

SILIUS ITALICUS, TIBERIUS CATIUS ASCONIUS

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<i>Fortuna.</i>	342
Appendix I. The Renaissance <i>Vitae</i> of Silius unaccompanied by commentary.	361
1. Sicco Polentonius.	
2. Anonymus.	
3. Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus.	
4. Petrus Crinitus.	
5. Raphael Volaterranus.	
6. Ambrosius Nicander.	
7. Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus.	
Appendix II : The Manuscripts of the <i>Punica</i> .	364
I. <i>Punica</i> .	365
Commentaries.	
1. Anonymus A.	
2. Anonymus B.	
3. Anonymus C.	
4. Anonymus D.	
5. Petrus Odus Montopolitanus.	
6. Iulius Pomponius Laetus.	
7. Domitius Calderinus.	
8. Petrus Marsus.	
9. Hermannus Buschius.	
10. Petrus Paganus.	
11. Daniel Heinsius.	
12. Doubtful commentaries.	
a. Bartholomaeus Fontius.	
b. Antonius Volscus.	
c. Galeatius Ponticus Faccinus.	
d. Cynthius Cenetensis.	
SPURIOUS WORKS.	
II. <i>Ilias Latina</i> .	398
	341

FORTUNA *

It is doubtful that Silius Italicus wrote the *Ilias Latina* (see below, p. 398). That he is the author of a poem on the Second Punic War is clear from Martial IV 14. 2-5. This epic in 17 books, the longest Latin poem, is most often called *Punica* in the Mss. (all of the 15th century or later) but occasionally *De Secundo Bello Punico* or something similar. The Mss. regularly give the poet's name as Silius Italicus (with spelling variations); only the Cesena Ms. (Mal. S. XII, 3) has for his praenomen Publius. The name appears as Silius Italicus in Pliny *Ep.* III 7, our main source for his life, and in Tacitus *Hist.* III 65. 2. Martial, whose frequent mention of him provides more details about his life, calls him Silius or Italicus. A fuller form of the name, Ti. Catius Silius Italicus, is found in the Fasti sodalium Augustalium Claudialium (CIL VI 1984, 9 = ILS 5025; cf. also 9059 Ti. Catio). An inscription from Aphrodisias yields the five names Ti. Catius Asconius Silius Italicus.¹

C. Cellarius in his *Dissertatio de Silio Italico poeta consulari* (Halle n.d. [1694]) notes that some modern scholars favor Publius for Silius' praenomen, others Gaius; see the passage in question in G. A. Rupert's edition of the *Punica*, Vol. I (Göttingen 1795), p. xiv with a note added by Rupert. Cellarius favors Gaius and entitles his edition (Leipzig 1695): C. Silii Italici, viri consularis, De Bello Punico Secundo Libri XVII. The praenomen Gaius is frequent in

* We have all worked on the whole article. But Delz and Dunston have been more concerned with the earlier commentators (the two of them with the anonymous commentators and with Pomponius Laetus, Delz esp. with Petrus Odus Montopolitanus, Dunston esp. with Domitius Calderinus), Bassett with the *fortuna* in antiquity and from the time of the Bolognese commentators on and with the printed editions and commentaries. The three of us are most grateful to the editors of the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum* for all their patience, help, and counsel in the preparation of this article.

1. See W. M. Calder, 'Silius Italicus in Asia', *Classical Review* XLIX (1935) 216-217.

editions and studies of Silius down to the 1870's.

Pliny notes in the letter cited above that he has just (*modo*) heard of the death of Silius. This probably occurred A.D. 101 or 102; so Silius would have been born A.D. 25 or 26 since he died in his 76th year (cf. Pliny's *annum quintum et septuagesimum excessit*). His birthplace is uncertain. Several of his Renaissance biographers say that it was Italica in Spain (though some state that his forebears came from there but that he was born in Rome). But the ethnic from the Spanish *Italica* would be *Italicensis*, as it would be from *Italica* or *Italicum*, the name given by the Italians to Corfinium in the Social War (some have argued for this town as Silius' birthplace). Furthermore, if Silius had been from Spain, we would have expected Martial to refer to him as a fellow-countryman. Maybe Silius was from Patavium or some other Cisalpine place. The description of Pedianus, both warrior and poet, from Patavium and of his exploit in *Punica* XII 212 ff. was probably intended to evoke Q. Asconius Pedianus. Silius may have been related to Asconius, and Asconius was a common name around Patavium. But if Silius was from the Cisalpine area, it is curious that Pliny does not say this in *Ep.* III 7 (to Caninius Rufus, an 'equestrian dilettante from Comum' — Sherwin-White).²

In any case, Silius spent much of his time in Rome. He was an orator and practiced in the centumviral court. He was the last consul appointed by Nero (in 68). He had damaged his reputation under that emperor, says Pliny, since he was believed to have been an informer; but in his friendship with Vitellius, while being obliging, he had

2. See D. J. Campbell, 'The Birthplace of Silius Italicus', *Classical Review* L (1936) 56-58; G. E. F. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul* (Oxford 1941) 109-111 (who mentions the possibility that 'Catia was the gens of his adoptive father, and Asconia perhaps that of his mother'); A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford 1966) 226-229; R. Syme, *Tacitus* (corrected reprint; Oxford 1963) 88, n. 7 (who adds: 'The claims of Mediolanium or Ticinum will not be omitted').

behaved in a wise way. Cluvius Rufus and Silius were the two witnesses of the negotiations between Vitellius and Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, in 69; cf. Tacitus *Hist.* III 65. 2. Silius had won renown as proconsul of Asia [in c. 77], Pliny continues, and wiped out the stain of his earlier activity (*industriæ*, presumably his delation) through the praiseworthy way in which he spent his retirement. People came to pay him their respects; when not writing, he had learned conversations with his many visitors and sometimes recited from his work in progress to get their reaction. In his later years (Novissime ita suadentibus annis — Pliny) he withdrew to Naples and was not induced to return to Rome even by the accession of the new emperor (doubtless Trajan). He had several villas in Campania, all stocked with books, statues, and pictures. He seems to have owned the property on which Virgil's tomb was, and he treated the tomb as a shrine and kept Virgil's birthday more scrupulously than his own; he also possessed an estate of Cicero's, maybe his Cumana.³

Pliny (*loc. cit.*) notes that Silius ended his life through starvation on his Neapolitan estate because of an incurable *clavus*.⁴ He was fortunate and happy until his last day except that he had lost the younger of his two sons (the older, an ex-consul, survived him). Silius' suicide is one of the *testimonia* external to the *Punica* for his Stoicism (for objection to this see Bolaffi, *loc. cit.*); another is his connection with Cornutus and Epictetus (but the name cited in these instances is only Italicus).⁵

3. Cf. Pliny *loc. cit.*, Martial XI. 48 and 49, and J. H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples*. . . (Cambridge, Mass. 1970) 207-208 and *passim*.

4. A neoplasm or tumor according to E. Bolaffi, 'Appunti di storia della medicina', *Giornale italiano di filologia* XIII (1960) 156-161 at 160-161.

5. For the external and internal evidence for Silius' Stoicism see E. L. Bassett, 'Hercules and the Hero of the *Punica*' in L. Wallach (ed.), *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan* (Ithaca, N. Y. 1966) 258-273, especially 263.

It must have been after A.D. 68 when Silius began writing the *Punica*; cf. Martial VII 63. 9-12: Postquam his senis ingentem fascibus annum / Rexerat adserto qui sacer orbe fuit, / Emeritos Musis et Phoebō tradidit annos, / Proque suo celebrat nunc Heliconā foro. Maybe he did not start it until after his proconsulate. In any case, Martial IV (published in December 88 according to L. Friedlaender in his edition of Martial (Leipzig 1886; reprinted Amsterdam 1967)) 14 implies that Silius was busy with his *Punica*; and Martial VII (published in December 92 according to Friedlaender) 63, beginning: Perpetui numquam moritura volumina Sili / qui legis, et Latia carmina digna toga, that it had come out, at least partially. The encomium of the Flavians, and of Domitian in particular, in *Punica* III 594-629 seems to have been written about 84.⁶

Pliny's verdict (*Ep.* III 7. 5) on Silius is well known: Scribebat carmina maiore cura quam ingenio. But Martial, a client of Silius, is glowing in his praise: for instance, he calls both the poet and his work immortal (*Epigr.* VI 64. 10, VII 63. 1) and the poet not inferior to Virgil (*Epigr.* XI 49. 4). There are also phraseological parallels between Martial and Silius (though not particularly in epigrams where Martial mentions Silius), maybe most of them imitations by Martial of Silian passages that were published or that he had heard at recitations.⁷

Silius is never mentioned by Statius in his *Silvae*, the likely place for such a reference (we would hardly expect it in the *Thebaid* or the *Achilleid*), but there are many parallels between the *Punica* and Statius' works. It is difficult, however, to decide who is imitating whom because of the uncertain

6. On the whole problem see E. Wistrand, *Die Chronologie der Punica des Silius Italicus* (Göteborg 1956).

7. See the 'Reminiscenzen und Anklänge' compiled by E. Wagner in Friedlaender's Martial and, for a literary analysis of correspondences in the two poets, A. Zingerle, *Zu späteren lateinischen Dichtern*, II (Innsbruck 1879) 12-40 (II: 'Zu Lucan, Silius, Martial').

relative chronology.⁸ There are a few slight echoes of the *Punica* in Juvenal, though he never refers specifically to Silius as he does to other epic poets (e.g., Statius in VII 83).⁹

After the younger Pliny and Martial refer to Silius by name, he is not mentioned again in Latin literature until the fifth century. Then Sidonius, in a list of names and authors that he says that his friend Felix must not expect to find in his (Sidonius') *nugae*, writes: Non Gaetulicus hic tibi legetur, / Non Marsus, Pedo, Silius, Tibullus, / Non quod Sulpiciae iocus Thaliae / scripsit blandiloquum suo Caleno / . . . (IX 259ff.). There seem also to be several imitations of

8. See F. Vollmer's edition of the *Silvae* (Leipzig 1898); L. Legras, 'Les Puniques et la Thébaïde', *Revue des études anciennes* VII (1905) 131-146, 357-371 (who argues that *Punica* I-XII are contemporary with the *Thebaid* or even antedate it a little, and that the *Punica* was finished in 96 at the latest, that Statius seems to have imitated Silius more than *vice versa*, but that, in sum, these two contemporary epics did not influence each other a great deal); P. Venini, 'Studi sulla Tebaide di Stazio. L'imitazione', *Istituto Lombardo, Rendiconti, Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche* XCV (1961) 371-400 at 372-373, n. 1; Bassett, *op. cit.*, 268-270 with n. 38. For instances of parallels see Vollmer, *op. cit.*, pp. x-xiv (in Add. et Corr.), 'Auctores Imitatores' under text, *Comm. passim*, and p. 595; G. B. A. Fletcher, 'Imitationes vel loci similes in poetis latinis', *Mnemosyne*, *tertia series*, I (1933/34) 192-213 at 194; O. A. W. Dilke's edition of Statius *Achilleid* (Cambridge 1954) 114, 122; Bassett, 'Regulus and the Serpent in the *Punica*', *Classical Philology* L (1955) 1-20, *passim*; 'Silius *Punica* 6. 1-53', *ibid.* LIV (1959) 10-34, *passim*; 'Scipio and the Ghost of Appius', *ibid.* LVIII (1963) 73-92, *passim*; L. Hökanson, *Statius' Silvae: Critical and Exegetical Remarks with Some Notes on the Thebaid* (Lund 1969) 47, n. 61.

9. L. Friedlaender in his edition of Juvenal (Leipzig 1895; reprinted Darmstadt 1967) cites parallels with Silius only twice (*ad* I 169, VI 238) (pp. 162, 310). More are given by C. Weyman in his review of Friedlaender, *Blätter für das Gymnasial-Schulwesen* XXXIII (1897) 270-277: *ad* Juv. III 280, XIII 16, XIV 97, 222 (pp. 272, 276, 277).

Silius by Sidonius in his writings.¹⁰ Sidonius in his series of names is parading his familiarity with classical letters — and the very passage that we have quoted seems to reflect Martial I *praef.*: sic scribit Catullus, sic Marsus, sic Pedo, sic Gaetulicus, sic quicumque perlegitur — but the implication is that Silius belongs to a canon of Latin authors whom all educated men read. In fact, several writers, particularly poets, of the fourth to the sixth centuries appear to imitate Silius.

But before giving some references for Silian imitations in those centuries we should note that there are many names from Silius in Vibius Sequester's *De fluminibus, fontibus, lacubus, nemoribus, paludibus, montibus, gentibus per litteram* (of the fourth or fifth century). They all come from *Punica* XIV. Whether Vibius knew only that book of Silius' poem (perhaps through an anthology) or more is uncertain. Nor is there certainty about whether a commentary on the *Punica* was available to Vibius in the composition of his geographical handbook.¹¹

10. See the 'Loci similes auctorum Sidonio anteriorum' in C. Luetjohann's edition of Sidonius, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auct. ant.* VIII (Berlin 1887; reprinted *ibid.* 1961) 353-416 at 384-416 (for Sidonius' carmina). For instance, Sidonius' caput aurea rumpunt cornua (Carm. XXII 26-27) echoes Silius XIII 332: ac parva erumpunt rubicunda cornua fronte.

11. A. Püschel in his thesis *De Vibii Sequestri libelli geographici fontibus et compositione* (Halle 1907) 34-37 does not accept the theory of a commentary but considers it very likely that Vibius used a geographical lexicon or glossary to explain the names not intelligible from Silius' text itself. M. Kiessling, on the other hand, in his review of Püschel, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* XXX (1910) 1469-1476, argues for the existence of ancient Silian scholia. Klotz considers the idea uncertain; cf. Pauly-Wissowa 2. R. III (1927) 91. See also the summing up of the question by W. Strzelecki *ibid.* VIII (1958) 2457-2462 at 2460-2461 and the editions of Vibius by A. Marsili (Pisa 1960; 'Scientia Veterum' 9) 17-18, P. G. Parroni (Milan-Varese 1965) 10-14, and R. Gelso-mino (Leipzig 1967) xlvii.

Among the imitators of Silius in the fourth century¹² are Juvencus,¹³ Ausonius,¹⁴ Symmachus,¹⁵ and Ammianus Marcellinus.¹⁶ Late in the fourth century and early in the fifth we find echoes of Silius in Claudian,¹⁷ in the

12. Our list of authors from the fourth to the sixth century is selective. The modern literature cited includes references to *loci similes*, which may sometimes be accidental or incidental (e.g., if Claudian echoes Virgil and Silius follows the same Virgilian passage) as well as to more definite borrowings.

13. See J. T. Hatfield, *A Study of Juvencus* (Bonn 1890) 47; H. H. Kievits, *Ad Iuvenii Evangeliorum librum primum commentarius exegeticus* (Groningen 1940) *passim*; J. de Wit, *Ad Iuvenii Evangeliorum librum secundum commentarius exegeticus* (*ibid.* 1947) *passim*.

14. See the parallels cited by K. Schenkl in his edition of Ausonius, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auct. Ant. V*, 2 (Berlin 1883; reprinted *ibid.* 1961) 48, 102, 168; by R. Peiper in his edition of the same author (Leipzig 1886) 229 and *passim* in 437-499 (Auctores et imitatores); by C. Hosius in the notes in his edition of Ausonius' *Mosella* (with the Moselle poems of Venantius Fortunatus,³ Marburg 1926; reprinted Hildesheim 1967). See also M. R. Posani, 'Reminiscenze di poeti latini nella "Mosella" di Ausonio', *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, n. s. XXXIV (1962-63) 31-69 at 40, 42 and 53 n. 1. Note especially her analysis (p. 42) of Ausonius' adaptation in vss. 173-174: *insultant-que vadis trepidasque sub amne sorores / terrent of Silius XIV 363-364: Insultant pariter pelago; ac Neptunia regna / Tempestate nova trepidant*. See also her bibliography of Ausonian reminiscences at 31 n. 3.

15. See G. (W.) Kroll, *De Q. Aurelii Symmachi studiis Graecis et Latinis* (Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen, VI, 2, Breslau 1891) 57-58.

16. See H. Hagendahl, *Studia Ammianea* (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1921, Filosofi. . . 3) 141 (Index) and E. L. B. Meurig Davies, 'Notes on Ammianus Marcellinus', *Classical Quarterly* XLII (1948) 113.

17. See the fontes given beneath the text in T. Birt's edition, *Claudii Claudiani carmina, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auct. Ant. X* (Berlin 1892; reprinted *ibid.* 1961). See also A. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford 1970) 506 (Index s.v. Silius) and

Heptateuchos of Cyprian (Cyprianus Gal-
lus),¹⁸ in Rutilius Namatianus,¹⁹ Claudius
Marius Victorius (or Victor or Victorinus?),²⁰
and Orientius.²¹ In Dracontius (late fifth
century) there may be some imitation of
the *Punica*.²² In the sixth century the verse

U. Keudel, *Poetische Vorläufer und Vorbilder in Claudians De consulatu Stilichonis: Imitations-kommentar* (Hypomnemata 26; Göttingen 1970) 167-168 (Verzeichnis der lateinischen poetischen Vorbilder s.v. Silius) and *passim*. Cf. from Miss Keudel, e.g., pp. 69-70 (the account of Fides in Sil. II 526-649 followed by Claudian in his portrait of Iustitia in *Ruf.* I 51-57 and of Clementia in *Stil.* II 6-11), p. 75 (concutiens tonitru in *Stil.* II 26 and Sil. V 71), p. 86 (*Stil.* II 252: *infesto spumavit remige Tethys*; Sil. VII 412: *multo spumabat remige pontus*), pp. 86 and 154 (*lacrimabile nomen* in *Stil.* II 261 justified as an allusion to Sil. IV 729-730: *Latio lacrimabile nomen Hannibal* — it also occurs at *Stat. Th.* IV 719 — because of the comparison of Stilicho's victory over Gildo to that of Scipio over Hannibal in *Stil.* III praef.).

18. See the parallels cited in R. Peiper's edition of the *Heptateuchos* (CSEL XXIII (1891) 275-299 (Auctores imitatores) at 275, 279, 280, 291, 293, and the additional one given in the review (by Wölfflin) of Peiper, *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* VII (1892) 619-620 at 620: *Leviticus* 140: *at cum triticeas tondet iam messor aristas*; Sil. VIII 61: *Atque ea, dum flavas bis tondet messor aristas*.

19. See the *Index locorum* in E. Castorina's edition of Rutilius (Florence 1967).

20. See the Auctores et imitatores (under the text) and the Index scriptorum gentilium, p. 281 of P. F. Hovingh's edition of the *Alethia* (with J. Martin's Commodianus in *Corpus Christianorum*, Ser. Lat., CXXVIII, Turnhout 1960).

21. See the four passages of his *Commonitorium* confronted with four Silian passages by Sister M. D. Tobin in her *Orientii Commonitorium: A Commentary with an Introduction and Translation* (Washington 1945) 20.

22. See B. Barwinski, *Quaestiones ad Dracontium et Orestis tragoediam pertinentes*. Quaestio I: *De genere dicendi* (Göttingen 1887) 17, 101, 102.

of Arator²³ and Corippus²⁴ shows indebtedness to Silius.

There seem to be some echoes of Silius in the *Anthologia Latina* and in the *Carmina Latina epigraphica*.²⁵

23. See A. A. Ansorge, *De Aratore veterum poetarum Latinorum imitatore* (Breslau 1914) 69-72 and A. P. McKinley's edition of Arator, *CSEL* LXXII (1951), the auctores and imitatores under the text *passim* and Index scriptorum, III: Auctores Classici, pp. 246-247.

24. See R. Amann, *De Corippo priorum poetarum Latinorum imitatore* (Oldenburg 1885) 29-30. Amann declares (p. 29) that Corippus owes less to the Flavian epic poets than one might expect (*quam quis putaverit*) but gives (p. 30) several parallels between Corippus and Silius. Note from these especially *Ioh.* VI 447-451: *proelia poscens*. . . *Inquirens*; *Sil.* I 483-485: *proelia poscens* [correct to *poscit*]. . . *inquire* (the parallelism goes beyond that with *Verg. Aen.* X 661: *in proelia poscit*) and the number of similarities collected from *Ioh.* I 357-406 and *Sil.* IV 34-56. Add to Amann's parallels one noted by J. Diggle and F. R. D. Good-year in their edition of the *Iohannis* (Cambridge 1970) 93 (*ad V* 28) and the following, kindly pointed out to us by U. J. Stache: *Iust.* I 199: *exactam noctem primi sensere volucres*; *Sil.* XIV 594: *vim primi sensere canes*.

25. That is, in *Anthologia Latina*, Pars I: *Carmina in codicibus scripta*, recensuit A. Riese (2 fascs.; ² Leipzig 1894, 1906) and Pars II: *Carmina epigraphica*, conlegit F. Buecheler (3 fascs.; Leipzig 1895, 1897, and [Supplementum, curavit E. Lommatsch] 1926). *Re* Pars I see C. Weyman, 'Zu lateinischen Dichtern', *Neophilologus* VII (1921-22) 129-136, 282-286 at 130 (for nos. 270 and 866) and 282 (for no. 654: *Tetrasticha in libris Vergilii*). See also R. Buente, *Patrici Epithalamium Auspici et Aellae* [no. 941] *denuo editum praefatione instructum* (Marburg 1891), esp. 34-35. Some of Buente's parallels are quite telling; cf. vs. 6: *Cythereius ignis*; *Sil.* XII 247: *Cythereius ignis*; vs. 40: *responsant tympana pulsu*; *Sil.* XVII 19: *resonantia tympana pulsu*. Note Buente's observation (p. 35): 'Contra maxime quinto saeculo, ad quam aetatem referri carmen volumus, Silius in hominum manibus fuisse atque frequenter lectitatum ex Vibii Sequestri libro scimus. . .' *Re* Pars II see Fasc. II, Index III (Versuum Auctores Cognitores), p. 917 and Fasc. III (Supplementum),

There are no extant medieval commentaries on the *Punica*, and traces of Mss. of the poem in the Middle Ages are slight. The 32 with which we are familiar are all of the Renaissance; see below, p. 364 (Appendix II of *Fortuna*). The codex which L. Carrion and F. Modius saw and collated in the Cologne cathedral library in the 16th century and which the former assigned to the time of Charlemagne is now lost.²⁶

To our knowledge Silius is represented in only one fragment of a medieval library-catalogue, of the 10th century.²⁷ The pertinent entry is *Item Ovidii metamorfoseon; Sili et Stacii volumen I*. The catalogue fragment forms part of Ms. Donaueschingen 191. Unfortunately, the name of the library whose holdings are listed is not stated in the fragment and has been much debated. Von Lassberg quotes I. von Arx for the theory that the library was St. Gall but is inclined himself to favor Constance. But Lehmann (p. 262) presents strong arguments for Reichenau.²⁸

Index III (Versuum Auctores Cognitores), p. 176 and also C. Weyman, 'Studien zu den Carmina latina epigraphica', *Blätter für das Gymnasial-Schulwesen* XXXI (1895) 529-556 and C. Hosius, 'Römische Dichter auf Inschriften', *Rheinisches Museum* N.F. L (1895) 286-300. Perhaps the best parallel cited by Hosius is no. 710. 6: *post fata mariti*; *Sil.* VI 575: *post fata mariti*.

26. Cf. H. Blass, 'Die Textesquellen des Silius Italicus', *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* VIII. Suppl.-Bd. (1875-76) 161-250 at 161-162.

27. Printed by J. von Lassberg in *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* VII (1838) 416-420 at 419 and also by P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* I (Munich 1918) 262-266 at 265.

28. Cf. also Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* (Leipzig 1935) 125 and J. Autenrieth, *Die Domschule von Konstanz. . . (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte* N.F. III, Stuttgart 1956) 18-20. For various problems connected with the entry (e.g., whether *Ovidii metamorfoseon* is a mistake for Manilius, connections between this Ms. and Madrid Mss. M 31 (now 3678) and X 81 (now 8514)), see P. Thielscher in *Philologus* LXVI (1907) 85-134, LXXXII (1927) 167-180, *Hermes* LXXXIV (1956)

Two indications of familiarity with Silius in the Middle Ages are the following: 1. In the miscellaneous Ms. Bern. 363, s. IX, there is written over the beginning of Chirius Fortunatianus' *Ars rhetorica*, in the same hand as the text: Silus Italicus XV liber²⁹ de bellis Punicis; Fortunatianus is referring to deliberations of the Roman senators early in *Punica* XV as an example of the first *circumstantia*. 2. In a Bede Ms. of the 9th century in Stuttgart, HB VII 38 (Weing. B53), the Silian verse: *Ipsa quidem virtus sibimet pulcherrima merces* (XIII 663)³⁰ and other material have been copied in by a hand of the 11th century; the copyist has been identified as a priest named Wolferad.³¹

In addition to these items concerning Silius in the Middle Ages there may be imitations of passages of the *Punica* in various authors of the ninth to the twelfth centuries. There may be a few such imitations in the *Waltharius*³² and in the *Novem Vitae Sanctorum metricae*. . . *Ex codicibus*. .

353-372, and *Classical Quarterly* N.S. VII (1957) 1-2, pp. 47-52; A. Wasserstein in *Classical Quarterly* N.S. III (1953) 1-2, pp. 67-78 and VIII (1958) 1-2, pp. 111-112; G. P. Goold in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* N. F. XCIX (1956) 9-17; A. J. Dunston in *Univ. of London, Inst. of Classical Studies, Bulletin* XIV (1967) 96-101, esp. 99 n. 3 and 100 n. 6.

29. Throughout our article we give the material from the Mss. and quote from early printed editions in a standard modern orthography and punctuation and expand abbreviations; hence here *liber* instead of *lib*. We do, however, retain any spelling that seems particularly important or interesting as, e.g., *silus* for *Silius*.

30. Throughout this paper the line-references to the *Punica* follow L. Bauer's ed. (2 vols.; Leipzig 1890-92).

31. Cf. J. Delz, *Die Überlieferung des Silius Italicus; Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Philologie im 15. Jahrhundert* (Basel Habilitationsschrift 1966; to appear later in print) 7 and n. 4; this work will be referred to hereafter as Delz I.

32. See in W. Berschin, 'Ergebnisse der Waltharius-Forschung seit 1951', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* XXIV (1968) 16-45 at 25 a parallel between the two works noted by Schumann and another by Wallach.

saec. IX-XII.³³ Connections between Silius and Walther von Speyer seem very dubious; certainly *Sursulus* (= Statius), not *Silius*, is to be read in vs. 100: *Sursulus ingenua cantavit proelia voce* of 'Primus libellus de studio poetae, qui et scholasticus' of Walther's *Vita et Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris*.³⁴ There may just possibly be a trace of Silius in Reginald of Canterbury.³⁵ Perhaps there are echoes of the *Punica* in Thiofrid of Echternach,³⁶ in Walter of

33. See W. Harster's edition of these texts (Leipzig 1887) 182 (in *Index Scriptorum Laudatorum*). Note from the four parallels adduced by Harster the following: VI (*Vita S. Cassiani*) 115: *Blasphemus tenebras postquam properavit Avernas*, and Silius XV 76: *degeneres tenebris animas damnavit Avernis*; VII (*Passio S. Arnulfi*) 330: *Qualis ubi pluviae per caeca silentia noctis*, and Silius VII 350-351: *Navus abire timor, dum caeca silentia dumque / maiores umbrae*. O. Occioni, *Scritti di letteratura latina* (Turin etc. 1891) 185-186 questions the Silian imitation in all four of Harster's passages.

34. See W. Harster's edition of the *Vita* (Munich 1878) 22, where he corrects the suggestion of *Silius* made in his study *Walther von Speyer, ein Dichter des X. Jahrhunderts* (Speyer 1877) 20. See also P. Vossen, *Der Libellus Scolasticus des Walther von Speyer: Ein Schulbericht aus dem Jahre 984* (Berlin 1962) 39 (text of vs. 100 with *Sursulus*), 89 (n. *ad loc.*: *Sursulus* = *Statius*). The long account of the fate of Regulus (vss. 21-68 of *Praefatio ad invitandum lectorem idonea* of the *Vita Christophori*) just possibly reflects Walther's familiarity with Silius, but it is a vague recollection of the Regulus episode with a confusion of Carthaginians with Parthians. This confusion is probably due to Horace *Odes* III 5, where the *exemplum* of Regulus is opposed to that of Crassus. See Harster's study (1877) 20 and cf. his edition (1878) 8. For opposition to Harster's view see Manilius, *Geschichte* II 504; Occioni, *op. cit.* 186-188.

35. See Manilius, *Geschichte* III 844 n. 6.

36. K. Rossberg in his edition of Thiofrid's *Vita Willibrordi Metrica* (Leipzig 1883), after citing many Latin authors known to Thiofrid, says (p. xviii): 'Aliorum etiam scriptorum ut Ciceronis, Silli Italici, Ausonii, loci interdum animo eius observati esse videntur'. Rossberg has confronted six

Châtillon,³⁷ and in the *Bucolica* of Marcus Valerius.³⁸

The idea that Petrarch owned a Ms. of Silius seems completely unfounded despite Lefebvre de Villebrune's description of a 'fragment' of the *Punica* as: quod sibi minus verecunde, nonnullis mutatis, vindicaverat, suoque poemati Africae lib. VI. adsuere non est veritus Fr. Petrarca. The 'fragment' clearly belongs to the *Africa*, but Lefebvre shamelessly added it to his editions of Silius (i.e., the Latin one and the one containing the Latin text with a French version; both Paris 1781) and accordingly called the Latin one *Operis integri editio princeps*.

L. Arrigoni described in his *Notice historique et bibliographique sur 25 MSS. . . ayant fait partie de la bibliothèque de François Petrarque* (Milan 1883), No. 1, pp. 21-23 a Silius Ms. (Marston Ms. 220 of the Yale Library; De Ricci, *Suppl.* 226) that he stated had belonged to Petrarch and contained autograph notes by him. But this statement must be rejected. The presentation inscription (f. 184^v: Ioanēs Columna Francisco Petrarche: Mnemosynō) is forged and of the 16th century; many of the 19th-

century documents attached to the Ms. merely show how unscrupulous certain scholars could be.³⁹

That Amplonius Ratinek (c. 1365-1434/35) of Rheinberg possessed two Mss. of the text of the *Punica* and one of glosses on it is very questionable. We know of these Mss. only from a list of codices given by Ratinek to the University of Erfurt;⁴⁰ the Mss. themselves have all disappeared. The titles all refer to Lucan (*Libri Lucani de bellis punicis*, etc.); it seems more reasonable that *de bellis punicis* should be changed to *de bello civili* or *de bellis civilibus* than that *Lucani* should be changed to *Sili Italici*.

Whether a Silian Ms. existed containing VIII 144-223 plus two lines omitted in modern editions is doubtful. The 82 lines first occur in print in the *Collectaneorum hecatostys prima* (Fano 1508) of Iacobus Constantius (Giacomo Costanzi) (1473-1517), and VIII 144-223 (and one of the two other verses) in the Aldine edition of Silius (1523). Constantius says (cap. 92): . . . duos et octoginta versus deficere Baptista Guarini filius. . . ostendit: quos e gallia sibi cum aliis quamplurimis rebus scitu dignis missos fuisse dicebat.⁴¹

Silian passages with six in the *Vita Willibrordi*; see p. 115 (Index Scriptorum Laudatorum s.v. Silius Italicus). For arguments against imitation of Silius by Thiofrid in the lines in question see Occioni, *op. cit.* 188-190.

37. See the passages from the *Punica* and from Walter's *Alexandreis* cited by H. Christensen, *Das Alexanderlied Walters von Châtillon* (Halle 1905) 210 (in the 'Verzeichnis der aus antiken Dichtern entlehnten Stellen'). If some of these correspondences are accidental, Walter's audendum est aliquid, quod nos. . . hostibus expulsis. . . coronet (*Alex.* IX 96) certainly looks like a copy of Silius XV 549-551: Magnum aliquid tibi, si patriae vis addere fata, / Audendum est, quod, depulso quoque moenibus hoste, / Victores fecisse tremant.

38. See M. Valerio, *Bucolice*, a cura di Franco Munari (2 Florence 1970), pp. 15 and 27 for parallel passages and pp. 14, 15, 25 for usage. Note especially from p. 15, Valerius II 98: extremum querentia lumina solem? and Silius VI 10-11: nec cernere deerat / Frustra seminecum quaerentia lumina caelum.

39. Cf. B. L. Ullman, 'Petrarch Manuscripts in the United States', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* V (1962) 443-475 at 456. V. Develay in 'Pétrarque et Silius Italicus', *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire* (Paris 1883) 505-508 notes that Arrigoni does not attack Petrarch's reputation in the way that Lefebvre does but warns his readers at the request of the director of the *Bulletin* thus: 'Prenez garde, ce qu'on vous vend pour un diamant n'est qu'un caillou du Rhin!'

40. See R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte*. . . II (Florence 1914) 13.

41. For more details and for the question of whether the lines are genuine see O. Rossbach in his review of the first volume of Bauer in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* XI (1890) 1869-1871 at 1871; W. E. Heitland, 'The "Great Lacuna" in the Eighth Book of Silius Italicus', *The Journal of Philology* XXIV (1896) 188-211; Sabbadini, *op. cit.* I (Florence 1905) 180-182. Rossbach considers the verses a forgery by Guarino, Sabbadini looks upon them as a forgery of Costanzi, Heitland thinks that they are genuine and from the St. Gall Ms.

The medieval Ms. of Silius which is now lost (as is the Cologne Ms.) but from which all extant Mss. descend was discovered by Poggio in 1417 at the time of the Council of Constance, but the exact place of the discovery cannot be ascertained (many scholars have favored St. Gall, and the codex is often called Sangallensis). For the abundant evidence dating from the 15th century for the find see Delz I 10-28 and nn. 1-26. The earliest testimonium is Francesco Barbaro's letter of congratulation to Poggio (July 1417).⁴² The next is a letter of Poggio's from Constance to Barbaro (1417 or 1418).⁴³ Poggio observes there that the Ms. needs to be first corrected and then copied by a scholar; so he asks Barbaro to have this done and the result sent to Niccolò Niccoli in Florence. An epistle of Poggio to Niccoli (1425) implies that the latter has a Silius for copying.⁴⁴ In his *oratio funebris* for Niccoli (1437) Poggio says that the inspiration and impulse for ferreting out so many texts, including the Silius, was from Niccoli.⁴⁵ Sicco Polenton (1375-76 — 1446-48) in the second version, completed in 1437, of his *Scriptorum illustrium Latinae linguae libri XVIII* states that a Ms. of Silius' poem had recently been discovered at Constance and gives an account of Silius' life; Sicco was the first to bring Pliny's letter (III 7) into connection with the newly found Silius.

Many other lives of Silius, not accompanied by a commentary on the *Punica*, were written in the 15th and 16th centuries. Maybe the next one after that by Sicco is the work of Agostino Dati (1420-1478?). See for these lives our Appendix I: The

Renaissance *Vitae* of Silius unaccompanied by commentary.

These Renaissance biographies of Silius and the number of Renaissance Mss. of the *Punica* show that Silius became popular after he was 'rediscovered' by Poggio. One reason for his popularity was probably the great interest that men of letters had already taken in Scipio and the great respect that they had for his character. Scipio's 'life and deeds played a prominent role throughout Dante's work', and 'Dante's lofty view of Scipio's divine mission is reflected in the fact that he has St. Peter himself eulogize the Roman hero in his *Paradiso* (Par. XXVII 61 ff.)'.⁴⁶ Petrarch considered Scipio a personification of virtue and even cites him along with Christ.⁴⁷ The authority and popularity of Petrarch, the biography of Scipio that he wrote, and what was known about the *Africa* (never finished by Petrarch and not to be published until 1501) will go far to explain the popularity of Silius after his text was found again. People were interested in the Second Punic War; the 14th century had already seen this as the summit of Roman history and achievement and had already debated whether Scipio or Hannibal was greater.⁴⁸

There was a 15th-century debate over Scipio and Caesar, a controversy over which of the two had served his country better and whether the Roman Republic or the Roman Empire was to be preferred. Behind it was a conflict between the republican and the monarchical ideals prevailing in the Italian states at the time. The principal figures in the debate at its beginning in 1435 were Poggio, favoring Scipio and the Florentine ideal of the republic, and Guarino, favoring Caesar and the monarchism of the princely courts. Silius is occasionally invoked in the controversy. Guarino declares in his attack on Poggio that Caesar was not responsible for the death of Latin eloquence and literary

42. See *Francisci Barbari et aliorum ad ipsum epistolae* (ed. A. M. Quirini, Brescia 1743) 1-8 (Ep. 1) at 2; also in Poggius Bracciolini, *Opera omnia* (ed. R. Fubini, Turin 1969) 57-64 at 58.

43. See A. C. Clark, 'The Literary Discoveries of Poggio', *Classical Review* XIII (1899) 119-130 at 125; reprint of p. 125 in Fubini, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

44. See T. de Tonellis, *Poggii Epistolae* I (Florence 1832, reprinted Turin 1963) 149-150 (Lib. II, Ep. XXIII) at 150.

45. See *Poggii Florentini. . . opera. . .* (Basel 1538, reprinted Turin 1964) 270-277 at 272.

46. Quotations from A. S. Bernardo, *Petrarch, Scipio and the 'Africa'*. . . (Baltimore 1962) 169-170.

47. Cf. Bernardo, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

48. Cf. J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (¹⁵ Leipzig 1926) 220, 91-92.

studies as Poggio had maintained in a letter to Scipione Mainenti of Ferrara. Guarino cites as evidence a number of authors in various genres: grammarians, poets, historians, etc. Of the poets he writes: 'Quid de poetis? Dicerem de Catullo, Claudiano, Ovidio, Lucano, Statio, Silo Italico, cuius in lucem revocandi auctor extitisti, nisi omnes eos suo splendore dignitate admiratione unus Virgilius obumbrasset'.⁴⁹ (Cf. Pietro Tommasi's remark, made in a letter of c. 1419 to Guarino and referring presumably to the art of Silius, Statius, and others who had been recently discovered: '... qui meo iudicio sine multa nostra iactura adhuc latere potuissent'.⁵⁰) Poggio's reply was his famous *Defensiuncula contra Guarinum Veronensem*, actually addressed to Francesco Barbaro. Here Poggio notes that Latin authors from Livy, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, and Silius to St. Augustine all testify to Scipio's virtues and great services to the state. He says of Silius (p. 368): 'Silius quoque Italicus cum Caesarem multa cognosceret gessisse ex quibus suum poema ordiri potuisset, tamen quia sciebat virtutibus fere vacuata et in perniciem patriae redacta, Scipionem delegit, in quem cum propter eius praeclara in patriam merita multas laudes conguessisset, tandem in fine sui operis cum meritis et laudibus aequat Romulo et Camillo, alteri conditori Urbis, alteri restitutori'.⁵¹

49. See R. Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese* II (Venice 1916) 221-254 (No. 670) at 224.

50. Sabbadini, *op. cit.* I (Venice 1915) 664-666 (No. 474A) at 665.

51. For the documents see *Poggii Florentini... opera...* (Basel 1538, reprinted Turin 1964) 357-365 (letter to Scipione Mainenti), 365-390 (the *defensiuncula*), 356-357 (letter to Francesco Barbaro accompanying the *defensiuncula*; also in T. de Tonellis, *Poggii Epistolae* II (Florence 1859, reprinted Turin 1963) 9-11 (Lib. V, Ep. II) and E. Walser, *Poggii Florentinus: Leben und Werke* (Leipzig-Berlin 1914) 437-438 (ined. 9, reprinted in Poggii Bracciolini, *Opera omnia*, IV (Turin 1969) 441-442) (letter to Leonello d'Este accompanying the *defensiuncula*). For description and discussion of the controversy see H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance...* (Prince-

In Poggio's *Disceptatio de avaritia*, finished in 1428, Bartolomeo da Montepulciano illustrates from Lucian and 'ab Silio Italico Poëta nobili' the commonplace that all one's wealth is of no avail against death; he says: 'Silius vero cum defunctum in bello divitem avarum dixisset, hos edidit versus' and then quotes *Punica* V 261-267: '... modo quem Fortuna fovendo / Congestis opibus donisque refersit opimis / Nudum Tartarea portabit navita cymba'.⁵²

Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) shows familiarity with Silius. There are several quotations from the *Punica* in the *Intercoenales*, which Alberti worked at over many years from his youth to c. 1438.⁵³

ton 1955) I 51-54, II 391-394 (on a letter of 1440 of Pietro del Monte, a former pupil of Guarino, but siding with Poggio in the debate), 465-468 and Walser, *op. cit.*, 164-171 (the debate proper), 171-173 (continuation of the debate by Ciriaco of Ancona with an epistula Caesarea against Poggio and by Pietro del Monte).

52. See *Poggii Florentini... opera...* (Basel 1538, reprinted Turin 1964) 1-31 at 31.

53. Cf. E. Garin, 'Venticinque Intercenali inedite e sconosciute di Leon Battista Alberti', *Belfagor* XIX (1964) 377-396 at 380. For Alberti's text with the Silian quotations see E. Garin, 'Leon Battista Alberti: Alcune intercenali inedite', *Rinascimento* ser. 2, IV (1964) 125-258 (= Quaderni di *Rinascimento*, 1965, 9-142). On p. 193 (= 77) in the part *Fatum et pater infelix* of Book VIII, Sil. V 406-407 are quoted with slight variations (the passage is not assigned by Garin; Alberti does not refer it to Silius but says: *ut sapientes aiunt*), Sil. III 134-135 are cited with variations (the passage is assigned by Garin, though his lemma has *Sylvius* for *Silius*; Alberti says: *ut inquit Sylus*), and Sil. V 75-76 are quoted with *igitur* added and *superum* instead of *superi* (the passage is unassigned by Alberti, though Garin's punctuation suggests attribution by Alberti to Herodotus; it is assigned correctly by Garin). On p. 204 (= 88) in Book IX: *Naufragus* the sentence with 'Silio poete ut assentiar' may possibly contain an echo of Sil. II 620 as Garin states, but Garin has missed Sil. II 472-473 in the next sentence (the passage is exactly quoted, and with *enim* added, by Alberti; Garin's punctuation spoils the sense).

At least by the 1450's university lectures on Silius were being given. Petrus Odus Montopolitanus, who succeeded Valla at the Studio in Rome in 1457, lectured on Silius there, though maybe for only one year in the period 1457-1462. But there are traces of lecturing on the *Punica* (we do not know the names of the lecturers) before that period; see our account of anonymous commentators A-D below, pp. 365-69. (In 1464 Galeotto Marzio, then professor of rhetoric and poetry in the Studio Bolognese, invokes several verses of Silius to correct a false quantity recurring in Francesco Filelfo's *Sphortias*. For their exchange of invectives and for Filelfo's quest for the Silius Ms. of Bartolomeo da Montepulciano see Delz I 14-22 and nn. 14-15). Petrus Marsus in the dedicatory epistle to his edition of Silius with commentary (Venice 1483) lists as those who had expounded Silius before himself Petrus Montopolita and then his own teachers Pomponius [Laetus] and Domitius [Calderinus]; see below, pp. 387. It is likely that Pomponius commented on Silius while he was in Venice in 1467-68, just before he was deported to Rome and imprisoned; he was doing some copying of or commenting on the *Punica* while he was a prisoner in the Castel S. Angelo in 1468-69; he lectured on that poem at the Studio after his return to his professorial chair there c. 1470. Domizio Calderini was appointed professor of rhetoric at the Studio in 1470 and lectured on the *Punica* there during the three-year period 1470-73, expounding the whole work; he prepared his lecture notes for publication, but they apparently never got into print.

The long list of printed editions of the *Punica* begins in 1471. The editio princeps came out in that year in Rome; it was quickly edited by Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Bishop of Aleria, ('recognitionem absoluit diebus circiter XV') and printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz. In the same city and the same year (in fact, only a few weeks later) a better edition, prepared by Pomponius Laetus, was published. The year 1481 saw two more editions: one by Petrus Justinus Philelfus came out in Milan and one by an unknown editor in Parma. At Venice in 1483 the first edition with a commentary

(by Petrus Marsus) appeared; this edition was reprinted at least three times.⁵⁴

54. The 15th-century editions:

1471, n.b. April 5, Rome: Sweynheym and Pannartz; ed. Giovanni Andrea Bussi. (H *14733, Goff S-503). There are copies containing also the text of Calpurnius Siculus and of the Latin version of Hesiod's *Opera et dies* by Nicolaus de Valle. The three works were 'evidently intended to form one whole' (BMC IV 13).

1471, c. April 26, Rome: Georg. Lauer, ut putatur; ed. Pomponius Laetus. (H 14734, Goff S-504 cf. BMC IV 42).

(1474, Rome. Doubtful. Not in Hain, but listed by Fabricius BL II 174).

(1480, Rome. Doubtful. Listed by Fabricius *ibid.*) (H 14735).

(Cf. Ruperti I, p. lvi for the problem of these two editions and his theory that N. Heinsius' readings from a Roman edition are from one or the other of them).

1481, November 7, Milan: A. Zarothus; ed. P. I. Philelfus. (H 14736, Goff S-505).

1481, November 16, Parma: 'Printer of Jerome, Epistolae, 1480' (BMC VIII 942) rather than Andreas Portilia. (H 14737, Goff S-506).

1483, Venice: Baptista de Tortis; with Petrus Marsus' commentary. (H 14739, Goff S-507).

(c. 1490, Venice: I. de Paganinis Brixiensis; with Petrus Marsus' commentary. Doubtful.) (H 14738).

1492, Venice: Bonetus Locatellus for Octavianus Scotus Modoetiensis; with Petrus Marsus' commentary. (H *14740, Goff S-508).

1493, Venice: Iohannes Tacuinus; with Petrus Marsus' commentary. (H 14741, Goff S-509).

(1495, Venice; with Pius' commentary. Doubtful.) (H 14742).

For the history of the printed text and lists of editions see Fabricius BL II 174-177 (editions through 1717) and several of the editions themselves, esp. those of A. Drakenborch (Utrecht 1717), Praefatio; G. A. Ruperti (2 vols., Göttingen 1795-1798) I xli-lv (Praefatio Drakenborchii) lv-lxx (editions through 1791); and N. E. Lemaire (2 vols., Paris 1823) II 432-446 (Praefatio Drakenborchii), 446-462 (editions as in Ruperti and continued through 1797). For a list of all the editions through Petrucci's of 1947 see M. von Albrecht, *Silius Italicus: Freiheit und Gebundenheit römischer Epik* (Amsterdam 1964) 215-220.

For the university courses of Fonzio and Volseo on the *Punica* in the 1480's and for the possibility that Faccino and Cynthius Cenetensis were commenting on it within that period see below, pp. 396-98 (12. Doubtful commentaries. a-d).

There is evidence for a good deal of lecturing on Silius at Bologna in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.

Philippus Beroaldus (Filippo Beroaldo or Beroaldi) the Elder (1453-1505) interpreted Livy and Silius Italicus during at least one academic year between 1472 and 1475 or between 1479 and 1491.⁵⁵ His commentary on these authors may not have been published; we have not been able to find it, in any case. Some, if not all, of it is perhaps meant by the items cited by Alidosi:⁵⁶ '13 *In Liuium lib. a 6* [correct to *ab*] *origine urbis, & praecipue* I. 4. 8. 22. 28' and '35 *In Siluium* [sic] *Italicum*'. What we have seen, however, is the oration introductory to his lectures on Livy and Silius; it is extant in many printings. We have seen it first in a collection of Beroaldo's writings (orations, etc.) Bologna 1491, sig. avii-bii (H *2949); then Paris 1499, sig. bii-bv (HC *2954) and Bologna 1500, sig. biii-bviii (H *2955).⁵⁷ It regularly appears also in

55. For Beroaldo's career; his beginning to teach rhetoric and poetry in the Studio of Bologna in 1472; his absence from Bologna for lecturing in Parma, Milan, and Paris in 1475-78; etc. see A. Corradi, *Notizie sui professori di latinità nello studio di Bologna*. . . in R. Deputazione di Storia patria per le provincie di Romagna, *Documenti e Studi* II (Bologna, 1886) 353-529 at 471-78; U. Dallari (ed.), *I rotuli dei lettori. . . dello studio bolognese dal 1384 al 1799* I (Bologna 1888); L. Frati, 'I due Beroaldi', *Biblioteca de 'L'Archiginnasio'*, Ser. I, Vol. II: *Studi e Memorie per la Storia dell'Università di Bologna* II (Bologna 1911) 207-228 at 210; M. Gilmore, 'Beroaldo, Filippo, senior', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* IX (1967) 382-384 at 382; and G. Zaccagnini, *Storia dello Studio di Bologna durante il Rinascimento* (Geneva 1930) 122-128. See also the biobibliography of Beroaldo p. 188 above.

56. G. N. P. Alidosi, *I (or Li) dottori bolognesi di teologia, filosofia*. . . (Bologna 1623) 64 and 65.

57. A 1490 printing may be a 'ghost' despite

Orationes, Praelectiones, Praefationes et quaedam Mythicae Historiae Philippi Beroaldi (which are followed by items by other authors and more items by Beroaldo); we have seen it in the following editions of this collection: Paris 1508, sig. avii-bi^v; Paris 1509 (a Magistro Johanne Galthero), fols. vii-ix^v; Basel 1509, sig. Av^v-Avii^v; Basel 1515, fols. v^v-vii^v; Paris 1524, fols. vii-ix^v.⁵⁸ Beroaldo also quotes incidentally from Silius in his *Annotationes in Servium*, sec. 28 and *Appendix annotamentorum*, chap. XX; see below, p. 355.

In the oration the two ancient authors are compared, but much more attention is given to Livy than to Silius; for instance, the remarks on Silius are all on sig. bi-bi^v of the Paris 1508 edition of the *Orationes, Praelectiones*. . . : *Ceterum cum sapientis sit servire temporibus, nos quoque temporibus his serviamus, quibus cum arma vigeant, bella horrida perstreant, cum omnis Italia bellicis tumultibus saeviat. . . idoneum esse videtur ut scriptores eos potissimum legamus qui bella describunt. . . Ambo eadem bella facundissime narrantes ille soluta oratione, hic versu heroico, qui non minus historicus quam poeta iudicandus est, qui stilo cothurnato et caractere grandiloquo tonare ac fulminare videtur. . . Sed quid plura? Livii et Sillii facundia, vires, ingenium, eruditio, ceteraeque virtutes eximie sese nobis quotidiana enarratione exhibebunt. . .*

G. M. Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia* II, 2 (Brescia 1760) 1011: '*Orationes ec. Philippi Beroaldi. Parisiis apud Roe* [correct to *Roce*] 1490. *Lugduni* 1490. e 1492. in 4.'; it is not in GW.

58. For other editions of the *Orationes, Praelectiones*. . . and for other collections of Beroaldo's works which may contain the oration in question see Mazzuchelli, *loc. cit.*; G. Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi* II (Bologna 1782; reprinted *ibid.* 1965) 121-122; and *Index Aureliensis*, prima pars, A/12 (1969) 86-98. The reference in M. Lipen, *Bibliotheca realis philosophica* [not *theologica* with Mazzuchelli and Fantuzzi] I (Frankfurt am Main 1682; reprinted Hildesheim 1967) 666 to Paris 1573 for our oration may be to a printing of it by itself.

Ioannes Baptista Pius (Giambattista Pio) (15th and 16th centuries) of Bologna gave a course on Silius and Livy in that city. He refers to the lecturing on Silius in Chapter CLV (CLVI in Gruterus) of his *Annotationes posteriores* (or *Annotationes linguae Latinae Graecaeque*): Ego publico auditorio Bononiae Silium anno praesenti enodans docui. . . The introduction (in hexameters) to the course is called *Praefatio De re militari habita in principio enarrationis Silii Italici et Titi Livii De secundo punico bello*; it is contained in the *Praefationes Gymnasticae Ioannis Baptistae Pii Bononiensis alique varii sermones* (Bologna 1522; Panzer VI 333, 117), pp. 58-63. How often this set of lectures was given we do not know. The year specified in the *Annotationes posteriores* might be 1505, when those notes seem to have been printed for the first time. But it might be somewhat earlier if these *Annotationes* were published without much revision from lecture notes that Pio had had on hand for some time, but doubtless not before 1496, when the *Annotationes priores* were apparently first published.⁵⁹

Pio refers to and quotes from Silius in at least one other of his *praefationes*, the *Praefatio habita in enarratione Epistolarum Ciceronis ad Atticum et Silvarum Statii*, *op. cit.*, pp. 6^v-7.

The Silian notes of Pio are on three isolated passages of the *Punica* and make up three of the 205 or more chapters of the *Annotationes posteriores*. (Both Ascensius and Gruterus have errors in the numbering at various points and seem to have lost a chapter or two. Ascensius has also after his Chap. CL, but not affecting the numbering, Pio's notes on Cicero's *Lucullus*, which is called *ad Hortensium*). Silius is quoted

incidentally in at least one other chapter: *Punica* III 336 in Chap. XXXV; and very early in the dedicatory epistle to Francesco Soderini *Punica* III 145 is quoted and then followed by a paraphrase from Pliny, *Ep.* III 7, the letter which is the main source for the life of Silius. The three chapters are, in Ascensius' edition, XXXI (fols. CXXIII^v-CXXIV): Silii Italici carmen enarratum de Mamertinis (on *Punica* I 662-664), CLV (fol. CLVII): Disceptatum numquid balista Phocais vocetur a Silio propter populos Massilienses simulque carmen Italici discussum contra omnium hactenus opinionem (on I 335) (here Pio says: Ego publico auditorio. . . docui balistam Phocaida dici simpliciter pro Saguntina, and elaborates his argument with references to Silius' allusive manner), and CXCII (fol. CLXIV^v): Evalidum modice validum significare carmen Italici emendatum. Inibique aliud eiusdem relatum ad interiorem leonum moram (on I 552, 553-555; to explain the action of Hannibal in vss. 553-555 and justify reading *adversus*, not *aversus*, in vs. 555 Pio invokes Pliny's description in *NH* VIII 50 of the courage shown in danger by lions).

Retractationes to the *Annotationes posteriores* are found at the end (sigs. &^v and &^{vi}) of the Lucretius with Pio's commentary, Bologna 1511 and Paris 1514.

Pio's notes on Silius show a concern with the whole poem, its worth, and the difficulties in it. Chapter XXXI, for instance, begins: Silius Italicus duriusculus a plerisque omnibus poeta nuncupatur, quem censet Caecilius Plinius versus maiore cura quam ingenio composuisse. Ego heroicae gravitatis cum epigrammatico vate nec omnino insuavem reor. At acerbam imitemque aspredinem illi afferunt frequentes maculae, quibus penitus obruitur. Whether Pio planned a commentary on the whole *Punica* or an edition of it is not known. In any case, there is no good evidence for the existence of an edition of Silius with a commentary by Pio (H 14742). As Fabricius observes (BL II 177), 'similiter [he has just referred to a catalogue of Mss. where Silius' name got in by mistake for that of Statius] frustra aliquis quaerat Silium cum commentariis Pii, qui in Bibliothecae Bar-

59. For the various years, beginning with 1494-95, when he was professor of rhetoric and poetry at Bologna see Dallari, *op. cit.*, I and II (Bologna 1888 and 1889). For his having started to lecture at the age of 19 see *Ann. Post.*, Chap. XIII, which is concerned with Persius, not Sidonius, *pace* Fantuzzi; but the date of his birth is uncertain. For more details about him see Corradi, *op. cit.*, 484-487; W. B. Fleischmann, CTC II 351, 356-359 (with bibliography); and Zaccagnini, *op. cit.*, 120.

berinae Catalogo [Rome 1681 ; II 387] memoratur editus Venetiis 1495. fol'. The Barberini entry may possibly be due to confusion of Pio's lecturing on Silius, or composing notes on selected passages, with an edition ; but perhaps it is rather a mistaken description of some book, printed or manuscript, and has nothing to do with Silius or Pius.

Pio's *Annotationes posteriores* were printed at Bologna in 1505 (Panzer VI 324, 43), at Paris in 1511 in the *Annotationes doctorum virorum* of Badius Ascensius (with Pio's *Annotationes priores* and works of other authors such as the *Annotata in varios* and *Praelectiones variae* of Iacobus a Cruce) (Panzer VII 552, 444), and in Janus Gruterus, *Lampas sive Fax artium liberalium* I (Frankfurt am Main 1602) 386-583 (with the *Annotationes priores* on pp. 353-386).

Pio refers to the *Annotationes posteriores* at the end of the dedicatory epistle as *annotamenta* (haec quantulacumque annotamenta nostra inculta fortassis et rudia), and they are so titled on the fly-leaf of the 1505 edition. But this is also found for another work of Pio's, the *Annotamenta in Plautum, Sidonium, Fulgentium* (Panzer VI 324, 42 and presumably H 13025). For more details about Pio's writings see Fabricius BLMA V 286 and Fleischmann, *loc. cit.*

Iacobus a Cruce (Giacopo dalla Croce)⁶⁰ (d. c. 1527) of Bologna lectured on Silius and Livy in that city and completed a few notes on Silius. This lecturing may have been for an academic year or more than one. We do not know the exact year or years. But it was doubtless 1495 at the earliest.⁶¹

Of his lectures we have only the introductory one to three sets : the *Praelectio in Livium et Silium Italicum* (although his extant notes on Silius may derive from later

lectures of that set), one to Boethius, and one to Juvenal and Valerius Maximus.

In the first of these introductions Iacobus gives more attention to Silius in relation to Livy than Beroaldo did ; among other things he provides a certain amount of information about Silius' life. The *praelectio* is in Ascensius, *op. cit.*, fols. cxcviii^v-cc, with the Silian material on cc : . . . Silii Italici Punica exponere et enarrare hoc anno constituimus. . . opus inquam evigilatum et accuratissime [sic] elaboratum. Namque in prima aetate Silius facundissime declamavit, clientibus affuit, in foro centumvirale [sic] exercuit. . . Ad carmen dehinc conversus cum urbe relicta Neapolim secessisset, Maronem religiosissime coluit. . . Cumque aetas hominis in senium vergeret, historiam Hannibalis et Scipionis maluit ore ingenti detonare quam fabulas veteres et nimis antiquas referre. Et mehercule eo opus hoc ceteris excellentius est et augustius quo bellum hoc Punicum quod Hannibale duce Carthag. cum P. R. gessere maximum et difficillimum reliqua antecellit et praeponderat, quantoque senilis aetas in qua haec cecinit iuvenili impetu gravior est et pensitior. Silio adiungemus T. Livium. . .

Iacobus' Silian notes make up one chapter or section (no. 9 according to Gruterus' *Index scriptorum locorumque*) of his *Annotata* (or *Annotationes*) in *varios*. Five isolated passages of the *Punica* are discussed there : I 66-67, 56-57, 89, 273-275, and III 22-23 ; Silius is cited incidentally in at least one other place in the *Annotata* (chap. 20, 'in Donatum', for the etymology of Bononia).

Iacobus may not have given a title to his remarks on various Latin authors ; in the dedicatory epistle to Anton Galeazzo Bentivoglio he refers to them as *annotatiunculae et observationes*. They were generally cited as *Annotata* (or *Annotationes*) in *varios* or in *Ovidium*, in *Virgilium*, in *Persium*. . . (in various arrangements of the authors' names).⁶² To call them *Annota-*

60. For other Latin and vernacular forms of his name see Fantuzzi, *op. cit.* III (1783) 232-233.

61. For Iacobus' career ; for 1495-96 as the first year of his teaching grammar, rhetoric, and poetry and no longer just grammar *pro quarteriis* ; for 1527-28 as his last appointment at the Studio of Bologna ; and for 1528 as the last possible year in which he was still alive see Corradi, *op. cit.*, 487-489 ; Dallari, *op. cit.*, II 53 ; Fantuzzi, *loc. cit.* ; and Zaccagnini, *op. cit.*, 121-122.

62. M. E. Cosenza's reference to *Annotationes priores et posteriores* (*Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists*. . . (6 vols., Boston 1962-67) II 1800, also I 524 s.v.

tiones centum (Cosenza and Malagola, *loc. cit.*) or *Annotationes centum in varios Auctores* (Fantuzzi, *op. cit.*, III 236, referring to Bumaldi, *Biblioth. Bononien.*) may be right. Iacobus is so prone to comment on passages just incidentally (cf. in the Silian chapter 'Necnon in transcurso locum in quarto Metamorphoseos corrigimus. . .') that it is hard to say precisely how many count towards the total and the title. But what is more likely to be correct is *Centum et sexaginta Annotationes in varios auctores*; this is what appears on the fly-leaf of the Bologna 1503 edition, and the distich on sig. Fiii^v of that edition begins: *Haec sexaginta et Centum observata Iacobi*. In Fabricius BLMA IV 10 Mansi refers to this line as proof that there are 160 'animadversiones', but he quotes it with a redundant *centum* that is apparently a printer's error.

Iacobus' notes and *praelectiones* were printed together at Bologna in 1503 (Panzer IX 411, 27b; cf. Fantuzzi, *loc. cit.*). They are both found in Ascensius, *op. cit.*, fols. clxxxv-cc (the chapter of Silian notes on exciii^v-exciv). The notes without the *praelectiones* are in Gruterus, *op. cit.*, I 648-697.

Many writers and scholars in the late 15th and in the 16th centuries quote Silius incidentally or discuss a passage from his poem. See the references to Silius in the Indices to Gruterus, *op. cit.*, I-V. In the Index to the first volume, for example, in addition to Ioannes Baptista Pius' *Annotationes post.* and the notes of Iacobus a Cruce the following works are cited: the *Annotationes in Servium* and *Appendix annotamentorum* of Philippus Beroaldus, the *Auctarium* of Pius Antonius Bartolinus, the *De rebus per epistolam quaesitis* of A. Ianus Parrhasius, the *Collectanea* of Lucius Ioannes Scoppa, the *Centuria* of Ptolomaeus Flavius Anconitanus, and the *Miscellanea* of Angelus Politianus.

An instance of familiarity with Silius in northern Europe is supplied by Jacob Locher

(Philomusus Suevus) in the *Stultifera Navis* (1497), his Latin adaptation of the *Narrenschiff* of his teacher and patron Sebastian Brant. The part called *Concertatio Virtutis cum Voluptate* of the *Stultifera Navis* shows much verbal borrowing from an episode of the *Punica* (XV 18-128). That episode is Silius' version of the old story of Hercules' Choice, with Scipio substituted for Hercules. Silius, Locher, and the woodcuts accompanying the *Concertatio* have apparently influenced a painting of the young Raphael, which Panofsky would call 'The Choice of the young Scipio Africanus' rather than 'The Dream of the Knight'.⁶³

The many 16th-century editions of the *Punica* present little in the way of exegesis (Petrus Marsus' commentary is reprinted once, and Hermannus Buschius' scholia are printed three times) and much that is problematical textually.⁶⁴ The first of the

63. For the editions, translations, and adaptations of the *Narrenschiff* see E. H. Zeydel, *The Ship of Fools by Sebastian Brant*. . . (Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies 36, New York 1944) 21-31. Brant tells the story of Hercules' Choice (from Basil the Great) as an *exemplum* in Chap. 107, *Von Ion der Weisheit*, of the *Narrenschiff*; it does not appear in the corresponding chapter of Locher, who omitted it there because of his *Concertatio* coming later. See in E. Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege*. . . (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg XVIII, Leipzig-Berlin 1930) esp. 33-40 (account of the woodcuts in the various editions and translations of the *Navis*), 53-54 (Basil as the source of Brant's account of the Choice), 70-75 (parallels from Silius and the *Concertatio*), 86-97 (connections between the *Stultifera Navis* and the Hercules play (1512) of 'Arvianotor', who was probably Brant; Schwenter's *Histori Herculis* (1515) largely a translation from 'Arvianotor'), pls. 17-19. See also D. Wuttke, *Die Histori Herculis des Nürnberger Humanisten*. . . Pangratz Bernhaubtgen. Schwenter (Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 7, Cologne-Graz 1964) *passim*, esp. 120-129 (Enea Silvio Piccolomini and Hercules' Choice; possible influence from Piccolomini or even the *Punica* itself on Raphael rather than from Locher; a parallel between Schwenter and Silius).

64. The 16th-century editions:

1504, Leipzig: Martinus Herbpolensis (Martin

Bentivolus, Antonius Galeatius), taken from C. Malagola, . . . *Antonio Urceo*. . . (Bologna 1878) 244) must be due to confusion with the notes by Giambattista Pio.

series is the Leipzig edition of 1504, containing Buschius' *argumenta* to each book of the poem but not his scholia. An edition was brought out in Paris in 1508 without notes. Another came out there in 1512 with Petrus Crinitus' *Vita* of the poet (which had first appeared in his *De poetis Latinis libri V* in 1505) and Marsus' commentary. At Lyons in 1514 B. Troth published an edition prepared by Damianus Benessa. Ruperti gives it high praise (I, p. lix): 'Post editionem Pomponii optima inter veteres, si fides habenda Lefeb. [i.e. Lefebvre de Villebrune] qui eam contulit. Critica certe cura et subtilitate

Landsberg of Würzburg); with Hermannus Buschius' *argumenta*.

1508, Paris: Radulphus Laliseau.

1512, Paris: Nicolaus de Pratis, for Poncius Probus (Ponset le Preux) and Franciscus Regnault; with Petrus Marsus' commentary and Petrus Crinitus' *Vita*.

1514 (perhaps also 1513; cf. Baudrier VIII 425), Lyons: Bartholomeus Troth; ed. Damianus Benessa.

1515, Florence: Philippus Iunta; ed. Ambrosius Nicander, with his *Vita* and *catalepses*.

1522, Basel: Thomas Volffius; with Hermannus Buschius' *argumenta* and scholia.

1523, Venice: Aldus and Andreas Asulanus; ed. Franciscus Asulanus; with Petrus Crinitus' *Vita*.

1531, Paris: Simon Colinaeus; with Hermannus Buschius' *argumenta* and scholia.

1543, Basel: Henricus Petrus; with Hermannus Buschius' *argumenta* and scholia.

1547, Lyons: Sebastianus Gryphius; ed. Franciscus Asulanus; with Petrus Crinitus' *Vita*.

1551, Lyons: Sebastianus Gryphius; ed. Franciscus Asulanus; with Petrus Crinitus' *Vita*.

1566, Antwerp: Philippus Nutius; ed. Franciscus Asulanus; with Petrus Crinitus' *Vita*.

1568, Antwerp: Philippus Nutius; ed. Franciscus Asulanus; with Petrus Crinitus' *Vita*.

1578, Lyons: Antonius Gryphius; with Hermannus Buschius' *argumenta*, Ambrosius Nicander's *catalepses*, and Lilius Gregorius Gyrardus' *Vita*.

1598, Lyons [Geneva]: Antonius Candidus (Antoine Blanc); with Hermannus Buschius' *argumenta* and Ambrosius Nicander's *catalepses*.

1600, Leyden: Christophorus Raphelengius; ed. Daniel Heinsius, with his notes, the *Crepundia Silliana*, of 1601 appended.

Benessa omnes cum saeculi XV. tum XVI. editores superavit. Cf. Praef. Drakenb.' He condemns (*ibid.*) the edition prepared by Ambrosius Nicander that issued from the Juntine Press the next year and laments, as Drakenborch had before him, that it formed the basis of the Aldine text of 1523; furthermore, he explains, other editors followed that text, so that interpolation was rampant in Silius until Drakenborch's edition, despite some good efforts in the 16th and 17th centuries at improvement: 'Nicander inconsulta et temeraria mutandi corrigendique libidine Siliani carminis contextum quavis fere pagina foede conrupit. Vide Varr. Lectt. et Praefat. Drakenborch. Nihilo secius eius vestigia legit Aldus, quem deinde Nutius alique secuti sunt. Quo factum est, ut interpolatio grassaretur in omnes fere editiones ante Drakenb. typis expressas, qui primus cuncta quasi vulnera a Nicandro carmini inflicta sanavit, totque maculas ei adspersas, delevit; etsi iam ante eum opera Carrionis, Modii, Barthii et Dan. Heinsii non infeliciter in emaculando Silio stabuloque, ut ita dicam, Augiae purgando versata est'. In 1522 an edition appeared in Basel with the marginal scholia of Buschius for the first time and with his *argumenta*. The scholia are described on the titlepage as 'quae vice uberis commentarii esse possunt', but they are scarcely that and often not much more than captions or summaries of the narrative. The Aldine edition was the first one to give the verses VIII 144-223 (cf. above, p. 348 and n. 41), which were printed in practically all editions after that. Both the Paris edition of 1531 and the Basel one of 1543 have Buschius' *argumenta* and scholia.

During this period of the early 16th-century editions knowledge of Silius was not confined to professional scholars; there are various indications of his finding a place in general or polite education. There is a life of him in the encyclopedia-like work of Raffaello Maffei of Volterra, the *Commentariorum urbanorum libri XXXVIII* (first edition, Rome 1506); see below, p. 363. There is a large section devoted to Silius in Octavianus Mirandula's book of quotations, the *Viridarium illustrium poetarum*, which went through several editions (first edition,

Venice 1507) and had an even greater vogue in its later form as a collection of *sententiae*, the *Illustrium poetarum flores* (first edition, Strassburg 1538).⁶⁵ Silius is even mentioned in Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, which is supposed to represent conversations held at the ducal palace in Urbino in 1507.⁶⁶ As for England, 'Vives recommends' Silius 'in the plan of studies which he wrote for the young Charles Mountjoy in 1523'; and Sir Thomas Elyot in his book on education, *The Governour* (1531), says: 'The two noble poetis, Silius and Lucane, be very expedient to be lerned', the first of these because he 'setteth out the emulation in qualities and prowesse of two noble and valiant capitaynes. . . Scipio the Romane, and Haniball duke of Cartaginensis'.⁶⁷ There is an account of Silius in Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's *Historiae poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum dialogi decem* (first edition, Basel 1545), and Silius is alluded to and quoted in his *Historiae deorum gentilium syntagmata XVII* (first edition, Basel 1548); see below, pp. 363-64.

Editions of Silius printed by Sebastianus Gryphius at Lyons in 1547 and 1551 reproduced the Aldine text and Crinitus' *Vita*. Special mention should be made of Carrion and Modius, who prepared collations of the Cologne Ms. between 1564 and 1584 and are our sole authorities for its readings; cf. also below, p. 359.⁶⁸

65. See below, p. 358 for how common a school text the *Flores* were later in the century in England.

66. It was first printed in 1528. The mention of Silius is in Book I, Chap. 38: In a discussion of language and style Messer Federico recommends imitating the best authors, Petrarch and Boccaccio in Italian rather than others, just as in Latin one should try to imitate the language of Virgil and Cicero rather than that of Silius and Tacitus; the Conte then raises the question whether the language of Silius and Tacitus is greatly different from that of Virgil and Cicero.

67. See E. L. Bassett, 'Silius Italicus in England', *Classical Philology* XLVIII (1953) 155-168 at 155-156.

68. For details about this Ms. and their use of it see Blass, *op. cit.*; Delz I 136 ff. and nn.; and P. Lehmann, *Franciscus Modius als Handschriftenforscher* (Munich 1908) 96-98.

Ludovicus Carrion (Louis Carrion) (c. 1547-1595), born at Bruges, edited a number of Latin texts and published several other works. One of these is his *Emendationum et observationum libri II* (Antwerp 1576, Paris 1583), with each book divided into 19 chapters. Here, along with discussion of many other ancient authors, Silius is often studied and his text emended from the Coloniensis (though Carrion 'minus triginta poëtae locos sanavit', whereas Modius emended 'plurimos' — Bauer, *op. cit.*, [n. 30], Vol. I, p. ix). This work of Carrion's is in Gruterus, *op. cit.*, III, 2 (1604) 90-185 and in the incomplete new edition of Gruterus, published in Italy, IV (Naples 1751) 126-215. See the chapter headings to Carrion's text and Gruterus' *Index auctorum locorumque* for the Silian material.

Franciscus Modius (François Modius) (1556-1597),⁶⁹ born at Oudenbourg near Bruges, published commentaries on several Latin authors and wrote many other works. One of these is his *Novantiquae lectiones* (Frankfurt am Main 1584). It is a vast work, a discussion of passages in many Latin authors, with much reference to textual problems, in the form of 133 letters (or 'tributae in epistolas centum, et quod excurrit', as Gruterus has it). In 40 letters 242 passages of the *Punica* are discussed and emended, or added to our text, from the Coloniensis;⁷⁰ two Silian passages are also emended from that Ms. in Modius' edition of Curtius Rufus (1579) and five in his edition of Livy (1588). Modius gave his information about the readings of the Coloniensis to the scholarly world in this way, though he had originally planned to publish an annotated edition of Silius.⁷¹ The *Novantiquae lectiones* are reprinted in Gruterus, *op. cit.*, V 1-339.

69. Cf. the account of him by A. H. McDonald, CTC II 347-348.

70. The 40 letters are listed in Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 97 n. 5 and von Albrecht, *op. cit.*, 230; cf. also Gruterus' marginalia.

71. The *Silius Italicus de 2^{do} bello punico factus a Modio M.S.*, cited in the library catalogue of Richard de Pan, is lost; cf. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 97 and 98 with n. 1.

In Antwerp in 1566 and 1568 Philippus Nutius brought out editions of Silius that reproduced the Aldine text and Crinitus' *Vita*. Many emendations of Silius were proposed by the Antwerp canon Johannes Livineius (c. 1549-1599). He did not publish these but entered them in his copy of the Basel 1543 edition of the *Punica* (which is now in Wolfenbüttel). This is the book from which Nicolaus Heinsius copied them down; and though he says of them: 'ea satis sunt ieiuna, ut quod res est, dicam', he did not disdain to cite some of them as his own. Finally, they appear in print in Drakenborch's edition.⁷² Petrus Paganus (Peter Dorfheilge(r)) expounded some of Silius' poem, perhaps only the first book, at Marburg, where he was a professor from 1561 to 1576; his exposition, dated 1567, of the first book is one of the items bound together as Ms. Bernensis 663; see below, pp. 392-93. In Lyons in 1578 Antonius Gryphius printed an edition of Silius containing Buschius' *argumenta*, Nicander's *catalepses*, and Gyraldus' *Vita*. The section of the *Punica* on Scipio's Choice was printed in Paris in 1595 by Federicus Morellus under the title *Dialogismus seu colloquium Voluptatis et Virtutis cum Scipione Afric. ex Sili Italici poetae lib. XV*. In 1598 in Geneva, though with a Lyons imprint, Antonius Candidus brought out an edition of Silius with Buschius' *argumenta* and Nicander's *catalepses*. The Leyden edition of 1600 was prepared by Daniel Heinsius and is especially important because, on Joseph Justus Scaliger's recommendation, he used in preparing his text the variant readings of the Coloniensis reported by Modius in his *Novantiquae lectiones*. Heinsius' printer, Raphelengius, begged him to produce some explanatory notes to the text also; Heinsius promptly complied, and his notes, under the title of *Crepundia Siliiana*, appeared in 1601 as a kind of appendix to the edition proper; see below, pp. 394-95.

72. For more about Livineius; for readings of the Coloniensis which he also entered, from Modius and Carrion, in his copy of the 1543 Silius; and for emendations of his which have been wrongly cited by Heinsius or Drakenborch as readings of the Coloniensis see Blass, *op. cit.*, 198-200 and 209-210.

Joseph Justus Scaliger's father, Julius Caesar Scaliger, was perhaps largely responsible for the disfavor which Silius has often encountered. As von Albrecht notes:⁷³ 'Gehörte es doch seit Scaligers "Poetik" zum guten Ton, keine hohe Meinung von Silius zu haben'. Julius Caesar Scaliger in his *Poetices libri septem* (1561) wrote thus of Silius: 'Antequam Statium aggrediamur, Silium expediamus. quem equidem postremum bonorum poetarum existimo: quin ne poetam quidem. non nervos, non numeros, non spiritum habet. adeo vero ab omni venere alienus est, ut nullus invenustior sit. . .' Still, Silius was commended as well as condemned in the later 16th century. 'The Elizabethan schoolboy became somewhat familiar with Silius in two ways: either directly through the occasional provision made for reading some of the *Punica* in the upper forms of a few schools or, more often, indirectly through some such anthology as the *Flores* of Octavianus Mirandula read at an earlier stage. . . Mr. T. W. Baldwin has made an elaborate study of how common a grammar school text it was in Shakespeare's youth'.⁷⁴ Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* (London 1598) cites Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Silius, Lucan, Lucretius, Ausonius, and Claudian as superlative Latin authors.⁷⁵

The Bipontine edition of the *Punica* (1784) contains (pp. x-xviii) an *Index Editionum C. Sili Italici* divided into four periods: Aetas I *Natalis* 1471-1514; Aetas II *Juntino-Aldina* 1515-1600; Aetas III *Modio-Heinsiana* 1600-1695; Aetas IV *Cellario-Drakenborchiana* 1695-1781. Aetas III

73. Von Albrecht, *op. cit.*, 10. See his whole section (pp. 9-14) on the reputation of Silius through the centuries (on Pliny's criticism, on the Scaliger passage, on Cellarius' view that Silius had 'more historic than poetic value', etc.).

74. Quotation from Bassett, *op. cit.*, 157.

75. P. 280, in the section called 'A comparative discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets': As the Greek language 'is made famous and eloquent' by Homer, Hesiod, etc., and the Latin language by the authors listed, so the English language is made resplendent by Sidney, Spencer, Shakespeare, etc.

is appropriately named, for it is a period in which the variant readings from the lost Cologne Ms. and questions of textual criticism in general are great issues. The first edition of Silius to give these readings is that of Daniel Heinsius (Leyden 1600), who derived them from the *Novantiquae lectiones* of F. Modius (Frankfurt 1584). Heinsius also produced explanatory notes on the *Punica*, his *Crepundia Siliana* of 1601 (see above, p. 357, for the vast number of Silian passages emended by Modius, and the smaller number by Carrion, from the Coloniensis; see below, I 11, for Daniel Heinsius).

A number of texts of Silius, usually without exegetical notes, came out in the first half of the 17th century. An outstanding one that does have some commentary is by the canon of Tournai, C. Dausque (Paris 1615; in many copies the date was changed to 1618). As later editors note, it is a good edition in many ways but marred by animosity towards Modius and Daniel Heinsius and consequent rejection of readings from the Cologne Ms.; as Ruperti says (Vol. I, p. lxii): *... saepius meliora vidit et probavit; sed nihilo secius frugibus inventis glandibus vesci, et Nicandri somnia defendere maluit, quam veritati manus dare.* Daniel Heinsius' text, without the *Crepundia*, was reprinted by Raphelengius at Antwerp in 1618.

Silius has now become a standard author, appearing in many of the *Corpora*. So the *Punica* is found in all the editions of the **Corpus omnium veterum poetarum Latinorum* (Geneva ¹1603, ²1611, ³1627, ⁴1640) and in the *Corpus poetarum Latinorum* (Lyons 1616). Many passages of the *Punica* are examined in the *Adversariorum commentariorum libri LX* (Frankfurt¹ 1624, ² 1648) of Kaspar von Barth, mainly on the basis of the excerpts that he had from the Oxford Ms. (Queen's College 314). Daniel Heinsius' son Nicolaus (Nicolaas) (1620-81) entered readings from the Coloniensis in an edition of Silius that he had (1531, Paris: Simon Colinaeus) and discussed them in notes added to his copy of Dausque's edition; these two sets of material were eventually printed in Drakenborch's edition.

There is a dearth of editions of Silius in the second half of the 17th century; to our knowledge there is none from 1640 (in the Geneva *Corpus*) until 1695, when the important one of Cellarius appeared. (Daniel Heinsius' *Crepundia* were reprinted at Cambridge in 1646 without the text of the *Punica*). But the text of Silius was still being carefully studied, and J. F. Gronovius' *Observationum libri* (¹Deventer 1652, ²Leyden 1662) contains a section *Observationes in Silium*.

The Aetas IV of Silian editions begins with that of Christophorus Cellarius (Leipzig 1695). It is a noteworthy edition that pays much attention to geography and has maps. Cellarius considers Modius, Nicolaus Heinsius, and Gronovius the leading Silian scholars and follows them primarily. He refers rhapsodically also to emendations which Nicolaus Heinsius had written into his copy of his father's text, which he (Cellarius) was able to see. But Drakenborch discovered that they were not Nicolaus' own proposals but those of Josephus Justus Scaliger, to whom Drakenborch duly assigned them in his edition.

A. Drakenborch's edition of Silius (Utrecht 1717) is the first one with a commentary of any scope. It is also the first real variorum edition; its title-page reads: *Caji Silii/Italici/Punicorum/Libri Septemdecim,/cum excerptis/Ex Francisci Modii Novantiquis Lectionibus,/Et Casp. Barthii Adversariis,/tum Danielis Heinsii crepundiis Silianis,/Et postumis notis/Nicolai Heinsii, nunc primum editis,/curante Arnoldo Drakenborch,/Cujus etiam annotationes passim additae sunt.* Drakenborch's great guide was Nicolaus Heinsius, whom he followed 'passim nisi ubi genius linguae Latinae vel poëtae aliud flagitare mihi videbatur, quod tamen paucissimis in locis accidit' (Praef., p. ***2). Drakenborch notes in his Praefatio that he had seen two collations or sets of readings from the Oxford Ms. (Queen's College) and carefully set out for the reader the places where the two collations differed. He also observes there that it has been his aim in his edition to prove other scholars' conjectures, or readings from the Mss., by the testimony of the best authors; he will

keep a received reading if that seems better and will illustrate from the editions how Silius' text has been spoiled by scribes, printers, or critics. Another aim of his has been to point out accurately Silius' famous *imitatio Maroniana*; he will also explain difficult passages that might cause the tyro trouble. Drakenborch's edition is a landmark in establishing the text of Silius, if not in interpretation of the poem or the appreciation of Silius' art; cf. Ruperti, Vol. I, p. lxiii. It became the standard text of the *Punica* for some time; it is reproduced, for instance, in the Bipontine edition.

A curious edition appeared at Paris in 1781, that of Lefebvre de Villebrune. Actually, it is a double edition, one in three volumes with a French translation and another in one volume of just the Latin text (with critical notes). It is an important edition in many ways; Lefebvre de Villebrune made use of the two Paris Mss. as well as of the variant readings from the Oxford and the Cologne Mss. as reported by Carrion, Modius, and Barth; he used also several early editions (e.g., the second Roman one, 1471). But he indulged in a good deal of wild conjecture and is full of animosity towards Nicolaus Heinsius and Drakenborch. Since he gives the verses of Book VIII which were first added to the text of the *Punica* in the Aldine edition (see above, p. 356) and which many editors and Silian scholars rejected, and since he attached to his edition a passage from Petrarch's *Africa*, he had the temerity to call his edition 'opere integri editio princeps.'

Lefebvre's is the latest edition of the Bipontine Aetas IV. Two 18th-century editions of the *Punica* after that one are particularly significant. The first in time is that of I. C. T. Ernesti (2 vols.; Leipzig 1791-92), whose text is basically that of Drakenborch. What is especially important in his edition is his concern with the art of Silius, or *interpretatio*. So there is a longish essay in his edition on Silius' art, 'Disquisitio de carmine Siliano' (Vol. I, pp. viii-xxxii). He notes in his Praefatio that textual matters are important and that 'lectionem et interpretationem emendatio

antecedat necesse est' but that practically all the work done on Silius since the re-discovery of his poem has been merely textual, so that in a sense he has been neglected. Ernesti explains his own approach as follows: Itaque in duabus potissimum rebus, primum in interpretatione, deinde in carminis indole et consilio poetae recte aestimando, omnis opera editionis instruendae mea versata est. The second of these editions is that of G. A. Ruperti (2 vols.; Göttingen 1795-98). It is concerned with textual matters and has an apparatus criticus of some scope; it is also concerned with the art of Silius, or *interpretatio*, and has an extensive commentary. Ruperti is a great expositor of Silian diction and style; the lengthy Index Rerum et Verborum appended to his second volume (pp. 1-170) is a storehouse of information on grammatical and stylistic points and is followed by an Appendix sive diatribe de stilo poetico et potissimum Siliano (pp. 171-186). Ruperti's is the last commentary on the whole *Punica* and perhaps the best.

Ruperti's text and commentary are reproduced, with a few additions, in N. E. Lemaire's edition (2 vols.; Paris 1823). Particularly noteworthy in 19th-century Silian scholarship is the study of the text again, with a closer analysis of the Coloniensis tradition (e.g., how reliable all the reported readings of the lost Cologne Ms. are) and the recording of more and more Mss. of the Sangallensis tradition; see, for example, G. Thilo, *Quaestiones Silianae criticae* (Halle 1858) and the articles of H. Blass, G. Wartenberg, and L. Bauer cited at the end of Appendix II. Bauer is the editor of the Teubner text of Silius (2 vols.; Leipzig 1890-92), which, though based on only four Mss., counts as the standard text today. It is followed in the main by W. C. Summers in his edition of Silius in J. P. Postgate's *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* (Vol. II, fasc. 4; London 1904), but Summers thought the text through afresh (and he did himself inspect Ms. O) and improved on Bauer's text in many places.

APPENDIX I

The Renaissance *Vitae* of Silius unaccompanied by commentary (with cross-references to *Vitae* in commentaries).

1. Sicco Polentonius (Sicco Polenton) (1375-76 — 1446-48) in the fourth book of his *Scriptorum illustrium Latinae linguae libri XVIII* states that a Ms. of Silius' poem had recently been discovered at Constance and gives an account of Silius' life; there are also incidental references to Silius in Sicco's work. Sicco's vast *opus* was completed after 25 years of labor in 1437, as he tells us in a letter of that same year. An earlier version of part of it, six books and the beginning of a seventh but not containing a section on Silius, is extant in a manuscript written around 1426 and now in Florence (Ms. Ricc. 121); cf. R. Sabbadini, 'Storia e critica di alcuni testi latini,' *Museo italiano di antichità classica* III (1890) 318-476 at 318. The Riccardiana Ms. was owned by Crinito and Varchi; cf. Kristeller, *Iter* I 185-186, and for Crinito see below. For changes in the plan of Sicco's work, the letter of 1437, and the evidence for an intermediate edition, and for a printed copy of the complete text see B. L. Ullman's edition, *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome* VI (1928); the life of Silius is on pp. 121-122. Ullman follows Sicco's autograph Ms., 'in which he made his final additions and corrections', Vat. Ottob. lat. 1915.

The facts in Sicco's life of Silius are all from Pliny, *Ep.* III 7. The order of the details in Pliny's account is shifted somewhat in that of Sicco. The latter's phraseology is very Plinian at some points, less so at others. There is some expansion of Pliny's statements, but no serious distortion of them; for instance, Sicco says: *Villas quidem illo in loco atque Neapolitano in agro et multas et magnas habuit*, whereas Pliny writes: *Plures isdem in locis villas possidebat*. As these facts of Sicco's are all from Pliny's letter and the *Punica* is not quoted anywhere in the *Scriptorum illustrium libri*, Sicco had probably not seen the Ms. discovered in 1417 or a copy of it; cf. D. M. Robathan, *The Sources of Sicco Po-*

lenton's '*Scriptorum Illustrium libri*' (type-written diss., Chicago 1929), 107 (cf. 74, 125).

Sicco's life of Silius is reproduced with slight changes in the Parma (1481) edition of the *Punica* (HC 14737), fols. 171^v-172; it was copied from there by the scribe of Ms. D,⁷⁶ fols. 176-177; cf. Delz I 14.

[*Inc.* (Ullman's ed., p. 121)]: *Habuit aetas ipsa Sillum Italicum, virum utique cum litteris tum honoribus clarum. Poema extat suum secundo de bello Punico, illo quod Hannibale duce populus Carthaginiensis cum Romanis gessit. Nuper id Constantiae, quae Alemaniae civitas est Rheno flumini proxima, dum concilium ibi ecclesia dei haberet, repertum est. Quippe incognitum erat prius. Vir nanque illustris ac doctus poeta fuit Sillus. Carmina tantum, ut refert Plinius, cura maiori quam ingenio scripsit. . ./. . .* [*Expl.* (*ibid.*, p. 122)]: *Annos vixit quinque et LXX, deinde inedia sibi tedio nati clavi, qui esse insanabilis videretur, indixit et animo constanti mortuus est.*

(For the life of Silius by commentator 2 see below, pp. 366).

2. There is a Renaissance life of Silius of uncertain authorship. It is one of the items (fol. 138^v) in Ms. Flor. Naz. II X 43, which is labeled on the spine *Aug. Dati Elegantiae & Opusc. Varia*. Maybe the life is by Augustinus Dat(h)us (Agostino Dati) (1420-1478?). But the genitive *Aug. Dati* of the spine is probably meant to refer only to *Elegantiae*. It cannot apply to all the *opuscula*; actually, the last scholar to whom something is assigned before the Silian item is Guarino Veronese (1370-1460); see the list of contents in Mazzatinti XII 41-42. The same *Vita* of Silius is found in a miscellaneous Paris Ms., Bibl. Nat. lat. 10806, fol. 49; for a description of the Ms. with list of contents see A. La Penna, 'Studi sulla tradizione di Properzio (*Continuazione e fine*),' *Studi italiani di filologia classica* N. S. XXVI (1952) 5-36 at 30-31 and 30 n. 1; the last scholar to whom something is assigned before the life of Silius is Angelo Tifernate (15th century). This same Si-

76. For our sigla for Mss. of Silius see Appendix II.

lian *Vita* is also in Pomponius' edition of the *Punica* (HCR 14734; see below) and was copied from there into our Ms. F, fol. 174.

[*Inc.* (Ms. Flor. Naz. II X 43)]: Vita Silii Italici. Silius Italicus, cuius maiores Italica Hispaniae urbe orti fuere, prima aetate declamavit. Mox foro vacavit. Inter primores urbis sine potentia, sine invidia fuit.../. . . [*Expl.*]: Taedio insanabilis clavi in Neapolitano abstinentia cibi (corrected from abi) vita defunctus est annum agens LXX.

The last sentence is followed immediately in Pomponius' edition by: Opus iam neglectum Pomponius recognovit. Anno domini MCCCCLXXI VI Calend. Mai. Romae. The scribe who copied the life into Ms. F also added Opus. . . recognovit; then, when he came to the date, stopped, realizing that he had gone beyond the life itself.

(For the life of Silius by Pomponius Laetus see below, pp. 375, 378).

3. Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus (Marcello Virgilio Adriani) (1464-1521) prepared a life of Silius, possibly some time during his lecturing at the Studio in Florence between 1494 and 1503 (for these dates, other details of his career, and references see G. Miccoli's art. on him, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* I (1960) 310-311). This *Vita* as it occurs in Ms. Flor. Magl. XXXVIII 117, no. 8 is of some length (fols. 84-85^v). A version printed by W. Rüdiger, *Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus aus Florenz* (Halle 1897) 57 is much shorter and lacks the quotations from Martial's *Epigrams*. Rüdiger introduces one serious error: a *Nerva consul creatus* for a *Nerone c. c.* Rüdiger does not state the Ms. source of his version. The last Ms. that he cites (55 n. 2) before he gives his Silian life is 'Classe VII, Cod. 396, bibl. Nazionale zu Florenz' — for Marcello's Latin glosses on *Iliad* 1-3; this must be a Magliabechianus, but Magl. VII 396 has nothing to do with Homer or Silius, and the text proper is actually in Italian; see Mazzatinti XIII 258. Rüdiger's source must be Magl. XXXVIII 117 since he goes on to quote some of Marcello's life of Lucan and to describe his account of Horace, both of which are found in that Ms. His handling of Marcello's life of Silius is similar to his

treatment of the Statian material in Ms. Magl. VII 973 (which is not stated as his source); cf. A. Wasserstein, 'Politian's Commentary on the *Silvae* of Statius' [W. rejects Marcello as author of the commentary], *Scriptorium* X (1956) 83-89 at 86 n. 13: '... in transcribing passages from the MS. he changes and leaves out words for the sake of shortening the passages, without noticing that thereby he ascribes activities and works to P. P. Statius which Politian had properly ascribed to Statius' father.'

[*Inc.* (Ms. Flor. Magl. XXXVIII 117, fol. 84)]: Silius Italicus Romanus civis et nobilis a (corrected from sub) Nerone consul creatus tanta comitate sapientiaque se gessit ut nullum ab eo quisquam optimi consulis munus desiderarit. Huius in consulatu Nero e vita sublatus est, ut Plinius iunior in tertio libro epistolarum ostendit, et Martialis libro VIII ita scribens: Postquam bis senis ingentem fascibus annum / Rexerat, asserto qui sacer orbe fuit. The next two lines are added in the margin: Emeritos Musis et Phoebus tradidit annos / Proque suo celebrat nunc Helicon foro [*Epigr.* VII 63. 9-10 and 11-12]. . ./. . . [*Expl.* (*ibid.* fol. 85^v)]: Belli Punici secundi decem et septem scripsit libros, de quibus idem in quarto ait: Sili Castalidum decus sororum / Qui periuria barbari furoris / Ingenti premis ore, perfidosque / Fastus Hannibalis levesque Poenos / Magnis cedere cogit Africanis [*Epigr.* IV 14. 1-5].

The account of Silius breaks off at the bottom of the page, and fol. 86 begins in the middle of a *Vita Lucani*.

Rüdiger's version of the life (*op. cit.*, p. 57) is: Silius Italicus, civis Romanus nobilis, a Nerva consul creatus, tanta comitate sapientiaque se gessit, ut illius consulis munus optimus quisque desiderarit. Proconsul Asiam sortitus, ea rexit moderatione, ut maximam gloriam rettulerit, prona aetate foro et caussis et eloquentiae Ciceronis maxime studuit, deinde publicis curis depositis in villis litterato ocio vacabat. Composuit *Punica*. Saepius eius meminit Martialis.

4. There is a life of Silius in the *De poetis Latinis libri V* of Petrus Crinitus (Piero Del

Riccio Baldi) (1476-1508). This work by Crinitus on the Latin poets was first published at Florence by itself in 1505 and then together with his *De honesta disciplina libri XXV* and his *Poematum libri II* elsewhere several times. For details about Crinitus' life and bibliography see the Introduction to C. Angeleri's edition of the *De honesta disciplina* (Rome 1955). The life of Silius, extracted from the *De poetis Latinis*, is reproduced in several editions of the *Punica*: e.g., the Paris edition of 1512, the Aldine of 1523 (pp. 3-4), the Lyons editions of 1547 and 1551 (pp. 4-6), the Antwerp editions of 1566 and 1568, the Bipontine of 1784 (pp. III-V), Ernesti's Leipzig edition of 1791-1792 (I liv-lv), and Lemaire's Paris edition of 1823 (II 473-474).

[*Inc.* (Aldine ed., p. 3)]: Silius Italicus heroicus ex Hispania oriundus traditur, deducto genere ab Italica urbe nobili, unde cognomen reportavit. Sed Romae natus est, ut creditur, atque etiam educatus, neque obscura fama est. . . . [*Expl. (ibid., p. 4)*]: . . . neque dubium est eundem ad extremam paene senectutem devenisse, ut qui maior septuagenario vitam finierit. Nam morbo detentus insanabilis clavi singulari constantia obitum praeposuit, felix propemodum, et beatus usque ad extremum diem, ut copiose relatum est a Plinio in epistolis (the last two words omitted by Lemaire).

5. There is a brief account of Silius' life in Book XIX of the *Commentariorum urbanorum libri XXXVIII* of Raphael Volaterranus (Raffaello Maffei of Volterra) (1451-1522), and Silian verses are often quoted in the geographical parts of the work. The Silian *Vita* is in the 'anthropological' part; i.e., *Secundus Tomus Anthropologiam habet hominum clarorum omnium temporum linguarum gentium libris VIII*. . . The work is a kind of encyclopedia which first came out in Rome in 1506 and went through many editions (e.g., Paris 1511 and 1515, Basel 1559). For more details about Raphael Volaterranus see Sister Agnes Clare Way, C. D. P., CTC II 144.

[*Inc.* (1506 ed., Tom. II, fol. 272^v)]: Silius Italicus ex Italica, Hispaniae civitate,

et originem et nomen traxit. Ipse Romae natus in litterisque educatus. Prima ei fori contentio fuit magna inter patronos auctoritate. . . . [*Expl. (ibid.)*]: In qua et eum taxat maiore cura quam ingenio carmina fecisse auditorioque saepe ea commisisse dicens. Imitatus est maxime in his Maronem, cuius etiam natalem celebrare quotannis consuevit.

6. Ambrosius Nicander (Ambrosio [de] Victoria) (16th century) of Toledo, in his edition of Silius published by Junta at Florence in 1515, gives along with the text a fairly lengthy prose life of the poet (pp. 2^v-3^v) and summaries (*catalepses*) of two hexameters each at the beginning of each of the 17 books of the poem. Nicander's *catalepses* have been printed in many editions after his own, usually all together rather than at the beginning of each book and usually accompanying Buschius' *argumenta* (also in one block): e.g., in the Lyons editions of 1578 and 1598 (sigg. *5-*6), Drakenborch's edition (sig. ****^v), Ruperti's (I xci-xcii), and Lemaire's (II 494-496). The *Vita* reads thus:

[*Inc.* (Juntine ed., p. 2^v)]: Silius Italicus, poeta clarissimus, qui bellum Punicum secundum heroico carmine, grandi ac sublimi exordio usque ad calcem tamen servato, scripsit. Nascitur in Italica, Hispaniae urbe, unde et ipse cognomento Italicus est nuncupatus. Est autem Italica (Strabone teste) urbs in Baetica Hispania. . . . [*Expl. (ibid., p. 3^v)*]: In agro suo Neapolitano, vel ut nonnullis placet in urbe, dolore insanabilis clavi diem clausit ultimum, cum bona valetudine annos fere quinque et septuaginta egisset. Pleraque alia de Sillio circumquam [sic] referuntur quibus, quia certo auctore carent, supersedendum putavi. Haec ex Cornelio Tacito, Plinio, Valerio Martiali comperta collegimus.

(For the life of Silius by Buschius see below, p. 390).

7. There is an account of Silius by Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus (Giglio or Lilio Gregorio Giraldis) (1479-1552) in the fourth dialogue of his *Historiae poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum dialogi decem* (Basel 1545,

pp. 527-529); the life of Silius is related at some length, and then there is mention of the discovery of the Silian Ms. during the Council of Constance and of Domizio Calderini's dealing with the text. See also Giraldi's *Operum quae extant omnium. . . tomi duo* (Basel 1580), II 177 and *Opera omnia. . .* (Leyden 1696), II 239-240. Silius is referred to and lines from his poem are quoted in Giraldi's *Historiae deorum gentilium syntagmata XVII* (first printed Basel 1548). The *Silii Italici Vita* in the Lyons 1578 edition of the *Punica* is ex *L. Greg. Giraldo*.

[*Inc.* (1545 ed. of the *Historiae poetarum. . .*, p. 527)]: Suberat imago Syllii Italici, sic, ut quidam arbitrantur, appellati ab Italica, Hispaniae civitate, ex qua oriundum illum fuisse tradunt, quod parum mihi fit verisimile, cum nullus eius, ut Hispani, scriptor meminerit. . . . [*Expl. of Vita proper* (*ibid.* p. 528)]: Sed maiorem, ut ait Plinius, florentem atque etiam consularem reliquit. Inter cetera, Punicum bellum secundum septem et decem libris scripsit, qui nunc passim leguntur.

Giraldi's dialogue then goes on: Sed nolim, inquit Piso, in recensenda Syllii vita plus temporis conteramus, cum eam. . . in tertio Epistolarum volumine C. Plinius. . . describat, et grammatici nonnulli. Illud vero libentius ego / (p. 529) et Picus scire velimus, quonam modo eius ipsum, quod ais, Punicum bellum repertum sit, quod per tot saecula delituerat. Tunc ego, Dicam, inquam, quae ab aliis ipse comperi, tametsi Marullus non sane grandem linguae Latinae iacturam factum iri existimabat, si perpetuum delituisset, dicam, inquam, ut accepi. Eo tempore, quo Christianorum procerum conventus. . . in Germania habebatur, tum ferunt in quapiam ibi turri fuisse repertum, litteris admodum obsoletis et pervetustis, et cum eo una cariosos quosdam aliorum scriptorum libros. Primus vero Domitius Calderinus illud et emendavit, et interpretatus est, quod si Fr. Petrarchae aetate in luce fuisset, non is certe Africam, tantam provinciam, aggressus esset, sed hac de re satis.

APPENDIX II

The Manuscripts of the *Punica*

The 32 extant Mss. are the following (we keep the *sigla* used in Delz I, where full descriptions of the 32 Mss. may be found. For each of the 25 Mss. known to Blass, his *siglum*, followed by his name, is added in parentheses):

- A Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Acquisti e Doni 361
- B Oxford, Bodleian Canon. class. lat. 116 (B Blass)
- D Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Laur. 37, 14 (L¹ Blass)
- E Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Laur. 37, 15 (L² Blass)
- F Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Aed. 196 (F Blass)
- G Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Laur. (Gadd.) 91 sup. 35 (G Blass)
- H London, British Museum, Harl. 4863 (H Blass)
- J Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Laur. 37, 17 (L⁴ Blass)
- K Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Laur. 37, 18 (L⁵ Blass)
- L Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Laur. 37, 16 (L³ Blass)
- M Venice, Bibl. Naz. di S. Marco, Marc. lat. XII 68 (4519) (M Blass, who wrongly cites the old no. as LXII. 68)
- N Oxford, Bodleian Add. c. 192
- O Oxford, Queen's College, 314 (O Blass)
- P Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 8066 (P Blass)
- Q Bibl. Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1651 (V¹ Blass)
- R Bibl. Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3300 (V² Blass)
- T Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 8065 (T Blass)
- U Bibl. Vaticana, Urb. lat. 358 (V⁵ Blass)
- V Bibl. Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1652 (V Blass)
- W Bibl. Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2779 (V³ Blass)
- X Bibl. Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3301 (V⁴ Blass)

- Y Bibl. Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3302 (V⁶ Blass)
 Z Bibl. Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2778 (V⁷ Blass)
 Γ Bibl. Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1258 (O¹ Blass)
 Δ Bibl. Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1441
 Θ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (West Berlin), Ms. lat. fol. 549 (formerly Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek on deposit from the Preussische Staatsbibliothek)
 Α Budapest, University Library, Cod. lat. 8
 Ε Cesena, Bibl. Malatestiana, Cod. Mal. S. XII, 3 (M² Blass)
 Π Bibl. Vaticana, Borg. lat. 417 (M. VIII 20)
 Σ Rome, Bibl. Casanatense Ms. 1064 (M³ Blass)
 Φ Oxford, Bodleian Ms. lat. class. c. 4 (M¹ Codex Mediomontanus, Blass)
 Ψ New Haven, Conn., Yale Univ. Library, Marston Ms. 220
 Cf. Blass, *op. cit.* (n. 26). See also G. Wartenberg, 'Zu den Textesquellen des Silius Italicus,' *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* XXXIII (1887) 431-432 (on II) and L. Bauer, 'Zu den Textesquellen des Silius Italicus,' *ibid.* XXXV (1889) 796-799 (on Α).

Punica

Commentaries

1. ANONYMUS A.

A considerable amount of the explanatory material in P and Γ (scribe A) does not correspond; on the other hand, there are many notes which are the same or very similar. They must come from a common source, which we shall call (the explanations of) Anonymus A, who doubtless preceded Petrus Odus and probably expounded Silius in a public or university course. At any rate, when Odus put his own notes into Γ, those of scribe A (the first hand in both text and scholia) were already there. There is similarity not only in the actual explanations which P and scribe A of Γ give but also in

the areas covered: in particular, geography, figures and tropes, and the structure of speeches, although the P annotations are frequently incorrect and those of scribe A in Γ more generally reliable. Cf., for instance, in P on fol. 4^v (*ad* I 201): *describit* (with no trace of abbreviation for *-ur*) *mors Athalas*, for which Γ shows in the margin: *describitur mons Athalas pulchre* (where only the extra vowel is objectionable); Anonymus A must have provided: *describitur mons Ath(a)las*. An example of more accurate similarity is Γ, fol. 77^v (*ad* VI 644): *Describitur ducatus Spoletanus sive Umbria*; P, fol. 71: *Hannibal vertit se in ducatum Spoletanum*. As an illustration particularly of the method of Anonymus A we might note the spurious verse III 667A, whether he composed it himself or took it from an earlier source: *Advenimus magnis quam laeta fronte sacerdos*, written in the margin of Γ on fol. 38^v; in P, fol. 34^v it is in the text with *mente* instead of *fronte*. (It is also in the text of many later Mss., with *fronte*).

A curious mistake on the part of the scribe of P clearly indicates that he obtained at least some of his material from a handwritten source. On fol. 1^v proper names in the text (I 45: *Ticine* and 52: *Aufide*) have the marginal annotations *Ticinus flumen* and *Aufidus flum(en)*. Other river-names are similarly reproduced in the margins on fols. 3, 3^v, 4, 5, 6^v. On fol. 8 vss. I 421-425 are bracketed and against the bracket, in the right-hand margin, is added the word *comparatio* (*comperatio*); further over in the margin, opposite I 421 is the note *Methonomia flu(men)*. Lower down, opposite I 436 is the note *flumen Methonoñ*. From here on until fol. 19(a) (the foliator of P missed a folium between fols. 19 and 20) the names of real rivers copied in the margins are interspersed with entries such as *Sarchamos fl.* *Zeuma flu.* fol. 9, *flu.* *Sinedoche* fol. 9^v, *Epitheton flu* fol. 17^v, *ypalage flu.* fol. 19. On fol. 19(a) the note to II 457 *fi Methonomia* (cp. 19(a)^v *fi Epitheton* and *fi Zeuma*) makes clear what has happened. The scribe had in his exemplar the abbreviation *fi* = *f(igura)*, and until 19(a), at which point the light dawned upon

him, misunderstood it as an abbreviation for *f(lumen)*.

Among the other striking items in P are three quotations from Leonardo Bruni's *De primo bello Punico* (fols. 33, 71^v, and 72 ad III 385, VI 663, and VI 695 respectively). It seems likely that they derive from Anonymus A, such an intellectual approach to his author being almost beyond the scribe of P; and it is possible that Anonymus A was a friend of Bruni's.

The traces of Anonymus A in P and *I* are far from constituting a continuous commentary and do not start from a common point. The first note of any scope in *I* is: (on I 24) *Iarba fuit rex Africanus qui vendidit tantum territorium* (corrected from -us) *Didoni quantum ambivit cum uno corio* (corrected from *lorica*) *bovis et fuit filius Iovis* (not in P); the first note in P is on fol. 2 (I 56): *nota Hannibalis condiciones* (not in *I*). There are, however, some similarities which may indicate a common origin: cp. (I 119) P fol. 3 *sacrificium ad Proserpinam*, *I* fol. 4 *sacrificium factum deae Proserpinae*, and (I 130) P fol. 3 *nota hic q(uod) Karthaginenses dicunt Italiam esse occidentem* and *I* fol. 4 the glosses *firramento occidentali* over *axe* and *Cartaginensibus* over *Sidoniis* (I 131).

If Petrus Marsus is correct in his statement that Odus was the first person to expound Silius in Rome, and if Anonymus A is anterior to Odus, then Anonymus A must have been active in another city. Florence immediately suggests itself since the first period in the diffusion of texts of Silius took place there.

Manuscripts:

Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 8066; 1461 (P). (Catal. Bibl. Regiae, pars tertia, tomus quartus, Paris 1744, 424; Blass, *op. cit.*, 179; Delz I 84-86).

Vatican, Ottob. Lat. 1258 (*I*), fols. 1-210; s. XV. (Blass, *op. cit.*, 177; Delz I 108-118).

2. ANONYMUS B.

Many of the explanatory comments in the Mss. A, T, X, and *Ψ* vary; but there are enough of them that are verbally the same, or very nearly so, for us to posit a

common source, which we shall call (the explanations of) Anonymus B. This commentator probably, like Anonymus A, gave a course on Silius; cf. the remark in the margin of A *ad* VII 313: *Notate hic astutiam Hannibalis de qua plurimi meminerunt viri* and the comment by scribe A of X on I 73: *notabitur quod duo Beli fuere*.

Two of the four Mss. in question have a *Vita* followed by a rudimentary *accessus* (*Ψ* may have had this material too, but the first folium is now lost):

Ms. T, fol. 4 to the right near the beginning of the text. [*Vita.*] *Ut de vita Silii referamus, mortuus est voluntarie inedia ob clavum inmedicabilem qui perpetuum et letalem dolorem ei gincebat (ut vid., leg. gignebat). Suo in Neapolitano, annum agens quintum et septuagesimum diem finivit. Ad cuius laudem Martialis multa facit epigrammata, quorum primordia haec sunt [Martial IV 14. 1-3; VII 63. 1-2; and XI 48, all four lines, are then quoted]. [Accessus.] et per morem poetarum tria facit in principio: proponit, invocat, narrat [cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* I 8].*

Ms. X, fol. 1 to the right near the beginning of the text. [*Vita.*] *Silius mortuus est voluntarie inedia ob clavum inmedicabilem qui perpetuum et letalem dolorem ei gignebat et suo Neapolitano agro diem finivit. Ad huius laudem Martialis multa facit epigrammata id est. [Accessus.] Et pro more poetarum tria facit: proponit, invocat, et narrat [cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* I 8].*

The notes in A, T, and X on the first three lines of the poem, explaining the construction of *caelo* and the etymology of *Oenotria* and *Carthago*, show a fair amount of similarity.

[*Inc.*]: I 1-3 (Ms. A): *Dativus pro accusativo; Virg., it clamor caelo. Oenotria a potu oenus, id est, vinum. Kartago interpretatur nova urbs nam proprie Birsa vocabatur a corio tauri. [Cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* I 6, 532, III 165, I 367.] (Ms. T): At first only *ad caelum* over *caelo* and *Italia* in the margin for *Oenotria*, but then: . . . *rtago interpretatur nova civitas nam proprie Birsa vocabatur a corio tauri [cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* I 367]. (Ms. X): *Dativus pro accusativo; Vi(r)g., It***

clamor caelo. Oenotria ab enos. . . Cartago idem est quod nova civitas nam eius proprium nomen est Birsia a corio tauri. [Cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* I 6, 532, III 165, I 367].

As an instance of an explanation where we have the evidence of the four Mss. we might take the notes on I 72, the first line of the text as we have it in Ψ . The gloss corresponds exactly in A, T, and X except for variations in orthography and abbreviation, for a word crossed out in T, and for the fact that T has *Sarrana* in place of the second *Sarra*.

I 72 (Mss. A, T, X): *Sarra civitas est quae dicitur Tyros a sar quod piscis quidam est illic abundans quo pannos tingebant. Unde Sarranum ostrum, id est, Tirium dicitur. Ergo Sarra a sar pisce ut Sidon quoque a sidone pisce.* [Cf. Serv. *ad Geo.* II 506.] (Ms. Ψ): The writing is blurred at the edge of the folium; what can be made out shows slight differences from the other three Mss., thus: . . . a civi. . . quae Tyrus. . . a sar quod piscis est. . . id est, Tyrium. . . purpura fie. . . dicitur. Ergo Sarra. . . sar sicut Sidon. . . done pisce.

The explanations of Anonymus B have often been taken over into Σ . An example of this fact is the etymology of *Manes* in the glosses on I 82. A, T, and X (scribe A) all have the same wording except for variations in spelling and abbreviating and for the *manant* which T reads instead of *emanant*.

I 82 (Mss. A, T, X): *Manes vel per antiphrasim quod non sint boni* [cf. Isid. *Etym.* I 37, 24] *nam mane bonum significat vel a manando quod ab inferis emanant.* (Ms. Ψ): *dii manes, id est, dii boni aut manis a manando quia ab inferis emanabant.* (Ms. Σ): *manibus a manando. . . manant et abundant ab inferis. . . superioris vel manando, id est, exeundo dicti manes.* For the hand of Σ in question here, the first, see the account of Anonymus C below.

The glosses in A, T, X, and Ψ do not extend to the same point. The final one, or the final set for each of the Mss., is as follows:

A (*ad XVII 651 f.*): *Quirino quia ipse fecit moenia et tu conservasti ipsa et nos omnes. Camillo qui repulit Senones ferentes signa Romanorum.*

T (*ad XVII 486*): *R]etheius mons apud T[roiam.*

X (*ad XII 713*): *in Aventino habebat* (then a word crossed out and now illegible) *templum Diana.*

Ψ (*ad XVII 651 f.*): *quia ipse fecit moenia et tu conservasti ipsa et nos omnes. . . qui repulit Senones. . .*

The *explicit* of Anonymus B is seen in the common ending of A and Ψ .

The final scholia of A are followed, in the same hand as that of text and commentary, by: *Epitaphium. Sili Italiani poetae / Silius altisono celebravit barbara versu / Proelia: Apollinea Solus in arte potens. / Tempore perpetuo intactum quem gloria servat, / Illius hic durus protegit ossa lapis. //.* Gregorius Grimius (?) . / . At the end of T, the first hand has copied the two epigrams quoted by Blass, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

At the end of Ψ , a 16th-century hand has added the notorious entry that was forged to show that Petrarch knew Silius' poem: *Ioanēs Columna Francisco Petrarche / Mnemosynō.*

Manuscripts:

Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Acquisti e Doni 361; s. XV (A). (Delz I 45-46).

New Haven, Yale University Library. Marston Ms. 220, s. XV (Ψ). (L. Arrigoni, *Notice historique et bibliographique sur 25 MSS. . . ayant fait partie de la bibliothèque de François Petrarque* (Milan 1883) 21-23 (No. 1); W. H. Bond (and C. U. Faye), *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York 1962) p. 90 no. 226; Delz I 134-135; B. L. Ullman, 'Petrarch Manuscripts in the United States,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica* V (1962) 443-475 at 456 (No. 49).)

Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 8065, fols. 4-226; 1474 (1475) (T). (Catal. Bibl. Regiae, pars tertia, tomus quartus, Paris 1744, 424; Blass, *op. cit.*, 179-181; Delz I 90-93).

Vatican, Vat. Lat. 3301; s. XV (X). (Inventarium librorum latinorum Mss. Bibl. Vat. IV 324, Blass, *op. cit.*, 178; Delz I 102-103).

3. ANONYMUS C.

There are a great many marginal and interlinear explanations in Ms. Σ ; though these continue to the end of the poem, they are more extensive in the early books. Three hands are to be distinguished in the main, while there are a few slight traces of other hands. The first annotator (who is also the copyist of the Ms.) seems not to be reproducing notes taken down from a lecturer on the *Punica* but rather to have gathered explanations from various written sources. In particular, he has borrowed material from Anonymus B (preserved in A, T, X, and Ψ), often embellishing it rhetorically.

Some folia of Σ are lacking, so that its text now begins with line I 60. The first glosses appear above this line: e.g., *ardet* (as in W) to explain *flagrat* and *aetatis* (as in W) to explain *aevi*. They are the glosses of the first hand (also the copyist of the Ms.), whom we call Anonymus C. His commentary begins on the second line of text thus:

I 61: *Avere: Avere est habere appetitum sine ratione* and *Aegatae: Aegatae [sic] insulae sunt intra Africam et Europam apud quas primum pugnatum fuit a Romanis et Carthaginensibus et fuerunt fracti ipsi Carthaginenses.*

Anonymus C has made some curious mistakes. For instance, at III 592 in the text for *exuat* he has written *extuat* (which no other Ms. reads). This he takes as *aes-tuat* and writes above it the gloss: *id est, salliit et fervet.*

An example of what seems to be an expansion on the part of Anonymus C of material from Anonymus B is the following:

III 711: *Pubes Saturnia non solum quia regnavit Saturnus in regionibus Italiae ubi nunc Roma, verum etiam quia ubi nunc Roma, erat oppidum quod Saturnum dicebatur et propter hoc pubes Saturnia dicitur pubes Romana a Saturno oppido ubi nunc est Roma tunc oppidum* [cf. Varro *L. L.* V 42]. Ψ has merely: *Itala, ubi regnavit in Italia Saturnus.*

Another instance of the rather wordy explanations of Anonymus C (this time without a source in Anonymus B) is:

IX 17: *Ni sors alterni iuris: quia illo die erat exercitus in potestate Pauli, quia consules solebant alter uno die gubernare exercitum et alter alio die. Hic dies erat Pauli et propter hoc retinuit se Varro, quia non erat suus sed Pauli.*

The last note of Anonymus C which we find (vss. XVII 645-654 are missing) is:

XVII 642 (over *illidit*): *s(cilicet) ipse hiberus crudelis.*

Manuscript:

Rome, Bibl. Casanatense Ms. 1064; s. XV (Σ). (Index Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Casanatensis, R-Z [Vol. III], p. 442; Blass, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Delz I 128-132; O. Occioni, *Ti. Catii Silii Italici Punicorum Libri Septemdecim... Accedunt Variae Lectiones Codicis Casanatensis* (with Italian translation; 2 vols.;² Turin 1889 (I xiii-xv).

4. ANONYMUS D.

The notes by the second hand in Ms. Σ offer good explanations of facts and cite parallels not only from a wide range of Latin writers but also from Greek authors. A great many of these notes, sometimes just as they stand in Σ and sometimes in a slightly different form, have been written into a printed text, Vat. Inc. II 427, which is a copy of the 1483 edition of Silius (with the commentary of Petrus Marsus). There are a few instances also where the material added to the Vatican incunabulum corresponds exactly, or almost exactly, to annotations in Ms. Δ . This commentary found in three different places is to be assigned to Anonymus D. The notes, representing it in Vat. Inc. II 427 extend from the beginning of Book I to the end of Book XV. The first one that we have is the following:

I 20 (Vat. Inc. II 427): *Primordia, id est, causas et origines tanti belli tamque diuturni. Polybius libro tertio de causa belli et principio disserens sic ait [Polyb. III 6. 7]: Equidem ita existimo principia dici primas hominum actiones in rebus quae deliberata [sic] sunt: causas quae iudicium deliberatio-*

nemque praecedunt quaeque efficiunt ut ita iudicemus deliberemusve [this is substantially Niccolò Perotti's version].

The marginal commentary on I 493 is a kind of essay on *pudor* and occurs also in a shorter form in Ms. Δ :

I 493 (Vat. Inc. II 427): *Pudor est timor iustae reprehensionis* [cf. Niccolò Perotti, *Cornucopiae*, ed. 1513, col. 70, 11. 6-7] sive dedecoris: cuius contrarium impudentia dicitur, quae dux est ad omnem turpitudinem quam ut vir fortis effugiat omnem dolorem subire debet atque excipere. Unde Aristo[teles] agens de magnanimo sic ait [EN 1124b8]: Cum in periculo versatur vitae suae non parcit; Cicero in secundo de oratore sic scribit [II 85. 346]: Admirabilis laus videri solet tulisse casus sapienter adversos, non fractum esse fortuna, retinuisse in rebus asperis dignitatem. (Ms. Δ): *Pudor est timor iustae vituperationis cuius contrarium impudentia dicitur, quae dux est ad omnem turpitudinem; quam ut vir fortis effugiat omnem dolorem subire debet atque excipere. Verecundia, inquit Vegetius libro primo [Epitoma rei militaris I 7], dum prohibet fugere facit esse victorem.* (This is the most important of the annotations in Δ that are more or less identical with those in Vat. Inc. II 427).

The last comment written into the Vatican incunabulum is the following:

XV 719 (Vat. Inc. II 427): *patrius pavor*: Timiditas innata atque gentilis.

The first explanatory note in the second hand of Σ reads as follows:

IV 719 (Ms. Σ , second hand): *sedem sacratam, id est, Ethruriam. . . quoniam (E)thrusci a sacrificio. . . denominati sunt nam thyo G(raece) sacrificio.*

The first one which Σ and the Vatican incunabulum have in common is: V 175 (Ms. Σ , second hand): *Saracte [sic] mons est inter Faliscos non longe a Tyberi.* In Vat. Inc. II 427 Marsus' explanation has been crossed out and replaced in the margin by: *Etruriae non longe a Tiberi; adhuc retinet nomen.*

Another example is the following:

V 470 (Ms. Σ , second hand): *Acclinis malo, id est, adhaerens arbori navis, Orpheus sono et cantu oblectabat Argonautas.*

[Though Statius is not named, this is derived from *Theb.* V 344: *acclinis malo mediis intersonat Orpheus*]. (Vat. Inc. II 427): *Acclinis: adhaerens, sic Papinius in Tebade [sic]: acclinis malo.*

The last certain notice from Anonymus D in Σ is:

XVI 593 (Ms. Σ , second hand): *qui vindicavit vindictam pub. et privatam.*

Manuscripts:

Rome, Bibl. Casanatense Ms. 1064; s. XV (Σ) (as above for Anonymus C, p. 368).

Vatican, Ottob. Lat. 1441; s. XV (Δ). (Inventarii Codicum Manuscriptorum Latino-rum Bibliothecae Vaticanae Ottobonianae Pars I, No. 1441. Delz I 119-120.)

Vatican, Inc. II 427 (a copy of the 1483 edition of Silius with the commentary of Petrus Marsus), notes.

5. PETRUS ODUS MONTOPOLITANUS

The marginal and interlinear annotations added to Ms. W by scribe A (i.e., the first of the four hands found in the text) are at times full enough to amount to a commentary. They immediately give the impression of being lecture notes and prove, on closer study, to come from Petrus Odus Montopolitanus' course on Silius at the Studio in Rome.

The proof consists of the symbol .p. in the margin of W; this accompanies conjectures which we know from Γ to be those of Petrus Odus. For instance, we read in the text of W at XVII 363 *Latii* instead of *Troiae* thus: *Ut placet, et cineres Latii Carthagine regnent* and in the margin: *sic putat .p.* In Γ *ad loc.* Odus had already written in the margin: *forte Latii regnent in Carthagine cineres.* (The original lacuna in Γ was ultimately filled by Domizio Calderini with the correct *Troiae*, which had fallen out of the common ancestor of O, W, Γ , Ξ , Σ , Ψ ; for more details see Delz I 100). That the handwriting of these conjectures in Γ is that of Petrus Odus is established by comparison with two autograph letters in Ms. Vat. lat. 3908, fols. 163 and 166 (we are very grateful to Prof. A. Campana for having drawn our attention to the latter Ms.).

Odus is the chief annotator of Γ . His glosses and conjectures extend throughout

the Ms., whereas a rudimentary commentary by the first scribe (Anonymus A; see above, p. 365) of the codex stops at fol. 96^v and marginalia by Calderini start only at fol. 99 (see below, I 7). Readings proposed by Odus are also taken over from *I* in *Σ*, with *puto* — or *est melius* if the scribe is strongly in favor of them. Some of his conjectures are also copied into *Ψ*. In fact, many of them proved so acceptable that they were incorporated into the later Mss. (chiefly D, Q, Y, Z, Θ, *Π*) and into the early editions.

Odus' comments are mostly concerned with geography, history, and mythology — perhaps most often with geography, where he is frequently wrong as will be seen from the examples below (though some of the confusion probably comes from a student's not having heard, or copied down, correctly).

For a detailed account of missing folia, wrong insertion of a folium, and damaged margins in W see Delz I 98-99. The outer sheet of the first fascicle is missing. The first comment deriving from Odus is therefore the following:

I 61 (Ms. W): Aegatae [*sic*] insulae sunt in mari Libyco apud quas ceciderunt Carthaginenses in primo bello Punico. *In Siculo*. Quia illic sunt saxa quaedam apud quae conveniebant Romani et Carthaginenses quando faciebant pacta et conventiones et vocabantur arae eo quod illic occidebant porcā et sacrificabant. Hannibal autem incitatus contra Romanos illic voluit primo congregari ut pacta et foedera omnia mergeret.

Among other annotations stemming from Odus in W we may note:

II 108 (Ms. W): Massylae populi sunt in Gallia Narbonense et cum Afris venerant contra Saguntum. Inter istos ergo Mopsus spicula mittebat, qui dicti sunt Massylae a Marsilia quae nunc dicitur.

III 452 (Ms. W): Arar fluvius est. Defluit a montibus Pyrenaeis per Equitaniam [*sic*] et usque Lugdunum quietus venit illicque immiscetur Rhodano et praecipitatur et fit velox. Huc venit Hannibal cum exercitu.

V 281 (Ms. W): Hircania et Caspia insulae sunt finitimae in mari Mediterraneo ubi sunt tigres et gryphi, ubi est etiam vena auri sed propter gryphos tangi non potest.

XIV 686 (Ms. W, over *cura viri*): diligentia scilicet Vespasiani vel Titi. [(Scribe A has repeated Odus' mistake as seen in Ms. *I*, where *Titi vel Vespa[siani]* is written over *vir*. Silius intended the phrase to refer to Domitian).

In the present state of our Ms., with the margins of fols. 194 and 195 torn off, the last explanation of any scope from Odus is:

XVII 3 (Ms. W, fol. 196^v since the first folium of the last fascicle has been incorrectly inserted at the end): Cum Cybele portaretur a Troia, fuit concilium ubi deberet recipi; et cum esset decretum ut non in alieno templo reciperetur, decreverunt patres ut apud optimum virum reciperetur, ad quod electus fuit Scipio Nasica.

From the more extensive interlinear glosses beyond XVII 3 we might take as a specimen:

XVII 414 (Ms. W): quas miserat rex Philippus, qui fidem Hannibalis secutus omnem Graeciam adversus Romanos concitavit, ut supra.

Manuscript:

Vatican, Vat. Lat. 2779; s. XV (W). (Inventory of the library of the Vatican Mss. Bibl. Vat. IV 179; Blass, *op. cit.*, 177; Delz I 98-101).

Biography:

Petrus Odus Montopolitanus (Pietro Odi da Montopoli) was born at Montopoli in Sabina (the date of his birth is uncertain); he died (perhaps at Rome) not after 1463. His family name may have been Oddi or, as the regular use of Odus by himself and his contemporaries suggests, Odi (cf. Graziosi, *op. cit.* infra, pp. 8-9). He generally uses Montopolitanus for his patril name; cf., e.g., Mss. Vat. Lat. 7192, fol. 403^v: Petrus Montopolitanus super Terentium; Milan Ambros. D. 112 inf. and Trivulz. 793: Petrus Odus Montopolitanus P. Candido; and Vat. Lat. 2769, fol. 1^v: Carmen epitaphium . . . Petri Odi Montopolitani per F. S. R. He uses both Montopolites and Montopolitanus in Ms. Vat. Lat. 3908, fols. 163 and 166 respectively (all our references to the folia of this Ms. follow the modern number-

ing). Petrus Marsus gives Odus' patril name as Montopolita (cf. the passage quoted on p. 000 from the dedicatory epistle to his ed. of Silius). Odus calls himself Mundopolitanus in Mss. Vat. Lat. 3908, fol. 223 (a dictated letter but signed by the author) and Paris Lat. 8413, fol. 25^v (salutation of a letter), by a pun as we see from the text of the letter in the Paris Ms.: Illud Tullianum probavi Non ullam urbem aliquam sed universum orbem patriam nobis esse habendam . . . (he is in exile from Rome).

Another variation in Odus' patril name comes from a wrong idea of his birthplace. Sabellicus, for instance, says in *Ennead.* X, Lib. VI (at least in *Opera. . . in duos digesta tomos*, Basel 1538, II 719 and *Opera omnia*, *ibid.* 1560, II 591): Nec Petro Monopolitae minus poëticum fuit ingenium [quam Francisco Philelpho], although he also gives the dative *Petro Montopolitano* (the same 1560 ed., IV 460; in a letter to M. Antonius Maurocenus). Cosenza (V, card 1271) seems to consider a Monopoli near Bari the birthplace of Odus; but at III 2500 he describes him, with Gregorovius, as 'from Sabine Monopoli.' (In treating of Odus s.v. Pomp. Laet., however, he refers to Montopoli at IV 2913 and on V, card 1459; the Monopolitanus after Odus, Petrus in Kristeller, *Iter* I 503 [Index] is to be corrected). A Sabine town (in the modern form Montopoli, however) is the correct one as we learn from the description near the end of Book X of the *Commentarii rerum memorabilium* of Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini): Non procul hinc [i.e., ab arce Farfensi] Montopolis cernitur: unde nostra aetate Petrus Romam venit, non ignobilis poeta, qui heroicis lyricisque versibus multa conscripsit. Desipuit tamen, et furore percitus, in morbum incidit, ex quo nondum senex obiit (ed. Frankfurt, 1614, 274). (Since there is internal evidence that Book XII of the *Commentarii* was finished by 1463 and since, furthermore, Pius died in 1464, we have a *terminus ante quem* for Odus' death which makes Zabughin's '1465-1466, circa' [*Giulio Pomponio Leto* I 23] too late. Della Torre observes [*op. cit. infra*, 71 n. 1 on 72] that Odus' death turns out to be previous to 1466). P. de Nolhac, *Bibl. de Fulvio Or-*

sini (Paris 1887), 475 (Index), unfortunately refers to our author as Pietro da Montepulciano. (Cf. for the incorrect patril names Graziosi, *op. cit. infra*, pp. 7-8).

Odus is perhaps best known as the successor of Laurentius Valla (d. 1457) in the chair of eloquence at the Roman Studio and as the teacher of Pomponius Laetus there. Sabellicus in his letter to M. Antonius Maurocenus about the life of Pomponius has Valla succeed Odus, but that it was just the reverse is clear from Petrus Marsus' statement: [Pomponius]. . . Vallae primum, deinde, illo vita honestissime defuncto, *temporis momenta non remittens*, Petro Montopolitae. . . navavit operam (italics ours; cf. Della Torre, *op. cit. infra*, 67 n. 2 and 70 n. 1 on 71). Zabughin warns, however, in his Russian account of Pomponius (*op. cit. infra*, p. 7) that the latter in all probability heard Valla and Odus only once. Odus may have taught both before and after his university appointment began. Certainly the letter in elegiac couplets to Giovanni Tortelli in Ms. Vat. Lat. 3908, fols. 204-207, refers to elementary instruction and to rather young students; Zabughin (*ibid.*, p. 10) says that the poem describes very vividly the day of a humanist-teacher, probably in one of the elementary schools maintained by the Studio in all the *rioni* of Rome, and observes in a note (50) that the humanists sometimes moved from these schools to the university faculty and vice versa. The poem, which goes back to the pontificate of Nicholas V (1447-1455), explains also that Petrus early became an orphan and lost his paternal home.

In the elegiac epistle to Tortelli, who has recommended other pursuits as more lucrative (unless this is only a poetic fiction), Petrus defends his practice of writing Latin verse; in particular, poetry consoled him at the time of the death of his young son. Petrus was greatly interested in grammar and especially admired the *De orthographia* of Tortelli and the author himself. Tortelli was a great friend and a patron of his; another patron was Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus. But Odus had often to struggle against poverty and was always a hard worker. He

explained the poets and taught grammar and rhetoric.

Another of Odus' friends was Theodorus Gaza, whose version of the *Epistles* of Phalaris he emended (cf. Graziosi, *op. cit. infra*, p. 15). Odus doubtless received his greatest recognition in the pontificate of Pius II (1458-64), and his admiration for Pius is clear from the *Epaenetica* that he wrote in his honor; aid from Pius, in particular an increase in salary, finally took away some of Odus' financial worries (cf. Graziosi, *op. cit. infra*, pp. 16, 27-29, 32; Avesani, *op. cit. infra*, pp. 25-26).

Odus lectured on Silius at the Studio, but maybe for only one year within the period 1457-62. In the summer of 1462 he was in exile from Rome. The exile may have been self-imposed, and Petrus seems to have suffered from a persecution complex. In any event, in two letters of 1462 he says that an attempt had been made in Rome to poison him. The letters, both written from Olivetum (Alvito, prov. Frosinone; cf. Delz II 437 n. 5), are to a pupil Marinus Turanensis, whom he is going to visit in Sulmona, and to Tortelli. The first explains that he had found refuge at Olivetum in a house of the Guantelmi (Cantelmi) family.

Pius II's report that Odus died mad is consistent with the latter's assertion, in a letter to Tortelli (Vat. Lat. 3908, fol. 223), that for two years he has suffered because 'vel... sidera... vel meus genius fortasse perversus vel hominum facinorosa malitia et sceleratae insidiae' have persecuted him; the letter evinces an ill-concealed fear of madness and ends with a rather feeble rejection of suicide as an escape from suffering. Zabughin was not warranted in deducing that Odus had been assassinated from the epitaph in elegiacs by the Roman juriconsult Fulgentius Statius (Mss. Rome Angel. 1350, fol. 300; Vat. Lat. 2769, fol. 1^v; cf. Graziosi, *op. cit. infra*, pp. 36-37):... Quicquid enim facili vates resonabat ab ore,/Versus erat magno conditus eloquio./Philosophus rerum causas scrutarier omnes/Noverat et summi mistyca sacra dei;/Grammaticus celebrer, rhetor clarissimus omni/Hic demum ingenua primus in arte fuit./O dolor, o quanta est Oddo iactura pe-

rempto!/Quale decus Latium perdidit ante diem!... Zabughin has either read too much into *perempto*, or he has taken over material from the poem immediately following in Ms. Angel. 1350 in honor of Mellita of Spoleto. Fulgentius refers to Odus as a poet, philosopher, theologian, grammarian, and rhetorician and as endowed with all sorts of talents and virtues: Non fuit in toto quisquam prestantior orbe/Doctrina, ingenio, moribus, arte, lyra.

Works: He commented on Silius and Terence (what we have of the Terence commentary is in Ms. Vat. Lat. 7192, fols. 403^v-406^v; see some examples of this in Graziosi, *op. cit. infra*, pp. 14-15; cf. again Zabughin's Russian article *infra*, p. 11, n. 51); there are notes of his in Mss. of Calpurnius Siculus, Ovid, and Martial (cf. Graziosi, *op. cit. infra*, p. 19; Avesani, *op. cit. infra*, p. 27, n. 50; and Ruysschaert, 'Miniaturistes,' pp. 270-271 and 271, n. 167). He wrote many epistles in both prose and verse and a great deal of other poetry in various meters, and composed a grammatical work. Flavio Biondo says of him (*loc. cit. infra*): grammaticus Romae celebrer Nasonianam Flaccianamque simul in omni carminum genere facultatem facilitatemque est nactus; Giraldis (*loc. cit. infra*) calls him: poeta et orator non incelebris, qui Romae illis temporibus professus est, quibus Pomponius Laetus adhuc iuvenis clarescere coepit, quin et illi aliquamdiu, ut scribit Sabellicus [see the *Opera omnia*, 1560 ed., IV 460], operam dedit.

Sabellicus' comparison of the talent of Philelphus and of Petrus (cf. above under *Biogr.*) continues: extat eius carmen ad Calistum pontificem magni quidem profectus index, si longior illi vita contigisset. Where the poem can be found today, if it is still extant, seems not to be known. But of many of Odus' poems, as of many of his letters, we know the Ms. whereabouts (cf. the references given in Cagni, Campana, Delz, and Kristeller below). These poems (and three prose letters) have now been published by Maria Teresa Graziosi Acquaro (*op. cit. infra*). Among them are an epigram for Gianozzo Manetti, the *Opusculum Magistri Petri Montopolitani Odi in laudem*

Pontificis Pii Secundi (485 hexameters), poems in the four (or five) books of *Epaenetica ad Pium II Pont. Max.*, a poem to Carlo Marsuppini (in Asclepiadic distichs and apparently in Odus' own hand), verses to Flavio Biondo, his petition to Nicolas V *ut ex voto liceat ire ad Mariam Loretam* (in 66 Sapphic strophes), his *De barba tonsa Pauli*, and his *Ovidias* (which he recited at Sulmona in 1462). Most of Odus' extant letters are in Ms. Vat. Lat. 3908; the one to Marinus Turanensis from Ms. Paris Bibl. Nat. 8413 is now printed in Appendix B of Delz II. Flavius Blondus and Fulgentius Statius may not be thinking of Odus specifically as the author of a grammar when they call him *grammaticus*. But there is a definite 15th-century reference to Odus as the author of a grammatical work though its title is not given and we do not know its whereabouts today. The reference is made by the author of another grammatical work (in Ms. Ven. Marc. Lat. XIV. 109) who presents himself as a pupil of Laurentius Valla and of Odus; cf. Ruysschaert, 'A propos des trois premières grammaires latines de Pomponio Leto,' 69.

Bibl.: Cosenza III 2499-2501, V cards 1271, 1410; Kristeller, *Iter* II 503 (index) and II 695 (index); Tiraboschi III (Milan 1833) 199; Voigt I 479 n. 1, II 209 with n. 2.

M. T. Graziosi Acquaro, 'Petri Odi Montopolitani Carmina nunc primum e libris manuscriptis edita,' *Humanistica Lovaniensia* XIX (1970) 7-113+2 pls.; R. Avesani, 'Epaeneticorum ad Pium II Pont. Max. libri V,' *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Papa Pio II* (Atti del Convegno per il quinto centenario della morte e altri scritti raccolti da Domenico Maffei; Siena 1968) 15-97+8 pls., *passim*, esp. 25-27; A. Beccadelli (Panormita), *Epist. Gall.* IV 12 (ed. Venice 1553, pp. 81 and 82); Flavio Biondo, *Italia illustrata* (Basel 1559) 334F; D. Bloch, 'Quelques manuscrits de Pietro di Celano à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris,' *Studi di bibliografia. . . in onore di Tammaro de Marinis* (Città del Vaticano 1964) I 143-161+8 pls. at 150-152, 158, 159; G. M. Cagni, 'I codici Vaticani Palatino-Latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti,' *La Bibliofilia* LXII (1960) 1-43 at 24 n. 2; A. Campana, 'Il Vat. lat.

3370 e alcuni codici del Sirleto,' *Studi medievali*, Serie Terza III (1962) 151-161 at 157 with nn. 22 and 23; J. Delz, 'Ein unbekannter Brief von Pomponius Laetus,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica* IX (1966) 417-440 (we shall refer to this hereafter as Delz II) at 417, 432, 434, 436-438; A. J. Dunston, 'Studies in Domizio Calderini,' *ibid.* XI (1968) 71-150+8 pls. at 73, 86-89, 96, 98-99, 105; L. (G.) G. Giraldis, *De poetis nostrorum temporum* (1551) (ed. K. Wotke, Berlin 1894) 19; Graziosi: listed above under Acquaro; Petrus Marsus in the dedicatory epistle 'ad ill. Principem Virginium Ursinum' of his Silius (for the editions see the Fortuna above, pp. 351 with nn. 54 and 64, and below, p. 387); R. A. B. Mynors, *C. Valerii Catulli carmina* (Oxford 1958) x n. 2 on xi; Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini), *Commentarii rerum memorabilium*, Lib. X (ed. Frankfurt 1614, p. 274); M. Regoliosi, 'Nuove ricerche intorno a Giovanni Tortelli,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica* IX (1966) 123-189+5 pls. at 125, 174-175, 185-186; F. M. Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università degli studj di Roma* I (Rome 1803) 161-162, 229, 238; J. Ruysschaert, 'A propos des trois premières grammaires latines de Pomponio Leto,' *Scriptorium* XV (1961) 68-75; *Id.*, 'Miniaturistes romains sous Pie II,' *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Papa Pio II* (Atti del Convegno per il quinto centenario della morte e altri scritti raccolti da Domenico Maffei; Siena 1968) 245-282+35 pls. at 270-271; A. Coccius Sabellius, *Ennead.* X, Lib. VI (*Opera. . . in duos digesta tomos*, Basel 1538, II 719 and *Opera omnia*, *ibid.* 1560, II 591) and *Epist.*, Lib. XI, M. Antonio Mauroceno equiti (*Opera omnia* IV 458-461 at 460); L. Swoboda, *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung des Properz* (typewritten diss., Vienna 1963) 33; A. della Torre, *Paolo Marsi da Pescina* (Rocca S. Casciano 1903) 67-71; V. Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto* (Rome-Grottaferrata 1909-12) I 7, 15-25 with nn. on 272, 275-279; II, 2 p. 417; *Id.*, 'Julij Pomponij Let,' *Istoricheskoe Obozrénie* XVIII (1914) 7, 9-11.

6. IULIUS POMPONIUS LAETUS

That Pomponius Laetus occupied himself with Silius has always been known. He

was the editor of the second Roman edition of the *Punica*; as we read at the end of it, *Opus iam neglectum Pomponius recognovit anno domini M. CCCC. LXXI, VI Kal. Maii. Romae*. Furthermore, Petrus Marsus gives as the succession of Silian expositors preceding himself Petrus Montopolita, Pomponius, and Domitius; cf. p. 351 above.

Two pieces of evidence from the year 1468-69, when Pomponius was a prisoner in the Castel S. Angelo, indicate his early concern with the *Punica*. (1) He cites Silius in a letter to the castellan Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo thus: *Postea scribit dignitas vestra quod virtus nisi collata discriminibus quae et quanta sit videri non potest. . . Sic et sentire videtur Silius Italicus cum ait, Ardua virtutem profert via*. (For the Mss. containing the exchange of letters between Pomponio and Rodrigo, Cambridge Corpus Christi College 166 and Ven. Marc. XI 103 (4361), see Delz I 42 and n. 5. They are quoted according to the Cambridge Ms. in Creighton, *op. cit. infra*, III 276-284. See also Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto* I 145 and n. 426, where his 'Sil. Ital. XV, 103-4?' is to be corrected to II 578). (2) In a letter to his patron Giovanni Tron in Venice (dated April 28 and which must be of the year 1468; cf. Delz I 42, II 422 (where the letter is quoted from Ms. Paris Bibl. Nat. Lat. 8413)-423 and nn. 1-3) he says: *. . . historia- rum libros scribo iam tertia fere parte absoluta. . . Silium et Valerium Flaccum volente Deo finiam*.

We have a Ms. of Silius (Y) copied by Pomponius for his pupil Fabio Mazzatosta; there are also marginal notes by Pomponius in the first part (as far as fol. 26^v; there are a very few brief glosses after that). Fulvio Orsini, who once owned the Ms., has written on fol. 1: *Silio Italico di mano di Pomponio Leto, con sue notationi, in perg.; for Pomponius' hand see Muzzioli, op. cit. infra and Delz I n. 84. Notes in his hand likewise occur in two other Silian codices (marginal in Q, marginal and interlinear in II); cf. Delz I 104-105, 87-88, 126-127 and nn.*

Parts of commentaries on Silius, without the text, are found in two miscellaneous Mss.: Paris Bibl. Nat. Lat. 8413, fols. 204-208 and 213-221 and Flor. Laur. plut. 52. 8,

fols. 105-146^v. There is good evidence that both of these commentaries stem from Pomponius.

Several of the items in the Paris Ms. are signed by Pietro di Celano. Through the handwriting of those items and in some other Mss. (not including any Silius) Pietro is seen to be the copyist of still other material in the Ms. in question, e.g., Pomponius' letter to Giovanni Tron (fol. 175; on the handwriting of this letter in particular see Delz II 420, n. 2) referred to above and the Silian commentary. Pomponius is established as the source of this commentary through similarities to notes that are clearly his in other Silian Mss. (cf. *infra*). It seems likely, therefore, that Pomponius expounded the *Punica* while he was in Venice in 1467-68, just before he was deported to Rome and imprisoned. We know that Pomponius was the teacher of the sons of eminent families during this stay of his in Venice. We know also that the counts of Celano were in exile at this time from their native seat. Everything combines to explain why we have a letter of Pomponius Laetus to Giovanni Tron and notes of the former on Silius copied into the same Ms. by Pietro di Celano.

The commentary in the Paris Ms. begins with some remarks on poetry, references to certain Latin poets through the time of the Emperor Heliogabalus, a fairly extensive life of Silius (which includes some confusion with Statius), mention of Ennius and Naevius, and a history of the Punic Wars. Then comes the commentary proper, covering *Punica* I 1-89 and III 311-606. The part in Book III shows verbal correspondences with the marginal notes in B (these notes are only on the first seven books and of some scope only in the third). Ms. B, one of the Canonici collection in the Bodleian, comes from Venice; and the scribe must be Paolo Marsi. The attention drawn to forms of *Marsus* and *Marsicus* and to *Fucinus* in the Ms. might suggest either Pietro Marsi of Cese (see the account of him I 8, below) or Paolo Marsi of Pescina. Inspection of autograph, or possibly autograph, Mss. of the two yields the following: Paolo's draft of his *Bembica peregrina* in Ms. Vat. Regin.

lat. 1385 is in the same book hand as the text of B (the cursive corrections are too few for comparison with the cursive marginal notes in B), whereas even if Ms. Bern. Burgerbibl. 516 is an autograph of Pietro, the script does not match that of B; cf. Delz II 428-430. It seems probable that Paolo, who was in Venice in the first half of 1468, made the copy of the *Punica* (he did not get beyond Book XI) in order to have a text before him during Pomponius' lectures, which he attended at the same time as Pietro di Celano. As an instance of similar material taken down by the two students cf. B, fol. 26^v (on III 320 f.): si quando navigia patiuntur naufragium et ibi perveniunt, Nasamones eos obtruncant et comedunt, with Paris Ms. 8413, fol. 213: . . . et si quando navigia naufragium patiuntur et applicant Nasamoniae, Nasamones obtruncatis hominibus homines comedunt et pingues eligunt. Note also Martial X 44. 1 quoted *ad Pun.* III 598 in both B and the Paris Ms.

The commentary in the Florentine Ms. is presumably a fair copy of a student's notes taken down from Pomponius' lecturing at the Studio in Rome. The time of the lecturing would be the period after his release from prison. (The paper of the codex shows throughout the watermark Briquet 7834 [Rome 1470]; cf. Delz I 39). In any case, the student's note-taking is proved at fol. 110^v (on I 197): trying to copy down the names of the seven mouths of the Nile, he has to give up: . . . tarenticum duo alia. celeritas dicentis praeceptoris oppressit. The identity of the teacher is proved by the following: (1) At the end of the second preliminary part of the commentary comes the sentence: Sic fonte illo uberrimo ofuscata in antiquarii Iulii ad Silium veniamus. *Antiquarii Iulii* obviously refers to Pomponius, who was something of a specialist in Roman antiquities and topography; and though the syntactic relations in the sentence are rather puzzling, we should note that Pomponius is also called a *fons uber* in a *Carmen in Romae Urbis Genethliacon* of Dom(en)ico Palladio Sorano (cf. Delz I 41 and n. 4; Dunston, *op. cit.* infra 87 and n. 8). (2) The note at the end of Book II

(fol. 134) reads: iuvat haec collegisse Iulio Pomponio praeceptore. O dii immortales quid si mihi notarii manu adderetis, ut Iulianas partes quas in lectione retractat assequi possem. . .

The commentary in the Florentine Ms. consists of a life of Silius, some preliminary remarks on history (particularly the history of warfare and events leading up to the second Punic War), and an exegesis extending from *Punica* I 9 to IV 562. (The lines are not always commented on in order; I 635-694 and IV 1-294 are without commentary). The exegesis shows correspondences with the scholia in Mss. Y and II.

The scholia in Y are often only marginal indications of the contents of the poem or brief identifications and practically stop at III 318 (fol. 26^v; there are a very few very brief notes after this). The first one (fol. 1 *ad* I 2) reads: Oenotrus filius Lycaonis regis Arcadiae. Sometimes they attempt an explanation and are longer; the one on III 318 reads: Meninx insula Lotophagorum ad quos tempestate delatus fuit Ulixes qui Neritius erat. Ideo dat illi tragulam quae est genus teli Graeci. There are two noteworthy marginal excursuses of some length: one on Curetes, Corybantes, Cabiri, etc. (fol. 12^v *ad* II 93) and one on the fountain of Hercules at Gades and tides (fol. 22^v *ad* III 46 ff.). See Zabughin II 156-157 for mention of these passages and a description of Y (with I, pls. 7 and 9) and II 347-348 nn. 196-197 for a transcription of the second passage, and Wardrop, *op. cit.* infra, pl. 15 for a reproduction of fol. 12^v. Correspondence between the explanatory material in Y and that in the Florence Ms. is illustrated by the following: Y on I 277 (fol. 5) gives: Geryon in Eritra [*sic*] Hispaniae imperabat cum duobus fratribus. Ideo fingitur fuisse tricolor (cf. Diodor. IV 17, 2; Lucian *Tox.* 63; Myth. Vat. I 68; Iust.-Trog. XLIV 4, 14). The Florentine Ms. has (fol. 113): sequentia quaedam historia scripta declaravimus. Repeto aliqua. In Eritrea provincia Geryones et Cauriscus et alter frater cuius nomen non repperi adhuc in libris Hispaniam infestabant. *Tris animas*. Ob fratres tres unanimes. Lucretius autem negat fratres istos fuisse et negat Herculem. The

scholium in Y on I 13 (fol. 1): Propius fuere periculo qui vicere, an adaptation of Liv. XXI 1. 2, corresponds with notes in Q and Vat. Inc. I 4 (cf. *infra*).

The hand of the notes in *II*, which is not that of the text, belongs to Pomponius' middle period; its characteristics are the same as those of Y; cf. Delz I 126 and Muzzioli, *op. cit. infra*. The notes only begin at III 531; the three fascicles containing I 1-III 530 are lost. The folia containing IV 74-201 are also lost. (For details about these missing parts and others see Delz I 126). So there are scholia in *II* to compare with the commentary in Laur. 52. 8, as there are scholia in Y to compare with that commentary; but we do not have notes in Y and *II* to compare with each other. For III 531-714 and IV 295-562 comparison may be made between the material in the Florence Ms. and the notes of *II*; there are some parallels in the facts adduced, but no striking verbal correspondences.

The interlinear notes in *II* are frequent; the marginal ones are also frequent and often fairly full. We begin (fol. 1) with *ex qua mole* written over the *Unde* of III 531 and, in the margin: *pavescebant repetere oculis confectum iter*. The last marginal gloss is to VI 115 (fol. 26^v): *Quaesivi mortem dignam patre, non inveni*; the last interlinear gloss is *quondam negaverunt* written over the *patri* of VI 116 (fol. 27). (Beyond this point there are only corrections and *variae lectiones* in the margin, or lines that had been skipped are added, e.g., VIII 391-392 on fol. 52^v). The note on VI 109 (fol. 26^v) is important as showing that Pomponius apparently had several Mss. at hand: *Aunus Fauni filius regnavit in Etruria. Quidam scribunt eum fuisse de gente Pelasgica; aliqui codices habent Anni*. Among the annotations are many parallel passages from Livy copied out word for word. Correspondence with the notes of the Florence Ms. is illustrated by the reference to Lucretius, whom Pomponius often invokes, at IV 302 (although different aspects of the Lucretian material are cited). *II* (fol. 6^v) has: *Comparatio ab antiquorum venandi studio ut meminit Lucretius: venatores illi incendebant silvas ut abigerent inde feras quas urge-*

bant praecipitare aut in fossas propter id factas aut implicare laqueis, interdum cursu fatigabant, nondum erat usus canum. The Florence Ms. reads (fol. 145^v): *Comparisonem facit poeta. Antiqui venatores solebant hoc modo uti in venatione: immittebant ignem silvis, exhibant in vasta solitudine ferae et exagitabantur [?]. . . Hanc consuetudinem ponit Lucretius libro ultimo*. (The Lucretian passage is actually V 1250-1251).

Our Ms. Q, signed by Leonardus Iob in 1470, shows corrections in another hand, which has also added marginalia. This new hand is that of Pomponius, the scribe of Y. In fact, Y is a copy of Q; cf. Delz I 87 and n. 60. The marginal notes in Q, infrequent after Book IV, are generally only proper names or brief indications of the contents of the poem. The note on the prophecy at VII 476: *O superi. Deciperis* (fol. 83) is exceptional. The first note (fol. 2 *ad* I 13) is: *propius periculo fuere qui vicere*, which we have seen in Y in a different word order (Inc. I 4 gives more of the Livian passage; see *infra*). The last explanatory note is to XV 668 (fol. 182); in *Illum per mineos et per densissima*; over *mineos* of the text is written *cuneos*. The very last note (textual) is *in me* written over *mine* at XVI 651 (fol. 196).

A copy of the editio princeps of Silius in the Vatican (Inc. I 4) has extensive marginal notes, most in one hand but a few in another. Two manuscript folia inserted between fols. 9 and 10 and containing Plin. *Epist.* III 7 and the epigrams of Martial referring to Silius and his family are in the same hand as that of the bulk of the notes (the major hand). The minor hand is that of Angelo Colocci (for his handwriting see M. Bertòla, *I due primi registri di prestito della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* [Vatican City 1942]). The major hand seems to us to be that of Pomponius and, more specifically, that of his later years, as in Ms. Vat. Lat. 3333 (cf. Muzzioli, *op. cit. infra*, pl. 33).

The manner and the material in the notes by the major hand in Inc. I 4 certainly correspond with Pomponian notes in the Mss. that have now been mentioned. The first part of the first note (fol. 1 *ad* I 2): *Oeno-*

trus Lycaonis regis Arcadiae filius qui Ausones in sinu Campane [sic] Oenotros appellavit is the same, except for the word order, as the first note in Y (quoted above). The note on I 13 (fol. 1) is: Livius ait: Adeo varia belli fortuna ancepsque Mars fuit ut propius periculo fuerint qui vicerunt (see above for the versions of this in Y and Q; Walters-Conway in their edition give the passage as in our incunabulum except for the order *fortuna belli* and *periculum* instead of *periculo*). On IV 456 ff. there is a note of some length in the incunabulum (fol. 35) as to whether it was Scipio who saved his father at the battle of the Ticinus (Livy's Malim equidem de filio verum esse [XXI 46. 10] is quoted) with brief notes also ad 460, 468 (Humeris impositum patrem refert in castra Scipio), and 473. II (fol. 8^v) has an even longer note (with the same quotation from Livy). The Florence Ms. also has a fair-sized note (fol. 146), without the Livy passage but with the statement: Ceteri vero poetae ponunt servatum a filio pubescente. At IV 603 the incunabulum has (fol. 36^v): virtus in adversis; II has (fol. 11): virtus in rebus adversis enitescit. At IV 610 the incunabulum has (fol. 37): Fibrenus elephantos invadit; II has (fol. 11): Fibrenus audax et intrepidus ad mortem vulneravit elephantum dextro oculo. At IV 628 the incunabulum has (fol. 37): Theraei Cyrenen condiderunt qui venerunt e Laconia; II has (fol. 11^v): qui a Lacedaemoniis ortum habebat.

Pomponius was interested in geography and natural history and in authors like Strabo. So we find in the incunabulum at the top of fol. 20: De causa fluxus et refluxus Oceani, lege Strabonem libro III and in the margin ad III 45-46 Fluxus et refluxus Oceani, ad 49-50 Causa incrementi, ad 58-59 Alia incrementi causa: a luna. Compare this with Q (fol. 26^v) ad III 59-60: Fluxus et et [sic] refluxus Oceani secundum lunam apud Posidonium et Strabonem.

There are glosses in both Inc. I 4 and Q on the Plinian life of Silius that is quoted. There are a few correspondences here. Compare in the incunabulum Silio cos. periit Nero with Q (fol. 1^v): Silio consule periit Nero cuius nece liberatus fuit orbis terrarum,

unde Martialis: Asserto qui sacer orbe fuit [Epigr. VII 63. 10]. Note also the attention drawn to the same passage in the Pliny letter by *Xersis illacrumatio* in the incunabulum and *Xerses rex* in Q (fol. 1^v).

The last notes in the major hand of Inc. I 4 are (fol. 63^v) *Classis Punica appulit Caietam* beside the text and, at the bottom of the page, a lengthy one: Hannibal ex Allifanis campis movens per Samnium Romam simulat petere. . . Sed frustra monito magistro equitum Romam ad sacra concessit.

The commentaries in the Paris and Florence Mss. have different material more often than the same material. Some items in the Florence commentary give the impression that Pomponius is controverting what we find in the Paris Ms.; he may well be correcting himself. On III 364 the Paris Ms. reads (fol. 215^v): Tlepolemus ille qui fuit in bello Troiano, whereas the Laurentian Ms. has (fol. 141^v): Tlepolemus scilicet etiam venit populus. Nec est is qui fuit in bello Troiano. On III 396: Arganthoniacos the Paris Ms. gives (fol. 217) a long list of *longaevi*; Laur. 58. 2 (fol. 142) cites just two of these, with the added comment: taceamus exempla.

On the other hand, the long genealogical notes ad I 73 in the Paris and Florence Mss. have much in common and show the same Pomponian lore: (Paris Ms., fol. 208): Inachus genuit Io, Io Belum. . . Polydorus Labdacum, Labdaus [sic] Laium. Phoenix nomen dedit Phoeniciae, Cilix nomen Ciliciae ut meminit Herodotus. (Florence Ms., fol. 107): A Belo altius repetere licet. Inachus rex Graecorum creavit Io. . . Polydorus Labdacum, Labdacus Lagum [sic]. . .

Ms. Paris Bibl. Nat. Lat. 8413:

Introd. [Inc.]: (fol. 204) Varro in libro de [space in text] tria necessaria: Origo, ars et dignitas [R R II 1. 1]. *Canere* proprie poetarum ut meminit Quintilianus in libro de gestu vocis [Inst. or. I 8. 2]. Terentius quidam scripsit dactylico [Terenti given in margin] carmine et combusta fuerunt eius opera volente sic populo [cf. Plin. NH XIII 84 and F. Münzer, 'Terentius (20),' PW VA (1934) 596]. Quis fuerit primus auctor carminis ignoratur. Livius Androni-

cus dedit fabulas Latinis, hoc est, transtulit Homerum. . . An [?] Silius natus sub fine principatus Tiberii e gente Siliorum primis annis pedestri oratione, post sumpta coniuge suscepit filium et postea Silium Severum [as one sentence in the Ms. despite the anacoluthon]. . . Scripsit puerilia quaedam quae appellantur Silvae propter aestuantem animi affectum [cf. Stat. *Silv.* praef. I]. Et Quintilianus in XI^o sic ait : Et Papinius quia ut in silvis ex tempore nascuntur arbore(s) sic ex tempore nascitur aliquid in nobis in iuventute. Ennius et Naevius scripserunt de secundo bello Punico, quem librum Quintus Argunteus [a mistake for Quintus Vargunteus, and he did not divide Naevius' poem into books — that was C. Octavius Lampadio — but recited Ennius ; cf. Suet. *Gramm.* 2. 4] divisit in septem libros propterea quod videretur longior. Armis [mistake for annis] XXIII secundum bellum Punicum ; omnia bella Punica annis lxii duraverunt. . . Deinde in Cannensi clade paene interiit, paene omnes Centenius promittens afferre caput Hannibalis. Hannibal occurrens ei in Campania (blank in text) et ibi interfectus cum milibus XIII (m over XIII) (then something illegible) (cf. Sil. XII 468, Liv. XXV 19. 9 ff.).

[*Inc.* of first part of commentary, fol. 204^v] : (I 1) Incipit more illorum qui texunt telam nam *orsa* appellantur stamina non more poetico. (I 2) Patronomica [*sic*] a fluvii et a locis habent patronomicam [*sic*] originem sed proprie a patre unde Aeneadae ab auctore gentis. Ferox : belli furor et bellicosus cum aliqua tamen fallacia : Annaeus Florus : post Carthaginem victam nemo puduit nitere [ungrammatical ; cf. Florus I 23. 1 : post Carthaginem vinci neminem puduit]. Oenotria : Itala ab Oenotria Oenotros, a Latio Latios Italos. Antigonius et Varro in Originibus et Dio. Halicarnasensis : Phoroneus primus qui in Graecia regnavit qui ge(nuit) Niobem ; haec Lycaonem, hic ex quattuor uxoribus XXIII liberos habuit quibus volebat dare Arcadiam. . ./. . . [*Expl.* of first part of commentary, fol. 207^v] : (I 85) *Mortales* pro hominibus ut apud Livium. (fol. 208) (I 86-89) : the long genealogical explanation mentioned above : Inachus ge(nuit) Io, Io Belus. Belus ex

Aegypto contulit se in Phoeniciam et genuit Abantem. Abas enim in obliquis accipit. Abas Acrisium, Agenorem, et Pretim [Proetum?]. . . Agave Pentheum, Semele Bacchum, Polydorus Labdacum. . .

[*Inc.* of second part of commentary, fol. 213] : (III 311 *re* the lotus) : Odore, sapore, suavitate similis est palmae. Conficitur et ex eo fructu vinum quod appellant melilotum. Qui gustant loti fructum non amplius ab arbore discedunt. . ./. . . [*Expl.* of second part of commentary, fol. 221^v] (III 603-606 *re* Titus) : Erat vaticinium quod ex ea urbe erat orturus vir dominaturus totum orbem. . . Palaestina nunc pro Iudaea et pro avita. Here the notes come to an abrupt stop but then continue in the left-hand margin with : Palaestina regio est pro Iudeam [*sic*] per quam labitur Euphrates et per Iudaeam Iordanis labitur per vallem Iericon et non habet exitum ad mare. . . eum dicam lacum Sodomae. Contagionem e lacu accipit, neque eius aquam amplius dulcedinem (then an illegible word). Deinde labitur per cavum et non amplius videtur.

See for some of this material quoted from the Paris Ms. Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

Ms. Flor. Laur. plut. 52. 8.

Introd. : [*Incipit* of *Vita*, fol. 105] : Silius patre Silio viro consulari natus sub Tiberio Germanico imperatore extitit (extitit crossed out) matre Fulvia. Filios duos habuit Severum et P. Silium (corrected from Severum P et Silium). . . [*Explicit* of *Vita*] : Sub Nerone famam laesit. In Vitellii amicitia se sapienter et communem gesserat. Ex proconsulatu Asiae gloriam reportavit.

Primi omnium quantum in historiis comprehenditur Assyrii duce Cyro finitimis bella paraverunt. Epirotae primo Pyrrhidae dicti a Pyrrho filio Achillis cognominati. . . (fol. 105) Appetebant enim maxime Siciliam, insulam contiguam Italiae, Carthaginenses. Mago perfidus, malignus, ferox periurus extitit. Sic fonte illo uberrimo ofuscata in antiquarii Iulii ad Silium veniamus.

[*Inc.*, fol. 105^v] (I 9) : Iuratum Iovi : percussum foedus erat ex vino et amicitia : ex vino et caesa porca, unde Virgilius : Caesa iungebant foedera porca [*Aen.* VIII 641], vel percussum foedus ex vino cum sanguine mixto : ut est apud Sallustium in

Catilinario (corrected to Catilinae bello): Catilinam enim libasse cum sociis vinum cum sanguine mixtum [cf. *Cat.* XXII 1]. . ./. . . [*Expl.*, fol. 146^v] (IV 562): Phoenices peragrata magna orbis parte consederunt inter Palaestinam et Assyriam ubi condiderunt Tyron et Sidona. Ab his regibus originem ducebat Dido. Duces Carthaginensium et unde Hannibal habuit originem. Mago originem habuit a Barca socio Didonis unde et Hamilcar etiam cognominatur Barca.

Manuscripts:

Florence, Laur. plut. 52. 8, fols. 105-146^v; s. XV (not after 1473). (Bandini, *Catalogus* II [1775] 551-552).

Oxford, Bodleian Canon. Class. Lat. 116, marginal notes; s. XV (s. XVI ineuntis according to Blass)(B). (*Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, pars 3 (1854), col. 158; Blass, *op. cit.*, p. 181; Delz I 47-48b).

Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 8413, fols. 204-208, 213-221; s. XV. (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, pars tertia, tomus quartus (Paris 1744) 456; Bloch, *op. cit.* (in bibliog. for Petrus Odus); Delz II, *passim*, esp. 431-435).

Vatican, Borg. Lat. 417 (M. VIII 20), interlinear and marginal notes; s. XV (II). (Delz I 126-127; G. Wartenberg, 'Zu den Textesquellen des Silius Italicus,' *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* XXXIII (1887) 431-432).

Vatican, Vat. Lat. 1651, marginal notes; 1470(Q). (B. Nogara, *Codices Vaticani Latini* III [1912] 132; Blass., *op. cit.*, p. 177).

Vatican, Vat. Lat. 3302, marginal notes; s. XV (Y). (*Inventarium librorum latinorum Mss. Bibl. Vat.* IV 324; Blass, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Delz I 104-105; Kristeller, *Iter* II 318).

Vatican, Inc. I 4 (a copy of the editio princeps of Silius), marginal notes.

Biography:

Iulius Pomponius Laetus (Giulio Pomponio Leto) was born an illegitimate son of the family of the Sanseverino at Diano in the province of Salerno in 1428; he died at Rome in 1498. Many variations of the epithets applied to him are found (see Cosenza IV 2906 and V card 1459 for these): e.g., Balbus (since he had an impediment in his speech), Laetus (because of his happy disposition), Infortunatus (because of his

imprisonment), Fortunatus (after his release). He went as a young man to Sicily, then came c. 1450 to Rome, where he heard Valla and Petrus Odus Montopolitanus. He succeeded Odus as professor of eloquence at the Studio in Rome c. 1464-65.

He was concerned with Latin literature and the text of Latin authors but also with Roman epigraphy, history, and topography; hence his name of Iulius Antiquarius. He almost made a cult of ancient Rome and regularly celebrated the birthday of the city, but it seems doubtful that he knelt daily before an altar dedicated to Romulus (cf. Zabughin I 99). His great regard for ancient Rome did not preclude an interest in his own times, nor did it make him anti-Greek; he had little acquaintance, however, with the Greek language before the age of 40. He founded what became known as the Academia Pomponiana or Romana. Its members were given or assumed classical names, which has caused difficulties in identifying many of them. Several of the members acted in Latin plays (Plautus, Terence, perhaps Seneca, possibly some more modern ones), which were staged and directed by Pomponius; so he is often considered to have re-established the theater at Rome.

Pomponius spent a considerable amount of time in Venice between 1460 and 1465, and it may have been on his way there that he stayed for a while with Cosimo de' Medici in Florence. In the summer of 1467 Pomponius went to Venice again. He was annoyed because his salary at the Studio had been stopped, and he wanted to sail from Venice for Greece and the Orient to learn Greek and Arabic. In the meantime he took private pupils in Venice. The next year a charge of sodomy was brought against him there. In the same year the Pomponian Academy, which had fallen under suspicion (there were rumors of paganism and Epicureanism), was dissolved by Pope Paul II. Many of its members were arrested and imprisoned in the Castel S. Angelo. Pomponius was extradited from Venice and also imprisoned there. There were two trials (1468, 1469). The charges against Pomponius in the first one were: 1. sodomy; 2. connections with Callimachus Experiens (Filippo Buonaccor-

si), considered the head of a conspiracy to kill the pope; 3. lèse-majesté against the pope; 4. disrespectful remarks about priests; 5. heresy. The charges against the Pomponians in the second trial were limited to heresy and impiety. What became of all the charges of the two trials is not clear, although the charge of heresy was not established. In any case, the humanists were released from prison in 1469-70 but still confined for a time to the papal palace, the Vatican, or the city of Rome. The Academy was re-established along more Christian lines in 1478 under Sixtus IV.

Pomponius returned to his professorial chair c. 1470. He made a trip to northern Europe, especially Russia, that lasted from June 1472 to the spring of 1473. Another tour of his in northern Europe extended from the spring of 1479 to that of 1483; Avogaro's term 'legatio Britannica' may refer to this, though from sources other than Pomponius himself or Avogaro we hear rather of Germany: Pomponius and others in the retinue of Cardinal Osia di Podio were to have Mss. in the churches, monasteries, etc. of Germany copied. Pomponius says nothing of this aspect of his travels in his extant writings and notes (his *Commentarii* on his tours are lost). He refers in the main to the customs of the Russians, and chiefly in notes on Virgil's *Georgics* explaining 'Scythian' practices. He may have been crowned poet laureate in Germany by the Emperor Frederick III in the winter of 1482-83 before his return to Rome; see Zabughin I 197 and nn. for references to Petrus Marsus' *funeris oratio* and to a passage in Iacopo Gherardi da Volterra. Marsus seems, however, to imply a special trip to Germany for this. Furthermore, what Gherardi actually says is: *recitatum est ad mensam* [the lunch that was part of the celebration on April 20, 1483 in Rome of the birthday of the city] *Federici III Cesaris privilegium sodalitati concessum* (presumably the privilege granted to the Academy of crowning poets); see Gherardi, *op. cit.* infra, 117 and Tiraboschi II (Milan 1833) 535. Pomponius' crowning is not mentioned by either Lancetti or Schottenloher, 'Kaiserliche Dichterkrönungen. . .,'

opp. cit. infra under Petrus Paganus I 8. Before his return to Rome in 1483 Pomponius stopped for a while in Florence; cf. Sabbadini, *op. cit.* infra 374. If he ever went to Bobbio, 1480 or 1482-83 would be a possible date; cf. Zabughin II 111.

Pomponius finally married, in 1479 or a little before, and had two daughters, Nigella and Fulvia. Fulvia was well known for her ability in Italian poetry and in modern languages. Nigella surpassed her in classical studies, assumed the name Melantho after she had made some progress with Greek, and seems to have done some Ms.-copying for her father (Vat. lat. 3295, the Vespi Martial, may be in her hand). She may have become the wife of Lelio Antonio Augusto, who apparently served also as copyist to Pomponius and is perhaps to be identified with Pomponius' successor Antonio Baldi at the Studio; cf. Zabughin II 67.

Pomponius himself wrote out many Mss., notably a Lucan, a Statius, an Ovid, and the Silius for his pupil Fabio Mazzatosta. For a time around 1471 he was the superintendent of the press of G. Lauer.

The period after his reappointment at the Studio was a happy one for Pomponius. His fame as a scholar brought students to him even from beyond the Alps. He was well paid; in 1496 he was drawing an annual salary of 300 Roman florins. The statement commonly made about Pomponius' poverty during these times must be rejected as false. But he apparently preferred to live simply. He may not have known how to be economical, and he may have spent a great deal on Mss. and books and on his collection of inscriptions. He had two small houses on the Quirinal. His property went to Mat(t)hias, a favorite pupil.

Pomponius' teachers were Theodorus Gaza, Laurentius Valla, Petrus Odus Montopolitanus.

For his pupils see Cosenza IV 2913 (4 cards marked 'Pupils') and V cards 1459 and 1460 (cf. also IV 2906, first card: 'Pomponii discipulus'). Note among these the Silian scholars Hermannus Buschius and Petrus Marsus.

Works (dates and places, when given, refer only to the first edition or the first one

that we know of; for further details see Cosenza IV 2907-2914): Of ancient authors besides Silius he edited Donatus, *Ars minor* (posthumous ed., Venice 1500); Frontinus, *De aquis*... (with J. Sulpitius, Rome c. 1486); Nonius Marcellus (with Volsco and others, Rome c. 1470); Pliny, *Epist. libri* 1-9 (Rome 1490); Sallust, with a *Vita* of his own composition (Rome 1490); Terence (Parma in the 1480's); Varro, *De lingua Latina* (Rome c. 1471). He prepared emendations to Vitruvius that were printed in J. Sulpitius' edition of that author (Rome c. 1486).

He corrected editions of Q. Curtius Rufus (Rome or Venice c. 1470-1471), of Pompeius Festus (Rome c. 1471), and of a Latin version of Dionysius Periegetes (Rome c. 1497-1498). He may have corrected an edition of Nepos (Venice (?) in the 1490's) and have corrected or supervised an edition of Martial (Rome c. 1471).

He wrote commentaries and notes on several of the authors above and on many others. Much of this exegetical material is in Mss. which Pomponius had before him in his lecturing (Zabughin's 'chirografi') or in Mss. giving his notes as copied down by students (Zabughin's 'dictata'), some of it is in both; some of it was published, either by itself or in variorum editions. So there are comments by him on Cicero (the *Philippicae* in Ms. Vat. lat. 3229, various orations in Vat. lat. 3233); Claudian (cf. Zabughin II 226 ff.); Columella, Lib. X (in an edition of several agricultural authors, Bologna 1494); Florus (in Mss. Vat. lat. 3333 and Ottob. lat. 1496); Horace (in Ms. Vat. lat. 2769); Lucan, with a *Vita* (in Ms. Vat. lat. 3285); Martial (probably H 10805; in Ms. Brit. Mus. King's 32; cf. Fairbank, *op. cit. infra*); Ovid, *Fasti* (in Mss. Vat. lat. 3263 and 3264); the first part of Quintilian (Venice 1494); Silius; Statius, *Thebaid*, with a *Vita* of the poet and the poet's father (in Ms. Vat. lat. 3279); Valerius Flaccus (in Ms. Vat. lat. 5337; for these notes copied by hand into a printed edition of Valerius (Bologna 1519) see Sabbadini, *op. cit. infra*); Varro, *De lingua Latina* (in Mss. Vat. lat. 3415 with a *Vita*, Escorial. g. III. 27, Angel. 1348, and Laur.

plut. XLVII, 15 with a *Vita*); Virgil, some of the so-called *App. Vergiliana* plus the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* (Brescia 1487; notes on some of the so-called *App. Vergiliana* and the *Georgics* in Ms. Vat. lat. 3255) and the *Aeneid* (Brescia 1487 [?]).

Pomponius' life of Lucan, somewhat revised, was printed in the ed. princ. of Lucan (Rome 1469). His lives of Statius and of Statius' father are given in a revised and expanded form in L. G. Giraldis's *Historiae poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum dialogi decem* (Basel 1545), pp. 530-535 (in Dial. IV).

Pomponius may have commented on Juvenal; cf. Sanford, *loc. cit. infra*. The so-called *Modestus de vocabulis rei militaris ad Tacitum Aug.* may be by Pomponius or by one of his pupils; cf. Schanz IV, 1, 197.

The first printed grammatical treatise by Pomponius (Venice 1484) is a summary of four earlier grammatical studies of his; cf. Ruysschaert, *op. cit. infra*.

Pomponius compiled a *sylloge* of the inscriptions he had collected. In topography there are the *Excerpta a Pomponio dum inter ambulandum cuidam domino ultramontano reliquias ac ruinas urbis ostenderet* in Mss. Ven. Marc. Lat. X 195 (3453), Flor. Bibl. Gall. Uffizi 7 b (formerly V 2), and Stuttgart cod. hist. Q. 316 and a corrupt text of the same (cf. Zabughin II 171) in printed editions called *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae libellus* or *De Romanae urbis vetustate* (Rome 1510); his poem *Stationes Romanae quadragesimali ieiunio* in Ms. Ambros. F. 36. Sup. and in F. Schottus, *Itinerarii Italiae*... libri tres... e.g., 4th ed. (Antwerp 1625) 505-508; and his *regionarium* in Ms. Barb. lat. 28, with a 'working copy' in Vat. lat. 3394, a copy in Stuttgart cod. hist. Q. 316, and material gathered by someone of the school of Pomponius in Marc. Lat. X 195 (3453). For a modern printing of the *regionarium* and the *Excerpta* and for references to Pomponius see Valentini-Zucchetti, *op. cit. infra*; for a modern printing of the *Stationes*, Marucchi, *op. cit. infra*.

Certain of Pomponius' works came to be printed together fairly often. In the *Opera* (Strassburg 1515) we have *Romanae historiae compendium ab interitu Gordiani Iunioris*

usque ad Iustinum III (first printed ed. Venice 1499, extant also in Ms. Monac. lat. 528); *De Romanorum magistratibus, sacerdotiis, iurisperitis, et legibus ad M. Pantagathum libellus* (first printed at Venice c. 1490, then by Mazochi at Rome in 1510, and often thereafter); *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae libellus*; and *Epistolae aliquot familiares* — along with Sabellicus' letter to M. Antonius Maurocenus about the life of Pomponius. Pomponius himself preferred the title *Caesares* for his epitome of Roman history. The scope of the Ms. and the printed versions varies; the Ms. one begins later (with Valentinian I), for instance, and omits the section on Mohammed. That section (*De exortu Mahometis*) was often printed separately or with other works, e.g., with the *Bellum Christianorum principum* of Robertus Remensis and other items (Basel 1533).

Among Pomponius' other works are poems (e.g., a Sapphic ode on the papal-Venetian victory of 1482), letters, *commentarioli* on his travels, a 'liber inhonestus' (cited by the three heads of the Venetian Consiglio dei Dieci), his defense (a copy in Ms. Vat. lat. 2934; cf. also Carini, *op. cit. infra*), and inscriptions (e.g., one on an inundation of Rome in Ms. Marc. lat. XII, 220).

Bibl.: Cosenza IV 2906-2914, V cards 1457-1460; Eckstein 332; *Enc. Ital.* XX 976-977; Ersch and Gruber II. Sect. 42. Teil 219-220; Fabricius *BLMA* IV 480-482; K. Gesner, *Bibliotheca universalis* (Zurich 1545, reprinted Osnabrück 1966) fol. 568, 568^v; Gesner-Simler-Frisius (Zurich 1583) p. 584; Hoefer XL (1862) 725-727; Jöcher III 1679-1680 and *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen* VI (Bremen 1819) 582-584; Kristeller, *Iter* I 490 (Index), II 676 (Index); Michaud² XXXIV (n. d.) 39-40; Nicéron VII 28-40 and X-2, 223-31; Pökel 155; Rossi⁶ (1956) xv, 313-316, 318, 319, 382, 483, 530, 556; Sandys II 92-93, 97, 103, 114, 156; Tiraboschi (Milan 1833) II 532-533, 573, III 87-89, 178-179; Voigt II 237-241, 394; Zedler XXVIII 1415-1417.

R. Avesani and B. M. Peebles, 'Studies in Pietro Donato Avogaro of Verona,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica* V (1962) 1-84+2

pls. at 57-58, 76, 81-82, 143; W. Beloe, *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books, passim*, esp. III (1808) 257-264 ('George Laver'), 292-298 ('Pomponius Laetus'); S. Bertelli, 'Noterelle Machiavelliane,' *Rivista storica italiana* LXXIII (1961) 544-555, LXXVI (1964) 774-792; I. Carini, *La 'Difesa' di Pomponio Leto*, in *Nozze Ciansappa Flandinet* (Bergamo 1894) 151-193; M. Creighton, *A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation* III (London 1887) 41-47, 275, 276-284 (correspondence between Pomponio and Rodrigo); C. De Frede, 'Il concetto umanistico di nobiltà: Pomponio Leto e la sua famiglia,' *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* (Napoli) II (1952) 205-226; J. Delz, 'Ein unbekannter Brief von Pomponius Laetus,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica* IX (1966) 417-440; A. J. Dunston, 'A Student's Notes of Lectures by Giulio Pomponio Leto,' *Antichthon* I (1967) 86-94; *Id.*, *Four Centres of Classical Learning in Renaissance Italy* (The Australian Academy of the Humanities, Occasional Paper 1, Sydney 1972) 22-26; *Id.*, 'Pope Paul II and the Humanists,' *The Journal of Religious History* VII (1973) 287-306; A. Fairbank, 'Three Renaissance Scripts,' *Journal of the Society for Italian Handwriting* XXXII (Autumn 1962) 9, 11 and 'Bartolomeo San Vito,' *ibid.* XXXVII (Winter 1963) 14f.; M. Fernus, *Iulii Pomponii Laeti Elegium historicum* (e.g., in Fabricius *BLMA* VI 629-632); *Il diario romano di Iacopo Gherardi da Volterra... a cura di E. Carusi, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* Tom. XXIII, Parte III (Città di Castello 1904) lxxi, 98, 117; L. (G.) G. Giraldis, *De poetis nostrorum temporum* (1551) (ed. K. Wotke, Berlin 1894) 19, 24, 62, 95; F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter... VII*⁴ (Stuttgart 1894) 576-585; Petrus Marsus, *Funebris oratio habita Romae in obitu Pomponii Laeti* (s. l. n. a.; Inc. Magl. L. 6, 66, b); H. (O.) Marucchi, *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne* III (Paris-Rome 1902) 62-65 (text of Pomponius' *Stationes*); M. Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia* IV (Bologna etc. 1929) 320-327; G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti... (Studi e Testi 44, Rome*

1925) 82-83; G. Muzzioli, 'Due nuovi codici autografi di Pomponio Leto,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica* II (1959) 337-351+pls. XXIX-XXXIV; P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris 1887); E. Pellegrin, 'Le Codex Pomponii Romani de Lucrèce,' *Latomus* VII (1948) 77-82; J. Ruysschaert, 'Les manuels de grammaire latine composés par Pomponio Leto,' *Scriptorium* VIII (1954) 98-107 and 'A propos des trois premières grammaires latines de Pomponio Leto,' *ibid.* XV (1961) 68-75; R. Sabbadini, 'Del commento di Pomponio Leto a Valerio Flacco,' *Bollettino di filologia classica* II (1895-1896) 165-166 and rev. of Mercati, *op. cit.* supra, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* LXXXVII (1926) 370-376 at 374; A. Coccius Sabellicus, *Epist. passim* (correspondence with Pomponius) and the letter to Marcantonio Morosini on the life of Pomponius (see reference under P. Odus Montopolitanus); E. M. Sanford in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum* I (1960) 238; B. L. Ullman, 'The Dedication Copy of Pomponio Leto's Edition of Sallust and the "Vita" of Sallust,' *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome 1955) 365-372; V. Ussani, 'Le annotazioni di Pomponio Leto a Lucano,' *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Scienze Morali*, Ser. Quinta, XIII (1904) 366-385; R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico della Città di Roma* (= *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, vols. 81, 88, 90, 91) I (Rome 1940) 193-258 (Pomponius' *regionarium*), IV (*ibid.* 1953) 421-436 (*Excerpta* of Pomponius) and 591 (Index); P. Verrua, *Umanisti ed altri 'studiosi viri'*. . . (Geneva 1924) 214 (Index); J. Wardrop, *The Script of Humanism*. . . (Oxford 1963) 20-23, 30-34, 43; V. Zabughin, 'L'insegnamento universitario di Pomponio Leto,' *Rivista d'Italia* IX, II (1906) 215-244; *Id.*, *Giulio Pomponio Leto* (Rome-Grottaferrata 1909-1912); *Id.*, 'Julij Pomponij Let,' *Istoricheskoe Obozrënie* XVIII (1914).

7. DOMITIUS CALDERINUS

Domizio Calderini is known to have lectured at Rome in the Studio on the *Punica*. He refers to his lectures in the

dedicatory epistle to Lorenzo de' Medici which prefaces the Commentary on Martial (1 Sep. 1473): *superiore triennio quo Romae publica mercede docui in Silio, Cicerone, Silvisque Papinii aliisque quos professi sumus scriptoribus*. . . . What is probably a reference to the conclusion of his course is found in his autograph note, at the end of the text of the *Punica*, on fol. 210 of Vat. Ottob. lat. 1258, which also contains the 'St. Gall fragment' of the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus: *Domitius Veronensis totum opus publice exposuit Romae in academia publico salario conductus die VII^o Idus Martii MCCCCLXXIII* (the words *publice* and *die* were later erased). Underneath is added, also in the hand of Calderini though in a different ink, *codicem hunc habuit in manibus a nono in calcem, in superioribus altero usus est*. In point of fact annotations by Calderini are to be found in the manuscript from VIII 498 (fol. 99) onwards: these are, however, mainly corrections of the text, some made after collation of the text with another, others by emendation.

It is clear from the *προσφώνησις de observationibus* which follows the *elucubratio in quaedam Propertii loca* appended, with other items, to the edition of the commentary on the *Silvae* of Statius (Rome, Sweynheym and Pannartz, 13 Aug. 1475, HC 14983) that in 1475, though Calderini had prepared his lecture notes for publication, the material had not yet been given to the printers: quibus (sc. commentariis iam editis) si addidero commentationes in epistolas ad Atticum, in Suetonium Tranquillum, et in Silium Italicum, quae omnia iam collegimus et composuimus, consilio meo satisfecero et voluntati amicorum. No printed edition of the Commentary on Silius is known today, and it looks as if Calderini's intention was still unfulfilled at the time of his death in 1478.

That it was Calderini's practice to dictate at least part of his lectures is clear from his note on Juv. I 3 *togatas*: here he accuses Sabino of plagiarism, and says *inter alia* that a passage of Varro (*RR* III 3. 9) was mentioned but not dictated when Calderini lectured on the passage of Juvenal. . . *nam Varronis verba cum publice profiterer Iu-*

venalem non dictavi. . . This practice has made it possible to reconstruct at least part of Calderini's course, for notes taken down by students from the lectures have so far been identified in the *marginalia* etc. of three *incunabula* (copies of the edition of the *Punica* by Pomponio Leto printed, probably by G. Lauer, and published in Rome on April 26, 1471) in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and in a manuscript of the *Punica* in the Biblioteca Casanatense (Ms. 1064 - D. II. 2). (This material is currently being edited for publication.) It has not been possible to identify the writers of these *marginalia* etc.; that the material stems from Calderini's lectures on Silius can be established from (i) the correspondences with the tenor of the citations of and references to his commentary made by Calderini in his other works and (ii) the resemblance of parts of the subject matter to notes to be found in the other works.

The lecture notes follow the pattern of Calderini's extant commentaries on other authors: a wide range of classical authors is cited, including those in whom Calderini had an especial interest, e.g., Pliny the Elder, the *cosmographi*, Strabo, and Pausanias. There are also numerous instances of the emendation of the texts of these authors by Calderini, many of which were subsequently credited to later scholars. In particular, the commentary can be demonstrated to have substantially influenced the later commentary of Calderini's pupil Petrus Marsus (see I 8, below); for instance, it is now clear that the existence of the 'great lacuna' in Book VIII was first recognized by Calderini.

I. Vat. Stamp. Ross. 1122: notes from *Pun.* I 61 to VIII 540, with gaps.

[*Inc.*]: (I 61) *Aegatis*. *Aegatis* insulas apud cosmographos Graecos non invenies. Apud nostros de maioribus loquor. Apud Livium invenies in primo et secundo bello Punico. Eas autem insulas fuisse iuxta Lilybaeum in Sicilia inde coniectura assequor quoniam Libius [*sic*] in primo bello Punico scribit classem Carthaginensium fuisse superatas [*sic*] ad Gades insulas et Polybius cum eandem scriberet historiam tradit Carthaginienses victos fuisse ad Egussam

iuxta Lilybaeum ut intelligas Galatam, Lepadusam, et Tusam vel Egussam [*sic*?] alio nomine fuisse Aegatis appellatas. Sunt qui dicunt Aegatis accipi pro aris Philenorum quae sunt inter Sytes [*sic*] et Cyranam, ut ait Plinius; id autem mihi non placet. . . / . . . [Last note of any consequence]: (XII 543) *Ilia prima vadis*. De luco Martis intelligit nam hii luci erant ad urbem: lucus Facutalis [*sic*], Larium, Iunonis, Dianae, Martis, in quo Rhea peperit Romulum et Romulum [*sic*]; auctores sunt. (The same notes in III and IV, which, more correctly, conclude: . . . et Remum; auctores sunt Dionysius et Trogus).

II. Vat. Stamp. Ross. 1446: notes from III 1 to V 584, with large gaps.

[*Inc.*]: (III 1) *Postquam rupta fides*. Expugnatio Sagunti multis in rebus Hannibali adiumento fuit, nam eius exemplo reliquae urbes quae ad defectionem vergebant in fide et officio manserunt. Deinde multum animum confirmavit ditato exercitu praeda Saguntina. Carthaginenses patres sibi conciliavit missis muneribus Carthaginem, sed Hannibal simul hac [*sic*] Saguntum expugnavit Carthaginem Novam se recepit et ratus tempus esse traiciendi in Italiam illic classem paravit et copias et auxilia ex propinquis urbibus illic convenire iussit. Ipse postea ad Gades se contulit ut Africam et Hispaniam collocatis praesidiis muniret. Misit tamen Bostarem a Gadibus ad oraculum Ammonis ut de rebus futuris siscitaretur [*sic*]. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (V 584) *Interea exanimum*. Dum scilicet A(nni)b(a)l edidit hanc cladem.

III. Vat. Inc. III. 4: notes, with gaps, from III 540 to the end, Book XVII.

[*Inc.*]: (III 540) *Iamque super clades*. *Iamque* Gallorum multitudo ut ait Libius [*sic*], Allobroges ut narrat Polivius [*sic*], qui fuerant duces Hannibalis usque ad radices Alpium, relicto Poeno, imminentes quosdam tumulos Alpium occuparunt Poenisque ascenduntibus stragem et fugam dedissent nisi statim apparentes monuissent (*post. delet.*) sese hostes ostendissent. Hannibal et doctus (et doctus = a correction to *edoctus*?) a transfugis loca illa die tantum occupari nocte patere locavit castra. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]:

(XVII 652) *Camillo*. Qui servavit patriam a Gallis.

IV. Ms. Casanatense 1064 (Σ) (Silius Italicus), 3rd annotating hand: notes from IX 471 to XII 725.

[Inc.]: (IX 471) *Irim*. Iris nuntia (nuntia, III) deorum est unde nomen sumpsit nam *eryn* significat dicere (nam *erin* ἐρεῖν id est dicere, III). Alii sentiunt *Irim* dictam ab *eris* (ἔρης, III) quod significat discordiam quoniam Mercurius ad pacem, ipsa ad res perturbandas mittatur. Homerus scribit eam habere aureas alas. Haec apud Virgilium abscindit crinem Iunoni [!] (Didoni, III) moriturae. Cornutus cum locum illum interpretaretur causam ignoravit. Macrobius exposuit quod scilicet fuerit imitatus poeta Euripidem, qui Orcum introducit abscindentem crinem Alcestidi. Iris praeterea herba est cuius radix in unguentis et medicina commendatur auctore Plinio. Iris arcum caelestem significat de quo Lucretius: Tum color in nigris existit nubibus arqui [VI 526]. . ./. . . [Expl.]: (XII 725) *Titania bella*. Titanes gigantes qui bella moverunt versus Iovem (in III, Titanes gigantes qui pugnarunt cum diis).

Manuscripts:

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense Ms. 1064; s. XV (Σ). (Index Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Casanatensis III 442; Blass, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Delz I 128-132; O. Occioni, *Ti. Catii Silii Italici Punicorum Libri Septemdecim; Accedunt Variae Lectiones Codicis Casanatensis* (2 vols., with Italian translation; Turin 1889), Vol. I, pp. xiii-xv).

Vatican, Ottob. lat. 1258, annotations (mainly corrections of the text); s. XV (Γ). (Index Alphabeticus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Ottobonianae, fol. 579^v; Inventarii Codicum Manuscriptorum Latinarum Bibliothecae Vaticanae Ottobonianae, Pars I, p. 234^v; Blass, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Delz I 108-118 Kristeller, *Iter* II, 417).

Vatican, Inc. III. 4 (a copy of the edition of Silius by Pomponio Leto), notes.

Vatican, Stamp. Ross. 1122 (a copy of the edition of Silius by Pomponio Leto), notes.

Vatican, Stamp. Ross. 1446 (a copy of the edition of Silius by Pomponio Leto), notes.

Biography:

See CTC I, 218-21. The following biography supplements and corrects, in the light of more recent scholarship, Miss Sanford's article.

Domenicus (Domitius) Calderinus Veronensis (Domizio Calderini), b. Torri del Benaco, prob. Jan.-Mar. 1446, d. Rome, Jan.-May 1478. Educated at Verona *sub communi praeceptore Antonio Broianico* (G. A. Panteo, *de laud. Veronae*, fol. 75, cp. *Actio Panthaea*: see Levi, *op. cit.* infra 16-17); studied at Venice under Benedetto Brugnoli da Legnano (Levi 18) and possibly taught there (G. Mercati, *Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti*, Fasc. II, Rome 1939, *Studi e Testi* 91, p. 38). A friend of *Marcus Aurelius senatus Veneti scribe* (*Ep. ad Jul. Med.* in Juv. comm.). Goes to Rome c. 1467 and becomes *secretarius familiaris et commensalis perpetuus* of Cardinal Bessarion, and thus is in contact with members of the 'academia Bessarionea.' Probably at this time adopts the Latin name Domitius, following the practice of the friends and pupils of Pomponio Leto. Appointed professor of rhetoric at the Studio 1470, *secretarius apostolicus* to Sixtus IV, 1471. Accompanied Bessarion to France in 1472. In 1473 lectures also in Greek at the Studio, and during the year visits Florence (Mart. comm. dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici) and uses the Bibliotheca Medicea; meets scholars such as Marsilio Ficino, Bartolomeo Fonzio, and the young Poliziano. In 1476 accompanies Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere to Avignon.

Among Calderini's pupils were M. A. Sabellico, Pietro Marso (who later edited the *Punica*), and possibly, at Venice, Pescennio Francesco Negri (Mercati, *op. cit.* 38). It seems likely that Aldo Manuzio attended some of his lectures (Levi 41 and especially G. Mandersteig, *op. cit.* infra, 110-111).

During his lifetime Calderini engaged in bitter controversy with Niccolò Perotti (on Martial) and with Perotti and Angelo Cneo Sabino (on Juvenal). An attack on the commentary on Martial was published by G. Merula in the year of Calderini's death; it was answered by Cornelio Vitelli. After

his death his scholarship and veracity were harshly attacked by Poliziano.

Works :

(a) Printed :

(i) Commentaries : Martial (with polemic against Perotti) ; Juvenal (with polemic against Perotti and Sabino) ; Ovid, *Ibis* and *Epistula Sapphus Phaoni* (= *Her.* XV) ; Statius, *Silvae* (there seems little authority for Marastoni's assumption, Teubner edn. Leipzig 1961, introd. p. xliii, that Calderini edited the *princeps* in 1472) ; Virgil *opuscula quaedam ; elucubratio in quaedam Propertii loca ; ex tertio libro observationum* (a collection of miscellaneous notes, allegedly extracted by the author from a larger work).

(ii) editions : Quintilian, *Declamationes tres* ; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (?).

(iii) translations : Pausanias, *Attica* and *Corinthiaca* ; Ptolemy, *Cosmographia* (*Iacobi Angeli versio latina a Domitio Calderino revisa*).

(b) otherwise extant :

Commentary on Silius ; Commentary on Virg. *Aen.* VI (incomplete) (Munich Staatsbibl. ms. lat. 807) ; in Verona Bibl. Capit. ms. CCLVII (229) are to be found : prefatory remarks to a course of lectures on Cicero, *De oratore* (1474) ; *epistula ad Bernardinum Messanelum sororis filium ; legatio in Galliam Iuliani Card. D. Petri ad Vincula* (incomplete) ; *interpretatio super Suetonium* (incomplete) and Commentary on Suetonius (incomplete : frags. also in Flor. Ricc. 153, 833, 2127) ; *in emendationem tabularum Ptolemei Alexandrini*, and *de Ptolemeis* ; prefatory remarks to a course of lectures on Cicero, *De officiis* ; panegyric on Giovanni della Rovere, praefectus Urbis ; a diatribe, in defense of Plato, against Giorgio Trapezunzio, to Francesco Barozzi ; poems (others in Vat. Urb. lat. 1193, Verona, Bibl. Com. 1366, Paris B. N. Lat. 8274, Flor. Ricc. 915) ; letters (others in Flor. Ricc. 915).

(c) as yet untraced :

Commentary on Cicero, *Ad Atticum* and *In Verrem*, possibly extant in the form of lecture notes.

Bibl. (select) : Cosenza I 769-779, V cards 372-373, VI (Suppl.) 64 ; Eckstein 76 ; Ersch and Gruber XIV 115 ; Hoefer VIII (1854) 169-170 ; Jöcher I (1750) 1559-1560 ; Kristeller, *Iter* I 461 (Index), II 635 (Index) ; Michaud² VI (1854) 385 ; Tiraboschi III (Milan 1833) 265-266.

For the older works of reference see Sanford, *op. cit.* 221.

G. Levi, *Cenni intorno alla vita e agli scritti di Domizio Calderini* (Padua 1900) is still fundamental. See also Delz I 115-118 and nn. 95-98 ; A. J. Dunston, 'Studies in Domizio Calderini,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica* XI (1968) 71-150+pls. 1-8, esp. 71-72 (on the life of Domizio), 72-85 ('The Hand of Domizio Calderini'), 86-106 ('Calderini and the "Punica" of Silius Italicus') ; A. Perosa, *Mostra del Poliziano* (Florence 1955) *passim* ; R. Weiss, 'In memoriam Domitii Calderini,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica* III (1960) 309-321. For the polemic with Perotti, see G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti arcivescovo di Siponto* (Rome 1925 = *Studi e Testi* 44) and R. Sabbadini, 'Un Marziale Ambrosiano,' in *Classici e Umanisti da Codici Ambrosiani* (Florence 1933) 53-65 (= *Stud. ital. di filol. class.* XI [1903] 329-342). On that with Merula, A. Badini-Confalonieri, *Vita di Giorgio Merula* (Alessandria 1894). On the scholarship of Calderini see Delz, I ; Dunston *op. cit.* ; and S. Timpanaro Jr., 'Atlas cum compare gibbo,' *Rinascimento* II (1951) 314-318 : for the relationship with Bart. Fonzio, C. Marchesi, *Bartolomeo della Fonte* (Catania 1900) ; for that with Aldo Manuzio, G. Mardersteig, 'Aldo Manuzio e i caratteri di Francesco Griffo da Bologna,' *Studi di bibliografia... in onore di Tammaro de Marinis* III (Città del Vaticano 1964) 105-147 + 16 pls. ; for that with Poliziano, I. Mañer, *Ange Politien* (Geneva 1966) and C. Dionisotti, 'Calderini, Poliziano e altri,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica* XI (1968) 151-186.

Further references to Calderini may, in due course, be revealed in the *secunda*

centuria of the *Miscellanea* of Poliziano; see, e.g., M. Pastore Stocchi, 'Sulle *curae statianae* del Poliziano' in *Atti dell' Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti* CXXV (1966-67) 39-74.

Since the compilation of this article, Angelo Poliziano, *Miscellaneorum Centuria Secunda*, ed. V. Branca and M. Pastore Stocchi, IV (Edizione Critica) (Florence, 1972) has appeared (see index s.v. Domizio Calderini), as has *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* XVI (1973) (see the entry 'Calderini, Domizio', pp. 597-605, by A. Perosa).

8. PETRUS MARSUS

I. In his youth Pietro Marsi wrote *commentariola* on Silius and sent them to Prince Virginio Orsini's paternal uncle Roberto; this fact is stated in the dedicatory epistle of a second commentary. We have not been able to trace the earlier commentary.

II. The later commentary is a revision and expansion of the earlier one. It is found in editions printed in 1483, 1492, 1493, and 1512 (see below for these and for a doubtful edition of c. 1490). It surrounds the text and covers all 17 books of the *Punica*; it is preceded by the dedicatory epistle to Virginio Orsini, a life of Silius, and a summary of the second Punic War; and it is followed by a postscript or envoi ('Operis conclusio'). In the last item Pietro compares Virginio to Scipio and says that his *virtus* ought to be celebrated in an epic poem; in the meantime let him accept this Silian commentary and be its protector. In the dedicatory epistle, as we noted above, Pietro mentions Petrus Montopolitanus as the first to expound the *Punica* in Rome and states that his own teachers, Pomponius [Laetus] and Domitius [Calderinus], followed Montopolitanus in this.

The editions by Marsi are all the same except that there are variations in orthography and punctuation and the last one contains also the life of Silius by Petrus Crinitus. The first edition perhaps has fewer printer's errors than the later ones.

Throughout the editions there are occasional discrepancies between lemmata and text (e.g., VI 614, IX 209) and verses may be commented on that have been omitted from the text.

Dedic.: Petri Marsi interpretatio in Silium Italicum ad ill. Principem Virginium Ursinum. [Inc.]: Cum id omne quod in terris gignitur ad usum hominum sit, ut priscis philosophantibus totius naturae peritis visum est. . . Silius Italici divinum poema, ut potui, interpretatus sum. Quod ita undique temporum incuria depravatum erat ut nullam fere utilitatem legentibus afferret. Primus patrum nostrorum memoria huius poetae sacros fontes reserare arcanaque ingredi ac publice in hac florentissima urbis Romae academia profiteri ausus est Petrus Montopolita, vir certe id aetatis eruditissimus, cuius caeleste ingenium non parum utilitatis post Laurentium Vallam Romanae linguae allaturum avara fata studiosis inviderunt et in flore adhuc atque viride rapuere. Secuti sunt viri saeculorum memoria digni ac Romani eloquii sidera et clarum decus, Pomponius et Domitius, praeceptores mei. Qui, multum supra homines ingenio praediti, divino quodam mentis acumine ac splendore avia Pieridum loca peragrarunt et per Romanae linguae, cuius ab ineunte aetate studiosissimi fuerunt, calles Getarum Vandalorumque sentibus obsitos et curricula quondam nitida sed barbarorum vepribus obducta equos ita inflexere suos ut horum industria et laboribus priscum illud Latinarum litterarum decus iam fere non desideremus, et in hoc opere potissimum laborarunt ut facilius esset interpretibus labor, quod ipse sum expertus et fateor ingenue. . . Miseram, illu. Princeps Virgini, superioribus annis illu. Principi Roberto, patruo tuo, quaedam in Silium commentariola. Quae quoniam iuvenili quodam ardore ac primo ingenii calore influxerant castigationem desiderabant et limam. Illa igitur castigata et una cum poemate impressa ad te mitto. Qui quoniam maiorum tuorum praeconia, ut par est et te, Romanorum principem et Ursinorum familiae caput, decet, libenter audis ut domesticis vestigiis insistas, hoc opus, in quo principes tui Romani celebrantur, grato animo suscipias

et manibus tuis ac lectione dignare cum per publica negotia quibus distringeris ut subditorum saluti consulas licuerit. Vale.

Vita. Silius Italicus ab Italica, urbe Hispaniae, cognominatus a qua originem habuit per suos maiores Romanus fuit. . . quinque et LXX annos natus in Neapolitano suo inedia vitam finivit magis delicato corpore quam infirmo usque ad extremum diem beatus felix.

Compendium. Belli Punici secundi compendium. Post primum bellum Punicum quo Carthaginenses victi fuerunt ad Aegates insulas, quae sunt inter Siciliam et Africam, et Sicilia Sardiniaque celeri desperatione stipendio etiam superimposito amissis, Hamilcar, pater Hannibalis, qui eo bello imperator fuerat, vir ingentis spiritus,angebatur. . . Scipio pacis condicionibus datis Carthaginem tributariam fecit. Inde exercitu in naves imposito in Siciliam traiecit et per Italiam non minus laetam pacis quam victoriae, effusis etiam hominibus causa officii ad honores praebendos, turba etiam agrestium vias obsidente, Romam venit clarissimoque omnium triumpho urbem et Capitolium invectus est.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: (I 1) *Ordior arma.* Propositio est qua Silius, captans attentionem ac docilitatem, ostendit aperitque se descripturum bellum Punicum secundum. Attentum facit auditorem rerum magnitudine proposita, docilem summa paucis comprehensa. . . Sum, inquit Silius, descripturus arma et praestantiam bellicam populi Romani, qua illius gloria non modo per totum orbem propagata est, verum usque ad astra penetravit, et qua Carthago, belli studiosissima et Romani aemula imperii, leges et iugum Romanorum subire patique coacta est; et hoc primo secundoque bello Punico, nam tertio ab Aemiliano Scipione funditus est eversa, et cineres in Capitolium relati. Restituta fuit postea ab Augusto eodem anno quo Corinthus. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (XVII 651-654) *Salve, invicte parens.* Adorat poeta Scipionem, auctorem pacis libertatisque ac patriae suae alterum conditorem, unde non cedebat Romulo, qui magnis fatibus felicitque auspicio urbis Romae XI Kalen. Maias fundamenta iecit. Nec cedebat Camillo, qui urbem a Gallis

occupatam asseruit. Sic Scipio patriam e manibus barbarorum extorsit. Concludens igitur poeta dicit: O Scipio, cum Roma iactat te esse filium Iovis Capitolini, profecto non mentitur. Immensa virtus tua id ostendit et comprobatur. *Parens* scilicet urbis, nam pater patriae merito poterat appellari. *Quirino.* Romulo, urbis conditori. *Meritis.* Quasi dicat: non minora sunt tua merita quam fuerint Camilli, nec minores laudes quam fuerint Romuli. Commentariorum Petri Marsi in Silium Italicum finis.

Operis conclusio: Auspiciis tuis, invictissime Princeps Virgini, huic operi bellicoso extrema manus imposita est, in quo de duobus clarissimis in toto orbe imperatoribus, Scipione atque Hannibale, agitur. . . Interea haec commentariola excellentiae tuae dicata auspiciis tuis legantur, tuoque splendore ac tanti nominis celebritate protegantur et quiescant. Quae iterum atque iterum excellentiae commendo tuae, cuius honori communique utilitati ad quam tuendam nati sumus hoc opus magna sedulitate, cura, et lucubrationibus aggressus sum, et ad calcem felici successu decursum est.

Editions:

1483, May 6, Venetiis (Venice): Baptista de Tortis. HC *14739; Goff S-507; Proctor 4619; BMC V, p. 323; Brunet V, col. 382.

1492, May 18, Venetiis (Venice): Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus Modociensis. HC *14740; Goff S-508; Proctor 5034; BMC V, pp. 439-440; cf. Brunet, *loc. cit.*

1493, Sept. 20, Venetiis (Venice): [Iohannes Tacuinus]. HCR 14741; Goff S-509; Proctor 5425; cf. Brunet, *loc. cit.*

1512, April 21, Parisiis (Paris): N. de Pratis, for Poncius Probus and Franciscus Regnault. Panzer VII, 567, 571. BN.

Doubtful edition:

(*) c. 1490, Venetiis (Venice): I. de Paganinis Brixiensis. H 14738; cf. Brunet, *loc. cit.*

Biography:

Petrus Marsus (Pietro Marsi) was born at Cesa or Cese (near Avezzano) shortly after 1440; he died in 1512 at Rome. Marsus is a name referring to his birthplace (in the territory of the ancient Marsi), not a family name, in his case; so he is not the brother of

Paulus Marsus (Paolo Marsi) of Pescina (cf. Delz II 428). Pietro was an intimate of Pomponius Laetus and of Platina. He was among the first members of the Academia Pomponiana to be arrested in 1468 and was imprisoned in the Castel S. Angelo. Shortly after his release he began studies with John Argyropulos, who arrived in Rome from Florence in 1471. He became one of his favorite pupils and was entrusted with the posthumous publication of his Latin translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (Rome 1492).

Pietro became the tutor of Cardinal Ammannati's nephew Cristoforo Piccolomini in 1472. How long this instruction lasted is not known, though della Torre conjectures that he was still occupied with it when Paolo Marsi returned to Rome from Venice early in 1473 (*op. cit. infra*, p. 201; cf. p. 225).

Sabellicus in his *De Latinae linguae reparatione* writes (ed. Cologne 1529, sig. C2^v; *Opera omnia* [Basel 1560] Tom. IV, col. 334): '... Petrus Marsus Cesensis. Is non ad poetas solum explicandos, sed ad oratores quoque et philosophos studium adiecit; extant eius in Silium Italicum commentarii multa eruditione referti, sed longe utiliora quae in Ciceronis opera conscripsit; eloquens, ut Pomponii auditorem agnoscas, et quod plus est, propemodum philosophus, sed quantuscumque in philosophia est, eum Argyropuli contubernium effecit.'

Volsco (see below, p. 397) violently criticized Marsus' commentary on Silius. Marsus answered the attack in his second edition of Cicero's *De officiis* (Venice 1491), announcing a new edition of his Silius 'sed cum apologia.' But this new edition apparently never appeared; at least, the four now known to the scholarly world are all the same except for the minor details noted above.

Petrus Marsus entered the priesthood early and was canon of S. Lorenzo in Damaso. He taught in Mantua and at the University of Rome. He was a lecturer on rhetoric and poetry at the Studio in Bologna during the academic years 1478-79 and 1479-80 (so Dallari, *op. cit. infra* 107 and 110; Verrua, *loc. cit. infra*, has missed the

first reference in Dallari and so gives only 1479-80).

His teachers were Domizio Calderini and Pomponio Leto. He was the friend of, or at least dedicated works to, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Federico I Gonzaga (d. 1484), Francesco Gonzaga (Cardinal of Mantua; d. 1483), Louis XII of France, Baptista Mantuanus, Raphael Riarius, Stephanus Carolus of Milan, and Prince Virginio Orsini. His revision of Argyropulos' translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, as well as his Silius, is dedicated to Virginus Ursinus.

Works: One of his quite early works was a commentary on Ovid's *Ibis*. It is extant in Ms. Bernensis 516 (fols. 262-289) with the *subscriptio* bearing the date 1472 and the place Viterbo. He commented on many Ciceronian works, especially the *De natura deorum*, the *De divinatione*, and the *De officiis*. His comments often appear in various editions of Cicero; particularly frequent is a combination of his commentary on the *De officiis* with that of Martinus Phileticus on the *De senectute* and that of Omnibonus Leonicensis on the *De amicitia* and the *Paradoxa Stoicorum*. Marsus' notes on the *De officiis* alternate with those of Iodocus Badius Ascensius in the *Gemina explanatio officiorum Ciceronis* (Lyons 1506).

Marsus was the author of many orations, e.g., an *Oratio dicta in die Ascensionis De immortalitate animae*, dedicated to Cardinal Raphael Riarius; a *Funebris oratio habita Romae in obitu Pomponii Laeti*; and a eulogy of Johannes Argyropulos.

Bibl.: Cosenza III 2201-2204, V cards 1118 and 1119; Eckstein 357; K. Gesner, *Bibliotheca universalis* (Zurich 1545, reprinted Osnabrück 1966), fol. 550^v; Gesner-Simler-Frisius (Zurich 1583), p. 675; Hoefer XXXIII (1860) 981; Kristeller, *Iter* I 22, 331; Michaud² XXVII 81; Pökel 168; Tiraboschi III (Milan 1833) 200-201.

U. Dallari (ed.), *I rotuli dei lettori... dello studio bolognese dal 1384 al 1799* I (Bologna 1888); Delz II 428-429; C. Dionisotti, "'Lavinia venit litora," Polemica virgiliana di M. Filetico,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica* I (1958) 283-315; A. Drakenborch (ed. of Sil., Utrecht 1717), p. **3^v and repeated in G. A. Ruperti (ed. of Sil.,

I, Göttingen 1795), p. xlv and N. E. Lemaire (ed. of Sil., Paris 1823) II 436-437; W. E. Heitland, 'The "Great Lacuna" in the Eighth Book of Silius Italicus,' *Journal of Philology* XXIV (1896), No. XLVIII, pp. 188-211; A. La Penna, *Scholia in P. Ovidi Nasonis Ibin* (Florence 1959) xl-xliv; W. P. Mustard, *The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus* (Baltimore 1911) 24 with n. 61; A. Coccius Sabellicus, *Ennead. X, Lib. VIII* (*Opera. . . in duos digesta tomos*, Basel 1538, II 757 and *Opera omnia, ibid.* 1560, IV 334); A. della Torre, *Paolo Marsi da Pescina* (Rocca S. Casciano 1903), *passim* (see Index); P. Verrua, *Umanisti ed altri 'studiosi viri'*. . . (Geneva 1924) 188, n. 301; V. Zambughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto* (Rome-Grottaferrata 1909-12), *passim* (see Indices).

9. HERMANNUS BUSCHIUS

Hermannus Buschius composed hexameter summaries or *argumenta* (14 lines each) to each of the 17 books of Silius, a poem to the reader or kind of *accessus* in elegiacs (8 couplets), a life of Silius in prose, and marginal scholia in prose on the *Punica*. The 17 *argumenta* first appear in the 1504 edition of Silius (Leipzig: Martinus Herbiopolensis; Panzer VII 149, 108). But they stem from the notes of students who attended Buschius' lectures on Silius in 1503-4 or 1504 at Leipzig rather than directly from Buschius; cf. H. J. Liessem, *Hermann van dem Busche* (see below), I. Teil, p. 12. The first *argumentum* was omitted from subsequent editions; so Daniel Heinsius wrote one in 20 hexameters which is a cento of Silian phrases and lines. Both *argumenta* to Book I are then often given in later editions (e.g., those of Drakenborch and Ruperti).

When an edition contains the scholia of Buschius (they are first found in the 1522 edition), they are described on the title-page as: quae vice uberis commentarii esse possunt. They cover all 17 books of the poem, but they are hardly like an *uber commentarius* and frequently not much more than captions or summaries of the narrative. They do not correspond to the marginal and interlinear notes, presumably by Buschius, in the copy of the 1493 Silius which was in

the Badische Landesbibliothek (the former Grossherzogliche Bibliothek) in Karlsruhe but was one of the losses of World War II. This was bound up with the handwritten original of Buschius' *accessus* and *argumenta* to Silius; cf. Liessem, *op. cit.*, Anhang, p. 6.

For Buschius' having treated of the life of Silius at Marburg see under I 10, below.

Argumenta:

[*Inc. Lib. I*]: Principio Libycae describitur urbis origo. . ./. . . [*Expl. Lib. XVII*]: . . . dux ipse reversus / Alta triumphanti scandit Capitolia curru.

Accessus. Concilio vatum, Musis, et Apolline dignum / Vis opus, et dignam Palladis aure lyram? . . . Nec tu, prolixus quia sit, moveare, poeta: / Pondus inest magnis, utilitasque libris. / De magno sic plus impartit amicus acervo, / Sic plus quam rivi, fluminis unda sapit.

Vita. Silium Italicum sunt qui fuisse Hispanum affirmant, ex Italica urbe Hispaniae. Sunt alii qui per suos maiores Romanum fuisse dicant, sed generis initium traxisse ab Hispanis. . . In Neapolitano suo (de quo supra diximus) cum adversa valetudine insanabilis clavi laboraret, inedia vitam finivit. Annos quinque et septuaginta natus, corpore (ut inquit Plinius iunior) delicato magis quam infirmo. Haec de vita Sili.

Scholia:

[*Inc.*]: (I 8-10) Ter foedifragi Carthaginenses.

(I 21-22) Narrationis initium.

(I 41-49) Verba Iunonis per stomachachionem insultantis secundis Romanorum rebus praesagio cladum illis ab Hannibale imminuentium. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (XVII 640 ff). Dictum hoc ad laudem Scipionis, quia per ea loca totam Hispaniam ab eo subactam asserit. Octo in mare fluviis Iberus labitur.

(XVII 651) Haec verba poetae ad Scipionem.

Editions containing the scholia:

1522, Basileae (Basel): Thomas Wolfius. Fabricius BL II (1773) 175; Panzer VI 234, 448. BN.

1531, Parisiis (Paris): Simon Colinaeus. Brunet V 385; Fabricius BL *loc. cit.*; Panzer VIII 144, 2015; Renouard, *Colines* 185. BN.

1543, Basileae (Basel): Henricus Petri. Fabricius BL *loc. cit.*

Buschius' *argumenta* appear in many of the editions of Silius from 1504 down to the Tauchnitz one (Leipzig 1834; often reprinted). Library catalogues, under such rubrics as 'Éd. et Comment.,' often imply that an edition contains Buschius' scholia when it contains only his *argumenta*, or the *argumenta* plus the *vita* or plus the *accessus* and the *vita*. The *vita* is also in M. Maittaire, *Opera et fragmenta veterum poetarum Latinorum*. . . (London 1713) II 940.

Biography:

Hermannus Buschius (Hermann von [van] dem Busche, Busche; usually called Hermann Busch) Pasiphilus ('loved by all,' as he ironically called himself in later life) was born of a noble family c. 1468 at the castle of Sassenberg near Warendorf in Westphalia; he died in Dülmen in 1534. At an early age he went to Münster, where his teacher was his relative Rudolf von Langen, in whose house he lived. Later von Langen sent him to Deventer to study with Alexander Hegius. Subsequently he studied under Rudolf Agricola in Heidelberg. He went with von Langen in 1486 to Rome, where he attended lectures by Pomponius Laetus and stayed for five years. On his return to Germany he became a wandering humanist and university lecturer; he visited most of the larger cities of northern and central Germany (e.g., Hamburg, Rostock, Leipzig, Cologne, Marburg), was in France for a while, but never in any place for long. He taught poetry for a year in Cologne and matriculated in law there in 1495. He became a *baccalaureus legum* at Leipzig in 1503; soon after that he turned to areas more congenial to him, humanistic studies and Latin verse composition. His verse includes poems in praise of certain cities (e.g., Cologne, Leipzig); his *Oestrum, sive novorum Epigrammatum libellus*, attacks the Rostock professor Heverling(h). During a visit to England in 1516 he became friendly with Sir Thomas More. In 1526 he was called by the Landgraf Philipp von Hessen (at Luther's suggestion according to Hamelmann) to the newly founded University of Marburg. He accepted, went there in that year or the next, and married there in 1527 at the age of 59.

He sided with Reuchlin, Hutten, and Erasmus in championing humanism and hence was opposed to Ortuinus Gratius (Ortwin von Graes), his former schoolmate at Deventer. But because of his vacillating character his stand was not firm and consistent at first, and in his second edition of Donatus he made certain concessions to Gratius. But later he returned to his true stand and his old friends and compiled an eloquent defence of humanistic studies in his *Vallum humanitatis*.

Friends and patrons of his in addition to those noted above were the Grafen Gebhard and Albert von Mansfeld, to whom he wrote panegyric poems; Hieronymus Emser; and Philippus Novenianus Haffurtinus.

Works: Nicéron has 34 entries in his catalogue of the works of Buschius. The more recent *Bibliographisches Verzeichnis der Schriften Hermanns van dem Busche* by Liessem (see below) gives 55 items (with some of Nicéron's 34 excluded). Liessem's items include a preface and notes to Petronius (VII, VIII), the Silian material (XI), an edition of the *Amphitryon* of Plautus (XVII), a biography of the younger Seneca (XXXIII), a commentary on Claudian's *De raptu Proserpinae* (XXXVIII), contributions to the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (XLII), a selection of Cicero's letters for young students (XLIII), collections of Plautine *sententiae* (XLVII, XLVIII), a selection of Martial's *Epigrams* with notes (LI), and a brief commentary on Persius' prologue and first satire (LV).

See also A. von Dommer, *Die ältesten Drucke aus Marburg in Hessen 1527-1566* (Marburg 1892), p. 172 for two items by Buschius.

Bibl.: ADB III 637-640 (Geiger); P. N. M. Bot, *Humanismus en onderwijs in Nederland* (Utrecht-Antwerp 1955), *passim* (see Index); C. Bursian, *Geschichte der classischen Philologie in Deutschland* (Munich and Leipzig 1883; reprinted New York and London 1965) 128 n. 2, 136-139; D. Clément, *Bibliothèque curieuse* V (Hannover 1754) 452-459; Eckstein 73-74; Ersch and Gruber XIV 137-138; Fabricius *BL* II 175-176; L. Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus* (Berlin 1882) 426-428; K. Gesner, *Bib-*

liotheca universalis (Zurich 1545 ; reprinted Osnabrück 1966) fol. 314^{r-v} ; Gesner-Simler-Frisius (*ibid.* 1583) p. 337 ; F. Gundlach, *Catalogus Professorum Academiae Marburgensis 1527-1910* (Marburg 1927) 313-314 ; Hoefer VII (1853) 881 ; Jöcher I 1510-1512 ; Michaud² VI (Paris 1854) 223 ; Nicéron XXV (1734) 93-109 (93-98 life of B., 99-108 list of his works, 108-109 bibliography) ; P. Nigidius Sr., *Elenchus professorum Academiae Marpurgensis*. . . (Marburg 1591) 10, 18-19 ; Pökel 37 ; E. M. Sanford in CTC I 238 ; Sandys II 261 ; K. Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, 1517-85* I (Leipzig 1933) 89-90.

A. Bömer, 'Hermannus Buschius,' *Westfälische Lebensbilder* I (1930) 50-67 ; J. Burckhard, preface to Busche, *Vallum humanitatis* (Frankfurt am Main 1719) 113-232 ; H. Hamelmann, *Narratio de vita, studiis, itineribus, scriptis, et laboribus Hermanni Buschii* (1584), repeated in his *Opera genealogico-historica* (Lemgo 1711) 279-314 ; P. Kalkoff, 'Der Humanist Hermann von dem Busche und die lutherfreundliche Kundgebung. . .,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* VIII (1910-1911) 341-379 ; H. J. Liessem, *De Hermanni Buschii vita et scriptis* (Bonn 1866) ; *Id.*, *Hermann van dem Busche: Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Cologne 1884-1908, reprinted Nieuwkoop 1965) — consists of I. Teil, pp. 1-70 and Anhang: Bibliographisches Verzeichnis der Schriften Hermanns van dem Busche, pp. 1-72 ; J. Neff (ed.), *Helius Eobanus Hessus, Noriberga illustrata, und andere Städtgedichte* (Berlin 1896) x, xi, xii, xiv, xvii, xxv, xxviii-xxx, xxxi, xxxii-xxxiii (editions of the *Lipsica*), xxxv (textual variants therein), xliii-xliv (classical authors, including Silius, used therein), 75-91 (text of Emser's poem, Buschius' prose *Consulibus senatuique Lipsensi* and poem *Lipsica*) ; J. Niessert, 'Hermann von dem Busche,' *Historisch-geographisch-statistisch-literarisches Jahrbuch für Westfalen und den Niederrhein* II (1818) 288-323 ; A. Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen* (Münster 1869) 6 n. 3, 24, 34 n. 3, 56 with n. 1, 65, 102 n. 2, 108-109, 132 with n. 5, 133 with n. 1, 251 ; F. G. Stokes

(ed.), *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (London 1909), *passim* (see General Index).

10. PETRUS PAGANUS

Peter Dorfheilge(r) (Petrus Paganus) expounded some of Silius' poem, perhaps only the first book, at the University of Marburg, where he was a professor from 1561 to 1576. The only copy that we have been able to trace of his exposition, and of only the first book, is dated 1567. This could be the lecture notes taken down by a student, but the rather formal 'title-page' suggests something coming directly from Paganus. We have not been able to find out how often he lectured at Marburg on Silius.

The copy in question forms the fourth of a group of items bound together as Ms. Bernensis 663 ; cf. H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium* (Bern 1875) 497. On fol. 1 of this fourth item, which consists of nine folios, the following information is given : In Primum Syllii Italici Librum de bello Secundo Punico. Autore Petro Pagano Poëta Laureato, Poëseos et Historiarum Professore, In Schola Marpurgensi. Anno 1567.

The notes are fairly extensive but do not form a continuous commentary on *Punica* I. For the most part they are essays on certain points alluded to by Silius in his first book. They are largely concerned with history, geography, and military affairs. Something is said about the first and third Punic Wars to give a picture of the whole conflict between Rome and Carthage. One note about a folium in length is on the nature of epic poetry.

At the beginning of his notes Paganus says that five points (which are more or less those made by Servius, whom he invokes) have to be considered in expounding authors : 1. Vita auctoris. 2. Titulus seu materia operis. . . He then observes that it would be superfluous to go into details about the life of Silius since they had previously been set forth by Buschius at the University of Marburg.

Hagen's description of Ms. 663. 4 ends with the statement : *Adiecta sunt excerpta chronologica*. These excerpts are presumably

the marginal summaries, which read as follows: (fol. 1^v) Vita Silii Italici, Titulus libri, Bella Punica; (fol. 2) I. Primum bellum Punicum, II. Secundum bellum Punicum, Hannibal; (fol. 2^v) Sagunthus, Clades Romanorum, Urbes ab Hannibale occupatae; (fol. 3) Hastrubal, Fortuna, Scipio in Hispaniam missus, In Africam mittitur; (fol. 3^v) Hannibal revocatur ex Italia, Hannibal caesus; (fol. 4) Tertium bellum Punicum, Carthago deleta; (fol. 4^v) Heroicum carmen. These marginalia are succeeded by summaries or titles within the text of the next sections as follows: (fol. 5) Foederum faciendorum apud veteres Rom. modus; (fol. 6) Hannibalis descriptio. Livius 1. libro 3. Decadis; (fol. 6^v) Plutarchus in Hannibalis vita, Hamilcaris laudes; (fol. 7) Somnia noctu obversantia; (fol. 7^v) De tribus orbis partibus; (fol. 8) Phalarica; (fol. 8^v) Testudo, Troiae expugnatio; (fol. 9) Ligures, Taxus et picea arbores.

[*Inc.*]: Argumentum 17 librorum Syllii Italici de Bello secundo Punico. In exponendis autoribus 5 potissimum (teste Servio) spectanda sunt. 1. Vita auctoris. 2. Titulus seu materia operis. 3. Numerus librorum. 4. Qualitas orationis. 5. Auctoris intentio.

Vita Syllii Italici cum (quantum ex probatis autoribus colligi potest) ab Hermano Buschio in hac schola Marp. quondam poëseos professore satis luculenter descripta sit, ista omnia repetere supervacaneum esset.

2. Titulus autem satis est De bello Punico secundo, ex quo et materia facile colligitur.

Cum Rom. cum Chartag. (sic) tria maxima bella et cruenta gesserint (aemulatione imperii orbis terrarum) diversis temporibus et impari annorum numero, ad differentiam adicitur in titulo Secundo. . . .

3. Quod autem ad numerum librorum attinet, 17 libris has historias complexus est Syllius.

4. Genus carminis est Heroicum Hexametrum actu (ut ait Servius in explicatione 1 lib. Aeneidos) mixto, nam et ipse Poeta loquitur et alios loquentes inducit.

Heroicum vero carmen (ut eum [*sic*] idem definit) est quod constat ex divinis et humanis personis continens veras et fictas historias. . .

5. Porro Intentio Syllii praecipua fuit imitari Vergilium: et potentissimorum populorum res in 2 Punico bello gestas, vera partim narratione describere, partim poeticis involucris, et artificiosis figmentis illustrare, exemplo Vergilii, qui et ipse Caesari Augusto originem descripturus per omnia fere Homerum imitatus est et veras historias fabulosis quibusdam immiscuit ad delectationem lectori pariendam. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (ad I 83): Taxus et Picea Arbores. Taxus arbor dira, et tam praesentis veneni, ut subter dormientes statim moriantur, Inde toxica venena. Picea quoque arbor est.

Manuscript:

Bern, Burgerbibliothek Ms. 663. 4; 1567. H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium* (Bern 1875) 497.

Biography:

Petrus Paganus (Peter Dorfheilge(r); see also F. Gundlach, *op. cit.* infra, p. 313 for the form Dorfheiligen) was born at Wanfried in Hesse March 30, 1532; he died there May 29, 1576. He attended school at Eschwege; went to the University at Marburg, where he became a *Magister* in 1550. He travelled to Holland and then by way of Italy to Vienna, where he was crowned *poëta laureatus*. In 1561 he became professor of poetry and history at Marburg. Here he displayed his talents especially as a writer of Latin occasional verse (e.g., epithalamia and epicedia) and of Latin poems on didactic-philosophical and historical themes.

Works: Thirty-three items by Paganus (the Silius commentary is not among them) are given in the supplement to Jöcher, *loc. cit.* infra. These include: *In Q. Horatii Fl. Odas, Satyras et epist. argumenta* (1567), *Historia tergemorum Romanorum et Albanorum fratrum*. . . (1571), and the posthumous *Praxis metrica*. . . (1609). The *argumenta* to Horace, published at Frankfurt am Main in 1567, are to be assigned with much more likelihood to this Petrus Paganus than to Petrus Paganus (Pietro Pagani) of Belluno, to whom Cosenza (III 2539) assigns them. Petrus Paganus of Belluno may possibly, however, have composed notes rather than *argumenta* to Horace; Cosenza,

loc. cit., cites Horatii opera, cum notis P. P., Ven. 1516, but describes this as 'not proved,' and Graesse (III 349) refers to the edition as one 'qui n'est pas constatée.' On Petrus Paganus of Belluno see Cosenza, *loc. cit.*; L. Ferrari, *Onomasticon* (Milan 1947) 507; F. Miari, *Cronache bellunesi inedite* (Belluno 1865) 209; B. Weinberg, 'Translations and Commentaries of Longinus, On the Sublime, to 1600: A Bibliography,' *Modern Philology* XLVII (1949-50) 145-151 at 148-151; *id.*, CTC II, 196.

For 12 of the 33 items by Paganus (Dorfheilger) see also A. von Dommer, *Die ältesten Drucke aus Marburg in Hessen 1527-1566* (Marburg 1892) 178.

Bibl.: ADB XXV (1887) 62 (Joachim); Jöcher III 1177-1178 and *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen* V (Bremen 1816) 1382-1383; K. Gesner-J. Simler, *Bibliotheca. . . in Epitomen redacta* (Zurich 1574) 562; Gesner-Simler-Frisius (*ibid.* 1583) 678; J. G. T. Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares* II (Dresden etc. 1862) 349; F. Gundlach, *Catalogus Professorum Academiae Marburgensis 1527-1910* (Marburg 1927) 313; V. Lancetti, *Memorie intorno ai poeti laureati. . .* (Milan 1839) 436-437; P. Nigidius Sr., *Elenchus professorum Academiae Marburgensis. . .* (Marburg 1591) 12, 52-53; K. Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 1517-85* II (Leipzig 1935) 114 and VI (*ibid.* 1940) 438 and 'Kaiserliche Dichterkrönungen im heiligen römischen Reich deutscher Nation,' in *Papsttum und Kaisertum* (ed. A. Brackmann, Munich 1926) 648-673 at 669.

11. DANIEL HEINSIUS

In 1600 at the age of twenty Daniel Heinsius prepared an edition of Silius. On the recommendation of Scaliger he used in preparing his text the variant readings of the Coloniensis reported by Modius in his *Novantiquae lectiones*. As soon as Raphelengius had sent Heinsius' text to the typesetters, he began to entreat him to produce some explanatory notes to the text. Heinsius promptly complied and gave his notes the name of *Crepundia Siliana* because of his youth. In the preliminary note to the

reader in the *Crepundia* he observes that his annotations were written 'paucis diebus, imo horis.' The notes as published are not all that he had, but he omitted some so that his edition with notes would be ready for the Frankfurt fair. They actually appeared in 1601 but form the last part (pp. 311-504) or a kind of appendix to the edition proper, which is dated 1600.

Heinsius felt no dissatisfaction in later years with his youthful *Crepundia Siliana*, and many editors of Silius have praised them highly (cf. Drakenborch's Praefatio ad lectorem). Some scholars, however, have commented rather on the flaws in the *Crepundia*. In any case, they contain much extraneous material (e.g., Latin verses of his own), and the modest proposals often made in them really mask a certain pedantry. They may be described as notes on selected passages of the *Punica*. They extend over all 17 books but are much more concerned with the earlier than with the later books.

For Heinsius' *argumentum* to Book I see p. 390 above.

Dedic. Epist. of edition. Illustrissimo et incomparabili Heroi Iosepho Scaligero, Iulii Caesaris Comititis a Burden filio, Daniel Heynius [*sic*] S. P. D. [*Inc.*]: Silium Italicum, Illustrissime heros, primum hac forma visum, primum laboris diligentiaeque nostrae praeludium, tibi virorum Primo damus. . . Ceterum de huius poetae editionibus si quis me roget, idem quod Graeculus ille de Homero respondeam, emendatissimam eam omnium editionem esse, quae minime emendata sit. Doctissimi igitur Modii codicem sequuti sumus ex autoritate tua et suasu. Nihil aut parum emendavimus, ne violenti ac immites simus in partum hunc tenerum et pusillum, vere pumilionem aut nanum, cuius rationem in Notis quoque habendam [*sic*] duximus, ac praesertim modestiae. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Interim, scribentibus aliis, ἐπεδρος sedebo in hoc certamine, et μαστιγοφόρον expectabo. Vale, Illustris et incomparabilis Domine. Anno MDC.

Preface of *Crepundia*: Lectori Daniel Heynsius S. D. [*Inc.*]: Habes, mi Lector, quae notata mihi in *Silio*, paucis diebus, imo horis, quem cum praelo mandasset

Raphelengius noster, cepit de editione mecum agere, (ut solet fieri) familiaris, et si quae in eo observassem in medium afferrem, serio obsecrari. Ego, qui ne *καγαίαν* quidem, id negare; cum vero instaret suo iure ille, deesse meo muneri nolui. . . *Silium* igitur dum properant operae, in manus sumpsi, obiter percurri, quaedam ad libri mei calcem enotavi, emendavique, quae hic vides. Codicem praeterea Modii in contextu expressimus, versus *νοθεύοντας* eiecimus, genuinos legitimosque restituimus, idque magis e consilio Modii, quam nostro (ne quid hic mihi vindicem) quorum omnium rationem reddere id vero actum agere videbatur, praesertim cum id abunde iam olim a Modio praestitum sit. . . [Expl.]: Vale, quisquis es, et quicquid in Graecis scriptoribus hactenus observavimus tum augustiori forma a nobis *Silium* exspectabis, hic si pusio meus placuerit, qui inter operas typographicas mihi natus est. Omnia enim qui paucis a nobis horis praestari potuisse existimat, iniquus alieni laboris aestimator est.

[Inc.]: (I 6) Gens Cadmea] Ut infra *Arces Agenoreas* de eadem Carthagine. Paulo enim longius haec a Silio deducuntur, quamquam ipsa Carthago non solum *καινή πόλις* et *κακκάβη*, sed et *Καδμεία* dicta fuit. Doctissimus Periegetae interpres: *!Καρχηδών ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνα τινὸς ἀνδρός Φοίνικος, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Καδμεία καὶ κακκάβη.*

(I 9) Iuratumque Iovi foedus] Omne enim ad Iovem, etiam non invocato eius nomine, pertinebat iuramentum. Unde alio loco, *Deceptum Iovem* [VI 693] cum de periurio loquitur, dixit. Atque haec causa cur soli Iovis sacerdoti iurare antiquitus apud Romanos per religionem integrum non fuerit, ne scilicet fortasse falleret eum quem colebat. . . [Expl.]: (XVII 632) *Incocti corpora Mauri. Incocti corpora, μελανόχροες*, cave enim credas *τὸ ἰν στερητικὸν* esse: Sic antiquis *incoctae* dicebantur mulieres, quae plus aequo calamistris utebantur.

Atque haec sunt quae nos inter operas Typographicas ad *Silium* effudimus. Tu vero, mi Lector, si quid boni in tam tumultuario opere sit, id Deo ascribe; si quid secus, id mihi, qui non solum ut homo er-

rare potui, sed ut adolescens, cum venia debui; tertiam vero partem paene notarum mearum, propter nundinas Francfurtenses quae instant, omittere necesse habui, itaque finem facio si prius de duobus monuero, de Omissis nimirum et Erratis.

Editions:

1601, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden): ex officina Plantiniana Christopheri Raphelengii, pp. 313-504 (*Crepundia Siliana*, with the text of 1600 preceding).

1646, Cantabrigiae (Cambridge): R. Daniel (the *Crepundia Siliana*, without the text of the *Punica*, but bound up with Heinsius' *Dissertatio de verae criticae apud veteres ortu, progressu, usuque*. . . and *Exercitatio critica demonstrans omnem fere Aegyptiorum, Graecorum et Latinorum originem ex Oriente fluxisse*. BM.

Heinsius' *Crepundia* also appear interspersed with the notes of others in the variorum *Silius* of A. Drakenborch (Utrecht 1717).

Biography:

Daniel Heinsius or Heynsius (Heins) was born at Ghent in 1580 and died at Leyden in 1655. He studied at The Hague, Middelburg, and Franeker, before he went to Leyden, where he was friendly with Janus Dousa and where Scaliger furthered his studies. Scaliger and Heinsius are usually said to have been almost like father and son; for some reservations on this view see ter Horst, *op. cit.* infra, p. 16. Heinsius began teaching at Leyden in 1602 and succeeded Vulcanius as Professor of Greek there in 1610. He became university librarian on the death of Paulus Merula in 1607.

Heinsius' interests were more on the Greek than on the Latin side; Sandys observes that it was through his *De tragodiae constitutione*, in which he deals with all the essential points in Aristotle's *Poetics* (which he edited), that he became a center of Aristotelian influence in Holland. He was noted for his classical scholarship and for his ability in Latin verse composition and was held in great esteem both at home and abroad (Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden made him his *consiliarius* and historiographer; he was decorated by the Republic of Venice). His last years were troubled by bitter dis-

putes with other scholars about the New Testament.

Heinsius took as his motto *Quantum est quod nescimus!* in spite of, or perhaps because of, all he knew. His vast knowledge was acquired by an amazing memory.

His son Nicolaas also became an illustrious classicist; there are posthumous notes on Silius by Nicolaas in Drakenborch's edition.

Works: There is a lengthy list of the writings of Daniel Heinsius in Foppens, *op. cit. infra*, pp. 227-228. Marron in Michaud divides them into 1. editions of Greek and Latin classics; 2. verse, mainly Latin; 3. Latin orations; 4. his history of the siege of Bois-le-Duc; 5. *facetiae* (*Laus asini*, etc.). A collection of his Dutch verse was published by P. Scriverius in 1616.

Among his editions of classical authors, besides Silius and the *Poetics* of Aristotle, are Theocritus, Hesiod, Maximus of Tyre, Seneca tragoedus, Theophrastus, Horace, Terence, Livy, and Prudentius.

Bibl.: Eckstein 235-236; Ersch and Gruber, II. Sect. 5. 14-17; J. C. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Brussels 1739) 226-228 + pl. (portrait); Hoefer XXIII (Paris 1858) 791-793; Hutton F 255-259; Michaud² XIX (Paris 1857) 64-66; L. Müller, *Geschichte der klassischen Philologie in den Niederlanden. Mit einem Anhang über die lateinische Versification der Niederländer* (Leipzig 1869; reprinted Groningen 1969), *passim*, esp. 38-39, 211; Pökel 114; Winkler *Prins Encyclopaedie*⁶ X (Amsterdam-Brussels 1951) 471-472; Sandys II 203, 207, 312 (portrait), 313-315, 319.

D. J. H. ter Horst, *Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655)* (diss. Leyden 1934; Utrecht 1934).

12. DOUBTFUL COMMENTARIES

Anonymus D remains anonymous. But the question may be raised of whether he is conceivably to be identified with anybody for whose lecturing on Silius we have fairly good evidence. Two persons who almost certainly gave university courses on the *Punica* in the 1480's (at a time, then, near the first publication of Petrus Marsus' commentary) are (a) Bartholom(a)eus Fon-

tius (Bartolomeo della Fonte or Fonzio) and (b) Antonius Volscus Privernas (Antonio Volscio da Piperno).

a) BARTHOLOMAEUS FONTIUS

Fonzio apparently lectured on Silius in the academic year 1484-85, as we learn from his third inaugural lecture, entitled 'in bonas artis.' His inaugural lectures have always been known and are printed in three *incunabula* (H 7227, 7228, 7229). But C. Trinkaus has now found from careful study that a Wolfenbüttel Ms. (43 Aug.) is more precise than the printed texts; it contains the words *Silium hoc anno interpretantem et*, which the *incunabula* omit, at the end of the speech: Vos autem adolescentes optimi et animo meo charissimi, qui me Silium hoc anno interpretantem et vestris studiis incumbentem prosecuturi estis. . .

See C. Trinkaus, 'A Humanist's Image of Humanism: the Inaugural Orations of Bartolomeo della Fonte,' *Studies in the Renaissance* VII (1960) 90-147+1 pl. at 94 ('... on 8 November 1484, when the *Punica* of Silius was the subject of his course, he gave an *Oratio in bonas artis*.' with n. 15 and 119 with n. 78 (texts with and without mention of Silius). Trinkaus admits the possibility that 'Fontius was inventing a subject and a date in committing the oration to this manuscript copy' (119 n. 78). But, since the oration is the usual type of *praelectio* at the beginning of a course, the subject of the course would be properly named but might well be omitted by the printer since the oration dealt in general terms with humanistic studies. Whether Fonzio gave his course on Silius in Florence or in Rome is hard to decide. He succeeded Francesco Filelfo as professor of rhetoric and philosophy at the studio in Florence in 1481 but in 1483 left because of hostilities with Poliziano for Rome, where Sixtus IV gave him the *venia legendi*; he was back in Florence from 1485 on, if not from the end of 1484 on. See Delz I 130 with n. 38; cf. Trinkaus, *op. cit.*, p. 94 with n. 14. See also Delz I 67 for the poem to Petrus Guicciardinus in which Fonzio cites Silius among the authors whom he is busy with and for Ms. Riccard. 837, Barptol. Fontii Dictionarium

ex variis auctoribus collectum, where Silius is quoted twice. (The poem is *Bartholomaeus Fontius, Carmina*, edd. J. Fögel et L. Juhász, *Bibl. scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum, saec. XV-XVI* (Leipzig 1932), No. 18: . . . Inde furens recolo divini scripta Maronis, / Vel Sili, Hannibalis qui fera bella canit, / Insani vel me verto ad praecepta Lucreti, / Sive ad Phrixiae nobile carmen ovis). . . [vv. 43-46]). See also the account of Fonzio by E. M. Sanford in CTC I 227-229.

b) ANTONIUS VOLSCO

Volsco, in the Preface to his annotated edition of Propertius of 1488 or 1489, castigates Pietro Marsi and the latter's teachers, Pomponio Leto and Domizio Calderini, in the following words: Superioribus annis Sylii Italici bellum Punicum profitentes cum passim mendas offenderemus, mirati sumus quo pacto qui ante nos legerant eruditissimos professores vel non notasse vel ut incomptas reliquisset. Inciderunt tunc in manus novi quidam commentarii qui presbiteri cuiusdam Marsi ferebantur, incertum Vestinus an Marucinus sit; Paulus Marsus vir nostri temporis litteratissimus mihi summa benivolentia coniunctissimus Marsum esse negabat. Cum illos diligentius accuratiusque legissem, non modo maculas non tollere sed cicatricosum multis aliis vulneribus invenimus sauciare. Id vero suone an eorum quos iactitat praeceptorum iudicio fecerit nescio. Illud tamen certissimum est locos centum quinquaginta ferme annotasse qui antea aut nullam habebant mendam aut paululum intricati intelligi facillime potuissent: interpret ille acutissimus ingeniose adeo castigavit ut interdum carminum lex non constet, interdum poetae etiam sensa percipi non possint. . . For this passage and for various details about Volsco and his scholarly activity (e.g., the inclusion of Costanzo among his names is due to confusion with Antonio Costanzo da Fano and must be abandoned; Volsco's Propertius printed in Jan., 1482, is the text only) see C. Dionisotti, "Lavinia venit litora," *Polemica virgiliana di M. Filetico*, *Italia medioevale e umanistica* I (1958) 283-315 at 298-301. Cf. also R. Avesani and B. M. Peebles, 'Studies in

Pietro Donato Avogaro of Verona,' *ibid.* V (1962) 1-84 + 2 pls. at 70 (Avesani).

Perhaps a better case might be made out for Volsco than for Fonzio as being the same as Anonymus D. One thing in particular is against Fonzio. In J, the Silian Ms. of which he is the scribe (cf. Delz I 65-66 with nn. 34-40), we have at XIV 40 the correct reading *centum* (most certainly an emendation by Fonzio since no other Ms. contains it), whereas Σ has in the text *herentu* and, as the correction of this by the second hand, *heteretum* in the margin. Furthermore, at XIV 39 instead of the correct *duxerat actos* we find in the margin of Inc. II 427 *duxit et actos*; this change is due to the second annotator in Σ (Anonymus D), who comments on *duxerat* of his text: *duxit et puto potius*, whereas Fonzio in J keeps the correct reading.

Two other humanists may have been commenting on Silius in this period, (c) Galeazzo Pontico Fac(c)ino (Galeatius Ponticus Fac(c)inus) and (d) Cynthius Cenetensis (i.e., Pietro Leoni).

c) GALEATIUS PONTICUS FACCINUS

Ermolao Barbaro says in a letter written to Faccino in 1484: Tu istic Silium absolveris, poeticam exercueris. Branca and Richards interpret the *absolveris* here as 'comment on,' but it may mean only 'finish copying.'

See the letter in question in *Ermolao Barbaro, Epistolae, Orationes et Carmina* (2 vols., ed. V. Branca, Florence 1943) I 56 (No. XL). Cf. *ibid.* II 145-146 for Branca's life of Faccino with bibliography and I 18 for *absolvit* applied to a *librarius*. Cf. the great number of colophons of Antonio di Mario with *absolvi* or *absolvit* cited in B. L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Rome 1960) 99ff. For the life of Faccino and for his poetry (cf. poeticam exercueris) see also J. F. C. Richards, 'The Poems of Galeatius Ponticus Facinus,' *Studies in the Renaissance* VI (1959) 94-128.

d) CYNTHIUS CENETENSIS

As for Cynthius Cenetensis, Victor Lu-siensis says of him in a letter to Franciscus e

Turre (Feltrensis) : Disputat subtiliter, graviter et ornate loquitur, frequenter etiam subtilitates Ciceronis, Plinii, Syllii, Quintiliani, Virgilii, Lucretii, Demostenis, Ausonii, Palladii, Sereni et Sabini, historiasque nonnullas effingit. Again, however, the diction used is not a definite argument for Cynthius' commenting on the *Punica*; if *subtilitates* suggests difficulties to be explained, *effingit* does not seem to be quite the right word for an expositor. See the letter on p. 269 (No. 25) of the special section (pp. 259-269) De Cynthio Cenetensi appendix cum notis Philippo Artico Episcopo Astensi auctore in G. M. Dozio's ed. of *Cynthii Cenetensis in Virgilii Aeneidem Commentarium* (Milan 1845). But certainly Cynthius was familiar with the *Punica*; he often quotes from it in his Virgilian commentary.

SPURIOUS WORKS

II. *Ilias Latina*

That Silius was the author of the *Ilias Latina* seems doubtful; that it was written by an Italicus, however, perhaps Baebius Italicus, is likely. Cf. F. Vollmer in *PW* IX (1914) 1057-1060; A. Klotz, *ibid.*, 2. R. III (1927) 91; and Schanz-Hosius II (1935) 505-508. But G. E. Duckworth's metrical studies led him to assign the *Ilias Latina* to Silius; see his 'Five Centuries of Latin Hexameter Poetry: Silver Age and Late Empire,' *TAPA* XCVIII (1967) 77-150 at 101-102, 104-105, 107-109, 142, 147 and *Virgil and Classical Hexameter Poetry: A Study in Metrical Variety* (Ann Arbor 1969) 110-111 and 140. The Ms. tradition of the *Punica* is entirely separate from that of the *Ilias Latina*. The commentaries on the latter work will be discussed in another volume of this series.