spes vitae humanae depravatas. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (*Satyra VI*, 80) O Chrysippe, utinam nunc quoque viveres et avaris istis etiam modum colligendi pecunias et finem aliquem cupiditati statuendi monstrares, ne insatiabile hoc lucri studium in immensum excresceret, et ut homines nostri in hoc divitiarum certamine ad metam aliquam pervenirent, ubi

defatigati vel tandem subsistant et conquiescant.

Manuscript :

Cambridge, Mass. Harvard College Library, bound with the 1523 Paris edition (See Composite Editions). Shelf-mark *fOLC P431. 523 (A)

Editions :

1582. See Composite Editions.

(*) 1587, Frankofurti ad Moenum [Frankfort] : typis Ioannis Spiessii. Morgan 196. BM.

(*) 1596, Frankofurti ad Moenum [Frankfort] : Ioh. Spies. With Frischlin's paraphrase of Horace. Morgan 202. Vienna.

(*) 1596, Frankofurti ad Moenum [Frankfort] : Ioh. Spies. With Frischlin's paraphrase of Horace. Morgan 211. University of Budapest.

(*) 1609, Francofurti ad Moenum [Frankfort] : Typis Nicolai Hoffmanni. Morgan 230. BM.

Biography :

Nicodemus Frischlinus (Nikodemus Frischlin) was born the son of a pastor in Erzingen in Württemberg on September 22, 1547 ; he died September 29, 1590 at Hohenurach. He began his schooling in Balingen, Königsbronn, and Bebenhausen ; in 1562 he matriculated at Tübingen where in 1568 he became Professor of Poetics and History. After difficulties with his colleagues at Tübingen, in 1582 he became head of the Landesschule in Laibach. Frischlinus returned to Tübingen in 1584 but after new difficulties he soon became a wanderer again, to Prague, to Wittenberg, and Braunschweig. He was finally arrested at Mainz and confined at Hohenurach ; his death resulted from an accident during an attempted escape.

Works : Frischlinus was a prolific writer (see the Catalogue of the BN for a listing). His works include poems and Latin comedies, of which the best known is *Julius Redivivus* ; writings on astronomy ; theological polemics ; and editions, translations, and commentaries on classical authors (Aristophanes, Callimachus, Horace, Persius, Tryphiodorus).

Bibl. : Allgemeine deutsche Biographie VIII (1878) 96-104 (by Scherer) ; Religion

in *Geschichte und Gegenwart* 3rd ed. II (1958) 1154 (by G. Beberman); Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* I, 270-71 6627-53; VII, 81 54644-5 and 52 53776.

D. F. Strauss, *Leben und Schriften des Dichters und Philologen Nicodemus Frischlin* (Frankfurt, 1856); P. Amelung "Frischlin in Wittenberg" *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 19 (1960) 168-70.

44. FEDERICUS CERUTUS.

Federicus Cerutus published his explanatory paraphrase of Persius in 1597 as a companion piece to his earlier paraphrase of Horace published in 1585 and to the paraphrase of Juvenal which he published partially in 1593 and in its complete form in 1599 (see below p. 437).

Dedication (ed. Verona, 1597). Perillus tri viro M. Antonio de Monte patritio Veronensi Federicus Cerutus S. P. D. [Inc.]: Si diligenter attendere velimus, quae causa veteres illos, qui primi satyram invenerunt, impulit ut id poematis genus excogitarent, dubio procul perspicuum nobis fiet nullum alium sibi ipsis finem proposuisse, quam ut homines perverso contumacique ingenio ad meliorem frugem (si modo id fieri posset) revocarent.... Viderunt enim uti medico rum ars tota occupatur in purgandis cu randisque vulneribus et corporum aegrotationibus, ita rationem aliquam excogitandam esse, qua veluti saluberrimum pharmacum hominum animos vitiis infectos si minus plene sanari at saltem illos cautius a prave factis aculeis interdum illos pungen do, interdum festivo et lerido risu subsan nando revocare studerent.... Non enim ignorare debemus ex his qui huiusmodi scriptione utebantur... aliquos interdum obscuriori stilo, translati schematibus adeo obscuris... obtecto usos esse ut videri possint ex professo se legentibus noluisse intelligi, quorum in numero si quis alias adscribendus sit, Persium adscribendum censeo.... Quamobrem cum aliquot ab hinc annis Horatianas satyras paraphrasi illustrassem, videremque laborem meum approbari a viris candidis non paucis, hoc est ab eis qui non invidia aut malevolentia

aliorum scripta lancingant, sed ex aequo pen sitant, duos qui reliqui erant ex Latinis Satyricis, Juvenalem scilicet et Persium, eodem stylo paraphrastice explanare decrevi quod divino numine favente assecutus sum. Utrumque enim absolvi et ad umbilicum perduxii, propediem Juvenalem in lucem editurus. Nunc autem Persium prelo commissurus, hunc tibi, Marce Antoni, vir illustris idemque integerrime, dicare volui, non modo eo consilio ut intelligas immortalia tua in me beneficia e memoria effluere num quam posse nihilque mihi optatius accidere quam ut me perpetuo eorum memorem ag noscas, sed etiam si qui erant qui has Saty ras Persii censem potius legendas esse quo scriptae sunt metro quam soluta oratione, ut qua plurimum eruditione potes hos refellere meque ab eorum obiectis tutari defendereque velis. Possum enim animo pro spicere non defuturos qui me aut arrogantiae accusare volent, quod plus nimio mihi tribuens hunc poetam obscurissimum ausus sim explanare paraphrasi, aut quod illum prope expolians suis vestibus meis illum induere voluerim. Quibus ego facile res pondere possum fastidium nullum esse debere in legendi paraphrasim nostram, si nullum sit ipsis in legendis Persianis versibus. Quid? Immo laudem aliquam mihi debere (quam tamen numquam aucupabor) qui obscuro poetae aliquid luminis afferre conatus sum. Tu vale et me ut facis ama. Ex aedibus octavo Kal. Octobris MDXCVII.

Commentary. [Inc.]: (Prol. 1) Fateor equidem me non ex eorum numero esse qui ad captandam popularem laudem se in caballino fonte bibisse profitentur.... tot erunt elegantes et concinni poetae ut credas omnes corvos et omnes picas poetas et poetridas esse factos.

(Sat. I, 1) O irridendas hominum curas! O quam inutile quorundam in suscipiendis rebus studium!.... [Expl.]: (Sat. VI, 80) Sed tu, O Chrysippe, qui soritis illis et acer valibus argumentationibus, quae videbantur progredi in infinitum, modum tamen aliquem et finem constituisti, terminandi quaestus mei lucroque finem imponendi rationem mihi praescribe.

Editions :

1597, Veronae : apud Discipulum. Morgan 203. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1599, Augustae Vindelicorum (Augsburg). Morgan 206.

Biography :

Federicus Cerutus Veronensis (Federigo Ceruti da Verona) was born 1541 in Verona and died there in 1611. At an early age he went with Bishop Giano Fregoso to France where he engaged both in study and in the practice of arms. After some time in Rome, he returned to Verona where he opened a school, the Accademia dei Moderati. Cerutus was a collector of ancient manuscripts, and he corresponded with many of the important scholars of his time such as Isaac Casaubon and Joseph Scaliger.

Works : Commentaries on Cicero and on Virgil; commentaries and paraphrases of Horace, Juvenal, and Persius; *Dialogi duo, quorum alter de comoedia, alter de recta adulescentulorum institutione inscribitur.*

Bibl.: Cosenza II 966; Joecher I (1750) 1815; L. Ferrari, *Onomasticon* 203; Scipione Maffei, *Verona Illustrata* (Verona, 1825) Part II 400-02; G. W. Robinson, *Autobiography of Joseph Scaliger* (Cambridge, 1927) 54; J. P. Tomasini, *Elogia* (Patavii, 1644) 177-78.

45. BERNARDUS AUTUMNUS.

Bernardus Autumnus published two commentaries on Persius. The first, which appeared in 1599, was titled *Notae*; the second, published in 1607, included comments of others and was titled *Commentationes, Observationes, et Paralipomena*.

a) The *Notae* of 1599

Dedication. Nobilissimo V. D. D. Michaeli Cambefortio J. V. D. Bernhardus Autumnus. [Inc.] :

Quo dono illepidum novum libellum
Arida modo pumice expolitum?
(Michael?) tibi. Namque tu solebas
Meas esse aliquid putare nugas.

Nunc etiam hasce notas amico animo excipies; non poenitebit exiguo operi magnam aurem praebere. Est mihi moris quod daturus sum in manus hominum ante amico-

rum iudicio examinare, in primis tuo. Quare si libellus hic extremam manum desiderat ne sit grave tibi quod deest addere. Vale. Datum Burdigallae a partu deiparae virginis anno 1599 pridie nonas Octobris.

Commentary. [Inc.] : *Nec fonte labra prolui caballino* (Prol. 1). Numquam bibi in fonte caballino. Fons caballinus est in Helicone monte Boetiae, qui est musis sacer. Caballinus dicitur a Pegaso equo alato. . . . *Melos* (Prol. 14). . . . Politianus *Miscell.* Cap. 44 *nectar* legendum asserit; *melos* veram esse lectionem docet Turnebus cap. 13, lib. 10.

In Satyram primam.

Min tu istud ais (Sat. I, 2) Respondet auditor *min* (comice pro *mihinc*). Quare? Ait auditor turpe et miserabile id arbitraris, nos odio habemus censores tetricos et delectamur laetis. . . . [Expl.] : *Inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi.* (Sat. VI, 80) De syllogismo dicitur qui Sorites vocatur. Chrysippe Stoice, docuisti propositiones huius syllogismi, quem per adiectionem et detractionem ex acervi frumentarii similitudine ostendit poeta.

Letter to Reader. Lectori Salutem, Bernardus Autumnus. [Inc.] : Haec (amicissime lector) non quod ait Plato sunt iuvenis et probi Socratis lusus, sed seriae eruditissimorum virorum in Persii Satyras observationes quibus mea etiam coniectanea inieci; authorum linguae Latinae interpretationes in vocabula recondita annexae sunt. . . . Ita hic libellus fulcitur sententiis et opinionibus gravissimorum virorum, ne ab invidis revertatur. Si quid inveniatur in his notis quod aequa omnibus non arrideat, consolabitur, ut me, quod scribit aereus Dionysius: quid elegantius sive quid incoeptes sive quid absolvias quam quod credibile narrationis iucunditate nos allicit. Vale.

Edition :

1599, Aginni (Agen) : Excudebat A. Pomaretus Typographus. Morgan 208; NUC. (MH).

b) The *Commentationes, Observationes et Paralipomena* of 1607.

Letter to the Reader (ed. of Paris, 1607). Lectori Salutem Bernardus Autumnus. [Inc.] : Haec (amicissime lector) non sunt

ludicra puerorum commenta sed seriae eruditissimorum virorum in Persii Satyras observationes, quibus mea etiam conjectanea inieci. . . . [Expl.] : Sic ex multis multa decerpsi, ea potissimum quae huic tenebrioso poetae lucem dare possent. Si quid tamen in his inveneris (candide lector) quod minus arrideat, consolabitur me quod scribit Varro, neque in bona segete nullum est spicum nequam, neque in mala non aliquod bonum. Vale.

There follow : 1. poems in praise of Autumnus : a Latin couplet by F. H. ; a six-line Greek poem by Petrus Mauriacus ; and a French sonnet also by Mauriacus. 2. Arguments of the *Satyrae* ; 3. Persii Vita per Annaeum Cornutum.

Dedication. Amplissimo nobilissimoque viro Nicolao Brularto domino Sillerensi, vicecomiti Puisiensis, summo Galliarum procancelario, et quaestori sacri palatii, Bernardus Autumnus D. D. D. [Inc.] : Thimantus pictor quondam excellentissimus in tabulis plus intelligebat quam pingeretur, nobilissime doctissimeque Domine ; etenim in magnis aedibus vasa aurea et argentea in propatulo non sunt. . . . [Expl.] : qui sublimiora et difficiliora negotia huius regni censoria nota perlustras, et post habita seria ludo, pondera historica et poetica schemmata acumine ingenii penetrare soles. Vale quarto Calendas Aprilis a partu deiparae virginis anno MDC VII.

Commentary. [Inc.] : *Nec fonte labra prolui caballino* (Prol. 1). Numquam bibi in fonte caballino. Fons Hypocrene, sive caballinus, est in Helicone monte Boeotiae, qui est Musis sacer, ut ait Strabo lib. VIII. De quo Propertius Elegia 2, Lib. 3.

Unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit. . . . [Expl.] : probat melos primam producere, cui adstipulor fatus authoritate Enni, lib. 13 Ann.

Matronae melos complent, spectare faventes.

In satyram I. [Inc.] : *O curas hominum* (Sat. I, 1) Imitatus Lucretium. lib. II.

O miseras hominum mentes, o pectora caeca. (II, 14).

Quis leget haec (I, 2). Hunc versum ex Lucilii primo transtulit. . . . Inventus Chrysippe tui finitor acervi (VI, 80). . . .

[Expl.] : Quinque ratiocinationes inclusae sunt, dum gradatim multa adduntur, si singula considerentur, universa frangentur.

Si quid inveneris in his commentationibus, candide lector, quod minus arrideat, consolabitur me quod scribit Aereus Dionysius, quid elegantius, sive quid incoepites, sive quid absolvias, quam quod credibile narrationis iucunditate nos allicit, in quo omne erit.

After an *Index verborum*, there follows with separate pagination, a series of critical comments by Autumnus on the interpretations of Persius offered by Casaubon (see below p. 307).

Notae Bernardi Autumni Nitiobrigis, quibus loca obscuriora Persii, non satis explorata a Casaubono, illustrantur. [Inc.] : *Nec fonte . . . prodirem* (Prol. 1-3). Non negat praecise, inquit Casaubonus, modico se haustu fontis sacri Musarum fuisse poetam, sed irridet eos, qui videri volebant totum illum extausisse. Casaubonus.

Haec interpretatio non solum coacta et acuta est, sed a mente Persii prorsus aliena. . . . [Expl.] : *Inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi* (VI, 80). . . . Persius tamen contrarium asserit, nam alloquens Chrysippe vocat illum finitorem acervi, ut apparet ex verbis Persii,

Inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi. (Sat. VI, 80).

Edition :

1607, Parisiis (Paris) : apud Robertum Fouet. Morgan 223 ; NUC. BM ; BN ; (MH).

Biography :

Bernardus Autumnus (Bernard Automne) was born at Agen about 1574 and died at Langon in 1666. He was a jurist and served as *avocat* in the Parlement of Bordeaux.

Works : Legal writings such as the *Censura gallica in jus civile Romanorum* and *Commentaire sur les coutumes générales de la Ville de Bourdeaux et pays bordelais* ; commentaries on Juvenal and Persius ; possibly *Méditations historiques sur la mort de Jésus-Christ* (lost).

Bibl. : Jules Andrieu, *Bibliographie générale de l'Agennais*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1886-91) I 32-34 ; A. Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle* (1959) 346, 9970 and 375, 11733 ; *Diction-*

naire de Biographie française IV (1941-48) 744 (by M. Prevost) ; Joecher I (1784) 1289.

46. FRANCISCUS SANCTIUS BROCENSIS

The commentary of Sanctius was published in 1599 ; it includes both a paraphrase of the *Satyrae* and also *Annotationes*. In his dedication Sanctius tells us that he wrote it at the age of 77.

Dedication (ed. of Salamanca, 1599). M. Franc. Sanctius Brocensis Domino Ioanni de Salas et Valdes S. P. D. [Inc.] : Quantite faciam, Salas clarissime, quantumque tibi sim obaeratus, cuivis facile perspicuum erit, si modo pensitet me hominem annos septem et septuaginta natum cogi posse, ut denuo repuerascerem, et ad ea quae iuvenem (sic) aetatem magis deceant, pertractanda descendere. Sed quid non a me impetrat tua singularis humanitas, egregia virtus, assiduus in literis labor, cum egregii generis claritate ita connexus, ut uterque ab utroque nequeat separari. . . . [Expl.] : Noli obsecro, mi Ioannes, laborem appellare, qui tui gratia suscipitur. Nam ego inter beneficia connumero, si libenti animo quod libens offero suscepisti. Sic enim tuus admonet Seneca : Beneficium dando accipit, qui digna dedit. Vale.

There follows a Vita Persii, and the text of the *Satyrae*.

Title : M. Franc. Sanctii Brocensis in sex Satyras Persii Ecphrases et Scholia.

Ecphrasis. [Inc.] : (Prol. 1) Ego, qui neque poeta sum nec poetae filius (non enim labias in Pegaseo fonte prolui, nec in Parnasso bicipiti somniavi). . . . (Prol. 14) sed et corvi poetae et picae poetriae Pegaseum melos resonabunt. Sed quid in his translationibus demoror, cur non palam in mores nostros despupo ?

(Satyra I, 1) O curas nostrorum hominum. Itane omnes in verbis sunt occupati, ut rerum et sententiarum sint inanes. . . . [Expl.] : (VI, 60) depinge mihi o Chrysippe (tu qui Soritis implicitis terminum statuere invenisti) quo loco in divitiis accumulandis sistere debeamus.

Scholia. [Inc.] : Nec fonte labra (Prol. 1). Satyris nemo unquam prooemium praemisit. Satyrae enim curione non egent sed sua,

idest mala, lingua contenta sunt. . . . Pegaseum melos (Prol. 14). . . Sic Latini aliquando scribunt, repperit, reggero, refiero, rettuli, tellatum, relligio, sic hic scribe melos duplici ll, non nectar ut disputat Politianus.

O curas hominum (Sat. I, 1). Non hoc est principium Satyrae, sed apertius indicat quod proposuerat. o particula (ut somniant grammatici) tribus casibus iungitur. . . . [Expl.] : (VI, 60) Propterea Persius Chrysippum in clamat, ut statuat finem quaerendi divitiarum, quandoquidem ipse suos Soritas solus novit explicare.

Edition :

1599, *Salmanticae* (Salamanca) : Apud Didacum a Cussio. Morgan 198 ; Palau y Dulcet, *Manual XIII*, 162 223857 ; NUC. (CtY).

(*) 1613, Salamanca. Morgan 240 (cited from Ebert 16280b).

(*) 1766, Geneva, in the *Opera omnia* of Sanctius, Vol. II 269-328. Morgan 359. BM.

Doubtful Edition :

1591, Salamanca. Morgan 198 (cited from Ebert 16280b).

Biography :

Franciscus Sanctius Brocensis (Francisco Sanchez el Brocense) was born at Las Brozas in Spain in 1523 ; he died at Salamanca in 1601. He took the cognomen *Brocensis* in order to distinguish himself from another Francisco Sanchez who also taught at Salamanca. He received his Bachelor's degree at Valladolid in 1551, and three years later he was appointed to the chair of Greek at Salamanca.

Works : *De arte dicendi* ; *Minerva* ; editions of Alciatus (*Emblemata*), Horace, Ovid, Persius, Politianus (*Silvae*), Pomponius Mela ; a commentary on Garcilaso de la Vega.

Bibl. : Joecher IV (1751) 103 ; Michaud 37 (1873) 610-613.

Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Francisco Sanchez el Brocense* (London, 1925) ; G. Garcia, *Contribución a la historia de los conceptos gramaticales* (Madrid, 1950) ; P. U. Gonzalez de la Calle, *Ensayo biográfico ; vida profesional y académica de Francisco Sanchez de las Brozas* (Madrid, 1922) ; *Procesos inquisitoriales contra Francisco Sanchez de las Brozas* (Madrid, 1941).

47. THEODORUS MARCILIUS.

Theodorus Marcilius published his commentary on Persius in 1601. A Vatican manuscript contains some additional comments, dated 1605.

a) The edition of 1601.

Dedication. (ed. of Paris, 1601). Illustrissimo D. D. Reginaldo Belnaeo Patriarchae et Archiepiscopo Biturigum, Primi Aquitaniae, magno Franciae Eleemosynario, designato Senonensium Archiepiscopo, sacri consistorii Consiliario. [Inc.] : Palliatus quidam flori principum delibato Augusto εἰ πλέον εἰχον, πλέον ἐδίδοντι inquit, Si maior copia mihi, liberalitas maior esset. . . . [Expl.] : Haec in meam Persii donationem paucula praefatus tibi, Praesul et Primas illustrissime, Deum Opt. Maximum veneror ut ecclesiae, regi regnoque, academiae et Musarum militiae, florentem servet, quam faventiam prope est cum plenius exequar regiam eloquentiae professionem ordiens, cuius iam nunc specimen exstaret, ni curae intervenissent. Vale praesulum deus Lutetiae a.d. X Calend. Junii M DCI.

Amplissimae tuae dignitati nexu et mancipio, Theodorus Marcilius.

To the Reader. Lectorem meum saluto Theodorus Marcilius. [Inc.] : Etiam te lector de meis ad Persium curis monitum cupio, magnam illas mihi partem quasi sub manu natas, et pro penso librarii operarum perscriptas. Explicatae mihi iam olim praelectionibus illae quotidianis, sed adolescentulo, et in his tenebris ἀμφαράσωντι. Nunc itaque pauculis diebus, et per hos ipsos vix horis subcesivis labor hic interpretationis subeundus mihi, qui non facilimus. . . . , [Expl.] : Equitem mihi plaudere satis est. inter hos tu lector ἀδέκαστε. ἀδέκαστονς δὲ inquit Philostratus καλῶ τὸν μῆτε εὖνος μῆτε δύσοντος. Vale feliciter.

Commentary. [Inc.] : Glossae veteres, sive is Cornutus est, iunxere prologum hoc Satyrae primae, at non esse partem Satyrae vel caecus perspexerit. . . . Nec fonte (Prol. 1). Hesiodum hic notari ait qui qui est vetus ille interpres. At Hesiodus nihil usquam de tali potionē. . . . Pegaseum melos (Prol. 14) . . . Saepe hoc Isacius literator inculcavit

ad Alexandram suam Lycophronis, et vero quia res proletaria est, etiam irascitur inscientibus.

Ad Satyram I. Satyrico suo sale prefabricatus corruptos Quiritium mores, quasi ἀφ' ἐστίας sive a lare ipso, a suis confraneis, sive eiusdem Musae aemulis poetis nempe orditum. . . . O curas hominum (I, 1) Imitatus Lucretium ex principio lib. II. (II, 14).

O miseras hominum mentes, o pectora caeca. . . . [Expl.] : Finito (VI, 80) . . . Ille fons, hic pertenuis rivulus, ut et noster, quem in acceptis huic referimus uni, ut et alios suum velle et par et credibile est.

Paucula insuper oblia et tanquam fugitiva sic retraho. [Inc.] : p. iii linea penultima. Post recepit addo. Coronati et Caesare ipso, ut Papinii Silva III, lib. iv. . . . [Expl.] : non tantum illa quam Suetonius notat cap. lxxiii ut procerior videretur, quae tamen et Indis quoque visio apud Arrianum Indicis, et Persis apud Xenophontem iix Paediae.

Editions :

1601. See Composite Editions.

1613. See Composite Editions. In this edition, Marcilius introduces a small amount of new material. After the Letter to the Reader, he adds : Haec in litteras cum ego sic missem, salutis anno 1601, post quadriennio extitere, qui credo ut a me gratiam inirent et declararent veriverbum illud Galeni de lyrae alia super aliam intensione, sibi non displicere. . . . A nomine itaque ipso A. Persii, tanquam ἀφ' ἐστίας ordiamur (about a page of comment). . . [Expl.] : Sed iam piget in refellendis eiusdem modi nugis, quae nihil aliud quam nebulae pictae in pariete, immorari. Quale commentum illud quoque Satiras aut Saturas, non autem Satyras recte scribi. Quid ita? Quia, inquiunt, a Satyris non Satyra sed Satyrica diceretur analoge. Immo enim aloge. Sed meo quidem stilo iam operae non est tali campo decurrere aperto.

Editions :

1601. See Composite Editions.

1613, Lutetiae : apud Claudium Morelum. See Composite Editions.

1613, Lutetiae : apud Ioannem Orry. See Composite Editions.

b) The Vatican manuscript.

Vatican, ms. Reg. lat. 1437. (fol. 113)

[Inc.] : Annotata grammatica data a domino (Theodoro) Marcilio in quintam Auli Persii satyram in primo Sexoneorum (Soissons) ordine, anno a Virgineo partu millesimo sexcentisimo et quinto. Vatibus hic mos est. Aliud poeta est, aliud vates. Vates proprie sunt fatidici sive qui fundunt oracula, poetae vero qui carmina faciunt (?) sive quemadmodum Sidonius Apollinaris loquitur. . . . [Expl.] : (fol. 129) *rubrumque catinum* (Sat. V, 182). . . catinus pauperum vel (?) aurum divitum, testis Horatius, *Satyr.* 6, lib. I; Juvenal *Satyr.* 6; Persius *Satyr.* 3.

Finis annotationum huius Persii
Satyrae.

Manuscript :

(micro.) Vatican, Reg. lat. 1437, cart., s. XVII, fols. 113-129. (Kristeller, *Iter II*, 408; Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum* Vol. I, no. 1812 p. 52; Scarcia 509).

Biography :

Theodorus Marcilius (Theodore Marcile) was born 1548 in Arnhem and died April 8, 1617 in Paris. He began his study of Latin with his father and continued in Deventer under Johannes Noviomagus; he was an infant prodigy and at 12 had great facility both in Greek and in Latin. Later he studied philosophy and jurisprudence at Louvain and at Paris. He taught at Toulouse and after 1578 at Paris. In 1602 he became Royal Professor of Latin and of Literature, a position which he held until his death.

Works : Marcilius was a prolific writer (see the list of his publications in Joecher-Rotermund III (1810) 670 f.) He commented on Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius; Aulus Gellius; Horace; Lucan; Martial (partly under the name of Claudius Musambertius); Justinian; Persius; and on the Laws of the Twelve Tables. He translated into Latin the *Aurea Pythagoreorum Carmina* and Libanius, *Calendarum Expressio*.

Bibl. : Allgemeine deutsche Biographie XX (1884) 303, by Eysenhardt; Joecher-Rotermund III (VII) 669-70; Nicéron XXVII (1734) 125-31.

48. JOHANNES TORNORUPAEUS.

Johannes Tornorupaeus published his *Notae* on Persius in 1601. He had suffered from a fever during the printing, and he added at the end some further comments omitted because of the illness. We also possess some scattered comments in a Caen manuscript; it is not clear how they are to be related to the printed commentary, and they will be treated separately after the edition.

a) The Edition of 1601.

Dedication (ed. of Paris, 1601). Illustrissimo D. D. Grolartio Senatus Rothomagensis Principi, Sanctioris consessus regis Christianissimi Consiliario, Baroni Moniullaeo, Torciaco etc. Ioannes Tornorupaeus. [Inc.] : En partus ingenii e tuo Lexoveo, si mavis Torciaco, quem parens alter excipias sinu et tollas in spem melioris vitae, petit suppliciter ac demisse nexus et mancipio tuus. . . . [Expl.] : Hic contineo stylum,

ne in publica commoda peccem

Si longo sermone morer tua tempora.

Vale anno M DCI. X Kal. Julii.

To the Reader. Lectori bene precatur Ioannes Tornorupaeus. [Inc.] : Quia Persius cascios Romanorum mores adumbrans, verba notae rarioris insistens, multarum artium et maxime praecepta philosophiae in suo satyrico quasi in planicie agrorum spargens insectatur. . . . [Expl.] : Ne te morer pluribus, Lector, probabis in notulis Persianis consilium, hisque passerculis et columbulis dabis pennam et volatum inter aquilas tuas, si et sibi, et tibi placeant; si tantum sibi, continendos cavea et nido curavissem. Vale bene ac beate.

Commentary. [Inc.] : Quod Persius in hoc scazonte voluerit, erudite Turnebus, pater eruditionum idemque arbiter omnium leporum, explicat cap. 13, lib. 10 *Adversarium*, cui Turnebiae interpretationi assensum est.

Nec fonte (Prol. 1). Hunc locum in animo et cogitatione videbatur habuisse Sidonius. . . . *Quod si* (Prol. 12). . . . Mart. epig. 9, lib. 12 ad Priscum.

Tu facis ingenium, tu, si quid posse vide-
mur

Tu das ingenuae munera pigritiae.

O curas hominum (I, 1). Persius reprehensurus eos, qui scribenda oratione soluta vel scribendo carmine famam ingenii stulte ambiunt, per indignationem auspicatur. . . / . . . *Chrysippe* (VI, 60). . . . [Expl.] : *Sorites hos vocant, qui acervum efficiunt uno addito grano, vitiosum sane et captiosum genus.* Glossae veteres σωρίτης cavillatio.

Secundae curae. Cum notulas in Persium excudi curarem, aestus accedens et recedens tertianae febris male me habuit, unde pleraque memoria exciderint, quae nunc ita revoco. [Inc.] : *Nec fonte* (Prol. 1) Quod Persius de seipso, idem propemodum Sidonius Apollinaris epist. 16, lib. 8 scribit : *Non hic ego commentitiam Terpsichorem. . . .* [Expl.] : *Terrae filius* (VI, 59). . . . Nobiles censebantur illi soli quorum maiores magistratum ceperant, quique ius habebant imaginis ponendae. Novi, quorum maiores vitam privatam vixerant, et quibus imagines nullae.

Editions :

1601. See Composite Editions.

1613, Lutetiae : apud Claudium Morellum. See Composite Editions.

1613, Lutetiae : apud Ioannem Orry. See Composite Editions.

Doubtful edition :

s.a. With the commentary of Tornorupaeus on Persius. See *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises, XVII^e Siècle*, ed. G. Grenete (Paris, 1954) p. 984.

b) The Caen manuscript.

Ms. 532 f. 110 (133) Annotationes in sextas (sic) Auli Persii satyras.

Introduction. [Inc.] : De poetis satyricis Latinis.

Quatuor Latini scriptores satyrici, Lucilius, Horatius, Persius, Juvenalis. Lucilius circiter sexagesimum annum (?) ab urbe condita scripsit satyras cum mores corruptos suorum posset non pati. . . . [Expl.] : Nil sum dicturus de scrispione (?) satyrica Persii et Juvenalis quia quisque cuiusvis vires personabit (?) satis.

Commentary. [Inc.] : *Nec fonte labra* (Prol. 1). Hic prologus iambicus habet indignationem satyricam. Notat enim et designat plurimos qui vana ostentatione poeticam

benedictionem (?) sibi vendicant. . . . (112v (135v) [Expl.] : illegible.

Fol. 113 (136). Argumentum Satyrae primae. [Inc.] : In satyra priori trisfacit. . . . (?) primum rationem scribendae satyrae proponit et inducit. . . . (?) pro se Pompeium (?) qui (deleted ?) monitorem qui dissuadet satyram scribere. . . . [Expl.] : satyrae auditores iudicunque (iudicium ?) depromit suum de satyrica scrispione.

O curas hominum (Sat. I, 1) Persius sinus (?) versuum mutuatur ex Lucretio. Sic Lucretius *O miseras hominum mentes* (II, 14). Sed principium satyrae. . . . fol. 143v (166v) Last lemma : *Jus habet ille sui* (Sat. V, 176). Gloss ends : gravissimam servitutis fugam. Finis.

f. 143v-144v. Irregular notes.

f. 145-147. Flacci Persii satyra sexta. This is a text only, with scanty glosses.

f. 148 Annotata in Satyram sextam. [Inc.] : Argumentum. Hoc poema satyricum non minus salsum. . . ad tempora Vespasiani.

Veterum primordia vocum (Sat. VI, 3) Omnes propemodum interpres Persii conspirant. . . . f. 148v Last lemma *Hic ego securus vulgi* (Sat. VI, 12). . . . [Expl.] : scribit Cicero in oratione pro Murena. With this the commentary on Persius breaks off ; evidently some folios were lost in the manuscript. F. 149 is fragmentary in the beginning and contains epigrams of Martial with scanty glosses.

Manuscript :

Caen, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Ms. 532 (313), s. XVI, cart., fols. 218 ff. 110 (133)-154 (177). (*Catalogue Général, Départements XIV*, 352 ; Scarcia 66).

Biography :

Johannes Tornorupaeus (Jean de Tourneroch) was born at Caen toward the middle of the sixteenth century and died at Paris in 1620. He taught Rhetoric at the Collège d'Harcourt and served as Rector of the University of Paris. In 1609 he returned to Caen to serve as Royal Professor of Eloquence. After difficulties with a colleague he resumed his position at the Collège d'Harcourt and was later elected its Rector.

Works : Tornorupaeus wrote on ancient architecture (*Traité sur le Bidental, Des Jeux Olympiques et du cirque chez les Ro-*

mains). In addition to the commentary of Persius, he is said also to have commented on Juvenal.

Bibl. : F. Boisard, *Notices sur les Hommes du Calvados* (Rouen, 1706); *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises, XVII^e Siècle*, ed. G. Grenet (Paris, 1954) 984; F. Frère, *Manuel du Bibliographe Normand* (Rouen, 1858).

49. EILHARDUS LUBINUS.

Eilhardus Lubinus was long and actively engaged in the interpretation of Persius. He apparently published a commentary alone in 1593 and republished it with a paraphrase in 1595; he edited the text in 1598; and he published a second paraphrase in 1602 and a second commentary in 1603.

a) The commentary and paraphrase of 1595.

Poem by Lubinus to the dedicatee. In *Symbolum Divi Augusti σπεῦδε βραδέως Festina lente, ex Eilhardi Hesychii nomine depromptum.*

E. L.

[*Inc.*] : Hesychidum genus e priscis sapientibus ortum

Vel satis unius nominis indicium est

[*Expl.*] : (line 7) Felix NON FACTO, qui numquam, EILHARDE, dolebis Nec FACTO HESYCHIUM quem Metanea coquet.

Dedication. Spectatae pietatis, humanitatis, et eruditionis iuveni, domino Eilharde Hesychio Patritio Bremensi Primario, discipulo meo carissimo εὖ ζῆν καὶ εὖ πράττειν. [*Inc.*] : Scitum illud Diogenis Cynici, Eilharde suavissime, qui cum aliquando adiret statuas, et ab iis aliquid peteret. . . . Ab aliis adiutum me palam fateor parum omnino. Commentaria, quae alias in eum plurima, certis de causis non adhibui. Frischlini paraphrasin obiter tantum inspexi, et quibus in locis ab eo dissentiam, in commentariis plenius videre est. . . . [*Expl.*] : Tu aeternum salve, et vale, Hesychidum familiae flos atque medulla, et quod facis me amare perge, qui te numquam non. Lipsiae, anno 1593. Tuus

M. Eilhardus Lubinus
Oldenburgensis.

There follow the *Vita Persii*, and the *argumenta*.

Commentarius. [*Inc.*] : (*Prologus*) Cum omnibus satyricis usitato more receptum sit, conciso, tecto, allegorico sermonis genere uti, tamen caeteris omnibus A. Persius obscurior est. . . . *Nec Fonte labra* (*Prolog. 1*). Quod est, nec poetam me esse fateor, nec carmen aliquod heroicum et sublime scripturus prodeo, quippe qui nec aquam Aganippes biberim nec in bicipiti Parnasso dormiendo in somniis coelesti aliquo numinis adflatu correptus sim. . . . *Cantare Pegaseum melos credas.* . . . Nam quod Politianus lib. 12 *Epist.* scribit, pro *melos* se reperisse *nectar*, et Turnebus se superscriptum fatetur reperisse, sed non dubitare quin qui superscriperat illud de suo addiderit, eo quod ἀκυρον videtur cantare nectar, aequo ac cantare ambrosiam. Sed satius est, ne de syllabis rixemur, laborare versum quam sensum.

Satyra prima. [*Inc.*] : In hac prima Satyra reprehendit Persius poetas et rhetores Romanos, et cum utrisque eorum vel lectores vel auditores. . . . [*Expl.*] : *Inventus Chrysippus tui finitor acervi* (*Sat. VI, 80*). . . . Dum cadit elusus ratione ruentis acervi. Excogitaverat Chrysippus. Dixerat enim quiescendum esse, quod Persius dicit sistere.

The *Paraphrasis* was published in the same volume, but with a separate titlepage and pagination.

Dedication. Summae spei, eximiae indolis et doctrinae adolescentibus, Udalrico et Davidi Chytraeis, fratribus germanis, lectissimis politissimis Davidis Chytræi Ss. Theologiae D. et Professoris. . . filiis carissimis, salutem. [*Inc.*] : Quicunque, fratres politissimi, hac tempestate in clarissimorum auctorum oratorum et poetarum monumentis vel explicandis vel restituendis praecaram operam collocarunt. . . . [*Expl.*] : et expectationi de vobis abunde satisfeceritis. Valete etiam atque etiam. Argentinae. Anno 1594. V. studiosissimus, M. Eilhardus Lubinus.

There follow several short poems, of Johannes Jacobus Breitinger and of Jacobus Her. Alsveldius to Lubinus, and of Lubinus to the reader.

Paraphrasis. [Inc.] : Itane vero ego solus inglorius atque ignobilis aetatem egero, et desidia atque ignavia bonum otium controver. . . . *Pegaseum melos cantare* (Prol. 14) et vividum et excultum carmen ad ipsam Hippocrenem, et Pegasi fontem in monte Helicone, ab ipsis novem Musis et Apolline elaboratum et omnibus numeris absolutum fundere *credas* et depromere.

In Satyram I paraphrasis. [Inc.] : O incredibilem et inauditam hominum demen-
tiam. O vanas hominum curas et conten-
tiones. O studia mortalia inutilia pariter
et ridicula, O pectora, O capita, corde pariter
et cerebro vacua! [Expl.] : quis finis
cupiditati statuendus et *ubi* (VI, 80) vel in
quo divitiarum loco inventus demum *sis-
tam*, pedem figam et quiescam.

Argentinae 16 Cal. Viibriis, anno 1594.

Editions :

(*) 1593, Franeker. Lubinus apparently refers to such an edition in his letter to the reader printed with the commentary of 1603; see below p. 306. We have so far been unable to locate a copy.

1595, Amstelredami (Amsterdam) : Apud Zachariam Heyns Bibliopolam. Morgan 201. Bib. St. Geneviève ; (MH).

1602. See Composite Editions.

1603, Lugduni. See Composite Editions.

b) The paraphrase of 1602.

Dedication : Virtute, doctrina, genere nobilissimis fratribus, dominis Sigfrido et Ioanni Pogwisch, equitibus Holsatis, dominis et amicis meis certissimis, candidissimis Salutem. [Inc.] : Quod Graecus dixit, secundas curas sapientiores esse, generosi et nobilissimi iuvenes, ego in hoc poeta enarrando, re et opere expertus mihi videor. Ante novennium enim Lipsiae cum commorarer, illum commentario explicare conatus sum, cuius me editi statim subsequenti anno poenitente coepit, utpote foetus praeproperi et vix absoluti. Mox anno sequenti Coloniae et Argentinae cum degarem paraphrasi scholastica ipsi lucem dare conabar, quam licet magni etiam et illustres viri non improbarint, mihi tamen ipsi tum propter prolixitatem, etiam in obscoenioribus, quae parcius tractare satius erat, tum etiam propter loca quaedam non satis dextre lecta et

intellecta hactenus, ex parte displicere coepit. Quibus causis motus illum bis in hac Academia publice praelegi et novo pleniore commentario, nova etiam contractiore ecphrasi illustrare aggressus sum. Quo meo labore quid praestiterim, penes viros doctos iudicium esto. . . . [Expl.] : et iuvenis candidissimi doctissimique erudit et ἀξιεράστον Ulrici Boticheri, praeceptoris vestri, vobis in parte erit. In quo voto et omne epistolam claudio. Valete et haec tuimini. V. N. observantissimus studiosissimus Eilhardus Lubinus.

Ecphrasis. [Inc.] : O insignem impudenciam! Ego Persius poeta non sum, et tamen versus volo scribere. Unde enim mihi facultas poetica? Ego enim ut Latinus poeta Ennius numquam in Parnasso monte somniavi. . . . [Expl.] : ut etiam bruta animalia, et aves, corvi, picae, psittaci perfecti poetae evaderent, et carmen dulcissimum tanquam ab Apolline et Musis ad Pegasi fontem elaboratum et absolutum cantarent.

Ecphrasis Satyrae primae. [Inc.] : O vana studia, curas, et contentiones mortalium! O quanta vanitas, stultitia, et caecitas est in rebus humanis! [Expl.] : Hisce avaris terminum praefigere non posset, in quo subsisterent, et divitiarum quaerendarum finem imponerent.

Manuscript :

(*) Macerata, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 5, 3 B 18., cart., XVIII, 194 fols. In Auli Persii. . . saturas paraphrasis. . . Eilhardi Lubini, Amstelredami. . . MDXIV (sic). Copied from a printed edition. (Mazzatinti, *Inventari* [Turin, 1887] p. 134, no. 338; Kristeller, *Iter I*, 263; Scarcia 251).

Edition :

1602. Rostochii (Rostock) : ex typographia Stephani Myliandri. Not in Morgan. (CtY).

c) The commentary of 1603.

Dedication. Nobilissimo Viro Domino Bredovio Equiti Marchico Domino in Cremmen et Velsantz, domino et patrono meo. [Inc.] : Novem iam ferme anni sunt, nobilissime Ioannes Bredovi, ex quo potioribus superioris Germaniae urbibus perlustratis, felici atque fausto sidere, Tubingam veni. . . (Lubinus begins with praise of his dedica-

tee). . . quod possum, non quod debo, levidense munusculum tibi offero, hosce meos in Persium, poetam doctissimum et obscurissimum, commentarios. Quod ut aequi bonique consulas, illoque quo offertur animo accipias reverenter et officiose contend. Ad poetam ipsum quod spectat vere magis quam ambitiose aut confidenter dixero, nulli operae et labori me pepercisse quo ipsi in tanta obscuritate, quam dedita opera et de industria affectavit, lucem darem. Quo nomine ipsum bis publice in hac Academia nostra praelegi, et dupli paraphrasi illustravi. Praemisi hisce omnibus commentarium. Cuius praepropere eruditionis ἡλιτομήνον τόκον et me non semel piguit atque paenituit. Adeo ut a toto illo editionis tempore in hoc unice incubuerim, ut quae in prioris commentarii fronte non satis prudenter receperam, re et opere tandem aliquando praestarem et fidem meam liberarem. Quid praestiterim iudices tu et viri docti tecum. Ego certe volui quod alii rectius potuissent. Tu, mi Bredovi, quidquid est, boni consule, munusculum si ipsum in se speces sane perexiguum, magnum vero atque non poenitendum si animum meum speces tuo tibi merito aeternum devotum atque devinctum.

Salve cum omnibus tuis salvis et quod facis, atque unice a te fieri a te contendo, inter tuos me numerare perge.

Rostochii mense Martio, Anno MDCIII.
Nobilitatem tuam officiose et studiose colens Eilhardus Lubinus.

To the Reader: Lectori Benivolo salutem. [Inc.]: Ante fere decennium, benivole lector, cum Lipsiae adhuc commorarer, Persium qualicumque commentario Franekerae Frisiorum edito illustravi, quo quidem commentariolo tum temporis auctorem hunc ita a me explicari censem, ut a quovis facile possit intelligi. Illum dum ante tres annos rursus inspicio et revolvo, nonnulla quae vel minus plena vel minus recta evilescente incipiebant, adeo ut illius tam praepropere editi poenitere me inciperet. Quo etiam tempore et quo nomine Persium hunc publice hic mediocri, ut spero, auditorum meorum fructu et favore enarravi, multis que in locis plenius et rectius explicavi.

Iam vero triennio elapso post Juvenalem et Horatium in Academia hac explicatum a me, dum utrumque meum commentarium quasi postliminio rursus revolvo, ut cum Graeco illo loquar, pleraque ἀνέγνων καὶ απέγνων eo quod rectius et plenius hic auctor explicari deberet si plene et plane cognosci beat et intelligi, inque me Graecum illud quodammodo νεώτερος ὥν, ἐδόκουν μέν, ἐφρόνονν δὲ οὐδέν animadverto.

Iam igitur tandem serio atque sedulo manum mentemque gravissimo huic auctori admovendam censui, ut ita debiti et promissi hoc mei nomen apud viros doctos et iuvenes studiosos tandem aliquando expungam. . . . [Expl.]: Num ut cum magno Scaligero loquar, *Persius non vult intelligi, sed iam tamen a nobis intellegitur*. Qui quamvis, ut abstrusam eruditionem ostentaret, dedita opera ac de industria multis obscuritatibus tanquam labyrinthis et aenigmatibus librum hunc suum involverit, sic tamen, iuvante Deo, illum enarrabo, ut qui hactenus doctis etiam grypho intricior fuit imposterum etiam iunioribus scirpo planior et laevior sine ullo nodo aut scrupulo futurus sit, id quod re et opere praestare quam multo verborum ambitu prolixe de me tibi polliceri malo.

In Persium Satyrarum librum prolegomena. [Inc.]: Ne illotis, quod dici consuevit, manibus ad praeclarum hoc Persii poema evolvendum et enarrantum accedam, pauca quaedam ex praecepsis Servii Grammatici προλεγομένων loco praemittenda duxi. . . . Scilicet, ut poeta alter ait :

Optima prima fere manibus rapiuntur
avaris

Implentur numeris deteriora suis.
Atque haec προλεγομένων loco dicta sufficiant.

There follow several logical tables : Analysis logica in librum Satyrarum Persii generalis. 2. In A. Persii Flacci Prologum sive prooemium analysis. 3. Alia analysis logica.

Ad prologum sive prooemium commentarius. [Inc.]: Cum in toto hoc opere auctori nostro propositum sit obscuro, conciso, tecto et allegorico sermonis genere uti. . . . Atque haec ut simplicissima sic rectissima ut spero, prologi explicatio.

*Nec fonte labra (Prol. 1) Prologus, quo figurate sub sua persona Socratis philosophi more, qui ob id *Eiron* vel simulator dictus, alios vanos poetas, qui versus scribebant, quod non didicerant, perstringit. . . . *Melos* (Prol. 14) Unde Marullus festivissimus poeta vexat Politianum pro *melos nectar* substituentem, quando inquit:*

Posse negas dici ‘melos’, facunde poeta

Atque ideo Musas ‘nectar’ ais ‘canere’

Sed neque divinus male μέλος ἀειστεν

Homerus (Cf. *Hymnus ad Mercurium* 502)

Nec nisi cum cantas nectar, inepte, canis.
(Lubinus is citing freely, perhaps from memory, *Epigram.* III, 45. See the edition by A. Perosa, *Michaelis Marulli Carmina*, Zurich, 1951 p. 76).

O curas hominum (Sat. I, 1). Principium asperum, vehemens, et abruptum more satyrico. In quo generalis Satyrae scribendae ratio proponitur vanitas Romanorum. . . . [Expl.]: *Acervi* (VI, 80). . . . Hic Persius vocat sistere priusquam in immensum crescat, idest, ostende quomodo a quaerendis opibus, quarum sitis more soritis infinita est, quiescam. Scripserat autem de sorite Chrysippus 4 libros, teste Laertio.

Manuscript:

(*) Venezia, Biblioteca Querini-Stampalia, Ms. VI 102, s. XVII. Persius, with comm of Eilhardus Lubinus, copied in 1675. (Kristeller, *Iter II*, 279; Scarcia 565.)

Editions:

1603, Hanoviae (Hanau): typis Wechelianis. Morgan 215; NUC. BM; (MH)

(*) 1607, Franeker. Morgan 221.

(*) 1607, Hanoviae (Hanau). Morgan 222; Fabricius, BLMII (1773) 168.

1619, Hanoviae (Hanau): Typis Wechelianis, apud Danielem ac Davidem Aubrios, et Clementem Schleichium. Morgan 247; NUC. BM; (MH).

Biography:

See CTC I, 237.

50. ISAACUS CASAUBONUS.

Casaubonus' famous edition was first published in 1605 and elicited Scaliger's comment, "la saulce vaut mieux que le poisson" (see Morgan 218). Casaubonus accompanied the text with the *Veteres Glosae* of Petrus Pithoeus, with his own commentary

both on the text and on the *Vita Persii*, and finally with his *Persiana Horatii imitatio*.

Dedication. (ed. of Paris, 1605). Nobilissimo illustrissimoque viro, D. Achilli Harlao, equiti, amplissimique ordinis principi Isaacus Casaubonus S.D. [Inc.]: Niciam pictorem quondam excellentissimum dicere solitum legimus, Praeses amplissime, artis pingendi non minimam partem in eo esse positam, ut argumentum eligatur pingi dignum, et quod spectantium oculos idoneum sit tenere. Huius ego exemplum, quanto minus ingenio fidebam, tanto diligentius imitandum mihi esse duxi, cum de elucubrando aliiquid cepi cogitare, quod in sacrario Musarum tuo ceu tabulam χαριστήριον appenderem, tot tantorumque beneficiorum, quibus me tibi fecisti dudum obnoxium, testem meaeque adeo observantiae erga te summae posteris si forte monumentum aliquod, tibi certe pignus, uti spero, non ingratum futurum. Id igitur animo volvens, cum scrinia omnia mea excussissem, ex illo auctorum numero, quorum illustrationi vigilias meas impendi, Persium Flaccum certo judicio elegi, quem non vulgari cura nec studio mediocri a me recensitum et novo commentario enarratum tibi offerrem, vir amplissime, atque nomini tuo splendidissimo consecrarem. . . (Casaubonus praises the combination of 'sapientiam cum eloquentia et eruditione'). . . Hoc igitur animo cum ante multos annos Persii Satyras interpretati essemus, ut ipsi nos primum ad amorem virtutis, odium vitiorum capessendum stimularemus, deinde ut studiosae iuventuti ad similem conatum duces nos praeberemus, de quo priores interpretes parum videbantur cogitasse, ausi sumus, Praeses amplissime, de illustris tui nominis splendorе stricturam aliquam luminis nostrae huic scriptioni ire mutuatum. . . . [Expl.]: Nos interea, quod assidue facimus, Deum optimum maximum venerabimur, amplissimo senatui et universo regno incolumem te quam diutissime praestet, nobilissimum filium tuum, per medias laudes in hac iuventute sua quasi quadrigis vehentem, ex Anglicula legatione sistat tibi reducem, utque tu illo, ille te longum fruamini. Vale seculi decus immortale. Lutetiae Parisiorum, pri die Eidus Februarii, MDCV.

There follow the text of the *Satyrae*, and *Veteres glossae*.

To the Reader: Isaacus Casaubonus Lectori Salutem. [Inc.] : Veterum criticorum notulas in A. Persium a Petro Pithoeo viro magno et iudicii castigatissimi excerptas olim ac publicatas, editioni huic nostrae adiiciendas tua gratia, Lector candide, curavimus. . . . Longe istis uberiora sunt Scholia illa quae sub Annaei Cornuti nomine ab Elia Vineto Santone aliisque sunt edita, quibus multa item alia poteramus adtexere ex antiquis Persii codicibus, quos reperire est passim in omnibus bibliothecis et interlinearibus glossematis bene farta, et marginalibus adnotationibus probe oppleta. Sed neque illa quae publica luce donata sunt ab aliis, neque illa quae in membranis nostris aut clarissimi eruditissimique viri Jacobi Bongarsii aliisque invenimus, tanti sunt visa, ut ab eorum lectione iuventus studiosa parator multo posset discedere ad intelligenda si quae sunt in satyrographo nostro difficiilia. . . . [Expl.] : Sibi igitur quisquiliis eiusmodi habeant qui libros non nolunt nisi mole aestimare ἐπεὶ φθόνος οὐδεὶς παρ' ἡμῶν γε.

Persii Prologus eodem genere versuum Graece expressus paene ad verbum.

Isaaci Casauboni in Persium prolegomena. [Inc.] : Satyram Romanam duo ista praecipue constituunt, doctrina moralis, urbanitas et sales; caetera communia sunt eius poëtis, cum aliis multis. . . . [Expl.] : nam etsi mediocris saltem diligentiae sumus nobis consci, scimus tamen οὐ πάντως τῶν προσεχόντων εἶναι τὰ δόθλα ut dicebat olim B. Chrysostomus ἀλλὰ δηλούτι τοῦ δνωθεν βραβεύοντος.

Ad Persii Vitam a Probo aut alio vetusto auctore scriptam, notae. [Inc.] : Persiae gentis perquam rara in veterum monumentis mention extat, plebeiam non patritiam fuisse Fasti suadent, in quibus nemo, quod sciam, eius nominis celebratur. . . . [Expl.] : quae vel alias sunt Persii quam nostri, vel aliorum poetarum, et merae hallucinationes grammaticorum.

Commentary. Ad prologum. [Inc.] : Exemplum dramaticorum poetarum secutus est Persius, cum Satyris suis hoc prologo prae-lusit; caeteri poetae Persio vetustiores vel in toto prooemio abstinuerunt vel ab opere

legitimo non separarunt. . . . Nec fonte labra prolui caballino (Prol. 1). Iam diximus mixti argumenti esse partem istam priorem. Huius meminisse oportet, si volumus rectam poetae mentem assequi. . . . *Cantare credas Pegaseum melos* (Prol. 14). . . . *Pegaseum* formatio Ionica metri caussa. πήγασος, πηγασειος sicut Γήϊος pro Γεῖος.

Ad Satyram primam. Etiam haec Satyra prima duplici constat arguento, ut supra de prologo dicebamus, nam et heic de se incoepoque hoc suo satyras scribendi agit simul et de aliorum sibi aequalium studiis ac scriptis. . . . *O curas hominum o quantum est in rebus inane* (Sat. I, 1) Pronuntiatur hic versus a Persio, cum defixus in contemplatione rerum mundi huius, et eorum omnium quae mortales agimus. . . . *Inventus Chrysippe tui finitor acervi* (VI, 60). . . . [Expl.] : ubi etiam eorum supinum errorem castigabimus, qui Stoicorum soritem inter argumentationum (sic) legitimas species referunt, quae absurdā sententia multos hodie sectatores habet, etiam illorum qui in ea arte prae caeteris sapere volunt videri. Sed haec, ut diximus, alibi fuse ac clare demonstrabimus. Faveat modo conatibus nostris Dominus Jesus, vera lux, vera σοφία aut potius αὐτόφως καὶ αὐτοσοφίᾳ

Persiana Horatii imitatio. [Inc.] : Nemo qui vel summatim humanitatis studia attigit, Persii *Satyras* legit, quin statim imitationis Horatianae aliqua saltem vestigia deprehendat. . . . [Expl.] : huiusmodi sive μιμημάτων sive Εὑνεμπτωμάτων observationem, et ad intelligentiam ipsorum poetarum plurimum conferre, et hoc amplius ad recte instituendam veterum imitationem, non mediocriter conducere.

Editions :

1605. Parisiis (Paris) : Apud Ambrosium et Hieronymum Drouart. Morgan 218 ; NUC. (MH).

1605, Parisiis (Paris) : Apud Ambrosium et Hieronymum Drouart. Identical with the preceding edition except for differences in the title page and for the addition of two pages of verses laudatory of Casaubon inserted after the dedication. Morgan 219 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

1615, Parisiis (Paris) : apud Hieronymum Drouart. Morgan 243 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1647, Londini (London) : Typis M. Flesher, sumptibus R. Mynne. Morgan 274 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1833, Lipsiae (Leipzig) : sumptibus Aug. Lehnholdi. Morgan 423 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1839, Lipsiae (Leipzig) : E libraria Lehnholdiana. Morgan 423 ; NUC. MH.

Biography :

See CTC II, 262.

51. STEPHANUS CLAVERIUS.

Claverius' commentary on Persius was published in 1607 and dedicated to James I of England.

Francisci Amboesii... in A. Persium a St. Claverio apertius claratum (ed. of Paris, 1607). A nine-line poem.

Dedication. Serenissimo et inclyto Iacobo Brittaniarum et Hyberniae Regi Salutem. [Inc.] : Magnanimum opus est, rex serenissime, sed non et parilis, opinor, ingenii rem attentare cuius eventum ipsa prope eludat temeritas. [Expl.] : nisi enim candoris mei ratio aliqua habeatur, futurum esse procul dubio, ut caerulea in tabula pictus deambulem. Lutetiae Parisiorum V. Nonas Julii, anno salutis M D CVIII (sic). Tuae maiestati dedicatissimus St. Claverius.

Lectori. [Inc.] : Monendus es, Lector, me veteris et optimi codicis scripturam secutum esse in primis, ac nihil nunc cogitasse minus quam de textu huius poetae, qui toties prodiit iterum edendo. [Expl.] : ac deinde exemplari Coloniensi praeteritum fuit id Claudiano reddi facile permisi, eo loci : *O nimium dilecte Deo cui militat aether.* et in fine Belli Getici versum reposui, ut suum cuique tribuerem.

There follow the privilege, three Latin poems (1. *In St. Claverii annotationes*, by Chr. Bordingius Danus. 2. *Ad St. Claverium* by Io. Hemereus Bit. 3. *Cupidae Juventuti verbis Terentiani*, by Claverius), 4. the *Satyrorum Periochae singulis versibus complexae*.

Praefatio. [Inc.] : Tria nomina habenti generis nobilitas, aut saltem origo, vel sors ingenua cedit : multi profecto Auli apud Romanos, plerique Persii, nec pauciores Flacci. [Expl.] : Vale igitur quisquis es, ac si evasero, vel emersero tabulam naufragii cum appendice, si quidem id tibi in votis, expecta.

There follow a four-line poem to Isaac Casaubon ; a *Judicium de origine Satyrae*, attributed to Asper or Cornutus ; and a passage from Cicero on Satyric Comedy.

Commentary. Nec (Prol. 1). Ex hoc prologo satis apparent archaeae, sive priscae comediae vestigia, ac proinde vera laus et perfectio huius satyrici. credas (Prol. 14) minore licet gratia, in fine collocaret, in mente nimirum habuit, illud argutissimi poetae : *Nobis non licet.* qua formula, ut ita loquar, hoc venustum Persii anteloquium finire libuit.

Satyra I. [Inc.] : *O curas.* Hoc nescio quid etiam priscae Comoediae sapit, vel Platonis methodum spirat, apud quem tot frugiferi et insignes Dialogi. [Expl.] : *in rugam.* Metaphora a vestibus vel auctore Plinio qui rugas in veste dixit, at pulchre Martialis : *Rugosorem stola cum geras frontem* (*Epigrammata* III, 93, 4).

Plura et meliora sat scio viri litteratissimi ante me notarunt unde queas fieri certior. Ego quicquid id est uno mense, ita me Musae ament, deproperavi, salva cuiusque sententia. . . . Ego certe ne per somnium quidem cogitavi de ullius reprehensione, non ignarus mei et hominis, ut enim in alienis acutum cernere valeam, sic et in meis idem cuilibet facile usu venerit.

Edition :

1607, Parisiis (Paris) : apud Robertum Fouet. Morgan 224. BM ; Biblioteca Marciana ; (CtY ; MH).

Biography :

Stephanus Claverius (Etienne Clavière) was born at Bourges about 1550 and died in Paris April 21, 1622. He was for many years principal of the Collège de Sens but was forced to leave after seducing a young girl, whom he later married. He went to Paris, where he completed his education in law, and where practiced he as a lawyer for the rest of his life and also served as an *avocat* in the Parlement.

Works : Editions and commentaries of Claudian, Juvenal, and Persius ; various panegyrics in Latin and French ; and Latin poems.

Bibl. : *Dictionnaire de biographie française* IV (1956-59) 1413 (P. Faure) ; Joecher VI (1787) 353 ; *Nouvelle biographie générale* 10 (1854) 719.

52. JOHANNES BOND.

Johannes Bond wrote his commentary on Persius in 1610, four years after his Horace commentary of 1606 (see the Letter to the Reader, below); it was published posthumously in 1614. Bond offers a general overview of the argument, a detailed paraphrase, and marginal notes.

Dedication (by Bond's brother-in-law, Roger Prowse ed. of London, 1614). Reverendissimo in Christo patri ac Domino D. Iacobo Montague Episcopo Bathon. et Wellen. [Inc.] : Annus iam fere praeteriit, reverendissime in Christo Pater, ex quo socer meus Ioannes Bond multis nominibus dominationi vestrae devotissimus mortem cum vita commutavit. Cuius in Persium commentarii, cum ipse incastigatos reliquisset, operaे pretium existimavi, si quovis modo ab interitu vindicarentur, propterea quod compertum haberem, eius in Horatium *Annotationes* foris et domi bene audiisse. Testantur editiones crebrae, quas emanare in vulgus sine publica utilitate nefas est dixisse. Tuum si accesserit iudicium, reverendissime Praesul, Zoilos redarguet, et adversus omnia tempora defendet.

Dominationi vestrae studiosissimus,
Rogerus Prowse.

To the Reader : Lectori benevolo salutem. [Inc.] : Nihil unquam magis expetivi, candide lector, quam ut vota deo, hominibus promissa praestare valeam. Illa vero persolvere, quatenus homo sum, vires meas longe superat; haec implere, usque quo licita sunt et honesta, animus certe numquam deerit.

Promisi equidem quatuor fere abhinc annis, cum scholia mea in Horatium emittem, maiora aggressurum, si Deus longiorem huius vitae usuram mihi dedisset, praesertim si intellexerim studiorum meorum labores Musarum alumnis gratos fore et acceptos. Alterum Deus pro sua in me misericordia concessit, alterum testantur multorum doctissimorum virorum laudes, quas in illud commentariolum meum plena manu congererunt. Idque opinor non aliam ob causam fecerunt, nisi quod in illo fuerim brevis ac succinctus, nec minus brevis quam apertus et perspicuus, quod praestare, teste

Cicerone, difficile est. . . At stylus Persii cum sit adeo figuratus, ut ne vocula quidem una sit expers alicuius artificii, quis in illo explicando brevitatem a me expectabit? Siquidem quod Horatius admisit, negat Persius, qui consulto est obscurus, suisque scriptis caliginem et tenebras ex industria obiecit. Multi tamen et sancti et eruditi viri hunc libellum in oculis, seu mavis in osculis habuere, nec immerito, quippe qui sententiarum gravitate et verborum pondere haud ulli satyrographo postponendus est. Vitia namque insectatur acerrime, virtutes vero ad coelum laudibus evehit sanctissime. . .

Non sum nescius, lector humanissime, quantae sit difficultatis hunc poetam plane et plene interpretari, qui adeo nodosus est et sublimis, ut nemo fere omnium veram ac integrum ipsius notitiam sibi unquam assumpserit; immo, ut audacter Lubinus pronuntiat, Persius a nemine adhuc virorum doctorum per omnia plene est intellectus. Neque me latet quantae sit audaciae post tot literatissimos viros, qui in hoc opere sudarunt, aliquid de meo afferre. Quod scripsi tamen, in spem venio quod tibi arriserit, non modo quia brevior sum reliquis, sed etiam quia ordo constructionis et ecphrasis adjuncta, una cum annotationibus in margine appositis, Persium ex composito obscurum et tenebris involutum, tibi utcunque clarum reddent et manifestum.

Quod si scripta mea non per omnia votis tuis respondeant, ignoscas mihi quaeso, benevole lector. Nihil enim adeo elaboratum conficiunt homines, quod omnibus numeris sit absolutum, nec quisquam tam solide doctus est, aut in ea arte quam profitetur, adeo exercitatus, quin interdum errare, decipi, et labi possit.

Tui studiosissimus, Johannes Bond.

Outline. [Inc.] : In hoc anteloquio, quod verius aenigma dixeris, Persius aliorum carpit vitia, nobilium nempe et divitum Romanorum. . . . [Expl.] : (on Sat. VI, 61 f.) Persius, in persona cuiuslibet divitis, haeredem patrimonium expectantem sic alloquitur.

Paraphrase. [Inc.] : Nec prolui labra fonte caballino (Prol. 1) idest, ego Persius satyras iam scripturus, vix dum fonti Pegaseo labra

admovi, ut olim Hesiodus. . ./. . .[Expl.] : (on Sat. VI, 80) id est, o Chrysippe, qui inventus est finitor tui Soritis, perscribe quae-
so, ubi vel in quo divitiarum loco pedem fi-
gam et acquiescam.

Marginal notes. [Inc.] : *proluo, is.* (cf. Prol. 1) plerumque significat multum sive multo tempore lavare, *vel* labra belluarum more aquis immergere. . ./. . .[Expl.] : (on Sat. VI, 80) Huius syllogismi infinitis quaestio-
nibus quomodo sit respondendum, et in qua quaestione acquiescendum, docuit Chry-
sippus.

Editions :

1614, Londini (London) : Excudebat Felix Kingstonius impensis Gulielmi Aspley et Nathanielis Butlerii. Morgan 242 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1625, Noribergae (Nuremberg) : typis Simonis Halbmayeri. Morgan 251 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

1631, Noribergae (Nuremberg) : typis Simonis Halbmayeri. Morgan 259 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1641, Parisiis (Paris) : Typis Antonii Vitray, Regis et Cleri Gallicani Typographi. Morgan 265 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1644, Parisiis (Paris) : Apud Sebastianum Cramoisy. . . et Gabrielem Cramoisy. Morgan 269 ; NUC. (MH).

1645, Amstelodami (Amsterdam) : Apud Ioannem Ianssonium. Morgan 272 ; NUC. BN ; (MH).

(*) 1645, Amstelodami (Amsterdam) : Apud Ioannem Bleu. Morgan 273 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1659, Amstelodami (Amsterdam) : Apud Ioannam Janssonium. Morgan 287 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1787, Dublini (Dublin) : Apud Guliel-
lum McKenzie. Morgan 371 ; NUC. (MH).

Biography :

Johannes Bond (John Bond) was born at Trull in Somersetshire in 1550 ; he died on August 3, 1612 and was buried in the church of nearby Taunton. Bond studied at Winchester and later at Oxford where he took a degree in 1573. A few years later he became master of the free school of Taunton. After twenty years of teaching, he turned to medicine and achieved some eminence therein. For a time he served as chief secretary to the lord chancellor, and in 1601

and 1603 he was a member for Taunton in Parliament.

Works : Bond is best known for his commentaries on Horace and Persius, though his biographer Wood mentions other writings which he has not seen.

Bibl. : *Dictionary of National Biography* II (1885-86) by James Mew, with additional older bibliography.

53. THOMAS FARNABY

Thomas Farnaby published his commentary on Persius, together with Juvenal, in 1612. It was extremely popular well into the eighteenth century, and it was reprinted at least 31 times by 1775. For the Juvenal commentary, see below p. 441.

Persii Vita (ed. of London, 1612).

Four-line poem by B(en.) I(onsonius).

Cum Juvenale tuo, Farnabi, Persius exit

Atque affectatis eruitur tenebris

Quem legat et quondam neglectum in-
telligat ille

Qui Stridone satus, nomine sanctus
erit.

Commentary. [Inc.] : *Prolui* (Prol. 1) Pe-
nitus, avide, et aurium tenus ingurgitando immersi. *Caballino.* Equino quem ungula Pegasum aperuisse fabulantur. . ./. . .[Expl.] : *Chrysippe.* (Sat. VI, 80) Stoicorum acutissime, qui argumentationis acervalis in infinitum progredientis finem invenisti, iubendo ἡσυχάζειν priusquam ad multa ventum esset, dic ubi ego sistam.

Editions : (all with Juvenal) :

1612, Londini (London) : excudebat Ri-
chardus Field, impensis Guilelmi Welby. Morgan 234 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

1615, Londini (London) : excudebat Ri-
chardus Field. Morgan 244 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1620, Londini (London) : excudebat Tho. Snodham, impensis. Iohannis Pyper. Morgan 249. BM.

(*) 1621, Londini (London) : excudebat Thomas Snodham, impensis Iohannis Pyper. NUC ; not in Morgan BM. BN (1620-21) ; CtY ; MH.

(*) 1623 ; Francofurti (Frankfurt) : pro-
stat in bibliopolio Ioannis Stöckelii. Morgan 250 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1628, Parisiis (Paris) : apud Ioannem Libert. Morgan 256 ; NUC. Paris, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève ; (MH).

(*) 1630, Amstaelaedami (Amsterdam) : typis Ioannis Blaeu sumptibus societatis. Morgan 257 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1631, Amsterdami (Amsterdam) : apud Guilielmum Blaeuw. Morgan 258 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1633, Amsterodami (Amsterdam) : apud Ioannem Ianssonium. Morgan 261 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1633, Londini (London) : excudebat Ioannes Legat, impensis Philemonis Stephani et Christophori Meredith. Morgan 260 ; NUC. (CtY ; MH).

(*) 1642, Amsterodami (Amsterdam) : apud Ioannem Ianssonium. Morgan 266 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1642, Genevae (Geneva) : apud Iacobum Stoer. Morgan 267 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1644, Paris. Morgan 271 (no location).

(*) 1648, Amsterodami (Amsterdam) : apud Ioannem Ianssonium. Morgan 276 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1650, Amstelaedami (Amsterdam) : Typis Iohannis Blaeu sumptibus societatis. Morgan 279 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1652, Genevae (Geneva) : apud Iacobum Stoer. Morgan 281. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana.

(*) 1660, Londini (London) : sumptibus Andrae Kembe. NUC ; not in Morgan.

(*) 1662, Amsterodami (Amsterdam) : apud Ioannem Ianssonium. Morgan 288 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1668, Amstelaedami (Amsterdam) : typis Ioannis Blaeu sumptibus societatis. Morgan 291 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1669, Londini (London) ex officina E. Tyler, sumptibus Nath. Brook et Edw. Thomas. NUC ; not in Morgan. (CtY).

(*) 1669, Parisiis (Paris) : apud Simonem Bernard. Morgan 293 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1670, Amstelodami (Amsterdam) : ex officina Boomiana. Morgan 294 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1670, Parisiis (Paris) : C. Thibovst et P. Esclassan. NUC ; not in Morgan. (CU).

(*) 1683, Hagae Comitum (The Hague) : apud Arnoldum Leers. Morgan 298 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 17—?, Londini (London). NUC ; not in Morgan. (MoU).

(*) 1702, Roterodami (Rotterdam) : typis R. Leers. NUC ; not in Morgan. (CtY ; MH).

(*) 1705, Patavii (Padua) : typis seminarii, apud Io. Manfre. Morgan 313 ; NUC. BM ; (MH).

(*) 1719, Patavii (Padua), typis seminarii, apud Io. Manfre. Morgan 322. Brescia, Bibl. Queriniana.

(*) 1738, Patavii (Padua) : typis seminarii, apud Io. Manfre. Morgan 388. (MH).

(*) 1740, Venetiis (Venice) : apud Franciscum Pitter. Morgan 340 ; NUC. (MH).

(*) 1775, Matriti (Madrid) : ex typographia regia. Morgan 363. Palau y Dulcet, 2nd ed. VII (1964) 258.

Biography :

Thomas Farnaby (Farnabius) was born about 1575 in Batley, Yorkshire, and died at Sevenoaks, June 12, 1647. Farnaby matriculated at Merton College, Oxford in 1590. He left the University to study at a Jesuit college in Spain but then left the Jesuits to go with Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins on their last voyage. After fighting for a time in the Low Countries he returned to Cornwall in great distress in 1596. Farnaby served briefly as tutor and teacher but then opened his own school in London. He was quickly successful and by 1629 his fame not only as a school-master but also as a classical scholar had spread throughout Europe. In 1636 he moved his school from London to Sevenoaks. The Civil Wars, however, were disastrous for Farnaby. He took the royal side, was arrested by the Parliamentarians, and narrowly missed deportation to America. After being detained for a year he was allowed to return to Sevenoaks, where he remained until his death.

Works : For a full list, see the article by S. Lee cited below. He edited and commented many classical authors, including Juvenal and Persius, Seneca's tragedies, Martial, Lucan, Vergil, Ovid, and Terence. He also wrote a number of text-books, grammars, and introductions to rhetoric.

Bibl. : *Dictionary of National Biography* VI (1888-89) 1081-82, with bibliography (Sidney Lee) ; Joecher II, 519.