

CATO, MARCUS PORCIUS

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FORTUNA*

Often called the Censor or the Elder to distinguish him from his great-grandson of the same name, Cato (234-149 B.C.) was a celebrated statesman, general, orator, jurist, and the author of numerous works. Only the *De agri cultura* or *De re rustica* (the latter title was used by humanistic commentators and will be cited in this article), composed some time after Hannibal's invasion of Italy, has

survived entire; the earliest example of Latin prose, it is a rather haphazard collection of proverbs, recipes, and agricultural precepts directed at farming in Campania and southern Latium. Of the works that have perished we have remains of the following: (1) *Origines*, a history of Italy in seven books from the founding of Rome to 149 B.C., composed not in the annalistic fashion but divided according to the various tribes and dealing with ethnology and antiquities as well; (2) orations, of which approximately eighty are attested, although Cicero (*Brutus* XVII. 65) claimed to have found and read more than 150 of them by 46 B.C.; (3) *Carmen de moribus*, a handbook of moral precepts which is, however, not to be

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identified with the *Disticha Catonis*, a collection originating in the third or, at the latest, fourth century A.D. and circulating under the name of 'Dionysius Cato'; (4) *Praecepta ad filium*, the first encyclopedia by a Latin author, which was addressed to his older son (Marcus Porcius Cato Licinianus) and embraced medicine, rhetoric, agriculture, military strategy, and jurisprudence; (5) *De re militari*, a separate treatise on warfare, which is not to be confused with an anonymous Renaissance forgery with the same title and ascribed to Cato, but composed of various passages from Vegetius (H. Keil, in Bibliography IV. C); (6) *Commentarii iuris civilis*, a separate treatise on jurisprudence; (7) letters. Nothing is extant of the *Apophthegmata*, a collection of witty sayings, or the *De medicina*, a separate treatise on medicine.

Cato the man was widely esteemed in antiquity. In the first century B.C., Cornelius Nepos wrote a biography of him which has been lost, but a condensed version survives in the division. *De historicis latinis* of *De viris illustribus*. The *Cato Maior* or *De senectute* is a quasi-biography in dialogue form by Cicero, perhaps his most ardent admirer, which describes an imaginary discussion of 150 B.C. whose participants include Cato, Publius Scipio Africanus Minor, and Gaius Laelius. Besides giving an account of his life, the work endows Cato with the best characteristics of the 'old Romans', and it was in this light that he continued to be viewed by later authors. Horace (*Epist. I. 19. 12-14*), Seneca (*Epist. XI. 10, XCVII. 10*), Martial (*Epigramm. X.20.21*), and Juvenal (*Sat. II.40*), among others, bear witness that 'Cato' or 'Catones' (referring also to Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis, 95-46 B.C., renowned for similar high moral conduct and stern, uncompromising integrity) was synonymous with irreproachable probity. Plutarch's *Vita Catonis Maioris*, which has much of the same information found in Nepos and Cicero, exhibits a similar tendency to portray Cato as the ideal Roman.

There is evidence, too, that his writings were popular, although sometimes it is difficult to tell if they were known directly or

through an intermediary, but there is no indication that an ancient commentary ever existed on the *De re rustica* or any of the other works. In the period of the Republic and early Empire, Cato seems to have been regarded as an authority both in matters of content and style, and, as such, was often used. The earliest instance may concern Polybius, his contemporary, who, in connection with book VI of his *Universal History*, seems to have had access to, or at least was inspired by, the *De re militari*; books IV-VII of the *Origines*, which would also have been relevant, were probably published too late to serve his purpose. In the next century there are more definite signs of the circulation of his writings. Sallust, for example, was greatly influenced by Cato's style and archaic dictum. His tacit imitations did not go unobserved, for Suetonius (*Augustus LXXXVI. 3*) reports that, while ridiculing Mark Antony's command of rhetoric, Augustus referred to Sallust's excerpting of words from the *Origines*. Lenaeus, a grammarian and freedman of Pompey the Great, alludes to the same practice when denouncing Sallust as 'priscorum Catonis verborum ineruditissimus fur' (Suetonius, *Gramm. 15*). In the *Brutus* Cicero praises Cato's orations and extols him as a far worthier representative of the Attic school than the orators currently read. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I. 7. 3) lists Cato as one of the authorities for his *Antiquitates Romanae* and seems to have drawn upon the *Origines*. The *Origines* also served as a source for Livy when he recounts Cato's exploits in Spain in book XXXIV, and it has been suggested (J. M. Nap in Bibliography IV.A) that he knew the *De re militari* through Valerius Antias. Varro and Virgil, the other agricultural writers at this time, were, as is to be expected, familiar with the *De re rustica*. The former refers to Cato fourteen times, all instances occurring in book I, and nearly every reference is introduced by Stolo, one of the interlocutors. The result is an almost equal share of praise and blame. (For Varro see the article on pp. 451-500 below.) Virgil's debt to his predecessor is much less clearly defined since he never mentions Cato specif-

ically, but modern scholars, basing their judgment in part on certain turns of phrase in the *Georgics*, agree that he was certainly acquainted with Cato's treatise.

Cato was also read in the first century A.D. Pliny the Elder numbers him among the authorities for books III, IV, VII, VIII, XI, XIV–XXII, XXVIII, and XXXVI of the *Historia naturalis*. He is described as the first 'to teach agriculture to speak in Latin' by Columella (see the article on this author in CTC II 173–93), who cites Cato approximately twenty times in his own *De re rustica* (books I–IV, VI, XI, XII) and occasionally disagrees with his dicta (IV. 11. 1; VI *praef.* 4–5). Cornelius Celsus, who wrote under Tiberius, composed an encyclopedia divided into five parts after Cato. Only eight books on medicine have survived; for the five books which dealt with farming, Columella (*De re rustica* III. 2.31) appears to indicate that Cato was one of Celsus' sources. It seems possible, if not likely, that Frontinus, author of a *De re militari*, knew Cato's treatise on the same subject, but this cannot be determined with certainty since the former's work has perished. His *Stratagemata*, however, compiled between 84 and 96 A.D. and designed to supplement the *De re militari*, mentions six ruses (two each in books I–III) employed by Cato when he was serving in Spain (195 B.C.) and at Thermopylae (191 B.C.).

Cato's choice and range of language that had long since passed out of daily conversation was another reason why his writings attracted attention. Verrius Flaccus, tutor to the grandsons of Augustus, wrote a *De obscuris Catinis*, and Cato's vocabulary also figured in his *De verborum significatu*. Both of these works are lost as is the *Dubius sermo* of Pliny the Elder who may have consulted Cato as well. In the second century A.D. writers strove for rhetorical effect by means of rare and unusual vocabulary and phraseology, and they found a ready supply in Cato. Fronto, tutor to Marcus Aurelius, was enamoured of the orations, and communicated a similar enthusiasm to his pupil. Unfortunately, however, the remains of Fronto's own speeches are too scanty to allow any conclusions regarding the extent of

Cato's influence upon him. Statilius Maximus, apparently a contemporary of Fronto and Gellius, assembled *Singularia*, a collection of words with obscure meanings and rare morphology gleaned from Cato and Cicero and preserved in the fourth-century grammarian Charisius through an intermediary, Julius Romanus (early third century). It is to interests of this sort that we owe the preservation by later writers and grammarians (Macrobius, Nonius Marcellus, Priscian etc.) of a large number of the fragments which we now have.

From the third century onwards there is not much evidence that Cato was read for his own sake or for the useful instructions contained in his manuals. The handbooks of Columella and Palladius on farming were much more systematically arranged and consequently easier to follow, and Cato's *De re rustica* gradually fell into disuse. In the now fragmentary treatise on gardens, Gargilius Martialis (third century?) does not name Cato expressly, but he may depend on him (*De re rustica* 70–72) for certain sections of his work. Nor is Cato mentioned by the veterinary writers Pelagonius (second half of the fourth century) and Vegetius (fourth/fifth century). The latter also composed a *De re militari* and cited Cato as one of the sources, but it was probably a second-hand knowledge at best. Servius seems to be a rare exception; he apparently still had access to the orations themselves (*In Aen.* VII. 259, XI. 301).

Cato's works, except for the *De re rustica*, almost certainly did not survive into the Middle Ages. Medieval knowledge of them derives from quotations and information provided by earlier authors, and no commentaries date from this period. Such references as could conveniently be gathered are given here; the number will doubtless increase when more grammatical texts, now available only in manuscript, are edited.

With regard to the *De re rustica*, Isidore *Etymologiae* XVII. 1) remarked that Cato was the first to write about agriculture while Varro embellished and Columella encompassed the whole science. This observation was repeated practically verbatim in the twelfth century by Hugh of St. Victor (*Didas-*

calicon III. 2). Since Cato was not listed as one of the authorities in the *Geoponica*, a tenth-century compilation of agricultural precepts based on the treatise of Cassianus Bassus (sixth century), it is perhaps not surprising that the earliest extant copy of the *De re rustica*, Parisinus lat. 6842 A, was written in the twelfth/thirteenth century. Seemingly there was not much demand for the manual itself, to judge from the lack of early manuscripts and the absence of entries in edited medieval library inventories.

Other references to Cato include various fragments cited in the *De dubiis nominibus*, an anonymous grammatical treatise from around the middle of the seventh century which seems to draw upon Caper, and the *Ars grammatica* of Hildericus (ninth century), who took most of his quotations from Priscian. In the eleventh century Cato is listed in a poem by a certain Winrich (of Metz?) as one of the authors of ancient Rome who should be read. Alphanus I (d. 1085), archbishop of Salerno, in a poem addressed to Gisulf, notes approvingly (and rather curiously) his lack of the 'gravitas Catonis' (XVII. 10). The *Derivationes* of Osborne of Gloucester (mid-twelfth century) contain examples from Cato as found in Priscian. William of Malmesbury gives 'excerpts' from the *Origines* in Bodleian Library, MS. Selden B. 16 (f. 7^{r-v}), a codex which he copied between 1126 and 1130; the passages, however, are taken from such authors as Dares, Virgil, and Solinus. John of Salisbury refers to Cato often in the *Policraticus* and cites not a few fragments, but his information is all second hand, coming from Priscian, Vegetius, and others. Cato, too, was familiar to such Byzantine authors as Johannes Stobaios (fifth century), Johannes Lydos (sixth century), Suidas (tenth century), Johannes Tzetzes (twelfth century), and Theodoros Metochites (1260/1-1332); W. O. Schmitt (see Bibliography IV. B) has collected evidence to show that their knowledge rested on the accounts of Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, Appian, Dio Cassius, Xiphilinos, and Zonaras.

Interest in at least the *De re rustica* was revived around the beginning of the fourteenth

century when Petrus de Crescentiis produced his *Ruralium commodorum libri XII* which contained material drawn from Cato, Varro, and Palladius. It was not, however, until the fifteenth century that the *De re rustica* became relatively popular and available. At present approximately thirty-five Renaissance manuscripts are known; most of these were written in the Quattrocento, and only a few have been consulted by editors. The text is so often combined with the treatises of one or more of the other agricultural writers that codices such as Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. D'Orville 148 and Vaticanus lat. 3390, containing Cato alone, may be considered anomalies and suspected of being *membra disiecta*. The majority of witnesses contain no marginalia at all for the Cato section; where notes have been entered, they are on the order of running titles. Some owners of the manuscripts are Cardinal Bessarion (Venice Z. lat. 462: Columella, Varro, Cato), Francesco Sassetti (Laurentianus 30. 10: Cato, Varro), Gaspar de Guzmán (Escorial R. I. 7: Columella, Varro, Cato), Hieronymus Surita (London, J. R. Abbey MS. 3226: Columella, Varro, Cato), Fulvius Ursinus (Vaticanus lat. 3390: Cato), and the Malatesta family (Cesena 24 sin. 2: Columella, Cato, Varro). Aulus Janus Parrhasius also owned or had access to a manuscript containing both Cato and Varro, since he entered its readings in his own copy of the 1482 Reggio edition, now S. Q. IX. H. 13 in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, but his codex has not yet come to light (see U. Lepore in Bibliography IV. C).

The *editio princeps* (HC 14564*) follows the manuscript practice of grouping the *Scriptores rei rusticae* together; produced at Venice by Nicolaus Jenson in 1472, it contains Georgius Merula's edition of the *De re rustica* of Cato, Varro, and Columella and the *Opus agriculturae* of Palladius edited by Franciscus Coluccia, together with Merula's 'Enarrationes brevissimae priscarum vocum' (short definitions of technical terms drawn from Cato, Varro, and Columella). There are other incunabula with the same format: three printed at Reggio Emilia in 1482 (HC 14565*), 1496 (HC 14569), 1499 (HC + Add 14570*) and one at Bologna

in 1494 (HC 14568*). Laurentianus 53. 19 is a copy of the 1482 edition, and Naples V A 5 (copied by Gianrainaldo Mennio) is also derived from a printed edition.

In 1498 Johannes Annius (Giovanni Nanni of Viterbo, 1432–1502) published a collection of fragments which purported to be from the lost works of ancient historians, among them the *Origines* of Cato. This ‘*editio princeps*’, dedicated to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain, appeared both at Rome (HC 1130*) and at Venice (HC 12527), the former containing also a commentary. Towards the beginning of his annotations on Cato, Annius reports that he discovered the fragments ‘in Collectaneis vetustis cuiusdam magistri Guilielmi Mantuani’. Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, Petrus Crinitus, and Raphael Maffei immediately expressed doubts regarding the genuineness of the finds, and, despite later attempts to defend them (e.g A. Flörchen and G. B Favre), they are now regarded as forgeries of Annius himself. His procedure was to combine authentic fragments preserved by Pliny, Macrobius, and others with spurious lines of his own invention, and to weave them into connected passages of prose. The collection was often reprinted, and certain portions from the *Origines* were occasionally thought to have some ring of authority and included among the genuine fragments; examples are Ausonius Popma (see pp. 245, 247 below) and Joseph Scaliger (see E. Villa in Bibliography IV. C).

The *De re rustica* continued to be published during the first half of the sixteenth century in various editions of the *Scriptores rei rusticae*. These include the Aldine (Venice, 1514) edited by Johannes Jocundus, and the Giuntine (Florence, 1515, 1521), which is notable for the ‘Enarrationes super nonnullis dictionibus’ of Nicolaus Angelius, the editor, who tacitly based them on Merula’s ‘Enarrationes’ in the *editio princeps*. In 1541 Petrus Victorius’ edition of Cato, Varro, and Columella appeared at Lyons. He also published a companion volume of *castigationes* to all three authors; this is the first commentary on any work of Cato, and the manuscript serving as the source of the printed version of these *castigationes*

was apparently Vatican Library, Reginensis lat. 1502, which displays printer’s notations. In the introduction, Victorius refers to two manuscripts which he had consulted, namely, a ‘vetustissimum volumen’ from the library of San Marco, Florence, and a codex written ‘litteris Gallicis’. The latter is easily identified as Laurentianus 30. 10, copied in France in the early fifteenth century, to judge from the palaeography (not in the fourteenth century as has been stated by editors), and containing the text of Varro as well. The more ancient witness originally contained Cato, Varro, Columella, and Gargilius Martialis, but Victorius notes that the folios with Columella and Gargilius Martialis had disappeared and that the last part of Varro was missing. Politian, however, had examined the same manuscript in 1482 when it was still complete, entering the variants in his own copy of the *editio princeps*; this book later came into the possession of the Ricasoli family and is now Ré. S. 439 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. In 1737 Hieronymus Lagomarsinus made a copy of Politian’s collation, and his notes are preserved in Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale MS. 117 (Landi 4) and Vaticanus lat. 11646. To judge from the errors reported by Politian and Victorius, the ‘vetustissimum volumen’ appears to have been copied from an exemplar in Caroline minuscules. It is generally regarded as the archetype from which all extant manuscripts of the *De re rustica* of Cato and Varro are descended.

To Antonius Riccobonus is due the credit for the next commentary on Cato. In 1568 he published a treatise on the nature and purpose of history (*De historia commentarius*) which was accompanied by a collection of the fragments of Cato, Claudius Quadrigarius, Sisenna, Sallust, and Varro. He was the first to assemble the remains of Cato’s lost writings, and his scholia, which deal with every work except the *Epistulae*, are brief but sufficient to constitute commentaries.

Fulvius Ursinus produced the second commentary on the *De re rustica*. It appeared in an edition published at Rome in 1587 which also contained a ‘commentary’ on Varro

(see p. 494 below), notes on Columella, various other texts with commentaries, and epigraphical studies. Three years later there appeared, for the first time, a volume with the *opera omnia* of Cato (*De re rustica* and fragments); the text was edited by Ausonius Popma whose annotations embraced everything but the *Praecepta ad filium*, *Epistulae*, and *Commentarii iuris civilis*. The second, revised edition (Franeker, 1620) made up the deficiency to a large extent, for he expanded his comments to include every work except the last named. Popma seems not to have known Riccobonus' edition of the fragments; he never refers to it, and his arrangement of the texts, both in order and number, is quite different. In the preface to his edition of Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius (Heidelberg, 1595), Hieronymus Commelinus stated that 'notationes criticorum' had been purposely omitted but would be supplied when work on the *Geponica* was finished. His death in 1598 prevented him from accomplishing this, and thus the final commentary to be composed before 1600 is that of Johannes Meursius on the *De re rustica*. It was published at Leyden in 1598 together with the text and commentaries (first edition) of Popma. Since Popma also wrote a commentary on Varro's *De re rustica* (see p. 493 below), Meursius is the only commentator on Cato the farmer to content himself with just one of the *Scriptores rei rusticae*.

From the practical side, interest in the *De re rustica* as a guide to farming was already apparent towards the end of the fifteenth century since Michelangelo Tanaglia (1437-1512) had referred twice to the treatise in his didactic poem on agriculture. In the sixteenth century and later, it was usual for writers of farming handbooks to quote the ancient authorities, including Cato and Varro. G. E. Fussell (see Bibliography V) has made a survey of these works, and it is necessary here to mention only a few of them. Two such examples were composed by the commentators. In the *De instrumento fundi liber* appended to the 1620 edition, Ausonius Popma often cites Cato, as does

Petrus Victorius in his *Trattato delle lodi e della coltivazione degli ulivi* (Florence, 1569). Giovanvettorio Soderini (1526-1597) was another Florentine humanist who wrote on agriculture and referred to Cato; see the *Trattato dell'agricoltura*, *Trattato della cultura degli orti e giardini*, and *Trattato degli arbori*. Luigi Alamanni (1495-1556), who was originally from Florence but later settled in France, alludes to Cato's eulogy of the properties of cabbage (*De re rustica* CLVI ff.) in the *La coltivazione* (Paris, 1546), which he dedicated to King Francis I. Another French king similarly honored was Henry IV; to him is inscribed the famous *Le théâtre d'agriculture et mesnage des champs* (Paris, 1600) of Olivier de Serres, whose sources include Cato, Varro, Columella, Pliny, Palladius, and even Hesiod. Cato was also used by Conrad Heresbach, author of the *Rei rusticae libri IV* (Cologne, 1570). The 1576 Basel edition of Cato and Varro contained an outline of farming methods based on precepts advocated by the two writers and arranged systematically by Theodorus Zwinger. Finally, as evidence that Cato was known in England at this time, it may be pointed out that the antiquarian William Lambarde compiled in 1571 a commonplace book of rules for farming (now London, British Library Additional MS. 20709), which exhibits material from the *De re rustica*.

Despite this interest, there were no versions in the vernacular until the end of the eighteenth century when the *De re rustica* was translated into French by C. F. Sabourex de la Bonneterie (Paris, 1771) and Italian by Giuseppe Compagnoni (Venice, 1792): T. Owen translated the work into English in 1803, and a German rendering has become available only in modern times.

Of the editions of the *De re rustica* produced from the seventeenth century until the present, the first worthy of note is that of J. M. Gesner who in 1735 edited the corpus of ancient writers on farming and produced a useful *Lexicon rusticum*. He utilized the 1595 edition of Commelinus and, indirectly, the collation of Politian, and also had access to the un-

finished edition of Christian Schoettgen (1687–1751). Schoettgen, as Gesner notes in the preface, had divided the text into more convenient chapters than had previously been the case; he reproduced Schoettgen's division, and it is this system which has been followed by succeeding editors. The second edition (1773) of Gesner's text was the basis for the *editio Bipontina* (Zweibrücken, 1787). The edition of J. G. Schneider was published at Leipzig in 1794; it, too, embraced all the *Scriptores rei rusticae* and is justly famous for Schneider's monumental commentary. H. Keil, in the Teubner editions of 1884 and 1895, was the first to put the text on a scientific basis through his investigation of the manuscript tradition, his attempts to restore the reading of the archetype, and his use of Politian's collation. The second Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1922) was the work of G. Goetz, and A. Mazzarino's text, the third in the series (Leipzig, 1962), aims to reproduce as nearly as possible the readings of the lost San Marco codex. R. Goujard is the latest editor of the *De re rustica* (Paris, 1975).

The fragments are available in fewer editions. Collections were published by H. A. Lion (Göttingen, 1826) and H. Jordan (Leipzig, 1860), and the remains of individual works have been edited by H. Peters, E. Malcovati, D. Kienast, W. A. Schröder, and P. Cugusi.

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N. F. 96 (1953) 184–87; Fraccaro (cited above II. A), pp. 227–62; N. Scivoletto, 'L'*Oratio contra Galbam* e le *Origines* di Catone', *Giornale italiano di filologia* 14 (1961) 63–68; E. Fraenkel, *Leseproben aus Reden Ciceros und Catos* (Rome, 1968), pp. 123–57; A. Primmer, 'Der Prosarythmus in Catos Reden', *Festschrift Karl Vretska zum 70. Geburtstag am 18. Oktober 1970 überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern*, ed. D. Ableitinger-H. Gugel (Heidelberg, 1970), pp. 174–80; M. T. Sblendorio, 'Note sullo stile dell'oratoria catoniana', *Annali delle Facoltà di lettere, filosofia e magistero dell'Università di Cagliari* 34 (1971) 5–32.

G. ORIGINES

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III. TEXTUAL AND PALAEOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

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IV. INFLUENCE

A. ANCIENT

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B. MEDIEVAL

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C. RENAISSANCE

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V. GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ROMAN AGRICULTURE

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K. D. White, *Roman Farming* (London, 1970); *idem*, *A Bibliography of Roman Agriculture* (Reading, 1970); *idem*, *Country Life in Classical Times* (London, 1977); R. Martin, *Recherches sur les agronomes latins et leurs conceptions économiques et sociales* (Paris, 1971); G. E. Fussell, *The Classical Tradition in West European Farming* (Newton Abbot. Eng., 1972); J. M. Frayn, 'Subsistence Farming in Italy during the Roman Period: A Preliminary Discussion of the Evidence', *Greece and Rome*, 2nd Ser., 21 (1974) 11–18.

COMPOSITE EDITIONS

Only the *De re rustica* qualifies under this category. Until the nineteenth century the treatise was usually published in editions containing similar works by Varro, Columella, and Palladius. A chronology and brief description of editions produced from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries is found in the *editio Bipontina* of the *Scriptores rei rusticae veteres latini*, vol. I (Zweibrücken, 1787), pp. cxxxii–cxliv. The text is that of Gesner (Bibliography I.A), and the Bipontine list of editions is an enlarged version of those

noted by him in vol. I, pp. xlivi-xlviii (1st ed.) and vol. I, pp. xlix-lii (2nd ed.). There are four editions which contain more than one commentary on Cato's *De re rustica*.

1598, [Leyden]: Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Christophorum Raphelengium, Academiae Lugduno-Bat. typographum. With the text of Cato (*De re rustica*, fragments), commentaries of Ausonius Popma and Johannes Meursius on the *De re rustica*, and commentary of Ausonius Popma on the fragments. NUC; *Ed. Bipont.* I cxli; Adams C-1127. BM; BN; Vatican Library; (DNAL; CtY; PPULC).

1620, Franekerae (Franeker): Johannes Lamrinck. With the text of Cato (*De re rustica*, fragments), commentaries of Ausonius Popma and Johannes Meursius on the *De re rustica*, commentary of Ausonius Popma on the fragments, and *De instrumento fundi liber* of Ausonius Popma. For this edition Popma re-edited the text and enlarged his annotations. NUC; *Ed. Bipont.* I cxli. BM; BN; (MH; NjP; PU; IU).

1735, Lipsiae (Leipzig): Sumptibus Caspari Fritsch (ed. Johannes Matthias Gesner). With the agricultural treatises of Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladius, Vegetius, Gargilius Martialis; commentaries of Petrus Victorius, Fulvius Ursinus, Ausonius Popma, Johannes Meursius on Cato; commentaries of Petrus Victorius, Joseph Scaliger, Fulvius Ursinus on Varro; commentaries of Julius Pomponius Laetus, Philippus Beroaldus, Johannes Baptista Pius, Petrus Victorius on Columella; notes of Jacobus Constantius and Jodocus Badius Ascensius on Columella, *De re rustica* X; and *De instrumento fundi liber* of Ausonius Popma. The commentaries on Cato are not given in their entirety, and Gesner has arranged them according to his own system. The commentary of Ausonius Popma is the revised and enlarged version of the 1620 edition. NUC; *Ed. Bipont.* I cxlii-iv. BM; BN; (MH; CaOTU).

1773, Lipsiae (Leipzig): Sumptibus Caspari Fritsch (ed. Johannes Matthias Gesner). This is a second edition; for contents see the 1735 edition. According to the entry in the *editio Bipontina*, Johannes Augustus Ernesti revised

and enlarged the second edition, most notably by contributing a preface, correcting typographical errors, and adding variant readings to the text of Columella (from Leningrad MS. F. v. Class. 1) and Palladius. NUC; *Ed. Bipont.* I cxliv. BM; BN; (MH).

I. DE RE RUSTICA

COMMENTARIES

1. PETRUS VICTORIUS

Victorius' edition of Cato, Varro, and Columella was published at Lyons in 1541 and dedicated to Cardinal Marcellus Cervinus; his commentary took the form of a companion volume of *castigationes* to all three authors. According to the Dedicatory epistle of the edition, he first annotated Varro and then turned his attention to Cato. The notes on Columella appear to have followed almost as a byproduct and are much briefer. In the Introduction to his commentary on Cato, Victorius gives considerable information on manuscripts that he had consulted, some of which are still extant. The annotations themselves are largely textual in character, consisting principally of variant readings and suggested emendations.

The Dedicatory epistle given below is that found in Victorius' 1541 edition, and the Introduction and Commentary are from the manuscript (Vatican Library, Reginensis lat. 1502) of the *castigationes* apparently used by the printer.

Dedicatory epistle (ed. 1541, Lugduni: Apud Seb. Gryphium). Petrus Victorius Marcello Cervino Cardinali s. [Inc.]: Post longum temporis spatium, Marcellae amplissime, reliquum tibi mei promissi persolvo. Neque tamen hoc ignavia aut negligentia feci, sed molestis occupationibus impeditus rem plus quam voluisse differre coactus sum. Nam animum meum incredibileque satis tibi faciendi desiderium primis illis meis laboribus perspicere potuisti. Paucis enim diebus toto animo in onus a te mihi impositum incumbens, ea confeci, quae me non inertem neque immemorem mandatorum tuorum ostendere potuerunt. Secuta postea sunt

tempora quae me in negotio illo, quod declinare non potui, novum atque inexercitatum ita perturbarunt ut non dico rerum tuarum oblitus sim, sed veniam mihi te daturum sperarim, si meo illi tempori inserviens curram hanc aliquantulum distulisse. Idem etiam me hoc facilius a te impetraturum confisus sum quod videbam te eodem tempore in publicis maximis rebus occupatum, ut si haec studia ex animo non abiecisses, necessario te remissius illis navare operam putarem. Nam subito fortuna auctus es et in eum dignitatis gradum pro multis tuis meritis elatus, quo paucis aspirare licet et quo altius ascendi nunc recte factis vix potest. Quae autem artes in tam illustri excelsaque loco collocarunt, eaedem te in honestissimis negotiis semper occupatum postea tenuerunt, ut a nobis etiam diu abfueris, ad Carolum Caesarem missus, et apud eum personam maximi pontificis gesseris. Mirari igitur non debes si tot curis te implicatum videns et paene tibi haec nostra studia dimissa ex animo putans iis meis litteris tibi obstrepere nolui. . . . Verum non multo post errorem meum cognovi qui ex plurimorum ingenio te iudicasse; illi enim cum altius ascenderunt saepe etiam artes illas, quae viam ipsis ad eos honores patefecerunt, obliscuntur. Animadverte, inquam, me de te quem optime cognitum habere debebam non vere existimasse, atque hoc intellegere maxime potui cum Romam reversus statim me huius aeris alieni litteris tuis amantissime scriptis admonuisti. Et quamvis magnum illae apud me pondus haberent nec possem ullo pacto amplius salva fide creditorem ludificari, tamen eum mihi flagitatem apposuisti, qui quamvis multis de causis suavis iucundusque esse poterat, tamen quod ei mandaras impigre strenueque procurabat. Cum enim Johannes Casa publicis de rebus huc a pontifice maximo missus esset, mandasti ei ut mecum accurate ageret ut quam diligentiam olim in M. Varrone purgando adhibueram, eandem in Catone, quemadmodum pollicitus fueram, expoliendo adhiberem. Vix igitur domum ad eum accesseram hominemque salutaveram cum rem tuam ille agere coepit, et quantum tempus illud tulit ac multitudo civium, quae ingens

ad eum convenerat, concessit, mandata tua exsecutus est. Exspectabatur enim cum summa omnium laetitia qui ea quae ab omnibus audiverant de optimis moribus, eximia ingenii vi, summa omnium bonarum artium eruditione videre cupiebant. Antea enim cum in patria non admodum vixerit, magis constanti omnium fama de praeclaris ipsius virtutibus delectati fuerant quam illo praesente frui umquam potuissent. Brevi igitur tunc paucisque verbis rem exposuit, nec tamen destitit, cum saepe ad eum (quemadmodum dignitas illius ac nostra vetus amicitia poscebat) omni illo tempore, quo apud nos mansit, ventitarem, urgere me ut id conficerem nec ullo pacto amplius procrastinarem. Quare non multo post opus aggressus sum et ita me in eo sedulo gessi ut rem totam mature confecerim. Ut qui tamen vellem temporis tarditatem aliquo munere compensare, veteres meos labores in M. Varronem retractare coepi et accuratius quomodo possem tibi plene morem gerere mecum diu cogitavi statuque tandem cunctos, qui de rebus rusticis Latine scripserunt, cum antiquis codicibus conferre et quaecumque auxilio illorum emendassem libello aliquo meo explicare. Ita enim tu quid de singulis locis sentiam aperte perspicies et alii etiam ex studio meo, quod ut a te ortum, ita etiam tibi acceptum referri volo, fructum aliquem capient. . . . Quaecumque igitur possent hoc meum negotium adiuvare, comparare coepi magnamque librorum copiam undique corrogavi, nec si quid in hac re industriae aut exercitationis habeo, id cessare passus sum sed omnibus ingenii viribus huic studio incubui. . . . Habes igitur magni illius Catonis librum de re rustica, quantum fieri per me potuit, multis mendis inde sublatis non parum expurgatum. Habes tres M. Varronis de rebus itidem rusticis libros doctissimi et gravissimi auctoris, in quibus etiam valde laboravi. Cum enim ille plurima scripserit et omnes paene Romanos homines elegantia et multitudine scriptorum superarit omniaque fere vetustate, quae (ut ipse sapienter inquit) pauca non depravat, multa tollit, absumpta sint, et hi quoque rerum rusticarum, qui cum paucis aliis dissectis mutilatisque de

lingua latina libris supersunt, male affecti essent, volui studio ac diligentia mea illis aliquid opis afferre . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Accesserunt tamen, tamquam cumulus quidam, nonnulla quae in Columella emendavi, nam eum quoque scriptorem non neglexi. Quod si aut meliora ipsius exemplaria nactus essem aut ille fortasse magis emendatoris opera eguisset, plura etiam in eo restituturus fui. Totam huius mei negotii rationem in castigationibus meis explicatam invenies, nam nonnulla etiam quae aut a Graecis optimis auctoribus Terentius Varro acceperat, aut declaratione aliqua indigere videbantur, adnotavi; non pauca etiam vulnera quae sanare non potui, aperui, in quibus nunc purgandis studiosi litterarum operam ponere debebunt. Hoc ut illi facere in animum inducant et hos meos labores, qualescumque sunt, hilari vultu aspiciant, vehementer precor, nec aliam ullam mihi tantarum molestiarum mercedem posco. Nam si iudicio tuo probatus discessero, optime et ornatissime Marcellae, ab omnibus me magnifice laudatum esse non sine causa existimabo. Dat. XII Kal. Quintiles MDXLI Florentia (sic).

Introduction (Vatican Library, Reginensis lat. 1502, ff. 139^v-141). Petrus Victorius, *Explicationes suarum in Catonem, Varronem, Columellam castigationum*. [Inc.]: Quia hunc laborem non ingenii aut doctrinae ostentandae causa, sed optimum auctorem eiusque studiosos adiuvandi suscepit, cupio in primis fidem meam probari. Nam si mediocris diligentiae laudem assequi potuero, non frustra mihi in tam molesto negotio versatus videbor. Quibus igitur auxiliis usus sim et quomodo me in hac re gesserim explanabo. Auxilia autem vetusti libri fuerunt, sine quibus nedum hoc opus aggressurus fuerim, vix hos rerum rusticarum scriptores ut accuratius legerem in manus umquam cepisset; omnes enim omnium conatus sine illorum ope aut irritos esse aut parum progredi posse puto. Vetustissimum volumen est in divi Marci bibliotheca, in quo M. Catonis unus liber est, quem de re rustica scripsit, ac tres M. Terentii Varronis, rerum item rusticarum. Is unus liber, ut verum fatear et ut veris laudibus ipsum ornem, maiores mihi utilitates

praebuit quam universi alii; superat enim reliquos quos habui longo intervallo et vetustate et fidelitate. Nec tamen cuncti qui in eo continebantur auctores ad nos pervenerunt, nam duo toti vetustate collapsi sunt et M. Varronis extrema etiam pars defecit. Quemadmodum autem ex vetere inscriptione, quae in fronte libri est, cognoscimus, Iunii Moderati Columellae XII libri illic etiam erant et unus ante illos Claudii Martialis. Litterae tamen et antiquitate et frequenti attritu in prima parte libri ita deletae sunt ut rubricam superinducere opus fuerit (rubrica enim notatae huiuscemodi inscriptiones in eo sunt), quare macula aliqua in his nominibus esse potest. 'Martialis' tamen aperte legitur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Hoc autem relinquere nolui quin notum facerem ut vetustas huius libri intellegatur qui illis temporibus scriptus fuit, quibus alii adhuc scriptores reperiebantur qui postea negligentia hominum aut saeculorum iniuitate perierunt. Ille autem si totus integerque conservatus esset, et Iunium Columellam fortasse emendatiorem et alium quo caremus non negligendum scriptorem haberemus. Habui etiam eosdem auctores in alio volumine non adeo vetusto neque adeo fideli, quod litteris Gallicis scriptum videbatur [Laurentianus 30. 10]. Id autem e Medicea bibliotheca prompsi et non paucos item alios qui illic custodiuntur, quos nunc necesse non est omnes nominare. De uno tantum, qui diligenter exaratus fuit et e bono exemplari exscriptus Patavii, non tacebo. Francisci autem Barbari, patricii Veneti, quondam fuit et eius studio in ea urbe, in qua doctrinarum domicilium est, diligenter descriptus fuisse illic traditur. Hi sunt praecipue codices quorum auctoritate usus sum, nam alii aut de optimo illo descripti aut ita mendose et negligenter scripti sunt ut eorum testimonium parvum pondus merito habituum fuerit. Quomodo susceptum negotium administrarim, ex singulis nunc explicationibus meis apparebit.

Commentary. [Inc.]: (f. 141) *In legibus posiverunt* (Praef. 1). Testimonio grammaticorum cognovimus vetustissimos auctores 'posivi' saepe protulisse, quare cum hic et non multo post iterum sic in manu scriptis

codicibus scriptum invenerim, Catoni suum sermonem reddendum censui. . . / . . [Expl.]: (f.162^v) *Tertio die demito* (CLXII.3). Ita habent antiqui codices et ita arbitror legi debere, non ut in excusis omnibus ‘demitito’. M. Varronis optimi codices ita quoque locum illum legunt circa finem primi: ‘Si non Dempseris ad edendum’ [*De re rustica* I. 68] etc. Loquitur autem de pensilibus quibusdam, quamquam illic etiam impressi habebant ‘demiseris’. Nos etiam sermone nostro familiari verbo in ea re exponenda utimur, quod egregie respondet ei quod hic restituimus.

Manuscript:

Vatican Library, Reginensis lat. 1502, s. XVI, ff. 139^v-162^v). This manuscript displays printer’s notations. (Kristeller, *Iter II* 403).

Editions:

(*) 1541, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Seb. Gryphium. Baudrier VIII 153.

1542, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Seb. Gryphium. *Ed. Bipont.* I cxxxviii; Baudrier VIII 169. BM; Vatican Library.

1543, Parisiis (Paris): Ex officina Roberti Stephani. With the text of Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius; *Enarrationes brevisimae priscarum vocum* of Georgius Merula; and commentaries of Philippus Beroaldus on Columella and Petrus Victorius on Cato, Varro, and Columella. *Ed. Bipont.* I cxxxviii; Renouard, *Estienne* 55. BM; BN; Vatican Library; (MH).

1735. See above, Composite Editions.

1773. See above, Composite Editions.

Biography:

See CTC II 35-36.

Bibl.: *La Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana nel secolo della sua apertura al pubblico (11 giugno 1571)* (Florence, 1971) 49-51 ('Utilizzazione di manoscritti Medicei nelle edizioni dei classici di Pier Vettori (1499-1585). Catone e Varrone *De re rustica*').

2. FULVIUS URSINUS

A collection of his notes on various authors and epigraphical subjects—nearly all at least loosely associated with agriculture—

appeared at Rome in 1587, and among this rather curious assortment were commentaries on Cato and Varro. In the Dedicatory epistle to Cardinal Antonius Carafa, Ursinus explains that the commentary on Cato consists of observations which he had compiled ‘a long time ago’ (*iampridem*) or had received from Johannes Baptista Sighicellus (Giovanni Battista Sighicelli of Bologna, d. 1575, whose contributions, however, are not specified in the commentary itself). Ursinus’ library included two fifteenth-century manuscripts (Vaticanus lat. 3310 and 3390) of the *De re rustica* and a copy of the 1482 Reggio Emilia edition of the *Scriptores rei rusticae* (Vatican Library, Inc. 394), and it is not surprising therefore that the commentary is concerned with textual problems. He cites numerous readings from a ‘vetus codex’ which has yet to be identified, and often compares Cato’s archaic language with the more modern terminology of Varro and Columella. Other authors quoted in this regard include Pliny, Horace, Juvenal, Ovid, Macrobius, and Petrus Victorius (commentary on the *De re rustica*). Some interest, too, is shown in ancient religious ritual and there are occasional references to relevant inscriptions.

Dedicatory epistle (ed. of Rome, 1587). Antonio Carafae Cardinali Fulvius Ursinus. [Inc.]: Superioribus annis, Antoni Carafa Cardinalis, cum tibi Gregorius pontifex maximus pro tua non solum in suscipiendis pro ecclesia Dei laboribus alacritate sed etiam in perferendis constantia, suadente qui tunc cardinalis personam gerebat Sixto pontifice maximo, Graeca Septuaginta interpretum Biblia per delectos a te viros expolienda mandasset, conveniebant ad eam rem statis diebus, ut scis, domi tuae cum alii praecellentes viri non sane pauci, tum vel in primis, quem tu ob ingenii iudicique praestantiam magni prae ceteris faciebas, Petrus Ciacconius homo Hispanus, cui Romae vixisse plures annos contigerat; habet enim hoc caelum semperque habebit ad excolenda ingenia vim quandam praecipuam et auctoritatem. Solebamus autem eo tempore ego et Ciacconius (nam magnam inter nos benevolentiam

conciliaverat artium studiorumque similitudo) post severiores illas de obscuris sanctae scripturae locis apud te habitas disputationes, interdum animi relaxandi causa, ad humaniores has doctrinas et litterarum cultum mansuetorum nos referre et aliquem ex nobilibus Latinis scriptoribus omni ratione perpoliendum suscipere. In quo quidem genere scriptionis cum multa ex illo congressu uterque nostrum ad communem utilitatem contulerit, tum praecipue in M. Varrone de rustica post aliorum in eum editas lucubrationes perpurgando communis industria elaboravit. Ad cuius sane libros cum permultae tum ex vetustis codicibus per nos collatis tum ex coniectura petitae correctiones essent a nobis in adversaria relatae, nihil plane aliud restabat nisi ut occasio aliqua daretur qua eiusmodi notationes in publicum emitti possent. Sed Ciacconius morte satis immatura praeventus cum id pro bono publico litterarum praestare, ut cupiebat, non potuerit, ratus sum ego meas partes esse et amici memoriae de litteris optime meriti consulere et studiosorum simul utilitati, quantum in me est, prospicere. Ad quam sane voluntatem eo magis sum deductus quod in Italia superioribus mensibus tot litterariae rei extinctis luminibus, nuper autem in Hispania erepto nobis Antonio Augustino qui et ipse Romae floruerat, iacent prorsus haec studia quasi tempestate quadam perculsa, ne dicam obruta. Sed omnia quae Ciacconius in suo chirographo ad M. Varronem notasset edere operae pretium visum non est, verum illa tantum ex iis excerpere quae mihi vel penitus probarentur vel saltem non improbarentur. Quibus praeter ea quae a me fuerant in eundem scriptorem notata et cum Ciacconio cum viveret communicata, adiunxi etiam illa quae in M. Catonem et L. Columellam vel ipse iampridem scripsisse vel a Johanne Baptista Sighicello clarissimo viro scripta accepisset. ... Haec igitur qualiacumque illa sunt, Antoni Carafa Cardinalis, domi tuae aliqua ex parte non solum nata sed etiam alta quodammodo et exulta, iure optimo tibi dicamus, qui ad sacrarum litterarum studium, quod tibi primum ac praecipuum est, has quoque

humaniores adiungis et veteres doctrinas, quibus maxime potes rebus, foves ac tueris. Fungebatur modo cum viveret hoc munere Gulielmus Cardinalis Sirletus, flos, ut ille ait, delibatus collegii et veteris tum officii tum probitatis exemplum, quo tu magistro in Graecis praesertim litteris aliquando usus es . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ei (sc. Sirleto) tu importuna morte bonis erepto quasi vicarius tum virtutis tum comitatis in apostolica etiam bibliotheca suffectus talem ad optima quaeque propensionem repraesentas ut quae illius partes erant in hominibus promerendis, eae nunc ad te translatae plane videantur. Itaque plures iam beneficam voluntatem experti in tua apud Sextum pontificem gratia multum ponunt. Tuae item pontifex ipse si quid deliberandum prudentiae, si quid exsequendum diligentiae plurimum tribuit, tecum arcana et gravissima quaeque communicat. A quorum tractatione cum te animi recreandi causa in Tusculanum tuum revocas, patiare ut ibi inter ceteras villaticas oblectationes haec quoque scripta praesto tibi sint; quorum lectione non parum hoc etiam nomine oblectaberis quod per ea et memoriam praestantissimi viri, quem unice dilexisti, cum laude renovatam et perpetuum meum colendi tui institutum pro magnis tuis in me meritis apud omnes et quidem illustrius testatum his monumentis agnosces.

Commentary. Fulvius Ursinus, *Notae ad M. Catonem De re rustica*. [Inc.]: *Et ita in legibus posiverunt* (Praef. 1). Existimamus designari legem aliquam ex duodecim tabulis, licet haec non reperiantur in iis fragmentis quae hodie in manibus habentur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Salis Romaniensis* (CLXII. 1). Eadem plane forma in veteri inscriptione dictum est ‘Pistor Romaniensis’.

Editions:

1587, Romae (Rome): In aedib. S. P. Q. R. apud Georgium Ferrarium. With the text of the Kalendarium rusticum Farnesianum, Fragmenta inscriptionum Fratrum Arvalium, Junius Philargyrius (commentary on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* of Virgil), Velius Longus (*De orthographia*), commentaries on Varro, Kalendarium rusticum Farnesianum, and Fragmenta inscriptionum Fratrum Ar-

valium, and Servius (commentary on the *Elegues* and *Georgics* of Virgil), and notes on Columella. *Ed. Bipont.* I cxl; Adams U-74. BM; BN.

1735. See above, Composite Editions.

1773. See above, Composite Editions.

Biography:

Fulvius Ursinus (Fulvio Orsini) was born in Rome 11 December 1529 and died there 18 May 1600.

He was the illegitimate son of a member of the Orsini family; the identity of his father has not been established precisely, but it is known that he was a commander of the Knights of Malta. Nothing is known about his mother. At an early age he was received into the care of the clergy of St. John Lateran and attracted the attention of the canon Gentile Delfini who taught him Greek, Latin, and archaeology and inspired him with a passion for learning and antiquity. Because he took only the subdiaconate, Ursinus was free to devote himself to study and to the assembling of a large library and collection of objets d'art. A number of benefices and a pension from Pope Gregory XIII encouraged him in these pursuits. His scholarly reputation prompted Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese in 1558 to select him as his librarian, and Ursinus remained in the service of this family for the rest of his life. He was much sought after by the literary figures of his day and had a wide circle of friends, among them Gabriel Faernus, Octavius Pantagathus, Latinus Latinus, Antonius Augustinus, and Petrus Ciacconius. In 1578 he refused an invitation from the king of Poland, preferring instead to remain in Rome. Ursinus bequeathed his manuscripts and books to the Vatican Library (the former now constitute an important part of the *fondo Vaticano latino*), and many of his art treasures to Cardinal Odoardo Farnese.

Works: *Virgilius collatione scriptorum Graecorum illustratus* (Antwerp, 1568); *Novem illustrium seminarum et septem lyricorum carmina* (Antwerp, 1568); *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditorum ex antiquis lapidibus et numismatibus expressa* (Rome, 1570); *Familiae Romanae quae reperiuntur in antiquis numismatibus*

ab urbe condita ad tempora divi Augusti (Rome, 1577). Besides his commentary on Cato, he also worked on Varro, Columella, Caesar, Festus, Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Suetonius, and commented on and published for the first time certain fragments of Polybius.

Bibl.: Cosenza IV 3522-3528; Eckstein 414-415; *Enciclopedia italiana* XXV 607-608 (T. De Marinis); C. Frati, *Dizionario bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani dal sec. XIV al XIX* (Florence, 1933) 421-422; Jöcher IV 1736-1738; Michaud XXXI 420-421; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana* VII. 1 (Milan, 1824) 357-360.

J. Castiglione, *Fulvii Ursini vita* (Rome, 1657); P. De Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887; rpt. Geneva, 1976).

3. AUSONIUS POPMA

Neither the first (Leyden, 1590) nor the second (Franeker, 1620) edition of this commentary contains a Preface or Dedicatory epistle, and thus we have no information regarding the motives prompting Popma's composition and subsequent revision of his annotations or the date when he began the work. The second edition shows extensive revision and expansion; he sometimes rearranged and often enlarged his comments from the first edition, while at the same time adding a considerable number of new lemmata and observations. In both versions, however, the emphasis is on textual matters although Popma does make more of an effort than other commentators to deal with the subject by occasionally explaining agricultural terms and tools and relating them to implements used in his time. He also cites the *Geponica* in addition to Varro and Columella when comparing farming practices. Other ancient authors quoted are Cicero, Ovid, Tibullus, Terence, Horace, Pliny, Servius, Plutarch, and Nonius Marcellus.

Gesner, in the preface to his edition of the *Scriptores rei rusticae*, reported that Popma was generally believed to have used too freely and without proper acknowledgement per-

tinent passages in the *Adversaria* (Paris, 1564–5) of Adrianus Turnebus. This is a charge which remains to be fully investigated, but in fairness it should be pointed out that Popma does refer from time to time to Turnebus as well as to the commentary of Victorius.

a. The edition of 1590.

Commentary (ed. of Leyden, 1590). Ausonius Popma, *Notae ad librum M. Catonis De re rustica*. [Inc.]: *Est interdum praestare mercaturis* (Praef. 1). Locus ita interpungendus et est antiqua locutio; cui fere similis illa Terentii *Hecyra* ‘Si est ut velit reducere uxorem, licet’ [501] et Horatii liber I *Epistularum* ‘Non est ut copia maior ab Iove donari possit’ [I. 12. 2–3] et Ciceronis in *Laelio* ‘Est quatenus amicitiae dari venia possit’ [XVII. 61] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *In malo s. f.* (CLX). Ita emendavi, cum esset in omnibus libris ‘in alio’. Vult enim harundinem apponi membro affecto et dici ‘carmen s.f.’, id est ‘sanitas fracto’; quod Turnebus frustra mutavit.

Editions:

1590, *Lugduni Batavorum* (Leyden): Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium. With the text of Cato (*De re rustica* and fragments) and commentaries on the fragments. NUC; *Ed. Bipont.* I cxl. BM; BN; Vatican Library; (InU; NjP).

1598. See above, Composite Editions.

b. The revision of 1620.

Commentary (ed. of Franeker, 1620). Ausonius Popma, *Notae ad librum M. Catonis De re rustica*. [Inc.]: *De re rustica*. Hunc unum titulum agnoscit ipse Cato apud Ciceronem in dialogo *De senectute* ubi sic loquitur: ‘Quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? Dixi in eo libro quem de rebus rusticis scripsi’ [XV. 53]. Eundem praferunt omnes libri veteres sine ulla varietate, et laudat Gellius lib. X, cap. 26 [X. 26. 8]. *Est interdum praestare* (Praef. 1). Locus ita interpungendus et est antiqua locutio . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Dic una pares* (CLX). Lego ‘dic, una partes usque’. Nimirum vult carmen dici usque dum partes luxatae coeant.

Editions:

1620. See above, Composite Editions.

1735. See above, Composite Editions.

1773. See above, Composite Editions.

Biography:

Ausonius Popma (van Popmen) was born in 1563 at Alst in Frisia and died at IJlst in 1613 (Eckstein, Pökel) or 1621 (Van der Aa).

The youngest of four brothers, Popma was destined to become more famous than any of them. His father died when Popma was a child, and his mother devoted herself to the rearing and education of her sons. They studied first in Groningen with Nicolaus Neupagus who taught them Greek and Latin and then went to Cologne where they pursued mathematics and philosophy. Afterwards they studied law at Louvain. Upon returning to his native land, Popma’s chief occupation was the study of jurisprudence, but he also found time to produce a number of philological works.

Sixtus, the oldest of the brothers, was active in political affairs. He composed a commentary on the *Institutiones* of Justinian and edited the fragments of the *De arte dicendi* of Cornelius Celsus. Titus annotated Asconius Pedianus and Cicero’s letters to his friends, and published the *Tabulae in sphaeram et astronomiae elementa* and *De operis servorum liber singularis*. Cyprian, who died at Alst in 1582, emended Sallust.

Works: *De differentiis verborum libri quattuor* (Antwerp, 1606); *De usu antiquae locutionis libri duo* (Leiden, 1608); *De ordine et usu iudiciorum libri tres* (Arnhem, 1617). He also annotated Varro (*De lingua latina*, *De re rustica*, fragments), Cicero (letters to Atticus), and Velleius Paterculus.

Bibl.: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* XXVI 416–418 (Eisenhart); Eckstein 444; Hoefer XL 811; Jöcher III 1700 and Ergänzungsb. VI 639; Michaud XXXVIII 99; Pökel 213; Van der Aa VII (rpt. Amsterdam, 1969) 126–127.

4. JOHANNES MEURSIUS

Dedicated to Lambertus Vanderburchius and his brother Hadrianus (Lambert and Adrian van der Burch of Utrecht), Meur-

sius' commentary was published at Leyden in 1598 and joined to the edition and commentaries of Ausonius Popma on the *De re rustica* and fragments which had appeared in 1590. Gesner (Bibliography I. A, p. 229, above) explains that the sale of the latter was hurt by the 1595 Heidelberg edition of Hieronymus Commelinus and that Raphelengius ordered another title page glued to the remaining copies and Meursius' notes to be added. Thus the new title reads '*M. Porci Catonis ... liber post ultimam A. Popmae editionem centum amplius locis auctus correctusque studio atque opera Ioannis Meursi*'.

In a 'Nota ad lectorem', Meursius announces that he has provided a 'Catonem severe anxieque castigatum' for which he had consulted the Commelinus text as well as the 1521 Basel edition of Adamus Petri and had at least looked at the 1536 Cologne edition of Johannes Gymnicus. (A copy of the latter was furnished by 'Scriverius meus', that is, Pieter Schrijver, 1576–1660, of Leyden.) His interest in the commentary is principally stylistic and textual. The range of authorities is broad and includes Cicero, Hesiod, Statius, Seneca, Salvianus, Persius and others, notably Varro, Pliny, and Columella from whom he often cites parallel passages. Meursius has also drawn on the commentaries of Popma (whom he calls 'eruditissimus') on Cato, of Joseph Scaliger and Petrus Victorius on Varro, of Gulielmus Philander on Vitruvius, of Gulielmus Canterus on Lycophron, and refers to his own observations on Theocritus, Arnobius, Lycophron, and Macrobius.

Dedicatory epistle (ed. of Leyden, 1598). *Viris nobilissimis prudentissimisque D. Lamberto Vanderburchio decano, D. Hadriano Vanderburchio graphiario Johannes Meursius d. d. [Inc.]: Ex tribus, viri nobilissimi, ob quae Socrates ille sapientiae veteris ocellus naturae gratias egresso memoratur, primum illud fuit et praecipuum: quod homo factus esset.... Ad vos convertor, quibus iudicium sanius bonaque mentis maior amor. Itaque cum Catonem hunc meum innumeris locis auctum correctumque*

in lucem proferrem, patronos alios nolui prae vobis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Valete, viri nobilissimi prudentissimique, et fratrantes (liceat uti prisco verbo) litterarum politiorum dignitatem contra illos de fungino genere, ut Plautus loquitur [*Trinummus* 851], pro more vestro et amore tueamini. Lugduni Bat. IV Id. Maias. MDXCVIII.

Ad lectorem. [Inc.]: Habes, mi lector, Catonem severe anxieque castigatum. Usus sum ad eam rem exemplari vetusto excuso Basileae anno 1521 qui (sic) incredibile quam fuerit bonae notae, quamvis et labem adspersam nonnumquam habuerit.... Praeterea inspexi quoque editionem Coloniensem annis XV posteriorem, quam Scriverius meus utendam suppeditarat, sed inspexi tantum quia nihil fere ab illa Basiliensi mea differebat. Commelinianam etiam anni 1595 adhibui, eam tamen peiores deprehendi Plantiniana, quae quinque annis istam praecessit, quam et denuo exhibeo. Illud insuper moneo. Capitum singulorum ἐπιγραφὰς retinui, magis ad textus ornatum quam necessitatem, nam ut Cato illas posuerit nemo sanus credat, ego quidem numquam; nullum earum in Basiliensi vestigium ut nec in Coloniensi Scriverii, qui tamen ait repperisse in Regiensi anni 1499 [HC (+Add) 14570]. Notum autem quam soleant librarii impensis huiusmodi bonos autores etiam cum detimento eorum farcire, quo scilicet nauseae delicati lectoris subveniant, et ὅρεξ aliquanto maiorem moveant.... / . . . [Expl.]: Quid vero praestiterim, iudica et gratiam habe referque, sed quomodo senatui Nero respondebat cum meruero. Vale et quisquis es, aeternitatem cogita.*

Commentary (ed. of Leyden, 1598). Johannes Meursius, *Ad Catonis De agricultura sive De re rustica librum notae. [Inc.]: De re rustica. Hicne genuinus libri huius titulus? Ambigo et putem fuisse 'De agricultura'. Agellius (sic) ita citat lib. III, cap. 14 [III. 14. 17]: 'M. Cato in libro quem de agricultura conscripsit'. Varro etiam *De re rustica* lib. I, cap. 2 [I. 2. 28]: 'An non in magni illius Catonis libro, qui de agricultura est editus, scripta sunt permulta similia?'...*

Est interdum praestare mercaturis rem quaerere (Praef. 1). Suppleo ex veteri codice 'praestare populo mercaturis rem quaerere' . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Ne peruratur* (CLXI. 2). Vetus codex: 'ne rigore peruratur'. Lego 'ne frigore peruratur'.

Editions:

1598. See above, Composite Editions.

1620. See above, Composite Editions.

1735. See above, Composite Editions.

1745, Florentiae (Florence): *Sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis typis apud Tartinium et Franchium (Johannis Meursi operum volumen sextum*, ed. Johannes Lamius). NUC (s. v. Meurs, Johannes van). BM; BN; (MH).

1773. See above, Composite Editions.

Biography:

Johannes Meursius (Jan de Meurs) was born 9 February 1579 at Loozduynen (near The Hague) and died 20 September 1639 at Soroe.

He learned Latin from his father at an early age and then studied in schools at The Hague and Leyden, making such rapid progress that he was able to compose a Latin oration and Greek verse by the time he was twelve and thirteen years old respectively. At the age of sixteen he wrote a commentary on Lycophron. Upon the completion of his studies he acted as tutor to the children of Johan van Oldenbarneveldt, and accompanied the family on their journeys through Europe. He took full advantage of the opportunity to meet various scholars and explore the great libraries. In 1608 he received a doctorate in law at Orléans. He was named professor of history at Leyden in 1610 and professor of Greek in 1611. After the execution of Oldenbarneveldt in 1619, Meursius, because of his previous connection with this statesman, became a prime target of abuse for Oldenbarneveldt's enemies. There was nothing, however, for them to attack as Meursius had always lived quietly and simply, taking no part in political or theological affairs, and he bore with resignation their insults and accusations. In 1625 King Christiern IV of Denmark offered him the chair of history at

Soroe; he accepted the post immediately and taught there until his death.

Meursius had one son, also bearing the same name, who came with him to Denmark. The younger Meursius produced several scholarly works on miscellaneous topics but never achieved the fame or volume of his father, who was a most prolific and indefatigable editor, translator, and author. The learning of the elder Meursius was extensive rather than profound, and Scaliger had little respect for his abilities.

Works: His output was both prodigious and diverse; the *opera omnia*, collected and edited by Johannes Lamius, fill twelve volumes (Florence, 1741–1763) and comprise orations, poems, works on Greek and Roman archaeology, histories of the Low Countries and Denmark, and numerous annotated Latin and Greek texts. Other Latin authors besides Cato whom he edited and commented upon are Apuleius, Arnobius, Macrobius, Phaedrus and Plautus; Greek writers include Constantine Manasses, Lycophron, Palladius, Philostratus, Theocritus, Theophrastus, and the *Musici scriptores Graeci* (Alypius, Aristoxenus, Nicomachus).

Bibl.: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* XXI 538 (Eyssenhardt); V. Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Louvain, 1643) 52; J. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica* II (Brussels, 1739) 689–693; Eckstein 371; Hoefer XXXV 254–255; Jöcher III 492–493 and Ergänzungsb. IV 1592–1595; Michaud XXVIII 155–157; Nicéron XII 181–198 and XX 52; Pökel 175.

II. FRAGMENTA

COMMENTARIES

1. ANTONIUS RICCOBONUS

Riccobonus was the first to attempt a compilation of the extant fragments. His collection of the remains of Cato, Varro, and other Roman historians, accompanied by commentaries, was published at Venice in 1568 and dedicated to Julius Cananius, bishop of Adria, a member of the illustrious

Canani family of Ferrara. The edition also contains Riccobonus' *De historia commentarius*, a treatise on the nature and purpose of history.

Described as 'scholia' on the title page, the commentaries consist of brief observations on all the surviving portions of Cato's lost writings except for the *Epistulae*. In a fair number of places he has merely noted the name of the author who has preserved the fragment; in many other cases he identifies the person(s) in question and expounds the history of various wars. Only occasionally does he cite textual problems.

The order in which the commentaries are listed below follows Riccobonus' grouping of the fragments, and, for the sake of convenience, a reference to a modern edition is supplied in parentheses after the lemma. The 'Liber contra Tiberium exsulem', 'Liber de falsis pugnis', and 'Liber de moribus Claudii Neronis' occur in separate entries and were evidently considered by Riccobonus to be independent works (although, regarding the first two, he admits the possibility that they may belong to the *Origines*). Popma and later editors, however, have placed them among the orations. The 'Liber de liberis educandis', cited in the catalogue of Cato's writings given in the *Argumentum operis*, is actually a fragment, without commentary, reported by Macrobius (*Saturnalia III. 6. 5*) and belonging to the *Cato de liberis educandis* of Varro.

Dedicatoria epistle (ed. of Venice, 1568). Julio Cananio reverendissimo Adriae episcopo Antonius Riccobonus Rhodiginus s. d. [Inc.]: Dici non potest, Juli Canani, reverendissime episcope, quanta cupiditate ardeam meam ut erga te voluntatem illustri aliqua significatione testatam relinquam. Eum enim te esse video qui cum sapientia et integritate hominum tibi animos devincias, tum beneficentia et humanitate, ut omnes tibi debeant, promerearis; quibus praeclaris virtutibus effecisti ut dignitas tua alto sita sit loco. Te enim Julius III pontifex summus a secretis adhibuit cum auctoritate signandorum omnium.... Etenim antiquissima familia in qua natus es dignissimum te

ostendisti; quae Christianam religionem studiosissime colens, unde Christianum nomen depellebatur, ibi esse ne punctum quidem temporis voluit et ex Constanti-nopoli, quam immanissimus Turcarum tyrannus ceperat, in hanc Europae partem se contulit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ad me certe iuvandum omnem gratiam atque auctoritatem tuam numquam non libentissime contulisti meque omni studio et officio ita complexus es ut propter tua plurima et maxima beneficia, quibus me devinctum esse sentio quorumque memoriam nulla dies extinguet, nulla obscurabit oblivio, quae a gratissimo proficisci animo possint, omnia me tibi debere confitear. Quamobrem iam diu nihil est quod ego magis cupiam quam exploratum esse omnibus quid ego de maximis tuis clarissimisque virtutibus et imprimis de iustitia, integritate, beneficentia ac humanitate sentiam. Atque haec fuit praecipua causa, Juli Canani, episcope reverendissime, cur meum de historia commentarium cum fragmentis aliquot vetustiorum historicorum et scholiis quibusdam meis in tuo potissimum nomine voluerim apparere. Hunc enim habebam modum testificandae apud omnes meae erga te singularis observantiae, et simul sperabam fore ut meum hoc opus tua claritate ac splendore illustraretur. Non enim virtutes tuae aut meo aut cuiusquam testimonio indigent, sed illustrare potius illae alios quam aliena illustrari luce possunt. A me igitur hoc munuscum, quasi animi mei praedem, accipies, cuius remunerationem aliam non exspecto nisi ut contentus sis illud tui nominis fulgore fuisse illustratum. Quod si tibi placuerit, praecclare mihi collocasse operam videbor; sin, quod metuo, nihil admodum in eo fuerit dignum quod a <d> te mitteretur, peto tamen a te ut species animum, non rem, tibique persuadeas si maiora umquam conabor (nam me aliquid perfectum affirmare non audeo), qualiacumque fuerint, tua fore, id est eius, cuius benignitati non modo dignitatem meam, quae pertenuis est, sed vitam etiam ipsam acceptam refero. Vale. Rhodigii, Kalendis Novembbris MDLXVIII.

Argumentum operis (sc. *De historia*

commentarii). [Inc.]: Hoc commentario consilium est de historia disputare. Quae quid sit et quibus legibus contineatur primum ostenditur ut facile qui sint historici nomine digni, quique indigni, diiudicetur. Deinde vero grammaticam, poeticam, rhetoricam, philosophiam historiae auxilio proponitur indigere . . . Praeterea iactura in veteribus historicis facta deploratur, quorum alios non integros haberi narratur, . . . alios totos periisse, ut inter ceteros Catonem, Quadrigarium, Sisennam, Sallustium (quod attinet ad libros *Historiarum*) et Varronem. Atque horum fragmenta diversissimis in locis dispersa colliguntur, in ordinem rediguntur et scholiis illustrantur. Et primum Catonis, cuius citantur VII libri *Originum*; liber contra Tiberium exsulem, liber de falsis pugnis, qui fortasse erant in *Originibus*; multae orationes; *Carmen de moribus*; *Praecepta ad filium*; liber de liberis educandis; liber de moribus Claudi Neronis; liber *De re militari*; *Commentarii de iure civili* . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Postremo Varronis, cuius citantur XXV libri *Rerum humanarum*; XVI libri *Rerum divinarum*, quorum decimum sextum considerat D. Augustinus toto libro *De civitate Dei* septimo; liber *De cultu deorum*; liber *De philosophia*, cuius sententias exprimit D. Augustinus tribus capitibus lib. XIX *De civitate Dei*; XI libri *De vita populi Romani* ad Atticum; IV libri *De gente populi Romani*; *Catus vel De liberis educandis*; VIII libri *Epistolicarum quaestionum* et epistulae variae; XI libri *Hebdomadum* vel *De imaginibus*; XX libri *De republica*; XX libri *Rheticorum*; V libri *De sermone latino ad Marcellum*; II libri *De similitudine verborum*; VIII libri *Disciplinarum*; *Logistorici* de valetudine, de origine humana, de insania, de historia, de pace, de fortuna; liber *De comoediis Plautinis*; II libri *Quaestionum Plautinarum*; libri *De poetis*; II libri *De poematis*; liber *De compositione saturarum*; III libri *De scaenicis originibus*; V libri *De actionibus scaenicis*; alii varii libri et saturae variae et varia poemata.

De historia commentarius. [Inc.]: Quid sit historia et quae leges sint historiae. His-

toriam, cuius inventionem Cadmo Milesio tribuit Plinius [*Historia naturalis* VII. 56. 205], generatim definire hoc modo possumus ut sit narratio vel expositio vel demonstratio rerum gestarum. . . . Quanta in veteribus historicis iactura facta sit. Utinam egregios omnes rerum gestarum scriptores, quos antiquitas habuit, ad nostras pervenisse manus gloriari possemus, neque maxima eorum partis Romano labente imperio atque oppressa saepius impetu barbarorum Italia iacturam fecissemus, quod historiae dignitas atque utilitas magis pateret neque longis opus esset disputationibus ut eius cognoscerentur laudes. Dolendum autem magis est quod malum ad malum accessisse videatur. Nam non solum multis bonis auctoribus, quorum praeclaris scriptis omnis humanitas, omnis doctrina elegans, omnis antiquitatis continebatur memoria, privati sumus, verum etiam illi, qui nobis obtigerunt, ad nos integri non pervenerunt. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quid? Quod in iis, qui ad nos pervenerunt, libris ita multa corrupta sunt ut saepe ab iis, qui legunt, vel non recte vel nullo intellegi modo possint? Quibus omnibus malis illi mederi aliquantulum meo iudicio videntur qui cum pulcherrimas veterum reliquias dignitatis atque honoris expertes diversissimis in locis et quasi obscurissimis in tenebris diutius iacentes in unum redigunt, tum vero locos corruptos corrigunt, obscuros illustrant et difficiles ita diligenter exponunt ut maximum eis lumen afferant et ornamentum. Huiusmodi autem labores si quis vel ut leves vel ut putidos vel certe ut non admodum necessarios elevat atque damnat, eum quidem merito possumus ut amentem aliquem stupidumque contemnere, cum se latinae linguae dignitatem non diligere, veritatem fugere, lucem odisse, a rebus praeclaris abhorrere, veteris memoriae depravationem amplecti ac tenebras admare ostendat. Mihi vero hoc ita studium placet ut, tametsi satis id praestare vel ingenio vel doctrina non possum, tamen in eo si non ingenii at saltem laboris, si minus doctrinae at certe diligentiae aliquam laudem quaeram. Quamobrem mihi con-

silium accidit non modo aliquot historiorum, et praecipue Catonis, Quadrigarii, Sisennae, Sallustii et Varronis, in hoc de historia commentario, quas potero, reliquias colligere, verum etiam pro viribus in ordinem redigere et aliquibus scholiis illustrare. Incipiamus autem a Catone.

Origines.

Commentary. Antonius Riccobonus, *Scholia. Libro primo Originum. [Inc.]*: Festus: ‘Originum libros quod inscripsit Cato, non satis plenum titulum propositi sui videtur amplexus, quando praegravant ea quae sunt rerum gestarum populi Romani’ [*De verborum significatu* XIV (Lindsay, p. 216)]. *Mezentius* (Peter, fr. 12, p. 59). Haec verba citat Macrobius lib. *Saturnaliorum* III, cap. 5 [III. 5. 9–11] qui exponens causam cur Mezentium Vergilius appellaverit contemptorem deorum ita inquit ‘Adeo omnem pietatem in sacrificii <s> quae dis exhibenda sunt, posuit ut propter contrariam causam Mezentium vocaverit contemptorem deorum.../... [Expl.]: *Iurum* (Peter, fr. 116, p. 92). Ex Charisio, lib. I [*Institutiones grammaticae* I (Keil I 93)].

(Ex incerto libro Originum)

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Sunt in his regionibus* (Peter, fr. 93*, p. 83). Ex Gellio, lib. II, cap. 23 [II. 22. 28–29] de vento Circio vel Cercio qui ex terra Gallia flat. Haec autem scripserat Cato cum ageret de Hispanis Alpinis qui circa Iberum colunt; auctor idem Gellius.../... [Expl.]: *Mos apud maiores* (Peter, fr. 118, p. 92). Ex Cicerone, lib. I *Tusculanarum disputationum* [I. 2. 3] et lib. IV [IV. 2. 3]. Macrobius *Saturnaliorum* lib. I, cap. 14 [I. 14. 5] probans ‘an’ pro ‘circum’ veteres ponere solitos fuisse citat Catonem in *Originibus* ‘oratorum’ eumque dixisse affirmat ‘an terminum’, id est ‘circum terminum’, et ‘ambire’ pro ‘circumire’.

Orationes.

Commentary. Antonius Riccobonus, *Scholia. [Inc.]*: Catonem scribit Plutarchus in eius *Vita* [IV. 1] Demosthenem Romanum fuisse appellatum. *De Ptolemaeo* (Malcovati XLVI, p. 73). Ex Prisciano, lib. III [*Institutiones grammaticae* III. 1. 8 (Keil

II 88)] .../... [Expl.]: *Pueris in ludos* (Malcovati, fr. 205, p. 83). Ex Nonio: ‘Pasceolus ex aluta sacculus’ [*De compendiosa doctrina* II (Lindsay, p. 221)].

Carmen de moribus.

Commentary. Antonius Riccobonus, *Scholia. [Inc.]*: *Avaritiam* (Jordan, fr. 1, p. 82). Ex hoc loco Gellius lib. XI, cap. 2 [XI. 2. 3, 1] colligit ‘elegantem hominem dictum antiquitus non ab ingenii elegancia sed qui nimis laeto (sic) amoenoque cultu victuque esset, et huiusmodi verbum vitii non laudis fuisse’.../... [Expl.]: *Vestiri in foro* (Jordan, fr. 2, p. 83). Hoc et sequentia fragmenta ex eodem Gellio, ibidem [XI. 2. 5–6].

Praecepta ad filium.

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Dicam de istis Graecis* (Jordan, fr. 1, p. 77). In hunc locum ita Plinius, lib. XXIX, cap. 1 [XXIX. 8. 15–16]: ‘Atque hic Cato DCV anno urbis nostrae obiit, LXXXV suo, ne quis illi defuisse publice tempora aut privatim vitae spatia ad experiendum arbitretur. Quid ergo? Damnatam ab eo rem utilissimam credimus?’ .../... [Expl.]: *Ille imperator* (Jordan, fr. 7, p. 79). Ex Nonio: ‘Mediastini (sic) non solum balnearum sed aedium quoque ministri et curatores’ [*De compendiosa doctrina* II (Lindsay, p. 208)].

De re militari.

Commentary. Antonius Riccobonus, *Scholia. [Inc.]*: *Scio ego* (Jordan, fr. 1, p. 80). Plinius in praefatione lib. I [*Historia naturalis* praef. 30]: ‘Non queo mihi temperare quominus ad hoc pertinentia ipsa Censorii Catonis verba ponam, ut inde appareat etiam Catoni de militari disciplina commentanti qui sub Africano, immo vero et sub Hannibale, didicisset militare et ne Africanum quidem ferre potuisset, qui imperator triumphum reportasset, paratos fuisse istos qui obtrectatione alienae scientiae famam sibi aucupantur’.../... [Expl.]: *Tertia e castris* (Jordan, fr. 12, p. 82). Ex eodem (sc. Festo): ‘Propera pro celeri et strenua’ [*De verborum significatu* XVI (Lindsay, p. 300)].

Commentarii iuris civilis.

Commentary. Antonius Riccobonus,

Scholia. [Inc.]: *Mundo nomen* (Jordan, p. 84). Ex Festo: 'Mundus, apud quem legitur Capitonem Ateum in lib. VI pontificali scribere mundum ter in anno patere solere, diebus his: postridie Volcanalia et ante diem sextum Idus Novembbris' [*De verborum significatu* XIII (Lindsay, p. 144)] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Servi si a domino*. Ex Justiniano, lib. I *Inst.* [I. 11. 12].

Ex Catonis opere incerto.

Commentary. Antonius Riccobonus, *Scholia.* [Inc.]: *Si quis* (Malcovati, fr. 124, p. 50). Ex Gellio, lib. IV, cap. 13 [IV. 12. 1-2] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Caduceatori* (Jordan, fr. 4, p. 85). Hoc fragmentum cum sequentibus ex Festo [*De verborum significatu* (Lindsay, p. 41)].

Editions:

1568, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Ioannem Barilettum. NUC; Adams R-498. BM; BN; Vatican Library; (MdBJ).

1579, Basileae (Basel): Ex officina Petri Pernae. NUC; Adams R-499, 500. BM; BN; (MH; CtY).

Biography:

Antonius Riccobonus (Antonio Riccoboni) was born at Rovigo in 1541 and died at Padua in 1599.

He had at least one brother (Barnabas) but nothing else is known of his family or his background, which was apparently very humble. He studied literature in Venice and Padua with Paulus Manutius, Carolus Sagonius, and Marcus Antonius Muretus, and then turned to jurisprudence. When still a very young man, he was named professor of literature at Rovigo. In 1567 Riccobonus delivered, with much success, a public discourse in praise of jurisprudence which secured for him and his family an elevation in social status. Having determined, consequently, to give up literature for jurisprudence, he went to Padua in 1571 and took a doctorate in law. His friends, however, persuaded him to accept a chair of humanities and rhetoric at the university, and he remained in Padua until the end of his life. He engaged in controversy with his former teacher, Carolus Sagonius, when he exposed the latter's forgery of the 'newly

discovered' fragments of Cicero's *De consolatione*. He also became an enemy of Joseph Scaliger because he attacked the fabulous genealogy that Scaliger had constructed for himself, and Scaliger referred to him in subsequent letters and works in terms of contempt ('Porcus Riccobonus').

Works: *De consolatione edita sub nomine Ciceronis iudicium secundum quattuor disceptationibus explicatum, quibus se a duabus C. Sagonii orationibus defendit* (Vicenza, 1584); *Praxis rhetorica sive de usu artis rhetoricae in tribus generibus causarum et in orationibus ecclesiasticis libri XVI* (Cologne, 1588); *Orationum volumina duo* (Padua, 1592); *De gymnasio Patavino commentariorum libri sex* (Padua, 1598). He also wrote treatises on the rhetorical theory of Cicero and Aristotle and translated the *Rhetoric*, *Ethics*, and *Poetics* into Latin.

Bibl.: Cosenza IV 3046-3047; Eckstein 471; Hoefer XLII 149-150; Michaud XXXV 566-567; Nicéron XXVIII 158-166; Pökel 225.

G. Mazzacurati, *La crisi della retorica umanistica nel Cinquecento (Antonio Riccoboni)* (Naples, [1961]).

2. AUSONIUS POPMA

In addition to the text of the *De re rustica*, the 1590 Leyden edition contains his collection of fragments from all other surviving works of Cato and commentaries on four of them, namely, the *De re militari*, *Carmen de moribus*, orations, and *Origines*. When Popma revised the text and annotations of the fragments for the second edition (published in 1620 at Franeker and Amsterdam), he rearranged in some instances the order of the fragments, expanded his earlier observations, added new lemmata with comments, and extended the scope of his commentaries to include the *Praecepta ad filium* and the *Epistulae*. Thus, the *Commentarii iuris civilis* is the only work which he did not annotate in either edition. Like Riccobonus, he considered the quotation from Varro's *Cato de liberis educandis* preserved in

Macrobius (*Saturnalia* III. 6. 5) to belong to a work of the same name by Cato, and included it, without commentary, among the genuine fragments.

The order in which the commentaries are listed below is in accord with the arrangement of each edition; a reference to a modern edition is supplied in parentheses after the lemma. There is no Preface or Dedicatory epistle.

a) The edition of 1590.

De re militari.

Commentary (ed. of Leyden, 1590). Ausionius Popma, *Notae ad librum M. Catonis De re militari* [Inc.]: *Una depugnatio est* (Jordan, fr. 10, p. 81). Haec verba transcripsit Vegetius in lib. III *De re militari* [III. 20] ubi septem genera depugnationum explicat. *Antibus duces* (Jordan, fr. 9, p. 81). Antes vocat extremos ordines exercitus in quibus stant duces, sicuti in vinea sunt antes, *στίχοι ἀμπέλων* apud Vergilium [*Georg.* II. 417]. Vegetius ibidem: ‘Dux qui praecipuam sustinet potestatem inter equites et pedites in parte dextra stare consuevit. Hic enim locus est in quo tota acies gubernatur, ex quo rectus est liberque procurrus. Ideo autem inter utrosque consistit ut et consilio regere et auctoritate tam equites quam pedites ad pugnam possit hortari’ [*De re militari* III. 18].

Carmen de moribus.

Commentary. [Inc.]: Hic liber non fuit scriptus versibus sed habuit certa quaedam capita brevibus verbis descripta ita ut disci et recitari possent. Ex eo titulus ‘carmen’, sicut apud Ciceronem, II *De legibus*, liber XII tabularum appellatur ‘carmen necessarium’ [II. 23. 59] et *Pro Murena* formulae iuris consultorum ‘carmina’ [XII. 26], apud Livium ‘horrendi carminis lex’ [I. 26. 6]. Porro huius libri titulus hominibus imperitis fortassis occasionem dedit ut Catoni inscriberent *Disticha de moribus*, quae sunt Ausonii Burdegalensis poetae.

Orationes.

Commentary. Ad Orationes. [Inc.]: M. Cato orationem scripsit adulescens cum in foro et causis agendis versaretur, auctore Cornelio Nepote [*De viris illustribus* XXIV.

3. 3]. Itaque quod apud Ciceronem in libro *De senectute* ita loquitur anno antequam mortuus est: ‘Causarum illustrum quascumque defendi, nunc quam maxime conficio orationes’ [XI. 38], hoc ad eas orationes pertinet quas in libris *Originum* inseruit, sane multas et luculentas, ut *Pro Rhodiensibus*, *In Ser. Galbam*. Fuerunt autem orationes Catonis in universum CL in quibus et pro se multae et pro aliis et in alios. ‘Nam vetus ille Cato laccessisse appellari, quod ipse conscientius non erat sibi’, inquit Lucilius, lib. XIV *Saturarum* [XIV. 478–479], quod est testimonium verae et plena laudis. *Ego mihi monumenta* (Malcovati, fr. 48, p. 24). Exstat hodieque in Hispania a Catone positi monumenti inscriptio, sane digna immortalitate.../... [Expl.]: *Prodigionem non haberes* (Malcovati, fr. *245, p. 96). Id est, ius producendi diem quod habebant tribuni plebis. Livius, lib. III: ‘In carcerem est coniectus eique tribunus diem prodixit’ [III. 57. 6] et ‘Adeoque constantia sua et tribunos obstupefecit et plebem ut diem ipsi sua voluntate producerent’ [II. 61. 7]. Ita enim ibi legendum esse monuit doctissimus Joseph Scaliger.

Origines.

Commentary. Ad libros Originum. [Inc.]: *Clarorum virorum* (Peter, fr. 2, p. 55). Cicero in *Oratione pro Plancio*: ‘Etenim M. Catonis illud, quod in principio scripsit *Originum* suarum, semper magnificentum et praeclarum putavi: “clarorum virorum atque magnorum non minus otii quam negotii rationem extare oportere”’ [XXVII. 66]. Ad quod dictum Catonis respexit Columella, lib. II, cap. 22: ‘Tam otii quam negotii rationem reddere maiores censuerunt’ [II. 21. 1] .../... [Expl.]: *Graeci tam impudenti*. Haec Catonis nomine olim edidit Johannes Annius Viterbiensis homo, ut illa tempora ferebant, et diligens et eruditus. Nec est mihi quidem dubium quin sint excerpta ex II et III libris *Originum*, in quibus tractavit de origine et situ urbium Italicarum. Cuius sententiae meae ea ratio est quod hic scribitur: ‘Cum Orobii coloniis ibi primus insedit, quorum origo incerta, uti Comi, Bergomi, Licini Fori et

aliquot circa populorum'. Rursus: 'Ameria ferme nongentis annis et amplius restituta ante Persei bellum'. Et hoc utrumque Catonem tradidisse auctor est Plinius, lib. III, cap. 17 et cap. 14 [III. 17. 124, 14. 114]. Sed non ausim affirmare esse contextum verborum Catonis; quin potius crediderim illum, qui excerpit, summa rerum capita partim Catonis, partim suis verbis retulisse. Quae causa me movit ut non putarem esse operae pretium haec pluribus explicare.

Editions:

1590, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden): Ex officina Plantiniana apud Franciscum Raphelengium. With the text of Cato (*De rustica* and fragments) and commentaries on the fragments. NUC; *Ed. Bipont.* I cxi. BM; BN; Vatican Library; (InU; NjP).

1598. See above, Composite Editions.

b) The revision of 1620.

De re militari.

Commentary (ed. of Franeker, 1620). Ausonius Popma, *Notae ad librum M. Catonis De re militari*. [Inc.]: *Qui vitilitigent* (Jordan, fr. 1, p. 80). 'Vitilitigo', 'vitupero'; unde 'vitilitigator' ex 'vitio' et 'litigator' . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Antibus ducas* (sic) (Jordan, fr. 9, p. 81). Antes vocat extremos ordines exercitus inter quos stant duces, sicut in vinea sunt antes, *στίχοι ἀμπέλων* apud Vergilium [*Georg.* II. 417]. Vegetius ibidem: 'Dux qui praecipiua sustinet potestatem inter equites et pedites in parte dextra stare consuevit. Hic enim locus est in quo tota acies gubernatur, ex quo rectus est liberque procursus. Ideo autem inter utrosque consistit ut et consilio regere et auctoritate tam equites quam pedites ad pugnam possit hortari' [*De re militari* III. 18].

Carmen de moribus.

Commentary. [Inc.]: Hic liber non fuit scriptus versibus sed habuit certa quaedam capita brevibus verbis descripta ut disci et recitari possent. Ex eo titulus 'carmen', sicut apud Ciceronem, II *De legibus*, liber XII tabularum appellatur 'carmen necessarium' [II. 23. 59] et *Pro Murena* formulae iuris consultorum 'carmina' [XII. 26], apud Livium 'horrendi carminis lex' [I. 26. 6], Appii Caeci sententiae 'carmina' in epistula

De republica ordinanda, ubi plura dixi in scholiis Sallustianis. Porro huius libri titulus fortassis occasionem dedit ut Catoni inscriberentur *Disticha de moribus*, quae sunt Dionysii Catonis. *Grassator vocabatur* (Jordan, fr. 2, p. 83). 'Grassari' antiqui ponebant pro 'adulari', teste Festo [*De verborum significatu* (Lindsay, p. 86)]; qua notione dixit Horatius, lib. II, *Sat.* 5 'obsequio grassare' [II. 5. 93] et Livius, lib. XLV 'qui assentando multitudini grassantur' [XLV. 23. 9]. Hinc 'grassator' dicebatur qui divites et potentiores quovis officii genere, non aperte sed quasi ex insidiis, captabat, ut poetae, parasiti et alii sectatores epularum, quos Phocylides vocat *τραπεζοκόρος*, 'mensarum tonsores' [Ps.-Phocylides 91].

Praecepta ad filium.

Commentary. [Inc.]: Praecepta erant diversi generis: *De cura valetudinis*; *De agricultura*; *De re militari*; *De arte dicendi* (de qua Catonem primum aliquid praecepsisse testatur Quintilianus, lib. I [III. 1. 19]) . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Lepus multum* (Jordan, fr. 3, p. 78). Hunc locum respicit Plinius, lib. XXVIII, cap. 19: 'Somnos fieri lepore sumpto in cibis Cato arbitratur' [XXVIII. 79. 260]. Ex qua persuasione quidam conciliando somno leporinas aures pulvino supponunt, alii leporis pedes nocturno pilloolo applicant.

Epistulae.

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Ad M. Popilium* (Cugusi I/1, fr. 6, p. 67). M. Popilius Laenas cos. Liguriam sortitus provinciam ibi res bene gessit, ait Livius [XLII. 7. 4-10]. In eius exercitu Catonis filius tiro militabat; quadriennio post Paulo Aemilio imperatore in Macedonia bello Persico miles fuit, ut refert Cicero, lib. I *Officiorum* [I. 11. 36-37], etsi in eius verbis explicandis et restituendis docti viri valde laborant.

Orationes.

Commentary. *Ad Orationes.* [Inc.]: M. Cato orationem scripsit adulescens cum in foro et causis agendis versaretur, auctore Cornelio Nepote [*De viris illustribus* XXIV. 3. 3]. Itaque quod apud Ciceronem in libro *De senectute* ita loquitur anno antequam

mortuus est: 'Causarum illustrium quas cumque defendi, nunc quam maxime conficio orationes' [XI. 38], hoc ad eas orationes pertinet quas in libris *Originum* inseruit, sane multas et luculentas, ut *Pro Rhodiensibus, In Ser. Galbam*. Fuerunt autem orationes Catonis in universum CL in quibus et pro se multae et pro aliis et in alios. 'Nam vetus ille Cato lacessisse appellari,/quod ipse conscius non erat sibi', inquit Lucilius, lib. XIV *Saturae* [XIV. 478-479], quod est testimonium plena et verae laudis. *Ego mihi monumenta* (Malcovati, fr. 48, p. 24). Exstat hodieque in Hispania a Catone positi monumenti inscriptio, sane digna immortalitate . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Prodictionem non haberes* (Malcovati, fr. *245, p. 96). Id est, ius producendi diem quod habebant tribuni plebis. Livius, lib. III: 'In carcerem est coniectus eique tribunus diem prodixit' [III. 57. 6] et 'Adeoque constantia sua et tribuna (*sic*) obstupefecit et plebem ut diem ipsi sua voluntate prodicerent' [II. 61. 7]. Ita enim ibi legendum esse monuit doctissimus Joseph Scaliger.

Origines.

Commentary. Ad libros Originum. Ad lib. I. [Inc.]: Clarorum virorum (Peter, fr. 2, p. 55). Cicero in *Oratione pro Plancio*: 'Etenim M. Catonis illud, quod in principio scripsit *Originum* suarum, semper magnificum et praeclarum putavi: "clarorum virorum atque magnorum"', etc. [XXVII. 66]. Ad quod dictum Catonis respexit Columella, lib. II, cap. 22: 'Tam otii quam negotii rationem reddere maiores censuerunt' [II. 21. 1] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Graeci tam impudenti*. Haec Catonis nomine olim edidit L. Annius Viterbiensis homo, ut illa tempora ferebant, et diligens et eruditus. Nec est mihi quidem dubium quin sint excerpta ex II et III libris *Ori-*

ginum, in quibus tractavit de origine et situ urbium Italicarum. Cuius sententiae meae ea ratio est quod hic scribitur: 'Cum Orobii coloniis ibi primus incedit, quorum origo incerta, uti Comi, Bergomi, Licini Fori et aliquot circa populorum'. Rursus: 'Ameria ferme nongentis annis et amplius restituta ante Persei bellum'. Et hoc utrumque Catonem tradidisse auctor est Plinius, lib. III, cap. 17 et cap. 14 [III. 17. 124, 14. 114]. Sed non ausim affirmare esse contextum verborum Catonis; quin potius crediderim illum, qui excerptis, summa rerum capita partim Catonis, partim suis verbis retulisse. Quae causa me movit ut non putarem operae pretium haec pluribus explicare.

Editions:

1620. See above, Composite Editions.

1620, Amstelodami (Amsterdam): Sumpitibus Iohannis Commelini Viduae (*Fragmēta historicorum veterum latinorum*, ed. Ausonius Popma). This edition contains, for Cato, the text (pp. 14-30, 30-31) of the *Origines* and *De re militari* only, together with Popma's commentaries on them (pp. 133-141, 141-142). NUC. BM; BN; Vatican Library; (TxU; IU; NjP; ICU).

1710, Cantabrigiae (Cambridge): Typis Academicis apud Cornelium Crownfield celeberrimae Academiae typographum (*C. Crispi Sallustii quae exstant . . . fragmenta historicorum veterum*, ed. Joseph Wasse). NUC. BM; BN; (MH; CaOTU).

1742, Amstelaedami (Amsterdam): Apud F. Changuion, J. Catuffe, H. Uytwerf (*C. Crispi Sallustii quae exstant . . . fragmenta historicorum veterum*, ed. Sigebertus Haver-campus). NUC. BM; BN; (MH; CaOTU).

Biography:

See p. 238 above.