

MARTIALIS, MARCUS VALERIUS

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FORTUNA

M. Valerius Martialis was born in Bilbilis, a small Spanish town in the ancient province of Tarraco at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth decade A.D. He early went to Rome, where he gained access to the homes of his fellow countrymen, Seneca and Lucanus. His poetic activity brought him into contact with the imperial court. When the Emperor Titus inaugurated the Flavian amphitheatre in the year 80, he presented the people with a great many games which astonished the whole world because of their unusual composition. Martial took the occasion to write epigrams on the subject; he presented them to the emperor and in so doing, took his first step towards fame. Four years after the publication of these first epigrams, a second collection appeared. At the feast of the Saturnalia it was the custom in Rome to send presents, including poetic mottoes, or to draw lots for them at table, the former being called *Xenia* (presents for guests), the latter *Apophoreta* (something to take away). However, the poet attained his greatest fame through the 12 books of epigrams, in which he proved himself a painter of morals and a critic of the society of his time, and in which he also showed that he did not shy away from daring obscenities. These books were written mainly in the years 85/86 to 96, that is in the reign of the emperors Domitian and Nerva. The last book was written between 101 and 102 under the reign of Trajan in Bilbilis, where he had retired, and where he died in the year 104. The value of Martial's poems lies above all in their pungency and formal terseness. In their later reception, attention was paid to both these aspects, the socially critical and the formal. The corpus of the epigrams is composed of three parts: the book on the games, later called the *Liber Spectaculorum* by Janus Gruterus, the 12 books of epigrams, joined together by Martial into one complete whole, and the two books of mottoes (the *Xenia* and the *Apophoreta*) which, contrary to tradition, are counted as books XIII and XIV.¹

1. M. Schanz and C. Hosius, *Geschichte der*

In spite of occasional hostility, Martial was held in high regard by his contemporaries, and even in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages he was never totally forgotten, though he does not appear to have been the subject of ancient or medieval commentary. He is one of those authors whose works were published in late antiquity in emended form by enthusiasts for antique literature and culture. His corrector was a certain Torquatus Gennadius from Cesena, a Roman lawyer, who corrected him in 401. Up to his rediscovery by the Italian humanists in the thirteenth, and especially in the fourteenth century, Martial is occasionally quoted by many authors, but only three writers—Isidore of Seville, John of Salisbury, and Vincent of Beauvais—had more extensive knowledge of his work.² In comparison with other authors, Martial's influence was felt relatively little in the Middle Ages. For reasons as yet not completely clear, from the eleventh century onwards he was called *Martialis coquus*, and in addition was confused with his English imitator Geoffrey of Winchester (c. 1050–1107), who was held in such high regard that the pen-name “Martial” was attributed to

römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian II (München, ⁵ 1959) §§412–415 (p.546–560); R. Helms in: RE II, 15 [1955] coll.55–85. The most important modern editions are those by D. F. G. Schneidewin (Grimae, 1842; Leipzig, ²1853); L. Friedländer (Leipzig, 1886); W. Gilbert (Leipzig 1886; ²1896 [1912]); J. D. Duff (London, 1905); W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1902; and later); C. Giarratano (Torino, 1919/25); W. Heraeus (Leipzig, 1925); H. J. Isaac (Paris, 1930/33; 1961). In the present article, all references to Martial are to the edition of H. J. Isaac.

2. M. Val. Martialis *Epigrammaton libri*, ed. D. F. G. Schneidewin, Praefatio; Max Manitius, ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte römischer Dichter im Mittelalter’, *Philologus* 49 (1890) 554–564; Günter Bernt, *Das lateinische Epigramm im Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter* (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 2, München, 1968).

him.³ It is highly unlikely that the authors of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages who mentioned Martial had a full knowledge of all his epigrams, but they were available in very comprehensive extracts, found in Florilegia⁴. It was only the early humanists of Northern Italy, however, who were better acquainted with him, although their discoveries apparently left no lasting effects. The lawyer Albertano da Brescia (in the first half of the thirteenth century) quotes him in his marginal notes on Seneca, in a form which suggests that he knew of a more complete text than that offered by the Florilegia.⁵ Geremia da Montagnone (in the second half of the thirteenth century) mentions him by name together with Geoffrey of Winchester some 70 to 80 times in his *Compendium moralium notabilium*.⁶ As far as is evident Geremia barely had contact with another circle of Paduan lawyers and humanists, whose most important members were Lovato Lovati (d.1309), Albertino Mussato (d.1329), and Zambono di Andrea (d.1315). Their work received hardly any attention, although Petrarch and Salutati evidently knew of them. These lawyers, most of all Lovato, already quote ancient authors whose works did not become common property until decades later.

3. Paul Lehmann, *Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg XIII, Leipzig/Berlin, 1927) 16 and 97; Hartwig Gerhard (Ed.), *Der "Liber proverbiorum" des Godefrid von Winchester mit einer Einleitung* (Würzburg and Bonn-Beuel, 1974) and the review by Wolfgang Maaz, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* XI (1976) 327-330.

4. B. L. Ullman, 'Classical Authors in Certain Mediaeval Florilegia', *Classical Philology* XXVII (1932) 1-42; Ugo Carratello, 'L' "Epigrammaton Liber" di Marziale nella tradizione tardomedievale e umanistica', *Giornale italiano di filologia* XXVI (N.S.V), 1974, 1-17.

5. Claudia Villa, 'La tradizione delle "Ad Lucilium" e la cultura di Brescia dall'età carolingia ad Albertano', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* XII (1969) 9-51.

6. Roberto Weiss, *Il primo secolo dell'umanesimo* (Roma 1949) 38, and *passim*.

This includes Martial, in whose case these quotations are so comprehensive as to eliminate the use of a Florilegium alone.⁷

However, Boccaccio must be considered as the man who really discovered Martial, finding him, it is presumed, about 1361/62 in the Monastery of Monte Cassino, or in another library. From his bequest this manuscript, together with other works, was handed down to the Library of Santo Spirito in Florence, where it was catalogued in 1461.⁸ It must have been a *codex vetustissimus*, which also included the so-called *Liber Spectaculorum*, and possibly formed the model for the Italian manuscripts of Martial belonging to the Quattrocento, which, as far as they contain the *Speculata*, all contain the same mistakes. However, this manuscript was later lost, and it was only in the sixteenth century in Italy that manuscripts of Group A^A (*Florilegica*) came to light, offering a better text and furthering a proper understanding of it. From Boccaccio onwards a lasting knowledge of and a preoccupation with Martial can be seen. Almost all of the leading Italian Humanists of the first half of the Quattrocento read him or owned a copy of his works. Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406) as well as his friend Domenico di Bandino da Arezzo (c.1335-1418) were better acquainted with him; Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) had a copy of Martial in his private library, perhaps the very copy which had been given to him by his friend Niccolò Niccoli; Gasparino Barzizza (1359/60-1431), and Francesco Barbaro (c. 1395-

7. Guido Billanovich, "Veterum vestigia vatum" nei carmi dei preumanisti padovani. Lovato Lovati, Zambono di Andrea, Albertino Mussato e Lucrezio, Catullo, Orazio (*Carmina*), Tibullo, Properzio, Ovidio (*Ibis*), Marziale, Stazio (*Silvae*), *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* I (1958) 155-243.

8. Antonia Mazza, 'L'inventario della "Parva Libraria" di Santo Spirito e la biblioteca del Boccaccio', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* IX (1966) 1-74, 49; Giuseppe Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato* I, Lo scrittore del Petrarca (Roma, 1947) 109 sq., 263 sq.

1454) read him together in Venice in 1407; Bartolomeo Capra corresponded with Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444) about the discovery of a codex of Martial;⁹ Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) quotes him frequently in the *Elegantiarum linguae latinae libri sex*, and so does Giovanni Tortelli (c. 1400-1466) in his famous *Orthographia*.

Giovanni Aurispa (c.1369-1459), who sent a copy to Antonio Beccadelli, named il Panormita (1394-1471), played a significant part in the rediscovery of Martial, but Beccadelli also worked on possible emendations of the epigrams, and especially imitated them in his scandalous work *Hermaphroditus*. The countless neo-Latin poetic imitations in the Quattrocento cannot be entered into here, but the most important names should be cited: Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481) with *De iocis et seriis*, Maffeo Vegio (1407-1458) with the *Disticha*, Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405-1464) with his *Carmina*, Cristoforo Landino (1424-1498) with the *Xandra*, Giannantonio Campano (1429-1477) and Giovanni Battista Cantalicio (1450-1515) with their epigrams, and many others.¹⁰ Martial also had a firm place in the first "modern" literary history, the *Scriptorum illustrium linguae latinae libri* (about 1437) of Sicco Polenton (1375/76-1447). Over 110 Quattrocento Martial manuscripts still extant in European and American libraries show how widely popular the poet was in Italy of the time. Though no commentary on the whole of Martial had yet appeared, there were countless glossators, and we find very

9. Remigio Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV* (Biblioteca Storica del Rinascimento 2 and 5, Firenze, 1905, and 1914) II 235.

10. F. R. Hausmann, 'Untersuchungen zum neulateinischen Epigramm Italiens im Quattrocento', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* XXI (1972) 1-35; idem, 'Enea Silvio Piccolomini "Poeta" und die Rezeption der heidnischen Antike', *Bibliothèque d' Humanisme et Renaissance* XXXV (1973) 441-461; idem, 'Martial in Italien', *Studi Medievali* XVII,1 (1976) 173-248.

few manuscripts which are not at least provided with marginal or interlinear glosses—which is no surprise, due to the difficulty of the vocabulary.¹¹ Particular importance is to be attributed to the Roman professor Pietro Odi, working in the footsteps of Lorenzo Valla, and above all to his pupil and follower Giulio Pomponio Leto (1428-1497), the head of the Roman Academy. In his capacity as professor, Leto gathered around him in his villa on the Quirinal a group of like-minded people, with whom he read the classical authors, especially the authors of the Silver Age of Latin Literature. Editor of Silius Italicus, Donatus, Frontinus, and many other authors, he may be counted as the originator of exegetic commentaries of the classical authors. Of the numerous Martial manuscripts in the Vatican Library, which are in the main annotated or glossed, the majority were written either by Leto himself or under his direction by his pupils (Partenio Pallini, Marco Lucio Fazini, Oliverio Palladio, Antonio Settimuleio Campano, Giovanni Battista Cantalicio, Niccolò Perotti). Both annotations and glosses frequently derive from Leto's lectures on Martial.

The history of the formation of Martial editions and commentaries is extremely complicated, but very illuminating and important for an understanding of the reception of classical authors by the humanists. Besides Leto, the main protagonists were Niccolò Perotti (1429-1480), Domizio Calderini (1446-1478), and Giorgio Merula (1430/31-1494). Calderini, a follower of Poggio, was offered a professorship in Rome by Pope Paul II in 1470, and soon entered into competition with Leto, and, in so doing, with the Valla School. The quarrel which

11. Th. Simar, 'Les manuscrits de Martial du Vatican', *Musée Belge* 14 (1910) 179-215. Furthermore I should like to call attention to Cod.L 50 sup. of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milano) [Kristeller, *Iter* I, 301], and *ibid.* Cod.B 131 sup. with very interesting glosses, which come from a learned circle under the guidance of Perotti (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 296).

broke out between them was chiefly carried on in editions of Martial, to which were added invectives and refutations of the opposite interpretations, all attaining quick circulation by the recently invented art of printing.

The first editions of Martial unfortunately bear no date and no publisher's name. The *editio princeps* appears to have been printed about 1471 by the printer of Silius Italicus in Rome (HR 10805). This is followed by the edition of July 2, 1471 (HC 10810) by Andreas Belfort in Ferrara, which includes the letter of the Younger Pliny to Cornelius Priscus on the occasion of Martial's death, a letter which is found in almost all later editions, together with a Vita of the author. This is probably followed by H 10809 (c.1469-73), printed by Vindelinus of Speyer in Venice, an edition which was supervised by Merula, who reveals his editorial principles in an accompanying letter to Angelo Adriani, and points out the difficulties in editing Martial. The next edition, the first dated Roman one, appeared on April 30, 1473 (H 10811), printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, and was arranged by Niccolò Perotti, who, however, out of shyness did not give his name.

At the time when this edition appeared, Calderini was giving lectures on Martial, in which he made statements about the form of the text, which were passed on orally and in writing by his pupils. This reached Perotti's ears, and he made fun of alleged mistakes in conversations and letters.¹² Calderini could not keep silent at this, if he did not wish to make a tacit admission of his guilt. So in the autumn of 1473 he sent a commentary on Martial, dated September 1, 1473, to Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence,¹³ to which is attached *Domitii Calderini Veronensis Apologia in Nicolaum Perottum Sepontinum ad Curelum Caraphium patruelem Cardinalis*

Neapolitani, in which he defends his variants and from his side reproaches Perotti for being incompetent. This philological commentary appeared in print on March 22 1474, and the edition is dedicated to Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga, a son of the Prince of Mantua. The apology against Perotti no longer mentions any names. In return Perotti defended himself in various letters to Cneo Angelo Sabino, the so-called *Epistolae Romanae*, which have not been preserved, and in which he accused Calderini of having plagiarised his own commentaries on Martial, circulated in writing among his friends. Calderini countered with the preface to Ovid's *Ibis (Enarratio in Ibin Ovidii*, GW 5890, of September 7, 1474), and at the same time worked on a four-part polemic against Perotti, which he later suppressed on the advice of well-meaning friends. Perotti continued the polemic from Perugia, where he had in the meantime become Papal Governor, with the so-called *Epistolae Perusinae*, which are also no longer extant. At about the same time, Calderini felt himself constrained to reply publicly to Perotti's attack, in the *Defensio adversus Brotheum grammaticum, commentariorum Martialis calumniatorem cum recriminatione retaxationis Plinianae, in qua Brotheus ducentis et LXXV locis praestantissimum scriptorem depravavit*, which together with his commentary on Juvenal was printed on September 15 1475 (GW 5885),¹⁴ but was dated one year earlier, making it impossible to decide accurately whether it preceded or followed the Perusine letters. Perotti's philological incompetence is supposed to be proved with the aid of seven Juvenal and Martial quotations. Also in the preface to the *Silvae* of Statius (H 14976 and 4244), dedicated to Agostino Maffei, he threatens Brotheus-Perotti that he will unmask him before long.

Calderini's death from the plague at the beginning of 1478, and Perotti's death shortly afterwards (December 12 1480) ended the

12. R. Sabbadini, 'Spogli Ambrosiani latini', *Studi Italiani* XI (1903) 165-388, *passim*.

13. John Dunston, 'Studies in Domizio Calderini', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* XI (1968) 71-150.

14. Eva Sanford in: *CTC* I (1960) Nr.25, 216-218.

bitter duel between them. The quarrel over Martial was far from over, however, for while alive Calderini had also attacked Giorgio Merula and passed totally negative judgments on his philological works, especially in the *Elucubrationes in Sappho Ovidii* (GW 5842), which appeared in 1476. Merula sought revenge, though belatedly, with a commentary on Martial aimed against Calderini, which appeared between March 15 and May 6, 1478, together with his commentary on Juvenal. Here Merula tries to put forward about 120 textual improvements in competition with Calderini. A reconciliation between the two parties ensued unintentionally, in so far as from 1491 onwards (first of all HC 10821) their commentaries were combined together in numerous editions, and became one of the most popular and most frequently printed types of Martial edition in later years.

The third great Martial commentary of the Quattrocento bears the title *Cornucopiae*, and was first printed in Venice on May 4, 1489, when its author, Niccolò Perotti, was long since dead. This work too had great influence, also outside Italy. The introduction comes from Perotti's nephew Pirro, who alleges he stole the commentary from his uncle and prepared it for printing. Due to the wealth of lexical material, the *Cornucopiae* was later of use to Fra Ambrogio Calepino (1440–1510) as a model and collection of material for his Latin *Dictionarium*, which in turn was one of the main bases of Robert Estienne's *Thesaurus linguae latinae*.

The humanists of the turn of the Quattrocento and the beginning of the Cinquecento no longer attempted an entire commentary on Martial, but only emended or explained isolated parts of the text: especially Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano (1454–1494) in several of his works, but also Antonio Codro Urceo (1446–1500) in the *Sermones*, Filippo Beroaldo (1453–1505) in the *Adnotationes in varios auctores*, Bartolomeo della Fonte (1445–1513) in his *Commentum in Persium* (HR 7226), Ludovicus Caelius Rhodiginus (Ricchieri; 1469–1525) in the *Lectionum antiquarum libri XXX*, and Celio Calcagnini

(1479–1541) in his treatise upon the dice, *De talorum ac tesserarum et calculorum ludis ex more veterum*. These authors, for the most part anti-Ciceronians, rejected a one-sided inclination towards Ciceronian Latin and its ideal of *concinnitas*, and instead of this worked intensively on the authors of the Silver Age of Latin Literature, who offer the greatest *varietas*. Poliziano's discussions were later frequently reprinted and read, but at this moment it became clear that the age of the great Italian philologists was coming to an end, to be followed in leadership by France and the Netherlands. One may regard as a sign of this decay the well-known anecdote of Andrea Navagero (1483–1529)¹⁵ who is supposed to have sacrificed Martial's books as a holocaust to the god Vulcan every year on a certain day sacred to the Muses. But Navagero was not the first to condemn Martial severely. A very striking testimony is that of Ponticus Virunius (Ludovico da Ponte; c.1467–1520), who was forced against his will by the Anziani of Lugo to lecture publicly on Martial, whom he calls an abominable and depraved author.¹⁶

Nevertheless, Poliziano's disciple Pietro Riccio, called Crinito (1475–1507), perpetuated the original fame of Italian philology by composing a very famous history of Latin literature, entitled *De poetis latinis libri V* (1505, Florence), which later on was printed frequently together with his linguistic treatise *De honesta disciplina libri XXV* (1504, Florence). In *De poetis* we also find a short biography of Martial¹⁷, which after the 1518 Lyons edition was included in prac-

15. Paolo Giovio, *Elogia doctorum virorum ab avorum memoria publicatis ingenii monumentis illustrium* (Antwerp, 1557), sub voce; Famiano Strada, *Prolusiones academicae, oratoria, historicae, poeticae* (Cologne, 1617) 320 sq.

16. Carlo Lucchesi, 'Una prolusione di Pontico Virunio a Marziale nel cod.A 1415 della Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio', *L'Archiginnasio XIV* (1919) 53–62.

17. Lb.IV, cap.71.

tically every Martial edition, e.g. the Plantin and Gryphius editions, the Morellus editions, the Rader editions or the editions "ex Museo Petri Scriverrii".

The Italian editions of Martial of the fifteenth century were still repeatedly reproduced at the beginning of the sixteenth century, especially in 1501 (and 1517) by Aldus Manutius, who certainly did not start out from any new manuscripts, but had such a famous name that his editions were readily used as a basis for reprints. Above all, the printers in Lyons paid great attention to Martial and published his text in 1502, 1512, 1518, and 1522; editions also appeared in Paris in 1526, 1528, and 1533. All these editions, as well as those of Sebastian Gryphius, perhaps the most prominent representative of the Lyonese printers, took the Aldine edition as a model to be followed closely. Gryphius, or his heirs, especially his son Antonius, printed Martial in 1534, 1535, 1536, 1539, 1542, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1550, 1553, 1554, 1559, 1567, and 1584; only minor details were altered, e.g. in the early editions the Greek words in Martial's epigrams were explained. The 1567 edition is followed at the end by a commentary of Antonius Gryphius himself. This wealth of French editions makes clear the special interest the educated people of Lyons had in Martial, though the Lyons presses printed also for an all-European public. In the following centuries he exercised a tremendous literary influence in France, and was copied, imitated and translated again and again. After an interval of 100 years, i.e. beginning with the seventeenth century, he was also received in Germany, England, Spain, and even Hungary and Czechoslovakia.¹⁸

18. Richard Levy, *Martial und die deutsche Epigrammatik des 17.Jahrhunderts*. Phil.Diss. (Heidelberg, 1903); T. K. Whipple, *Martial and the English Epigram from Sir Thomas Wyatt to Ben Jonson* (Berkeley, Cal., University of California Press, 1925); A. Giulian, *Martial and the Epigram in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Phil.Diss. (Philadelphia, 1930);

Martial criticism in the second half of the sixteenth century was carried forward by the Dutch physician Adriaen de Jonghe (Adrianus Iunius; 1511-1575). The first edition prepared by him appeared in the year 1559, printed by Petrus Perna in Basel, which was replaced by a second edition printed by Plantin in Antwerp in 1568, because of the faulty printing. His editorial work, though marred by numerous mistakes, nevertheless signifies great progress when viewed as a whole. It was reprinted in 1584 by Gryphius, and in 1595 through Lazarus Zetzner in Strasbourg. At the end of this edition Iunius' *variae lectiones* are reprinted, to which are added Theodor Poelman's (Pulmannus; 1510 - after 1580) observations, which consist mostly of references to Turnebus' *Adversariorum libri*. The same Zetzner edition contains in addition the scanty critical observations of the Belgian philologist Lucas Fruytiers (Fruterius; c.1544-1566), first printed in his *Verisimilium libri* (1584, Antwerp); of the textual philologist and poet Ianus Gulielmus (Johann Wilhelms; 1555-1584), first published in his *Verisimilium libri* [book III chapters 7, 17, 19, 22, 25 (1582, Antwerp)] and furthermore those of Franciscus Modius (François de Maulde; 1556-1597), first edited in his *Novantiquae lectiones* [Ep.XXXIII, CIX (1583, Frankfurt a.M.)], and Christiphorus Colerus (d.1651), first printed in his *Curarum iuvenilium libri* [Chapter III,3 (ed. not identified)]. Modius had received a Martial manuscript from his friend Johann Weidner, and with the help of

Jürgen Nowicki, *Die Epigrammtheorie in Spanien vom 16.bis 18. Jahrhundert*. Eine Vorarbeit zur Geschichte der Epigrammatik (Untersuchungen zur Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte der Romanischen Völker VII, Wiesbaden, 1974); Jószef Bakos, *Martialis a magyar irodalomban* (Debrecen, 1935); J. Némec, *Martial v literatuře české před Fr. L. Čelakovským* (Festschrift J. Kral, Praha, 1913); K. H. Mehnert, *Sal Romanus und Esprit Français. Studien zur Martialrezeption im Frankreich des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Romanistische Versuche und Vorarbeiten 33, Bonn, 1970).

this codex he corrected 26 Martial citations in the three letters of his *Novantiquae lectiones* mentioned above.¹⁹ The Paris editions of 1601 and 1617 are based upon the Zetzner edition, the first one has in addition the scanty notes of Casaubon's successor Nicolas Rigault (1577–1654), and in the margin the annotations of Iunius and Pulmannus, the latter the short commentary of Etienne Clavière (Stephanus Claverius; c.1550–1622) which is fully in the tradition of the sixteenth century.

Alongside this striving for an improved text and thereby a more precise understanding of Martial, there are also at the same time attempts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to circulate only those epigrams of Martial which do not offend good taste. As a reaction against the freedom of the Renaissance, the Age of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation brought about a strengthening of moral conscience and now and then even of prudishness. At the same time Martial was discovered as an author to be read and studied in the schools, as his terseness could teach many a youngster to forge elegant Latin verses. It is evident that not all of the epigrams were suitable for these pedagogic purposes. Thus we find very early Martial anthologies. The first one seems to be *Martialis Xenia et Apophoreta* (1488),²⁰ edited by the Leipzig professor and press-corrector Joannes Honorius Cubitensis. Two abridged versions appeared in the Nether-

lands at Deventer (1512, Iacobus Brede), and Den Haag (1526, Fratres S.Gregorii).²¹ The first independent French edition of Martial (1518, Lyons, Jacob Myt, sumptu Barth. Trot) was still complete, but as early as 1514 François Dubois from Amiens (Francis Sylvius; d. about 1530), Professor of Rhetoric at the Collège de Tournai in Paris, had announced that he would edit Martial and clean out this "Augean stable", a *topos* which is encountered again and again. His remarks in respect to this were printed in the Martial edition of Jakob Kerver (1535, Paris), but this, too, was still a complete edition. Later editors, strongly biased in favor of one denomination or another, based the text on their opinions, but alleged, and really believed, that they were saving what could still be saved in Martial. One of the first editors of this kind was the Calvinist Konrad Gesner (1516–1565), who published an edition of Martial in 1544 in Zurich, which contains the epigrams in 85 subject-groupings. The scholia of Iacobus Micyllus (1503–1558), which were first edited in 1536, are added to this selection as a continuous commentary. In the preface Gesner's didactic intention is made clear: to put an edition of Martial into young people's hands, which they can read without doing them any harm. This intention is made still clearer through "pedagogic" dialogues at the end of the work, in which four fictitious characters discuss the danger of reading Martial. A similar tendency can be observed some decades later in the Martial paraphrase of Hieronymus Megiser (c.1553–1618) who had been the head of several Protestant *gymnasia*: *Ιαροιμολογίας pars prima... In calce libri adiectum est specimen aliquod paraphraseos epigrammatum M. Val. Martialis* (1592, *Graecii Stiriae [Graz]*). In contrast the later edition of Johann Burmeister, *Martialis renati parodiarum sacrarum partes tres* (1612, Goslar),²² contains all of the epigrams,

19. Paul Lehmann, *Franciscus Modius als Handschriftenforscher* (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters III,1, München, 1908) 135.

20. 1488, Leipzig: Mauritz Brand (H 10826). There are three reprints: 1498, Leipzig: Jakob Thanner (HC 10827), cf. Otto Günther, *Die Wiegendrucke der Leipziger Sammlungen und der Herzoglichen Bibliothek in Altenburg* (Beiheft Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen XXXV, 1909) Nr.1566; 1508, Frankfurt a.O.: N. Lamperter and B. Murrer or C. Baumgarten, cf. Panzer VII 55.8; 1508, Erfurt: J. Knappe, cf. Martin von Hase, *Bibliographie der Erfurter Drucke von 1501–1506* (Nieuwkoop, 3^e1968) 38 Nr.246.

21. Nijhoff en Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* II 609–610, Nrs.3500, and 3501.

22. As there is no special biography of Johan-

but every epigram is confronted with a so-called Christian parody, whose aim it is to mitigate any possible profane effect. Claude Lancelot (1616–1695), the learned theologian and professor in the Petites Ecoles of Port Royal des Champs, the centre of French Jansenism, put together a school-book, *Epigrammatum Delectus ex omnibus tum veteribus, tum recentioribus poetis accurate decerptus* (1659, Paris), which is composed mostly of Martial. This book crossed the Channel and became a standard text at Eton (from 1683 to 1762, I count thirteen different editions “in usum Scholae Etoniensis”).

The philologist Léger Duchesne (Leodegarius a Quercu; d. 1588) followed a pedagogic aim similar to that of Gesner with his small work *Praefatiuncula, qua usus est cum expositurus esset praeclarissima M. Val. Martialis disticha apud regium Burgundiorum Gymnasium anno 1556* (1556, Paris, apud viduam P. Attaignant). If these undertakings failed to have any lasting influence, another bowdlerised edition achieved greater success. The Jesuit André Frusius (d. 1556), who was of French nationality, had taught for many years in Italy and had prepared an edition of Martial for students and “every upright reader”. His death prevented him from completing this work, which was later to be expanded to include all Latin writers of erotic literature; Frusius’ hope was that when all these writers had been expurgated, then all the complete manuscripts could be destroyed. Another member of his order, Edmond Auger (1530–1591), continued his work. In 1558 the greatly condensed collection appeared in Rome and was reprinted over and over again in Europe until 1702. The maxims set up by Auger in the preface correspond fully with the spirit of the Prohibitory Index. These Index Rules were formed somewhat later, and while combatting heretics was their main purpose, they also took account of classical erotic litera-

nes Burmeister, I call attention to the article concerning his famous brother Joachim in: MGG II (1952) col.490, which contains also data relating to him.

ture, though only in exceptional cases were authors mentioned by name. The Jesuit ideal of education, as it is laid down in the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599, certainly did not foresee a total condemnation of the antique heritage, but something which was possibly much worse: the mutilation of a few authors. Because of the terseness and impressiveness of these short poems, the writing of epigrams played a large part in the Jesuit teaching of Rhetoric; but this writing exhausted itself in the technical skill of arranging the most subtle concepts and mottoes. A few Martial epigrams, especially the one about the fly enclosed in the amber (Epigr. IV, 32), were an unequalled model for the Spanish and Italian poets and theoreticians of the literary Baroque and their French critics, for whom the epigram was supposed to become the structural pattern for all poetic thought. The appreciation of Martial underwent a renewed Renaissance in these authors, such as Baltasar Gracián, Emanuele Tesauro, Jacobus Pontanus-Spanmüller, Antonio Possevino, Daniele Bartoli, D. Bouhours, F. Vavasseur, and other, all of whom were Jesuits.²³

But the Frusius-Auger edition was not the only Jesuit edition. The Austrian Jesuit Matthaeus Raderus (1561–1634) first published an expurgated edition of Martial in 1599 in Ingolstadt, printed by Adam Sartorius, which was followed by 22 editions up to the year 1660. For the 1602 edition he wrote a monumental and highly erudite commentary, which was printed three times in all. Rader was assisted by several of his friends who sent him their materials on Martial or discussed difficult passages with him. His editions bear on the margin the *variae lectiones* of Iustus Lipsius (1547–1606), sent personally to him, also those of Andreas Schott, a Jesuit, too (1552–1629), and Franciscus Modius, whose *Novantiquae lectiones* Rader excerpted. Lipsius himself is

23. Paul Nixon, *Martial and the Modern Epigram* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome 18, London/Boston, 1927); Hugo Friedrich, *Epochen der italienischen Lyrik* (Frankfurt a.M., 1964) 619–647.

the author of a special treatise upon Roman amphitheatres, *De amphitheatro liber* (1585, Antwerp, Chr. Plantin), where Martial is very often quoted. When Rader wrote his commentary, Lipsius and Schott as well as his confreres Iacob Gretser (Gretscher; 1562–1625), Leonard Hoenigler (1570–after 1604), and Rudolf Matman (Matman; 1566–1612) advised him. In the seventeenth century Rader's edition was especially important in the reception of Martial in France. The Jesuits Pierre Rodelle (1622–1695) and Joseph de Jouvency (1643–1719) base their editions on Rader's; likewise Vincent Colleson (or Colson), who arranged an edition of Martial *ad usum Delphini* (1680, Paris, Anton Cellier), which was reprinted three times.

But let us return to the actual editions of Martial and to commentaries which encouraged an understanding of the text. In 1584 Theodor Marcilius, who also called himself Claudius Musambertius (1548–1617), published an explanatory philological commentary to the *Liber Spectaculorum*. When the Spanish lawyer Laurentius Ramiresius de Prado (d.1658) published an edition of Martial in 1607 and added a commentary which borrowed from numerous predecessors (*Hypomnemata ad librum spectaculorum et quatuor primos epigrammatwn M. Valerii Martialis*), Marcilius, under the pseudonym Musambertius, followed in the same year with a heated polemic (*In Laurentii Ramiresii hypomnemata*), in which he accuses him, not without justice, of plagiarising. In the year 1600 Didier Héault (Desiderius Heraldus; c.1579–1649) had a scholarly commentary on the 12 books of epigrams printed, which is dedicated to his patron Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, the father of Marshal Turenne.

The 1602 Frankfurt edition by the famous philologist Ianus Gruterus (1560–1627), which is dedicated to Ianus Dousa, represents the culminating point in critical editions of Martial. Gruter used a supposedly long-lost Codex Palatinus (now Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. lat. 1696), whose variants he had not copied himself, but which

had been copied by his English pupil Richard Thompson,—for which reason many mistakes are included. Also Gruter added to the epigrams as Book XV the *Priapeia*, which were mainly ascribed to Vergil, because on the advice of his friend, the neo-Latin poet Paulus Melissus-Schede, he solved the abbreviation M.V. not as "Virgilius Maro", but as "Valerius Martialis". But he later discarded this thesis. In a revised edition in the year 1616, after collating the Palatinus himself, he considerably improved his edition of Martial (printed in Schrijver's edition of the year 1619).

The edition of Petrus Scriverius (Schrijver; 1576–1660) offers the best text—an edition which he worked on from 1602 with the aid of his friends Iustus Lipsius, Ianus Rutgerius (1589–1628) and Ioannes Isaci Pontanus (1571–1639). But this edition did not appear in print until 1618/19. In it are also appendices by Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) to Theodor Marcilius' *Spectacula* commentary, as well as small commentaries by Jean Brodeau (Ioannes Brodaeus; c.1500–1563), Adrien Turnèbe (Adrianus Turnebus; 1512–1565), and the remarks of Angelo Poliziano already mentioned. In the course of the seventeenth century (1621, 1628, 1650, 1664, 1696) Scriverius' edition was reprinted without the commentary.

An edition which was amply provided with notes and which was reprinted over and over again, appeared in London in 1615, under the supervision of the renowned English philologist Thomas Farnaby (1575–1647). Farnaby bases himself on Scriverius and additional Cinquecento manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, but falls far short of Scriverius' standard by a long way. The editions of Cornelius Schrevel (c. 1615–1661), of which the first appeared in 1656, should also be mentioned, for the second edition, of 1663, contains the good emendations of Johann Friedrich Gronov (1611–1615) who used the Arondellianus 136.

From the seventeenth century onwards Martial was translated into almost all European cultural languages; but these trans-

lations are later than the period with which we are concerned. However, two partial translations into Greek are worth remarking upon: those of the Hellenist and printer Frédéric Morel (Fredericus Morellus; 1558-1630), an Ἀνθολογία seu *Florilegium Epigrammatum e libris XIV Martialis selectorum et graecis versibus eiusdem generis expressorum* (in ed. 1601), and a *Florilegium Epigrammatum Martialis* (1607, Lyons) of Joseph Justus Scaliger. In sleepless nights Scaliger translated those epigrams he knew by heart into Greek. His version includes the *Spectacula*, the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* almost in their entirety, and a fairly large collection from the remaining 12 books. It should also be mentioned that Joseph Lang from Kaisersberg in Alsace (c. 1570-1615) compiled a word index to Martial which makes it possible to find quotations quickly in the text. Lang's index was first printed in the 1595 Zetzner edition, and it has not yet been superseded by any modern revision.

COMPOSITE EDITIONS

Editions of Martial are described in F.L.A. Schweiger, *Handbuch der Klassischen Bibliographie* II, 2 (Leipzig, 1834) 592-605 [reprinted, with same pagination, as *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesamten Literatur der Römer* (Amsterdam, 1962)]; a selection in M. Val. *Martialis Epigrammaton libri*, edidit D.F.G. Schneidewin (Grimae, 1842) XI - LXII; Graesse 4.422-426, and Miroslav Flodr, *Incunabula Classicorum. Wiegendrucke der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Amsterdam, 1973) 212-214.

1491, March 29, Venetiis (Venice): Phil. Pencius de Caneto. With comm. of Calderini and Merula. HC 10821; Indice Generale 6229; Proctor 5286; Goff M 310. Copenhagen; (Walters Art Gallery).

(*) 1493, Nov. 13, Venetiis (Venice): Bartholomaeus de Zanis. With comm. of Calderini and Merula, reprint of ed. 1491. HC 10823; BMC 5.432; Indice Generale 6230; Goff M 311.BM; (MH).

(*) 1495, Aug. 1, Venetiis (Venice): [Chris-

tophorus de Pensis]. With comm. of Calderini and Merula. HC 10824; BMC 5. 469; Indice Generale 6231; Goff M 312. BM; (Cty; MH).

(*) 1498, May 29, Venetiis (Venice): [Christophorus de Pensis]. With comm. of Calderini and Merula. HC 10825; BMC 5. 597; Indice Generale 6232; Goff M 313. BM; (CtY; NNC).

(*) 1503, Dec. 23, Venetiis (Venice): Iacobus Pentius de Leuco. With comm. of Calderini and Merula. Schweiger II 594; Panzer XI 513.206. BN.

(*) 1505, Feb. 20, Mediolani (Milan): Ioannes Angelus Scinzenzeler. With comm. of Calderini and Merula. Schweiger II 594. BN.

(*) 1510, May 7, Venetiis (Venice): Philippus Pincius. With comm. of Calderini and Merula. NUC; Schweiger II 594. BM; BN; (CtY; NNC).

(*) 1514, Dec. 5, Venetiis (Venice): Georgius de Rusconibus. With comm. of Calderini and Merula. Schweiger II 594. BM; BN.

(*) 1521, Nov. 5, Venetiis (Venice): Guilielmus de Fontaneto. With comm. of Calderini and Merula. NUC; Schweiger II 594. BM; BN; (CtY; MH).

1522, Apr. 4, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes Moylin alias de Cambray, sumptu Romani Morin. With comm. of Calderini and Merula and biography by Petrus Crinitus, Cornelius Vitellius, Iacobus Bononiensis, Ludovicus Caelius Rhodiginus, Ianus Parrhasius, and others, annotations of Poliziano and others. Schweiger II 594 sq.; BM; BN.

(*) 1542, Venetiis (Venice): Octavianus Scotus. With comm. of Calderini and Merula. Schweiger II 595; BM.

1544, Turigi (Zurich): Christopherus Froshover. With comm. of Iacobus Micyllus and Conradus Gesner. Schweiger II 595; NUC. BM; BN; (CtY; IU).

(*) 1552, Aug., Venetiis (Venice): apud haer. Petri Ravani et socios. With comm. of Calderini and Merula. Schweiger II 595; NUC. BM; BN; (IU, MH).

1595, Argentinae (Strasbourg): aere Lazari Zetzneri, 2 parts in 1 vol., edition "post Hadriani Iunii emendationem", with "variae

lectiones" of Iunius and Pulmannus (p. 381-453), and "observationes" of Lucas Fru-terius (p. 454-456), Ianus Gulielmus (p. 456-466), Franciscus Modius (p. 467-484), and Chr. Colerus (p. 485-491). Part 2 is the Langius index. Schweiger II 596; Graesse 4. 424; Rep. Strasbourg III 988; NUC. BM; BN.; (CtY; MH).

1601, Parisiis (Paris): C. Morellus alias Bartholomaeus Macaeus, 5 parts in 1 vol., with comm. of Calderini and Merula, Greek translation of some epigrams by Federicus Morellus, Theodor Marcilius "ad Amphitheatrum" (*Liber Spectaculorum*), Desiderius Heraldus on the 12 books of the Epigrams, Notes and *variae lectiones* of Hadrianus Iunius, Theodor Pulmannus, and Chr. Colerus; Index of Joseph Lang. Schweiger II 597; Graesse 4.424; NUC. BM; BN; (CoU; NcD).

1617, Lutetiae Parisiorum (Paris): Clau-dius Morellus alias Michael Sonnius, ed. in folio. Same contents as ed.1601, but the comm. of Ramiresius de Prado, the refuta-tion of Marcilius (*Musambertii commoni-toria*), and the annotations of Stephanus Claverius are added. Graesse 4.424; NUC. BM; BN; (CtY; MH).

1618/1619, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden): Ioannes Maire. With comm. of P. Scrivenerius (1618, pp. 283, separate numeration), notes of Lipsius, Rutgersius, Pontanus, Gruterus (1619, 24 pp. and 138 pp.), comm. of Sca-liger against Th. Marcilius (p. 139-168), notes of Brodaeus (p. 169-208), Turnebus (p. 209-265), and A. Poliziano. Schweiger II 597; Graesse 4.424. BM; BN.

Doubtful edition:

(*) 1492, Venetiis (Venice): Bernardus de Choris de Cremona. With comm. of Calderini and Merula, reprint of ed. 1491. H 10822. No copy has been located.

I. EPIGRAMMATON LIBRI

COMMENTARIES

1. ANONYMUS BONONIENSIS S. XV

An anonymous commentary of the fif-teenth century is preserved in Bologna, Bib-

lioteca Universitaria 496; it reveals an in-timate knowledge of classical literature on the part of its author. The work begins with a *Vita* of Martial, which differs from other similar biographies. There are many supple-mentary additions in the form of marginal scholia, including theoretical remarks on the epigram, as if the author had written his commentary in stages over a period of time. All of the epigrams are commented upon, including the *Liber Spectaculorum*.

Dedication and Vita. (f.3^{r-v}) [Inc.]: Pe-tisti a me, Benete vir doctissime, ut M. Val. Martialis vitam perscriberem, quae res varie me affecit, partim enim grata, partim mo-lesta fuit; grata equidem, quippe tibi de me bene merito nihil negare declararet. Quo-tiens enim tuis libris mihi opus fuit, te adeo humanum et liberalem expertus sum, ut omnia, quae tibi grata sunt, facere deberem. Molesta, quod nihil certi haberem, nisi quaedam quae mevis (sic, for *meis*) libellis legendo collegeram, tum quod multis essem negociis occupatus, quae in praesentiarum magno sunt impedimento ne, ut optarem, tuae possim satisfacere voluntati; verum ne quicquam a me postulasse frustra videare, p[re] tua gratia molestiam nihili aestimavi. Accipe igitur qualemcumque negotia per-miserunt.

Marcus praenomen est et hoc saepenumero utitur, et in libro I "vota tui breviter si vis cognoscere Marci" (Epigr. 1,55,1). Item Valerius proprium quod in toto opere suo non posuit...[Expl.]: Multis munieribus a principibus donatus est, ut iure trium liberorum et tribunus plebis effectus et equestris ordinis. Pauper admodum ita, ut in patriam reverti non potuisset, nisi eum viatico pro-secutus esset Plinius.

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Barbara* (Spect. I,1)] quod neque Graeca neque Latina; *pyra-midum*] sunt pyramides monumenta altissimae verticis in acutum tendentia instar ignis, unde pyramides appellantur; *Mem-phisis*] civitas regia in Aegypto, ubi reges tumulabantur et egregiae pyramides in eorum honorem erigebantur . . . (f.14^r) [Praef.libri I] Hanc epistolam facit instar prologi sicuti solent comici, ut detractoribus

respondeat de illis libellis; queri] con-
queri; quisquis de se bene senserit] id est si
vero sit conscient . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (f.367^r)
Surgite] (*Epigr.* XIV, 223) Adipata vel ien-
tacula propinaciones ante prandia ex balsariis,
libis et ofellis; pistor] dulciarius ientaculorum
ad quem saepius vadunt servi; cristatae
aves] galli qui canunt etiam quando fit dies
in ea parte noctis, quam gallicinium ap-
pellamus.

Manuscript:

(Micro) Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria
496, s.XV, 369 fols., comm. only. From the
library of the famous scholar Ulisse Aldro-
vandi (1522–1605), (Frati, *Studi Italiani*
16, 1908, 222, no. 299).

2. ANONYMUS FLORENTINUS, c. 1471–74

Codex Florence, Riccardianus 3048 (former-
ly 3191) of the fifteenth century contains
on fols. 51–92^v an anonymous commentary
on Martial, which is, however, incomplete,
and explains only books I to V, 18. The
order of the epigrams is not followed, re-
sulting in a rather confused disorder. The
author does not so much comment on Mar-
tial as paraphrase the contents of every epi-
gram he treats. There is but one allusion to
another scholar, namely to Ioannes Areti-
nus. On f.51 the anonymous author sum-
marizes *Spectacula* II,2 “Hic ubi sidereus
propius videt astra colossus/et crescent
media peggata celsa via” and says, “pe-
ggata celsa ludicra [*ludibris?*] sig(nificat),
sed per commutationem peggata ludum sig-
(nificat) et Iohannes Aretinus dicit, hic signi-
ficare *amphytheatrum*, in quo ludi fiebant,
sed ego significare molem columpnarum,
quae sustenebant colossum . . . ” And, in
fact, Giovanni Tortelli da Arezzo (1400–
1466), the famous philologist, gives in his
*Commentariorum grammaticorum de Ortho-
graphia dictiunc e Graecis tractarum liber*
(HC 15563, Rome 1471, HC 15564, Venice
1471) sub lemmate “Paegma” the following
explanation: “Ponuntur et nonnumquam
paegmata pro amphitheatris et locis, ubi
paegmata agitabantur”, whereupon he cites
Martial. Though the author of the Riccar-

dianus may have known a manuscript of
Tortelli’s work, I suppose that he wrote his
commentary after the publication of the
Orthographia in 1471, because some letters
included in the manuscript (e.g., f.16^v), and
a commentary on Aristotle (f.185), date from
1470 resp. 1472. The fact that he does not
make use of Calderini’s commentary (1474),
which he most probably would have cited,
had he known this work, makes me date the
commentary between 1471 and 1474. There
are no indications as to who the author
might have been, but his method of com-
menting suggests that he was a scholar who
had not yet made a very deep study of Mar-
tial’s epigrams.

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Barbara pyramidum
sileant miracula Memphys* (*Spect.* I, 1)] adu-
latur Domitiano et praclarissimis aedificiis
praeponit Amphitheatum Domitiani. *Mem-
phys*] urbs est in Aegypto, olim fuit regia ante
Alexandriam conditam . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Cum
proavos* (*Epigr.* V 17)] deridet Gelliam, quae
dicebat se esse nobilissimam et volebat nu-
bere senatori, demum nupsit cestifero, nunc
quia Martialis erat ex equestri ordine; *latus
clavus*] vestis senatoria, *cestifero*] quia ferebat
esta. *Quid tibi Decembri* (*Epigr.* V, 18)]
excusat se apud Quintianum . . .

Manuscript:

(Micro) Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana
3048 (formerly 3191), cart. misc., s.XV, 185
fols. (Kristeller, *Iter I* 225).

3. DOMITIUS CALDERINUS

After being called to the University of Rome
in 1470 Calderini gave several lectures on
Martial. In these lectures he not only explained
difficult passages, but also tried to restore the
text. His versions were divulged by his pupils
and later were derided by Perotti. In autumn
1473 Calderini sent his commentary on Mar-
tial to Lorenzo de’ Medici. His original copy
with autograph annotations is still preserved
(Biblioteca Laurenziana 53.33) and ends with
the following line: “Domitii Calderini Ver-
nensis MCCCCLXXIII, quom vigesimum oc-
tavum annum ageret K Septembris”. This
commentary is a reaction to Perotti’s criticism,

because at the end there follows an apology against Perotti, *Domitii Calderini Veronensis Apologia in Nicolaum Perottum Sepontinum ad Curelum Caraphium patruelem Cardinalis Neapolitani*. In the *Apologia* Calderini defends his own text and also threatens that he will publicly expose the mistakes made by Perotti in his translation of Polybius, done for Pope Nicholas V. Calderini suggests that in the future he and Perotti discuss their philological disagreements in a small circle of friends, as they had done before, when Theodorus Gaza, Nicolaus Machinensis Episcopus Modrusiensis, and Gurello Carafa participated in their discussions, instead of each party conducting the controversy in public. Commentary and apology were printed in spring 1474, and the edition was now dedicated to Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga, and in the apology the names were withheld. Afterwards Calderini's commentary became very famous, as it discusses nearly all of the epigrams, unlike many other works, which are confined only to a selection.

1. *Dedication* (ed. of Venice, 1474, after March 22). Epistola. Domitius Calderinus Ioanni Francisco Lodovici Principis Mantuani filio salutem. [Inc.]: Non fuissent tot exemplis editi commentarii nostri, quos superiore aestate emiseramus, nisi tu magna ex parte impulisses, qui Martialis ingenium amas et iocos in sago ac castris aliquando legere statuisti. Nam cum Homerus Mantuanus, civis tuus, quem Graecum Alexander perpetuum comitem habuit, inter tubas tantum canat, nunc, quoniam otium est a bellis, illius lectio intermissa, huius salibus, quem Verus imperator Maronem suum appellabat, animum in aestivis relaxabis. Hereditaria enim tibi studia sunt, nec ab his discedere potes, nisi cum maioribus tuis, tum Ludovico patre, doctissimo principe, te indignum filium fateri velis. Sed cum domesticam laudem ac nobilitatem facile sustineas, humanitate, prudentia, rei militaris industria, studio quoque litterarum, quae a domo tua omni tempore cultae et ornatae fuerunt, dignum te praestas Gonzaga familia Francisoque imprimis Cardinali fratre, qui dignitate, omnium in se benevolentia, singulari virtute, quod accepit a

familia nominis vel illustrabit, vel certe integrum propagabit in posteros. Unum illud abste magis atque magis peto, et si pateris, contendeo, ut si forte in scripta incideris, quibus laborum nostrorum accusatio contineatur, loca, de quibus disputabitur, conferas, nec, quod ego dixerim, ex calumniatoribus audias potius quam ex commentariis nostris cognoscas. Quosdam enim haec nostra lucubratio ita offendit, ut de suis rationibus actum putent, nisi calumniis, iurgiis, contumeliis me de laudis possessione deiecerint, et cum multis apertissimisque rationibus nostra probari intelligent, ea ab se accepta et mihi tradita fuisse insigni mendacii vanitate affirmant. Quanti se faciunt, Dii boni, quam se et sua amant sine rivali! Remitto illis omnem reprehensionem, modestiae enim meae, qua eorum insolentiam iamdiu sustinui, me adhuc non paenituit, sed eos libero eo metu et dolore .../ ... [Expl.]: Paratus est, ita me Deus amet, ad editionem libellus, quo supra ducenta eorum errata, et ea quidem cum puerilia, tum aperta collegimus, quod altera epistola facturum pollicitus sum; edidisseque, nisi Ioannis Ludovici Tuscani et Marci Lucii Facini consilio usus essem, quorum uterque et doctissimus et mei amantissimus me iniuriae obliisci maluit quam ulcisci. Id cum ad optimarum artium scientiam et humanitatem, quam profitemur, pertinere videatur, secutus sum eorum voluntatem ac iudicium, quod etiam ea de causa libenter passus sum, ne Laurentium Medicem meum offenderem, qui pro sua gravitate, sapientia et calumniatorum levitatem aspernatus esset et in me desiderasset facilitatem, ad quam ipse natus est et institutus; itaque valebunt isti. Tu, quid ad Laurentium nostrum scripserim, leges ac mihi aderis testis earum laudum, quae in homine eximiae profecto ac ferme innumera-biles sunt, cui non solum me non paenituit has vigilias dicasse, sed meae erga illum observantiae immortalis et fidei nulla ex parte satisfactum esse arbitror. Laurentii causa suscepti sunt hi commentarii, Laurentio dicati, Laurentii est Domitius. Vale.

2. *Dedication*. Domitius Calderinus Veronensis Laurentio Medici salutem. [Inc.]: In omni civitatis administratione praclare actum

arbitrari soleo, Laurenti.... Illud certe praedicare non desistam et constantissime tueri in iis M. Valerii commentariis, quos olim tuo nomine suscepit et nuper dicavi tibi, si minus ingenii et doctrinae, laboris certe et industriae nostrae laudem existere. Quinque habui codices vetustissimos et eos quidem admodum emendatos, sed quaedam occurribant aliquando adeo vel ambigua vel remota, ut una tantum dictio per complures dies saepe me suspensum habuerit. Postremo non defuit, qui lucubrationem nostram maledictis interpellaret. Quidam enim in meam de quodam loco sententiam edita epistola gravissime invectus est, cui quid responderim, in fine huius operis leges. Multa condonavi familiaritati, qua mecum olim coniunctus fuerat, nihil tamen remisi de rationibus nostris, quas omni, ut arbitror, ex parte vel ipsi, qui reprehenderat, probavimus [Expl.]: Non enim desunt, qui nostras sibi vigilias et labores vendicare studeant, sed in illis complura esse non dubito, quae castigatione indigeant. Sunt enim non tam verbis nostris tradita quam alieni studii calore suscepta. Itaque hoc uno exemplo et perfici debebunt, si inchoata erunt, ac rudia et facile refelli poterunt, si omnino aliena videbuntur. Nam tuo iure ad te pertinent omnia, cuius unius causa haec a nobis pervestigata et elaborata fuerunt. Vale.

Vita Martialis in commentarios, quos Domitius Calderinus edidit. [Inc.]: Marcus Valerius Martialis in Hispania Bilbilim patriam habet, quod ipse cum alibi, tum eo earmine indicat: "Nec me mea tacebit Bilbilis." [Expl.]: Nam nec in antiquis codicibus prima fronte ponitur, nec absurdum iudicari debet diversis locis et temporibus edita singulis spectaculis epigrammata in unum tandem librum redacta fuisse.

Plinii Secundi epistola ad Cornelium Priscum. [Inc.]: Audio Valerium Martialem decessisse et moleste fero. Erat homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer.... [Expl.]: Tametsi quid homini potest dari maius quam gloria, laus et aeternitas? Aeterna quae scripsit, non erunt fortasse, ille tamen scripsit futura.

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Barbara Pyramidum* (*Spect. I, 1*) Hoc primo epigrammate assenta-

tur Domitiano, cuius amphitheatum operis magnificentia et dignitate omnibus aedificiis scribit anteponendum [Expl.]: *Ientacula* (*Epigr. XIV, 223*) Ientacula cibi ganeati dicuntur, qui a pueris emebantur summo mane a pistore, quasi igitur noctem saturnalitiam egisset, evagatus per munera singulis distichis, monet diem adventare impositurus ultimam manum a duabus autem rebus lucis adventantis signum accipit, et a pueris ementibus ientacula et a gallis canentibus, qui autore Plinio geniti a natura sunt ad excitandos mortales in opera et somnum rumpendum.

Domitii Calderini Veronensis defensio cum recriminatione in calumniatorem commentatorum in Martialem, quos nondum ediderat, ad Corelium patris amplissimi Cardinalis Neapolitani nepotem. [Inc.]: Non potuimus assequi id, quod vel tu optabas, Coreli, vel quod studiis nostris maxime consentaneum erat, ut Martialis interpretationem sine ulla animorum contentione absolveremus. Nam qui partim nuper cooperat invidere, partim odio habet iam diu, nullum detrahendi et insectandi finem facit. Quod, quamdiu intra parietes ab eo actum est, apud te, Theodorum, Nicolaum, praesulem Modru-siensium, viros plane bonos et doctos, aequissimo animo iniuriam tuli aut certe dissimulavi. Sperabam enim magnopere fore aliquando, ut cum suae aestimationis ac dignitatis rationem haberet, tum veteris observantiae meae; nam et si fidem in eum et benevolentiam, pietatem numquam ipsi uni, quod videam, probare potui, tamen officio meo plurimum delectabar, cuius fructum vel ex eo capiebam maximum, quod sapientissimorum virorum consiliis Nicenique imprimis voluntati, in cuius eram familia, me satisfacere intelligebam. Fuissem profecto illo etiam amissio in eadem instituti ratione, a qua maledictis, iurgiis, iniuriis gravissimis me numquam depellere potuit, nisi paulo ante epistola quadam agitatum iampridem animum penitus exulcerasset. Ita enim me lacescit, ita vocat in ius, ita accusat, ut silentium pro confessione sit profuturum, quod sane gravissimum esset in hominem praesertim innocentem et qui optimam causam habet. Qua in re non magis

me offendit quam cavillatoria quadam versutia, parum quidem illa digna libero homine, sed teste fortasse vel infirmitatis vel facti iniquissimi. Non enim scripsit ad me, non passus est suo nomine epistolam reddi, sed quendam subornavit, qui ostenderet mentitus se aliunde accepisse. Si iure dissentit, cur apud nos hoc non profitetur ingenue et docet, si iniuria oppugnat, cur audet scribere, conqueri, vociferari, declamare quotidianie, quasi vero nihil ad eum magis pertineat, quam quod Martialem profitemur, cum multa pro hominis instituto et officio proposita sint, in quibus maiore cum laude versari et possit et debeat? Evidem vel severissimi censoris reprehensionem non aspernor, modo iusta sit et pro animi aequitate proficiscatur; huc enim industria, labores, vigiliae nostrae omnes spectant, ut tuis aliorumque auribus dignum aliquid afferramus, quod posteris etiam sperremus utile futurum . . . Ego nec soleo mentiri nec ipse debet. Illud certe multis testibus liquido affirmare possum, me intra paucos dies supra ducenta eius errata in lucem prolatum, ex quibus aut in Polybio pervertendo infantem, aut in Martialis et aliorum castigatione censorem iniquissimum plane agnoscas. Quid si de moribus disputare voluerimus, deeritne scribendi argumentum an verba? De scriptis meis concipiatur animo et meditetur, quae velit, quando perfecta fuerint, quod ego quoque coram dixi: vix sex librorum interpretationem, quae apud nos est, hactenus recognovimus, nam tradita auditoribus quotidie aut confirmantur pluribus exemplis aut melius explicantur, ut aliquando vel alieni hominis et iniquissimi iudicis aures impleant, quod vel hoc loco, de quo disputavimus, actum est. Nam multa diximus copiosius, quam in commentariis sit, ut sententiam nostram facile ei percipere licuerit et sese errore isto liberare, id quod alibi plerumque praestamus, sed abortum a nobis rapit, quoniam partus formati pulchritudinem ac dignitatem inspicere non poterit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Nullum præterea verbum fecit; ne idem iterum contingat, nostri opusculi editionem exspectet necesse est, ne si quid interea suscepere, eum odisse ac invidere potius quam docere videatur, tum in maledicta incurrere, in

quibus declinandis non minus prudentiae existit quam in ferendis moderationis.

Manuscripts:

(micro) Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana LIII, 33, Sept. 1 1473. (comm. only, autograph annotations of Calderini. (Bandini II 623 sq.; John Dunston, 'Studies in Domizio Calderini', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* XI [1968] 71–150).

(*) Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 673, f.184 (171), s.XV. Original version of Martial's *vita* by Calderini. (Kristeller, *Iter* I 196; Dunston 82 sq.; 123 sq.).

(*) Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2948 (Miscellanea Tioli VIII), s.XV–XVI. (Kristeller, *Iter* I 20).

(*) Vatican, Ross. 943 (XI 93), s.XV. Based on a printed edition of 1474. (Kristeller, *Iter* II 471).

(*) Vatican, Barb.lat.176 (IX 45), 1487 "per me Oddonem Alamannum". (Kristeller, *Iter* II 443 and 602).

(*) University of Chicago, Ill., Cod.11, s.XV. (de Ricci–Wilson I 555).

(*) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct.F.2.17 (8873), s.XV (2nd half). [Summary Catalogue III 21].

Editions.

(*) 1474, March 22, Romae (Rome): Iohannes Gensberg for Iohannes Aloisius Tuscanus. HC 4235; GW 5887; BMC 4.49; Indice Generale 2356; Goff C 36. BM; (MH).

(micro) 1474, after March 22, Venetiis (Venice): Iohannes de Colonia and Iohannes Manthen. HC 4236; GW 5888; BMC 5.230; Indice Generale 2355; Goff C 37. BM; (NNC; MH).

(micro) 1474, Sept. 13, Venetiis (Venice): Iacobus Rubeus. Comm. only. HCR 4237 (I); GW 5889; BMC 5.213; Indice Generale 2357; Goff C 38. BM; (DLC; MH).

(*) 1480, Venetiis (Venice). HC 10814; BMC 5.296; Indice Generale 6222; Goff M 304. BM; (CtY).

(*) 1482, June 12, Venetiis (Venice): Thomas Alexandrinus (Tommaso de'Blavi). HC 10815; BMC 5.317; Indice Generale 6224; Goff M 305. BM; (CtY; MH).

(*) 1482, July 15, Venetiis (Venice): Bap-

tista de Tortis. HC 10816; BMC 5.322; Indice Generale 6225; Goff M 306. BM; (CtY; DLC).

(*) 1483, Aug.15, Mediolani (Milan): Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler. HR 10817; Indice Generale 6226; Goff M 307. (NNC; CtY).

1485, July 17, Venetiis (Venice): Battista Torti. HC 10819; BMC 5.324; Indice Generale 6227; Goff M 308. BM; (DLC; MH).

1490, Sept.20, Mediolani (Milan): Uldericus Scinzenzeler. HC 10820; BMC 6.764; Indice Generale 6228; Goff M 309. BM; (DLC).

1491, 1493, 1495, 1498, 1503, 1505, 1510, 1514, 1521, 1522, 1542, 1552, 1601, 1617. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See CTC I, 221; III, 385-87.

4. GEORGIUS MERULA

Merula is the first editor of Martial known to us by name. His edition was printed somewhere around 1469/73 (HC 10809, Venetiis: Vendelinus a Spira) and is dedicated to Angelo Adriani. It was reprinted in 1475 (HC 10812, Venetiis: Iohannes de Colonia and Iohannes Manthen de Gherretzen [Gerresheim]) and 1478 (HC 10813, Mediolani: Philippus de Lavania). As Merula's philological work was criticized several times by Domizio Calderini he looked for an opportunity to take revenge. The best vengeance seemed to him to expose Calderini as an incompetent philologist by revealing the mistakes he had made in the commentary on Martial. He did so in his own commentary, which is dedicated to the Venetian nobleman Marcantonio Morosini, and which came out in the spring of 1478, when Calderini was already dead. More than 120 times Merula tries to correct Calderini, but before doing so, he discusses some problems connected with Sappho (*In Sapphus epistolam interpretatio*, in H 11097, 1474/75). His commentary on Martial was reprinted separately only once more (in the same year), but beginning with the edition of 1491 it was regularly printed together with Calderini's annotations.

This new double-commentary was republished very often and may be regarded as the most popular of all the Martial commentaries, a late and unwished for reconciliation of the two bitter enemies, who in their lifetime had been unable to forget their rivalry.

Dedication (ed. of Venice, 1478, between March 5 and May 6). Georgii Merulae Alexandrini adversus Domitii commentarios praefatio. Ad Marcum Antonium Maurocenum equitem praclarum. [*Inc.*]: Cum ex Belgis legatione illa magnifice ac prudenter obita in patriam reversus esses atque a publicis negotiis paulo otiosior studia potius remissa quam intermissa repeteres, petivisti, ut quaedam in epigrammatis Martialis tibi partim ignota, partim obscura explicarem, ut scilicet arguti et docti poetae sales atque veneres aliquando perciperes, qui ut ex fabula, historia et interpretatione dictionis plerumque trahuntur, ita sine grammaticis percipi et placere vix possunt. Ego quamquam tibi et pro nostra amicitia et pro iniuncto munere morem gerere debui, tamen quod in summa tunc occupatione et studiorum et professionis essem, ad Domitii commentarios Marcum Antonium remisi, ut ex his id intelligeret, quod per me explanari volebat. Nostro igitur consilio librum emisti, quem cum ita legeres, ut ea demum disceres, quae cognoscere desiderabas, sive quod pluribus in locis obscurior sit interpres quam epigramma, sive quod ea silentio praetereat, quae tu exponi cupiebas, quamvis subridens in hoc meo de Calderino iudicio diligentiam, in consilio vero dato fidem requisivisti, quippe dicens, dum laborem detrecto, te ad eos commentarios missum fuisse, quos nescias interprete magis an emendatore indigeant, quae sane verba vix credidi, propterea quod hominem ipsum olim haud multum obtuso ingenio nec admodum indiligentem perspexisse. Huc accedebat, quod Romae viveret in librorum frequentia et eruditorum hominum concertatione assidua, ut difficillimas quasque poetarum quaestiones sicut licentius promittit, ita eruditius solvere posset. Sed dum illius explanationes te poscente transcurro, plurima falso enarrata in multis ita interpretem nugari, ut non latentes sensus explanare,

sed potius aliquid ostentare voluerit, interim vero vix sibi constare offendit. Quare si te pigebat eius laboris, quem in perlegendis commentariis coepisses, non minus me consilii studioso patricio dati paenitebat. Veniam autem petenti te non alio pacto errati gratiam facturum respondisti, nisi quotiens aliquid observassem, quod ad expositionem epigrammatum conduceret, id annotarem, quam rem me facturum tantisper recepi, dum vel otium superesset, vel casus iuvaret. Ergo cum pauca quaedam ex varia lectione tam Graecorum quam nostrorum scriptorum collegerim, ex quibus tacita festivi vatis eruditio et felix illa iocorum argutia deprehendi valet, ea ad te commode hoc tempore mittere existimavi, quod in Cremensi ista praetura quamvis breve, paulo tamen tranquillus otium habes. Ut enim magis laboriosum est causas cognoscere quam patriae consulere, ita minus sollicitum atque anxiū habetur iura populis reddere, quam dum patres rogantur, in frequenti senatu sententiam dicere. Sed ut honestius aliena coarguamus priusquam rem aggrediar, ea defendenda sunt, quae in quibusdam nostris annotationibus meo suppresso nomine levissimus homo maligne reprehenderit. Vale. Venetiis XXI. Kalendas Martias (February 18) MCCCCLXXVII.

Commentary. [Inc.]: Quid igitur petulans et nimiae licentiae litterator primum damnat? Nempe quod Franciscum Philelphum in *Sapphus* vita declaranda, ceu Graeca ignorem, secutus fuerim.... *Assiduus iactet nec Babylon a labor* [(*Spect. I,2*)] Domitius de muris Babyloniae sentit, quos quidam tradidere per annum fuisse absolutos accersitis multorum hominum milibus. Georgius: non recte igitur exponis assiduum laborem multorum annorum, si per annum absoluti muri fuerunt.... /.... [Expl.]: Quid sit copta rhodia et quod sauroctonos legendum sit (*Epigr. XIV, 69[68]*). Nimis fatua est haec enarratio, ut pote quae ab insissimo homine profecta est. Si quidem copta genus est placentae, quae apud Athenaeum [sc. *Deipnosophistae* 14,647 F] legitur χοπτοπλακοῦς, Suidas [sc. *Lexicon*, lemma 1488] quoque ἀμαξῖς, εἶδος πλα-

κοῦντος ἡν νῦν κοπτὴν φαμέν, genus esse placentae tradit, quam alii coptam vocitent, de qua intellexit Aristophanes in fabula, quae inscribitur νεφέλαι, hoc est nebulae [sc. *Nub. 864*], ὅν πρωτον <όβολὸν> ἔλαβον ἥλιαστικὸν τοῦτον; ὅτ' ἐπριάμην σοὶ Διασίοις ἀμαξίδα; i.curricula, qualia frequenter pistores dulciarii et faciunt et vendunt ante sacras aedes, festis diebus potissimum.

Manuscript:

(*) Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Est.lat. 441 (Alpha S 4,2). Several commentaries of Merula on Juvenal, Cicero, *In Sapphus epistolam* Ovidii, Martial (f. 149–191 v), preface with wrong date (XII.Kal.Martias MCCCCLXXXVI). [Fraknói 72 n.62; Hevesy 69 n.64; Kristeller, *Iter I* 381].

Editions:

1478, between March 15 and May 6, Venetiis (Venice): Gabriele di Pietro. Like the manuscript, the edition contains several commentaries of Merula, the one on Martial on ff.99–127v. HC 11090; Proctor 4202; BMC 5.202; Indice Generale 6377; Goff M 501. BM; (CtY; DLC).

(*) 1478, not before May, Trevisii (Treviso): Bartolomeo Gonfalonieri. HC 11091; Proctor 6486; BMC 6.893; Indice Generale 6378; Goff M 502. BM; (MH; NNC).

1491, 1493, 1495, 1498, 1503, 1505, 1510, 1514, 1521, 1522, 1542, 1552, 1601, 1617. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See CTC I, 121.

4. NICOLAUS PEROTTUS

While staying at Bologna with Cardinal Bessarion, Perotti had made friends with Nicola Volpe, from 1443 to 1460 professor of Rhetoric at the University of Bologna, who occasionally had lectured upon Martial. Later on at Rome he was permanently in contact with his friend Giulio Pomponio Leto, professor of Classics, who together with his Academy fellows, had been a student of Martial for many years. In the Winter of 1471/72 he and Perotti made an intensive study of Martial, whose epigrams Perotti had transcribed some time earlier

(Cod. Vat. lat. 6848), but this manuscript does not contain a commentary, but only preparatory materials for the later *Cornucopiae*. Leto inspired Perotti with the idea of editing Martial and writing a commentary. On April 30 1473 Perotti's edition appeared in Rome (H 10811, Sweynheym and Pannartz), but did not bear his name, this anonymity being the result of the very bitter controversies with his enemy Calderini. For the same reason he did not dare to publish his commentary on Martial, which seems to have been finished in a curtailed form by 1473, for in a letter to Leto, which can be dated in 1473, he refers to his work, "iam commentarios nostros videbimus." But it was not before 1489 that this gigantic commentary, entitled *Cornucopiae*, horn of plenty, was printed. Ludovico Odasio was responsible for this edition which he dedicated to Guidobaldo Duke of Urbino. The *Cornucopiae* is a commentary on the *Liber Spectaculorum* and the first book of epigrams, which are both numbered in sequence. At the same time it is a thesaurus referring to nearly all the Greek and Latin classical authors known at this epoch. Odasio explains that Niccolò Perotti had planned to discuss all of the epigrams, but that his untimely death had prevented him from finishing his work. The actual introduction and dedication of the *Cornucopiae* are addressed to Duke Federico of Urbino and signed by Perotti's nephew Pirro, who claims to have stolen the manuscript of the commentary from his uncle's library, to prevent the destruction of so learned a work. According to Pirro, Perotti did not wish to have it published because he felt that he would as a priest be criticized for returning to his earlier poetic studies and for interpreting the many obscene passages in Martial. The statement seems to be rather incredible; perhaps it is a safety device of Perotti himself who succeeds in this way in throwing all the responsibility for faults on his nephew and in making him the target of the critics. Pirro writes that he added nothing or very little of his own to the commentary, except that he had provided a fuller interpretation of some of the epigrams which Perotti

had passed over quickly because of their obscenity. Historical allusions permit us to date this dedication to 1478/79, but we do not know the reasons why the printing was delayed for nearly ten years.

1. Dedication (ed. of Venice, 1489).
 Lodovicus Odaxius Patavinus Illustrissimo Principi Guidoni Urbini Duci S. [Inc.]: Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, qui a rerum scriptoribus tantopere celebratur, illustrissime princeps, non tantum ex opulentissimo regno gloriari solebat Nam cum rei militaris excellentiam adhuc per aetatem in te desiderare non debeamus, probitatem tamen et modestiam et gravitatem quandam senilem in adolescentulo plurimi facimus; huc adde litterarum studia, quae te tantopere delectant et linguae utriusque peritiam, ob quam ita excultus iam evasisti, ut alterum non dico principem, sed ne privatum quidem huius aetatis in tota Italia facile reperias, qui tibi eruditione ac rerum cognitione sit comparandus. Gratias itaque tibi semper debebunt studiosissimi viri cum aliis de causis, tum quod hoc tempore Nicolai Perotti, episcopi Sipontini, commentarios linguae Latinae imprimendos et publicandos curaveris, qua certe in re plurimam laudem meo iudicio mereris, vel quia bonarum artium cupidis hoc opere divulgato mirificam et iocunditatem et utilitatem attulisti, vel quia paternae gloriae, quantum in te fuit, pia sedulitate consulueristi, dum librum illius nomini dedicatum celeberrimum efficere conaris, vel quod honestissimum huius auctoris laborem ab interitus periculo vendicasti, qui sane paucos post annos fuit interitus, nisi plurimis exemplaribus effigiatu hic liber in lucem per te prodiisset. Atqui hanc abs te gratiam facile merebatur vir, cum in Romana Academia primarius, tum omnium aetatis suae doctissimorum nemini secundus. Is et complura alia ingenii sui monumenta nobis reliquit, in quibus passim ipse compositus, elegans, accuratus, facilis incedit, et hos praesertim *Cornucopiae* libros, quos linguae Latinae commentarios non immerito nuncupavit, in quibus, cum Valerium Martialem interpretandum desumpserit, non sententias modo et voca-

bula eorumque figuræ, ut reliqui solent, sed historias etiam longius repetitas et universam grammaticæ rationem varie, concinne luculenterque complectitur, ubi quamquam pleraque frivola et vulgaria et ad instituendos veluti pueros tradita videntur, longe tamen plura occurunt, quae doctissimorum aures respuere non debeant. Ita peritis imperitisque profuturum se pollicetur. Hos autem commentarios ex dimidio absolutos, ut ipse in calce operis testatur, illustrissimo patri (*ed. Principi*) tuo, cui erat imprimis deditissimus, attulavit. Huic igitur alteri commentariorum parti, quam præ manibus habemus, supremam ipse manum imposuit, quae tametsi unum dumtaxat poetae librum interpretatur, tot tamen ac tanta et tam varia continet, ut aliquanto minus esse id omne, quod superest, ipse auctor egregie fateatur. Alteram vero partem, cui proprie continuis vigiliis et lucubrationibus insistebat, ut compertum habeo, morte praeventus absolvere non potuit. Quicumque igitur de hac re recte sentiet, in illa non parum amisisse se iudicabit. Quin etiam hoc opus eodem, ut opinor, casu pluribus in locis mendosum nec recognoscere satis nec castigare potuit. Quod ego proximis mensibus iussu et auspicio tuo diligentissime lectitavi, et quoad per me fieri potuit, emendatissimum reddidi, ut quicquid legentes ex hoc labore voluptatis utilitatisque percipient, totum uni tibi principi elegantissimo eruditissimo atque optimarum disciplinarum amantissimo acceptum referent.

2. *Dedication.* Pyrrhi Perotti in Cornucopiae sive commentarios linguae Latinae ad illustrem Principem Federicum Ducem et ecclesiastici exercitus imperatorem invictissimum. Prohoemium [*Inc.*]: Moriens olim P. Maro poeta optimus maximus librum Aeneidos, quem tum forte in manibus habebat, testamento cremandum reliquit, indignum opinor existimans opus imperfectum et cui nondum suprema manus imposita foret, ad posteros pervenire Nam cum iam supra quintum annum Pomponius Fortunatus, vir saeculo nostro doctissimus et Romanae Academiae princeps, ac plerique alii studiosi viri Nicolaum Perottum, Siponti

pontificem, patruum meum, hortati essent, ut M. Valerium Martialem, optimum quidem poetam, sed vitio librariorum infinitis paene erroribus plenum, pro communi studiosorum utilitate emendandum susciperet, aggressus est ille hanc provinciam libens et corollarium addidit, etenim lepidissimum poetam non modo emendavit, sed etiam interpretatus est. In qua re haud facile dictu esset, quos sustinuerit labores, quot noctes insomnes duxerit, quot Graecorum simul ac Latinorum in omni disciplinarum genere volumina evolverit, tum propter multarum rerum ac reconditarum in hoc poeta varietatem, quarum etiam vocabula vix aut nullo modo intelligi poterant, tum propter magnitudinem errorum, quos emendare fere supra vires hominis fuit, tum vero imprimis, quod non est in eo opere communem interpretum morem secutus. Sed ita hunc poetam exposuit, ut ne verbum quidem reliquerit intactum visusque plane fuerit non unum poetam, sed universam linguam Latinam velle interpretari.... Verum nullis precibus, nullis amicorum illecebris, quin etiam nullis conviciis adduci potuit, ut lucubrations suas in lucem proferret, emendari dumtaxat a suo ceteros codices passus est, plura etiam loca cognitu difficultia quaerentibus aperuit, edere commentarios noluit. Cuius consilii sui rationes afferebat huiusmodi: si opus ederet, non defuturos, qui se reprehenderent, quod iam et aetate grandior et dignitate pontifex ad studia poetarum, a quibus ante vigesimum annum sese ad caelestem philosophiam transtulerat, nunc temere videretur reversus, tum multa esse apud hunc poetam vulgi iudicio obscena, quae interpretari pontificem indecens putaretur Inter haec plerique adolescentes ardentissimo mecum amore coniuncti certatim me adeunt, alii dissimulanter et furtim, alii simpliciter libereque hortantes, ne amplius tot hominum desideria protrahi sinerem, ederem ipse commentarios, vel volente patruo vel invito, audisse se a præceptoribus suis, nihil fieri aut studiosis utilius aut eruditis gratius aut Latinae linguae commodius posse. Si tantum a me beneficium consequantur, omnes mihi ob-

noxios perpetuo futuros. Vix possem exprimere, quo statim ardore flagraverim id opus edendi. Subreptis itaque mox ex bibliotheca patrui commentariis coepi clam legere, quae notaverat, ubi quantum dii boni rerum? quantum verborum? quantum vetustatis? quae interpretationes vocabulorum? quae explicatio elegantiae ac proprietatis Latinae linguae? quae fabularum monumenta? quae lumina historiarum? quae dignitas exemplorum atque maiestas? Certe non liber mihi, sed thesaurus quidam visus est optimarum in omni genere rerum ac reconditarum Quid plura? Accinxii me statim operi, et quanto potui studio, labore, vigilantia ab illo ubicunque notata excerpti, in ordinemque redegi, nihil aut fere de meo addidi praeterquam quod loca quaedam, quae ille, quoniam impuritate quadam atque obscenitate verborum castis ac pudicis auribus execrabilia viderentur, cursim breviterque tetigerit, ipse latius exposui, nihil tam foedum esse existimans, quod non turpissimum sit ignorare. Ita praeterea opus digessi, ut si quis sola huius poetae interpretatione contentus esse velit, deterri libri magnitudine non possit, habent enim singula quaeque epigrammata sententiam suam in principio summatim expressam [Expl.]: O felix atque iterum felix liber! Sed utinam mihi, Federice Princeps, una cum suavissimo patruo meo felicitate ista perfrui aliquando liceret. Vale Princeps mitissime.

Brevis commemoratio vitae M. Valerii Martialis. [Inc.]: Valerius in Hispania Bilbili nobili Celtiberiae oppido natus est, patre Frontone, matre Flacilla. Venit ad urbem Romam studiorum gratia.... [Expl.]: Librum hunc epigrammaton eo ordine scripsit, quo in praesentia legitur, primis epigrammatibus exceptis, in quibus spectacula et ludos sui temporis describit. Haec in antiquis codicibus non reperiuntur, haud tamen dubium est, Martialis esse.

Commentary. [Inc.]: De Amphitheatro epigramma primum. *Barbara pyramidum*] Blanditur Domitiano, quod Amphitheatum eius praeclara totius orbis aedifica operis magnitudine rumperet. *Barbara* (Spect. I,1)]

Fera, inculta moribus. Barbari ab initio dicti sunt factio nomine, qui dure atque aspere loquebantur, quemadmodum blaesos etiam balbosque dicimus, qui lingua impediti sunt. Unde balbutire est cum quadam linguae confusione trepidare. *Cicero* [sc. Tusc. 5,75]: “me quidem auctore etiam Peripatetici veteresque Academicci balbutire aliquando desinant” [Expl.]: Ad Caedicianum Epigr. CXLVII. *Cui legisse satis* (Epigr. I,118) Lepidum simul ac gravitatis plenum distichon quo primum claudit librum. Qui, inquit, plus quam centum epigrammatibus a nobis reprehensum sese a vitiis non retraxit, nullus illi erit male agendi modus. *Centum*] finitus numerus pro infinito, nam supra centum epigrammata primo libro continentur. *Nil mali satis est*] Numquam a vitiis recedet.

Epilogue. [Inc.]: Habes, Federice Princeps, interpretationem primi libri, quod est universi operis et totius fere Latinae linguae dimidium. Tot enim ac tanta et tam varia hoc uno libro explicata sunt, ut aliquanto minus sit id omne, quod superest. In quo animadvertere facile erit, quot et quanti essent, in quibus antehac versabamur, errores, quam multa forent a clarissimis etiam Latinae linguae auctoribus per ignorantiam rerum ac vocabulorum falso exposita, quam multa ob nimiam difficultatem praeterita ac prorsus omissa. Nos enim famae omnium parcimus nec aliter ea iudicamus. Diligentis lectoris officium erit, aliorum scripta cum nostris conferre. Quod si quando a nobis alicubi quicquam praeteritum videbitur, quod dici eo loco commode potuisse, nolim desperet lector id alio loco se non minus capte commodeque lecturum. Si vero aliqua bis tertioque nonnumquam a nobis repetita videbuntur, id quoque quisquis diligenter animadvertisat non sine causa a nobis factum intelliget nec inculcatum quicquam, sed necessario aliquando replicatum iudicabit. Verum tu quidem, Federice Princeps, quamvis in praesentia Thuscos domas et rebellantes Romanae Ecclesiae populos iugum ferre compellis, non desinis tamen nos subinde hortari, ut reliqua prosequamur, quod certe libenter facimus, ut omnes

non modo tuis armis ac viribus Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae imperium auctum, sed sacram etiam Romanam linguam te imperatore, te duce illustratam locupletemque cognoscant.

Manuscript:

(micro) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb.lat.301, s.XV, 671 fols. Dedicatory copy, which was sent to Frederic Duke of Urbino somewhere around 1478; with autograph glosses of Perotti. (Stornaiolo I 269; Giovanni Mercati, *Per la cronologia della Vita e degli Scritti di Niccolò Perotti arcivescovo di Siponto* [Studi e Testi 44, Roma, 1929] 120 sq.).

Editions.

1489, May 14, Venetiis (Venice): Paganinus de Paganinis Brixensis. H 12697; BMC 5.455; Indice Generale 7419; Goff P 288. BM; (DLC).

(*) 1490, May 30, Venetiis (Venice): Bernardinus de Choris de Cremona and Simon de Luero (Lovere). H 12699; BMC 5.464; Indice Generale 7420; Goff P 289. BM; (Walters Art Gallery).

(*) 1490, Oct.19, Venetiis (Venice): Baptista de Tortis. HC 12698; BMC 5.326; Indice Generale 7421; Goff P 290. BM; (CtY).

(*) 1492, May 25, Venetiis (Venice): Bernardinus de Choris de Cremona. HCR 12700; BMC 5.466; Indice Generale 7422; Goff P 291. BM; (CtY; MH).

1494, March 27, Venetiis (Venice): Philippus de Pinzis. H 12701; Indice Generale 7423; Goff P 292. (DLC; MH).

(*) 1494, May 12, Venetiis (Venice): Dionysius de Bertochis de Bononia. HCR 12702; BMC 5.489; Indice Generale 7424; Goff P 293. BM; (MH).

1496, Apr.23, Parisiis (Paris): Ulrich Gering and Berthold Rembolt. HC 12703; Polain (B) 3050; Indice Generale 7425; Goff P 294. (CSmH).

(*) 1496, Dec.20, Venetiis (Venice): Iohannes Tacuinus de Tridino. H 12704; BMC 5.531; Indice Generale 7426; Goff P 295. BM; (CtY; DLC).

(*) 1498, Nov.3, Mediolani (Milan): Ul-

ricus Scinzenzeler. H 12705; BMC 6.774; Indice Generale 7427. BM.

1499, July, Venetiis (Venice): Aldus Manutius. H 12706; BMC 5.561; Indice Generale 7428; Goff P 296; Renouard, *Alde I* 44-47. BM; (DLC; CtY).

1500, Apr.30, Parisiis (Paris): Ulricus Gering and Bertholdus Remboldt (Rembolt). HC 12707; Polain 9047; Goff P 297. (PSt)

(*) 1501, Lugduni (Lyons): Jacques Maillet. Panzer VII 275.1; Schweiger II 604; Graesse 5.205; Baudrier 12, 455-457; NUC. (MH)

(*) 1501, Venetiis (Venice): Ioannes de Tridino. Panzer VIII 340.34; NUC. (IU; ICN).

(*) 1502, Mediolani (Milan): G. Angelo Scinzenzeler. Luigi Balsamo, *Giovann'Angelo Scinzenzeler. Tipografo in Milano (1500-1526)* [Biblioteca Bibliografica Italica 20, Firenze, 1959] 17; NUC. (RPJCB).

(*) 1504, Parisiis (Paris): Ulrich Gering and Berthold Rembolt. Text and Commentary. BM.

1504, Venetiis (Venice): Iohannes de Tridino. Schweiger II 604; Graesse 5.205; NUC. (MnCS).

(*) 1505, Parisiis (Paris): U. Gering and B. Rembolt. BN.

1506, Argentinae (Strasbourg): Iohannes Prüss. Panzer VI 341.68; Schweiger II 604; Graesse 5.205; NUC. BM; (CtY-M).

(*) 1506, Mediolani (Milan): Iohannes Maria de Ferrariis. Panzer VII 383.47; Schweiger II 604; Adams P 719.

(*) 1507, Mediolani (Milan): Ioannes Maria de Ferrariis. NUC. (DLC).

(*) 1507, Parisiis (Paris): U. Gering and B. Rembolt. Schweiger II 604; National Library of Scotland 282.

(*) 1508, Venetiis (Venice): I. de Tridino. BM.

(*) 1510, Mediolani (Milan): G. Angelo Scinzenzeler; reprint of ed. 1502. Balsamo, *Giovann'Angelo Scinzenzeler* 83.

(*) 1510, Parisiis (Paris): U. Gering and B. Rembolt. Panzer VII 542.367; Schweiger II 604; Graesse 5.205.

(*) 1513, Venetiis (Venice): Aldus Manutius. The editions of Aldus contain

henceforth also texts of Terentius Varro, Pompeius Festus, Nonius Marcellus, and others. Renouard, *Alde* I 151 sq.; Adams P 720; NUC. BM; BN; (MiD; NcU).

(*) 1514, Parisiis (Paris): B. Rembolt. NUC. BM; (CtY; NNC).

(*) 1517, Venetiis (Venice): Aldus Manutius. Renouard, *Alde* I 190; NUC; Adams P 721. BM, (CtY; MH).

1521, Basileae (Basel): Andreas Cratander. Panzer VI 229. 412; Schweiger II 604; Adams P 722; NUC. (MH).

1522. Thusculani (Toscolani, Lago di Como): Alessandro Paganini; reprint of the Aldine edition. Adams P 723. BM; BN.

1526, Basileae (Basel): Valentinus Curio. Adams P 724; NUC. BM; BN; (IU; NjP).

(*) 1527, Venetiis (Venice): Aldus Manutius and Andreas Asulanus. NUC; Adams P 725 sq. BM; BN. (CtY; MH).

(*) 1532, Basileae (Basel): Valentinus Curio. NUC; Adams P 727. BN; (CSmH)

(*) 1532, Thusculani (Toscolani, Lago di Como): Alessandro Paganini. Schweiger II 604; Graesse 5.205.

(*) [1533, Thusculani (Toscolani, Lago di Como)]. NUC. (PU).

1536, Basileae (Basel): Valderus. Panzer VI 315.1087; Schweiger II 604; NUC. (MH).

Doubtful or rejected editions.

1494, Parisiis (Paris): Ulrich Gering and Berthold Rembolt. Graesse 5.205; Brunet 4.506, who both say that this was the first Paris edition in which Greek letters were used.

1507, Mediolani (Milan): Leonard Pachel. Balsamo, *Giovann'Angelo Scinzenzeler* 20.

1512, Mediolani (Milan): Leonardus Vegius. Schweiger II 604.

1513, Mediolani (Milan): Leonardus Vegius. Panzer VII 391.115.

1526, Venetiis (Venice): Aldus Manutius. Panzer VIII 496.1334.

1528, Parisiis (Paris): Nicolas Saretier. Panzer VIII 117.1732.

1529, Parisiis (Paris): Jean Petit. Panzer VIII 120.1773.

Biography:

See CTC III.

6. ANGELUS POLITIANUS

Poliziano probably started a commentary of the whole corpus of Martial's epigrams somewhere around 1490, since we find on f.284^{r-v} of Cod. Monac. lat. 754, which is mainly *Collectanea in enarrationem Fastorum Ovidii*, the autograph remnants or beginnings of such a commentary. Perhaps the Munich manuscript is the beginning, a so-called *praelectio*, of a university course on Martial, whose manuscript was never finished for reasons which are unknown to us. Also in other works Poliziano explained many difficult or obscure epigrams. These observations are mainly printed in the two *Centuriae Miscellaneorum*. Whereas the *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* was edited for the first time in Florence in 1489 and contains eight special chapters on Martial (6, 15, 22, 23, 51, 52, 56, 96) which were used frequently by later commentators, the *Centuria secunda* was rediscovered only recently (ed. Firenze, 1972, 4 vols.) and consequently exercised no influence during the Renaissance, although it does contain several chapters on Martial (4, 8, 10, 13, 15, 20, 27, 28, 29, 30, 35, 48, 59).

Commentary. (Cod. Monac. lat. 754, f.284^{r-v}) *Commentum in Martialis lib.de Spectaculis 1.1. [Inc.]: Barbara (Spect.I,1)]* Seneca in libro ad Serenum *De Tranquillitate animi* (wrong: *De consol.ad Polybium* I,1) “septem illa miracula, et si qua his multo mirabiliora consequentium annorum exstruxit ambitio alia solo aequata visentur”. *Memphis*] Plinius libro V. cap.X (mod.ed. *Nat.Hist.* V,9) de praefecturis idest nomis agens, in quas dividitur Aegyptus: “Arsinoiteae duo sunt, hi et Memphis usque ad summum delta perveniunt”, et deinde ait: “Inter Arsinoiten autem et Memphiten lacus fuit circuitu CCL m.p. aut, ut Mucianus tradit, 450 m. et altitudinis 50 p., manufactus, a rege qui fecerat Moeridis appellatus”.../... [Expl.]: De hoc templo Plinius libro V cap.30 (mod.ed. *Nat.Hist.* V,29), iterum libro 36 cap.12 (mod.ed. XXXVI,14); Solinus 294 (mod.ed. cap.40,1). Quae de multimammiis scribit Hieronymus,

habes in prima pagina nostri Martialis (*Misc.* I, 51). Quae de pompa Ephesi scribit Xenophon Ephesius, habes in nostris observationibus. Suidas: “Ἐφέσια γράμματα ἐπωδαὶ τίνες δυσπαραχολούθητοι ἀσ καὶ Κροῖσον ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Μιλήσιου καὶ Ἐφεσίου παλαιόντων, τὸν Μιλήσιον μὴ δύνασθαι παλαιεῖν διὰ τὸ τὸν ἔτερον περὶ τῷ ἀστραγάλῳ (*Misc.* LI) ἔχειν τὰ Ἐφέσια γράμματα. φανεροῦ δὲ γενομένου καὶ λυθέντων αὐτῶν τριάχοντα τὸ ἔξης πεσεῖν τὸν Ἐφεσίον. *De Epheso libro 14 st. 60(?)*. . . .

Manuscript.

(micro) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Monac. lat. 754, a. 1481 sq., 243 fols. (*Catal. CLM* I, 1 [1868] 144, which ascribes this manuscript erroneously to Petrus Crinitus; Ida Maier, *Les manuscrits d'Ange Politien. Catalogue descriptif. Avec dix-neuf documents inédits en appendice* [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance LXX, Genève, 1965] 207).

Biography:

See CTC I, 133, 225. Add to Bibliography: Ida Maier, *Ange Politien. La formation d'un poète humaniste (1469-1480)* [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance LXXXI, Genève, 1966]; Alfons Waschbüsch, *Polizian. Ein Beitrag zur Philosophie des Humanismus* (Humanistische Bibliothek III, 1, München 1972); Angelo Poliziano, *Miscellaneorum Centuria secunda*, edizione critica per cura di V. Branca e M. Pastore Stocchi, 4 vols. (Firenze, 1972); A. C. Casso, ‘Le note del Poliziano all’ “Antologia Greca”, *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* XVI (1973) 272-287.

7. IACOBUS MICYLLUS

In 1527 the Basel printer Johannes Herwagen set up his printing-office as the successor of Johannes Froben, and tried to gain a good reputation as an able printer by editing the thoroughly revised texts of classical authors. When planning to edit Martial, he asked his old friend Iacobus Micyllus, by then professor of Greek in Heidelberg, who had worked for him before, to comment

upon this author and to take care of the edition. Micyllus had no deep knowledge of Martial, since he had only excerpted Calderini's commentary. So he offered these notes to Herwagen which were followed up with Poliziano's remarks. Micyllus defends Calderini against possible critics, but says nevertheless that he would have preferred to base his commentary on Poliziano's *praelectiones*, which he believes to be lost or perhaps suppressed by those concerned for their own reputations. As far as we know, there is no special *praelectio* of Poliziano dealing with Martial, but there are only the letters, the *Miscellanea*, and a very short rudimentary commentary (see p. 271 above). Micyllus' commentary is dedicated to a certain Martin Siegel, who could not be identified among the learned friends of Micyllus. Micyllus' commentary, which he himself calls most correctly *scholia*, depends almost entirely on Calderini and consequently offers no new insights concerning Martial.

Dedication. (ed. of Basel, 1536) Martino Sigellio Lottariensi, civitatis Francofortensis archigrammateo, viro optimo doctissimoque, Iacobus Micyllus Argentinensis S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: Cum amicus noster singularis ac prope unicus Io. Hervagius inter ceteros auctores, quibus ille edendis ac illustrandis officinam suam dedicavit, nuper Martiale quoque poetam sub ora hominum emissurus esset, postulavit pro veteri ac mutua inter nos coniunctione a me, ut si quid, quod in illo aliquando annotassem, haberem, hoc illustrando illi adiciendum nunc darem. Quamquam igitur nihil adeo praeter pauca quaedam ex commentationibus Domitii decerpta atque descripta haberem, eaque ut non omnia, ita pleraque tum ad ipsum auctorem plenius ac rectius intelligendum, praesertim rudibus et qui absque interprete, ut plerumque hoc tempore multi solent, ad legendos cum poetas, tum alios scriptores, feruntur, conducibilia, et quasi πρὸ ἐργον futura esse putarem qualiacumque illa adicere, in eoque famae periculum obire malui, quam amico petenti quicquam denegare. Et quia idem olim tua maxime opera in commentationes illas incidi, arbitratus sum,

pro meo officio facturum esse me, si vicissim nostram hanc quantulamcumque operam tibi inscriberem atque hanc quasi quandam gratiam tibi referrem . . . Sed quid tu, inquis, illumne obsoletum ac putidum Calderinum mihi? qui toties non modo a suis hominibus, verum passim ab omnibus exsibilatus atque explosus est? Evidem satis scio a multis illum odiose adeo concerptum ac lacinatum quodammodo esse, multa item scripsisse illum, ob quae non immerito reprehendi possit. Verum ita res habet, facile est in alieno scripto ingeniosum esse ac citius plerique videmus, quid alii male quam ut ipsi recte faciamus. Neque hoc illi nunc primo accidit, verum doctissimis quibusque semper infesta fuit aemulatio . . . [Expl.]: Quamquam equidem nec ipse Domitii omnia probo, eoque etiam illa solum annotavi, quae vel aliorum auctoritate confirmata erant, vel saltem rationibus probabilia videbantur. Quibus et nomen ipsius ob id apposuimus, ne quis interpretatione aut auctoritate falli posset. Utinam autem Politiani praelectiones, quarum ipse in epistolis alibi mentionem facit, exstant, quas tanto certe praestantiores ac meliores futuras fuisse opinor, quanto vir ille in omni scientiarum genere omnibus plus semper elaboravit. Sed quia illae vel iniuria temporum perierunt, vel etiam, ut pleraque alia eius viri quorundam aemulatione atque invidia suppressae iacent, Domitii istis interim contenti sumus, qui certe ut non omnia acu adeo, quod dici solet, tetigerit plerisque tamen locis aliorum collatione lucem intulit. His igitur pauca alicubi de meo quoque adieci, quae tamen etiam ipsa eiusmodi sunt, ut non nisi certis auctoribus nitantur. Nam caetera, quae neque Domitii annotationibus neque aliorum collatione certo satis deprehendi poterant, quae tamen admodum pauca restant, ea notanda potius doctiorumque iudicio relinquenda, quam male exponendo maiori obscuritate involvenda esse putavi. Quod si vero neque sic per omnia proposito nostro satisfactum videbitur, ingenii nostri exiguitati adscribas illud licet, per quam non potuimus quae voluimus tam accurate ubique, quam debuimus, omnia intueri.

Tametsi ipsa quoque operis conditio in parte aliqua defendere hic nos merito debet, neque enim commentaria, sed parva quaedam scholia dare propositum nobis fuit. Quae quidem, ut doctioribus vobis et in his nostris studiis proiectioribus non multum addere possunt, ita rudioribus tamen et qui nuper a primis illis elementis progressi, ad ulteriora viam adhuc parant, quibus ipse hic sub tuo nomine ac titulo commodare volui, ad legendum tuum atque huius similes poetas non omnino inutilia atque ingrata fore confido. Vale. Ex Heydelberga pridie Idus Decemb. Anno MDXXXV.

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Barbara* (Spect. I, 1)] De hoc Tranquillus in Vespasiano; videtur autem Domitiano tribuere, quod patris ac fratri opus fuerat. *cornibus ara frequens* ὁ κεράτιος βωμὸς de quo Callimachus in hymnis (sc. *H. in Apoll.* 62 sq.) et Politianus Miscell. 52. Machinae scenicae (cf. Spect. II, 2), quarum varias species adnotavit Caelius (sc. Caelius Rhodiginus, *Lect. antiqu.*, ed. 1540, book 8, ch. 8, p. 567) li. 5 ca. 8 . . . [Expl.]: *Parma* (Epigr. XIV, 213)] Domitius ait hoc ad Agathii agilitatem esse referendum, qui ita ludebat parma, ut vix umquam illam excidentem amitteret, hocque esse quod hic vincere et vinci dicit. Porro parmam esse brevem, scutum longius, et ideo pumilioni pro scuto esse parmam utpote etiam ipsi brevi et pusillo.

Editions. 1536, Basileae (Basel): apud Ioannem Hervagium. Schweiger II 595; NUC. BM; (MiU). 1544, See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Iacobus Micyllus (Jakob Molshem, Molsheim, Moltzer) was born in Strasbourg Apr. 6 1503. He studied at Erfurt, where he became acquainted with Joachim Camerarius and Eobanus Hessus. From Erfurt he went to Wittenberg, where he got to know Melanchthon. Later he was school-master in Frankfurt a.M., where he made friends with Ioannes Agricola. Micyllus was famous as a neo-Latin poet and as a reformer. In 1533 he succeeded Symon Grynaeus as professor of Greek in Heidelberg (until 1537), then went back to his former school in Frankfurt, for which he developed new cur-

ricula. In 1547 he was called to teach again at Heidelberg University. He d. in Heidelberg Jan. 28 1558. He had as pupils Joh. Fichard and Petrus Lotichius Secundus.

Works: Editions of Euripides, Hyginus, Lucan, Lucian, Ovidius, Terentianus, he translated Tacitus (*Annales, Germania*) into German, and together with his friend Camerarius, Homer into Latin (*Ilias* and *Odyssey*), he revised Melanchthon's Latin Grammar of 1540, and wrote a treatise *De re metrica*.

Bibl.: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* XXI 704–708 (Brecher); C. Grente, *Dictionnaire, Seizième Siècle* 514; Jöcher III 524 sq.; Schottenloher 15655–15663, 57058; Joannes Fridericus Hautz, *Jacobus Micyllus Argentoratensis, philologus et poeta, Heidelbergae et Rupertinae Universitatis olim decus. Commentatio historico-literaria* (Heidelbergae, 1842); Johannes Classen, *Jacob Micyllus. Rector zu Frankfurt a.M. 1524–1533 und 1537–1547 als Schulmann, Dichter und Gelehrter* (Frankfurt a.M., 1858); Johannes Classen, *Nachträge zu der Biographie des Jacob Micyllus* (Schulprogramm des Gymnasiums Frankfurt a.M., 1861); Otto Clemen, 'Des Jakob Micyllus Elegia de sua migratione in Academiam Edelbergensem', *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte* 45 (1926/27) 409–412; Otto Clemen, 'Zu Jakob Micyllus', *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* (1941) 1–12; Georg Ellinger, 'Jakob Micyllus und Joachim Camerarius. Zwei neulateinische Dichter', *Neue Jahrb.f.Pädagogik* 12 (1909) 150–173; Georg Ellinger, 'Apelles in Agypten. Eine lat. Schulkomödie aus dem 16.Jh. von Jacobus Micyllus, dt.von Theod.Vulpinus', *Jb.f. Geschichte, Sprache und Litteratur Elsaß-Lothringens* 16 (1900) 211–256.

8. CONRADUS GESNERUS

The only edition of this commentary appeared in 1544. In his preface which is addressed to Felix Frey (Liberius; d. 1555), Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), Kaspar Grossmann (Megander; 1495–1545), Rudolf Gwalter (Gualtherus; 1519–1586),

Erasmus Schmid (Fabricius; d. 1547), all of them friends of Zwingli and Calvinist dignitaries of the Zurich minster ("Grossmünster"), Gesner says that he has chosen for his edition only the innocuous epigrams, because reading the whole corpus of the epigrams could easily do harm to the reader, especially to a young one. Furthermore he declares, that after this expurgatory work he does not want to retain the original arrangement of the epigrams which he hence divides into 85 thematical groups. After having presented this selection from the epigrams (p.1–308) Gesner comments on Martial (p.310–353); his commentary is based upon the marginal scholia of Iacobus Micyllus (ed.1536) which are revised, amplified, and adapted to Gesner's own numeration of the epigrams. At the end (p.354–426) Gesner publishes three pedagogic dialogues, in which "Demea Syrum paedagogum obiurgat, quod is Aeschinum filium suum, quem ipse Mitioni fratri adoptandum dederat, Martialis epigrammata doceret. In secundo eandem ob causam fratrem invehitur, et ad summi iudicis Rhadamanthi tribunal eum vocat. In tertio Demea pro tribunali multis rationibus ostendit, cum omne genus obscenum scriptorum, tum epigrammata Martialis maxime prorsus e medio tollenda, sic ut nihilo eorum reliquum fiat", the aim of which it is to show, once more, Martial's moral dangerousness and harmfulness. Gesner's commentary has not been reprinted.

Dedication (ed. of Zurich, 1544). Clarissimis viris DD. Felici Fry Tigurino Praeposito, et Heinrycho Bullingero, Gaspari Megandro, Erasmo Fabritio, Rodolpho Gualthero, divini verbi paeconibus, ac reliquis divinae et humanae sapientiae in tribus linguis professoribus patronis ac paeceptoribus observandis Conradus Gesnerus S.D.P. [Inc.]: Posteaquam adolescens ego quondam, patroni observandi, Graecae et Latinae linguae rudimenta, vestro quidem beneficio, consequutus utcumque mihi videbar, statim ad poetiken animum applicare coepi, cui dum avidius incumberem, forte in Martialis epigrammata incidi, eorumque lectione saepius quam par erat me oblectavi.

Hinc adeo factum est, ut in poesi quidem, et Latini sermonis notitia profecerim aliquantulum, at melioris rerum sententiarumque cognitionis vice, quibus ingenium puerile instrui decebat, multis et variis vitiorum generibus cognitis, quibus illud poetae saeculum laborabat, animum inquinaverim Resecui enim et abieci quicquid inerat foedioris argumenti, quicquid dishonestum, turpe, obscenum, nefandum, monstrosum, aut quod ullo modo indecori quicquam cogitandi occasionem rudibus legentium animis exhiberet. Itaque alias epigrammata integra abolevi, vel quia nihil sani aut sacri, ut aiunt, usquam continerent, vel propter unum aut alterum versum, totidemve dictiones improbi sensus, alias partem solum aliquam recidi, ne quid inde vitii sano corpori contraheretur, si modo nihiloccius integra sententia relinquvi videretur. Et ne iis quidem pepercisti, quae etiam leviter lasciva videri poterant, ut puerorum ratio accuratissima haberetur. Nec parum sane laboris atque temporis in hoc negotio mihi absumptum est, legenda fuerunt omnia et plurimi loci obscuri diligenter expendendi, ne quid forte turpius clam me subterfugeret. Iстis igitur separatis, et veluti Augiae stabulo iam repurgato, reliqua non ut fors ferebat temere denuo in unum librum redigere volui, sed per locos aliquot communes omnia distinxi, sic ut non solum haberent linguae Latinae candidati, unde puram eius copiam ceu ex limpido fonte haurirent, sed quaelibet ab eis in promptu insuper reperiri possent [Expl.]: Quamobrem oro et obsecro vos, colendissimi domini, patres ac praeceptores piissimi, ut hoc qualecumque gratitudinis erga vos debitae monumentum candide interpretemini, ac vultu sereno, qui vester ubique ingenuus candor est, libenter suscipiatis, quod eo facilius de humanitate vestra mihi polliceor, quoniam nulla umquam in re hactenus exspectationem meam estis frustrati. Valete, ac vivite in ecclesiae Christianae commoditatem et gloriam diu incolumes. Tiguri Nonis Martiis Anno Salutis 1544.

Preface. Ad Lectorem. [Inc.]: Iacobus Micyllus Argentinensis homo doctus, ante

annos aliquot in gratiam typographi, ut ipse ait, scholia quaedam marginibus epigrammatum Martialis adiecit, quae nos inde continua serie describi et huc in finem apponi curavimus. Videbatur enim ad elegantiam libri facere, si margines vacarent et insuper ad commoditatem illis, qui aliquid adnotare vellent. Sed cum epigrammata multa partim integra, partim eorum partes obelisco notata reiecerimus, super iisdem quoque Micylli annotationes, si quae fuerunt, omissae sunt. Ceterum, ut intelligat lector, qualia sint haec scholia, ex ipsius epistola nuncupatoria rem indicabimus. Pleraque igitur, inquit, ex Domitii Calderini commentationibus decerpta esse [Expl.]: ea notanda potius doctiorumque iudicio relinquenda, quam male exponendo maiori obscuritate involvenda putavi." (See p. 273 above)

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Amphitheatrum* (Spect. I,1) De hoc Tranquillus in Vespasiano. Videtur autem Domitiano tribuere, quod patris ac fratri opus fuerat. *Cornibus ara frequens* (Spect. I,4): ὁ κεράτιος βωμὸς, de quo Callimachus in Hymnis et Politianus Misc.52 [Expl.]: *Annua legavit* (Epigr.IX,8 [9]) quoniam ea non amplius expendes illo mortuo; *licuit iugulare tibi?* (Epigr.III,99,4) scilicet dando gladiatores, qui se mutuo iugularent, ut supra legitur.

Edition:

1544. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See CTC II, 307.

9. JOHANNES BRODAEUS

In 1555 Brodeau's *Miscellaneorum sex, in quibus praeter alia scitu dignissima, plurimi optimorum auctorum tam Latinorum quam Graecorum loci, vel depravati hactenus restituuntur, vel multo quam antea a quoquam est factum, rectius explicantur* were published in Basel (Iohannes Oporinus). Though only two main chapters are dedicated to Martial (IV,9 and VI,29), he is nevertheless quoted several times in other paragraphs. In 1604 Ianus Gruterus published four other books of Brodeau's *Miscellanea*, numbered VII-X, *Miscellaneorum pars*

secunda nunquam hactenus excusa, promta e Bibliotheca V.C.P. Petavi, Christianissimi Gallorum Regis a consiliis, which he inserted into his meritorious series of philological dissertations, entitled *Lampas, sive fax artium liberalium, hoc est thesaurus criticus...* (Francofurti, ex collegio Paltheniano, 1604, p. 71-84). The above-mentioned Paul Petau (1568-1614) was a wealthy man who possessed a rich collection of rare books and manuscripts, many of which after his death were sold by his son Alexander to Christina, Queen of Sweden, and are now preserved in the Vatican Library. As long as Petau lived, he made his treasures accessible to any interested scholar, but we do not know whether Gruter contacted him personally. In book X, ch. 22-36 of Brodeau's *Miscellanea* (ed. 1604) we find a short commentary on Martial's epigrams, where Brodeau discusses textual versions and emendations. In his edition of 1619 Scrivenerius inserted the annotations of the old *Miscellanea* I to VI into this commentary from book X, and he printed it as an independent work.

Commentary. (ed. of Leiden, 1618-19) [Inc.]: *Assiduus iactet (Spect. I,2)*] Malim cum Alciato legere, *Assyrius. Nec Babylon* Moenia Babylonica, aut pensiles Babylonis hortos. *Molles honores*] Hoc recte explicat Georgius Merula, et illud, *Cornibus ara frequens*] Politianus cap. *Miscellan.* LII ... / ... [Expl.]: *Callida cum tacita crescit arundo manu (Epigr. XIV, 216)*] Silius Italicus lib. VII "Sublimem sequitur calamo crescent volucrem." Quod enarrat Basilius εἰς τὴν ἐξαήμερον ὥμιλίᾳ 10: Εἴδες ποτε ἐπ' ἄρκον κλάδου καθεξομένον ... κλέψαντα τὸν ἵξον τὴν παρουσιάν et reliqua (mod. ed. *De hominis structura oratio* I, PG 30 col. 24, as the εἰς τὴν ἐξαήμερον consists only of nine homilies).

Edition:

1619, See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Johannes Brodaeus (Jean Brodeau) was born at Tours about the year 1500, the famous poet Victor Brodeau being his younger brother. He studied law at Bourges, where Alciatus was his teacher; later

on he changed to mathematics, Classics, and Hebrew. Then he went to Venice and Rome, where he made friends with Sadolet, Bembo, and the Manutius family. He died at Tours 1563.

Works: *Epigrammatum Graecorum libri VII* (1549); *Epigrammaton Graecorum annotationibus J. Brodae necnon V. Obsopaei ... libri VII* (1600); *Annotationes in Oppiani cynegeticon libros* (1552); commentaries on Euripides (1558, 1562), Xenophon (1559), and Lucian.

Bibl.: Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la Littérature Française du XVI^e Siècle* 159; *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* 7.393 (M. Prévost); Ersch-Gruber I, 13 76 (not very reliable).

10. ADRIANUS IUNIUS

While staying in England, Iunius had prepared an edition of Martial's epigrams with the aid of an old manuscript found there. He had given his material to the Basel printer Petrus Perna, who published the Martial in 1559, but, as Iunius says, "ea res Mandrabuli in morem successit". In 1568 this edition was revised and looked after by Iunius himself, who took special care over the marginal glosses, which consist partly of *variae lectiones*, partly of references to classical authors. These glosses were enlarged by some remarks of Theodorus Pulmannus ("Annotationes Hadri. Iunii hoc signum * habent praefixum. Quae vero tali notantur signo +, a Theodoro Pulmanno sunt adiectae."), who had lent a Martial manuscript to Iunius, where these remarks were found on the margin. This edition was reprinted several times. In each edition eight new Martial epigrams were added (at the end of the *Liber Spectaculorum* and of book VII), which Iunius believed to be authentic, but whose spuriousness Scrivenerius proved some time later. The Iunius text was the base of some other editions, e. g. 1584 by Gryphius, but in these the scholia were missing.

Dedication. (ed. of Antwerp, 1568) *Natalibus et eruditione claro iuveni Iano*

Doezae a Noortwiick suo Hadrianus Iunius S.D. [Inc.]: Nactus olim ante annos complures, Doeza generosissime, lepidissimi poetae pervetustum ex abdito τῶν Βιβλιοτάφων specu in Anglia erutum exemplar, cum se mihi valde probasset ob lectionis varietatem et sententiarum argutiam, multorum hortatu excitatus ad editionem, qui non parvum inde operaे pretium augurabantur, accinxeram me tum quidem illi operi, et, ut acceptius foret, illustrandis obscurioribus locis et impeditioribus adnotiunculas, vice Ariadnaei fili futuras, adieceram, consilio non alio, quam ut asserenda lectionis veritati via muniretur; nam imperitiam scholiastarum flagellare numquam fruit animus. Istum laborem, ingratias meis tum temporis Pernae cuidam in manus dederam ea lege, ut quam posset accuratissime excudendum curaret: verum ea res Mandrabuli in morem successit, nam praeterquam quod nomen meum oblivione obruerit, mendis infinitis librum resperserat, quod ipsum non ita pridem oblato fortuito exemplari et percurso a me intellectum fuit, visumque non abs re fore, si saxum illud Sisipheum denuo occuparem. Proinde ne iaceret ita conspurcatus liber, postliminii iure in manus receptum perpolvi diligentius nitoremque illi maiorem induxi, ne mangonis, ut ita dicam, illum sui puderet. Hanc operam, ne patrocinio iusto fraudaretur, tibi, Doeza doctissime, nuncupandam esse duxi . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Sed sapientis viri est, cum prudentissimo Ulysse, obturatis aurium meatibus vel obstructis oculorum fenestrīs, tumultuaria lectione cursum, quasi Nilum canis, Sireneas spurcīas vel praeterire vel dissimulare, ne quid in animum quod nolis illabatur. Qua in re ut es longe dexterimus, ita tuo exemplo idem alios factitare optarim. Vale, tuique Iunii conatibus fave et defendendos suscipe. Harlemo Kal. Iuliis mihi natalibus (1568).

Preface. Ad lectorem Hadrianus Iunius. [Inc.]: Ne sis inscius, benigne lector, quid in hisce epigrammatarii libris toties iam recusis praestitum sit, id latere te nolim, praeter epigrammatum aliquot accessionem de manuscripto exemplari Anglicano . . .

vetustae lectionis fidem me indicasse . . . Nonnulla seorsum e Pulmanni, accuratissimi laboriosissimique viri, codicis, quem ad me miserat, fide adnotavi; servata etiam est simili ratione Gallicanorum aliorumque codicum ratio . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Plurimis quoque locis per adnotiunculas meas, aut alienarum indicia lucem dare conatus sum. His candide tibi communicatis fruere et fave.

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Epigramma I. Barbara Pyramidum (Spect. I, 1)*] Vide Turneb. lib. 17 cap. 2. *Assiduus*] *Assyrius Alciatus legit. *cornibus*] *κερατίνος (ed. κερατίνδος) βωμός. De qua Laerti. Callimach. Iun. anim. lib. I cap. 21. Epigr. 3. *Et Cilices*] Cilico Coryciove Croco. +Vide Turneb. 1.17 c. 2 . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Epigr. 221 Craticula* (Epigr. XIV, 22)] +Craticula absque veru. Turneb. 1.9 c. 24. Epigr. 222 *Mille*] *v. Melle. *Exstruit*] *v. Exstruet. Epigr. 223 *Ientacula*] +Ientacula adipata. Turneb. 1.9 c. 24. *pueris*] *pueri, Calepinus.

Editions:

1559, Basileae (Basel): Petrus Perna. Schweiger II 596; Graesse 4.424; Schneidewin XXXVIII.

1568, Antverpiae (Antwerp): Christophorus Plantinus. Schweiger II 596; Graesse 4.424; Schneidewin XXXIX; Degorje 152; *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600* Nr. 2056; NUC. BM; BN; (CtY; IU).

1579, Antverpiae (Antwerp): Christophorus Plantinus. Reprint of ed. 1568; the famous Langius Index is based on this edition. Schweiger II 596; *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600* Nr. 2057; NUC. BM; BN; (IU; NNC).

1595. See Composite Editions.

(*) 1600, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden): ex officina Plant. apud Fredericum Raphelengium; Reprint of ed. 1568. Schweiger II 596; Graesse 4.424; NUC. BM; (OU).

Doubtful editions.

(*) 1566, Antverpiae (Antwerp): Christophorus Plantinus. Schweiger II 596; Graesse 4.424; Schneidewin XXXVIII. (As the Imperial printing-privilege in the 1568 edition dates from 1565, these authorities might have suggested an earlier edition).

(*) 1587, Antverpiae (Antwerp): Christophorus Plantinus. Graesse 4.424.

(*) 1588, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden): ex officina Plant. apud Fredericum Raphelengium. Schweiger II 596; Graesse 4.424.

Biography:

Adrianus (Hadrianus) Junius (Adriaen de Jonghe) was born Hoorn/North Holland, July 1, 1511. He studied in Louvain, Paris, and Bologna, where he attained his doctorate in medicine on March 3 1540. Later he went to Paris and England. In 1542 he became physician in ordinary to the Duke of Norfolk and teacher of his son; 1562/63 tutor to the Danish Prince Royal and later King Christian IV. Then he went back to his homeland (1563) and became town-physician of Haarlem and at the same time head of the Haarlem grammar school. Since 1564 he was official historiographer of the States General. Haarlem being taken by Spanish troops (1573) he went to Middelburg/North Holland, where he became, once more, town-physician. He died in Armuyden, Island of Walcheren, June 16 1575, and was buried at Middelburg.

Works: He edited or commented on Dio Cassius, Eunapius, Hesychius, Iuvenalis, Lucan, Nonius Marcellus and Fulgentius Planciades, Plautus, Plutarch, Ravisius Textor, Seneca, and Virgilius Maro. Some of his works were published posthumously. He wrote a *Nomenclator: omnium rerum propria nomina* in seven languages, republished very often, a *Lexicon graeco-latinum*, and several historical works (*Batavia*).

Bibl.: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie XIV 736-737 (J. Franck); Ersch-Gruber II, 29, 86-115, 31, 449; Nicéron VII 399; Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek VII 692-694 (Brugmans); Schottenloher 9540-9544.

11. ADRIANUS TURNEBUS

In 1564 Turnèbe dedicated the first two volumes of his *Adversariorum libri* to the French Chancellor Michel de l'Hô-

pital. He calls them *observationes . . . in legendis bonis auctoribus*, that is observations on the good classical authors, which he once, as he says, had written into his notebook (*adversaria* = notebook). When Turnèbe died in 1565, only two volumes (Vol.I = books 1-12; Vol.II = books 13-24) had appeared (1564/65, Parisiis, ex officina G. Buonii). The missing third volume (books 25-30) was edited posthumously by his son Adrien the younger in 1573 (Parisiis, apud M. Iuvenem), so that the whole text was not complete before 1573. The *Adversaria* were reprinted in 1581 (Basileae, T. Guarinus), 1599 (Argentorati [Strasbourg], L. Zetzner), and twice in 1604 (Strasbourg, Zetzner, and Aureliopoli [Ingolstadt]). Among other classical authors Turnèbe had studied Martial thoroughly, and he annotated nearly half of the epigrams and gave judicious explanations of them. Petrus Scriverius rearranged these notes in the order of the epigrams in his 1619 edition, thus making them into a separate commentary (p.209-265).

Commentary. [Inc.]: Notae in Amphitheatum, *Epigr.1. Assiduus iactet nec Babylonla labor (Spect. I, 1)*] Nodosus est iste grammaticis versus, quem prima specie quis enodem (ut ita dicam) crederet? Ego ut adhuc feci, nec reprehendendis aliorum sententiis me venditare decrevi, nec immanem aggerare capitum molem ambitiosa ostentatione eruditio[n]is, commemorandis omnium sententiis....(Notae in lib. I. Praefat.) *Latine loqui fas sit]* Martialis "Latine loqui" dicit, pro simpliciter et aperte et ingenue, et sine dissimulatione et integumento verborum loqui . . . /... [Expl.]: (*Epigr. XIV*, lemmate CCXXI) *Ientacula* libri veteres *Adipata*, quibus fortasse, ut unctis et ganeatis cibis utebantur olim in ientaculo. Nescio quid huius generis etiam legisse Domitius videtur.

Edition:

1619. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See CTC I 150; II 15.

12. ANTONIUS GYPHIUS

After the death of his father Sebastianus in 1556, Antonius Gryphius became for a time the manager of the printing-office and only later went into business on his own. As he had been working for so many years in the printing-business, he had acquired a perfect knowledge of Latin. So in the first Martial edition for which he was responsible, the edition of 1567, which is revised on the basis of several manuscripts, Gryphius added a commentary of his own, which drew mainly upon Calderini, Perotti, Poliziano, and Turnebus, as well as upon other contemporary authors, who had not commented upon Martial, e.g. Budaeus, and Erasmus. In this edition, however, the epigrams are arranged in a rather arbitrary way, which perhaps reflects the order of a manuscript which Gryphius used for his work, whereas in the later editions the epigrams are arranged in the normal order. Thus we are confronted with the almost certain fact, that a printer was at the same time also the commentator of a work he printed.

Dedication. (ed. of Lyons, 1567) Typographus candido lectori. [Inc.]: Martialem lepidissimum poetam (nec enim illis assentior, qui scurram ineptum eum appellant, neque satis elegante Musa libros epigrammaton scripsisse autumant), quanta potuit fieri diligentia cum multis collatum exemplaribus, damus, una cum annotationibus quibusdam non sane vulgaribus, sed ex classicis quibusdam auctoribus excerptis. Utilitatis autem quantum allaturaer sint, ex earum lectione poteris intelligere. Breves sunt, in quibus tamen difficiliora poetae loca enodata cognosces, eandem in omnibus aliis poetis (Deo auspice) exspecta diligentiam. Vale.

Commentary. (ed. of Lyons, 1584) Adnotationes quaedam in Martialis locos aliquot difficiles, ex optimis excerptae auctoribus. [Inc.]: Hoc Amphitheatrum Suetonius in Vespasiano scribit, ab ipso Vespasiano in urbe media exstructum. Videtur igitur Domitiano tribuere, quod patris ac fratri opus fuerat. *Assiduus* (*Spect.*I,1)] alii legunt

Assyrius, quae commodior videtur lectio, verum et assiduus non absurde legi potest, ut alludatur ad Babyloniorum murorum ex-aedificationem vel potius ad celeberrimum illum hortum pensilem, quem Semiramis exstruendum curavit, qui et inter septem orbis miracula recensetur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Lentacula* (*Epigr.*XIV,223)] In veteribus libris reperitur adipata, quibus fortasse ut unctis et ganeatis cibis utebantur olim in ientaculo, nescio quid huius generis etiam leguisse Domitius videtur.

Editions:

1567, Lugduni (Lyons): Antonius Gryphius. Graesse 4.424; Schweiger II 596; Baudrier VIII,350; NUC. BM; BN. (MiU; OCU).

1584, Lugduni (Lyons): Antonius Gryphius; text of the 1568 Iunius edition; Graesse 4.424; Schweiger II 596; Baudrier VIII,390; (CtY; NNC).

(*) 1585, Lugduni (Lyons): Antonius Gryphius. Baudrier VIII,394.

(*) 1588, Lugduni (Lyons): Antonius Gryphius. Baudrier VIII,401;NUC. (IU; NIC).

Biography:

Antonius Gryphius (Greiff; Greyff) was born somewhere around 1527 as the illegitimate son of the famous German printer Sebastianus (1493–1556), and Marion Miraillet, sister of Sebastianus' spouse Françoise. In 1561 he was legitimated and thus inherited in 1565 his father's printing-office, whose manager he had been up to this year on behalf of the heirs. As the business did not flourish, he was forced to sell the "atelier d'imprimerie", and died deeply in debt at the end of 1599.

Works: No other works known.

Bibl.: Baudrier VIII, 309–342.

13. THEODORUS MARCILIUS

a) The commentary on the *Liber Spectaculorum* of 1584.

The first edition of Marcilius' commentary was published in 1584. It is dedicated to Henri Duc de Joyeuse, Comte de Bouchage (1567–1608), an outstanding and

forceful personality. A skilled soldier, he had become a Capuchin friar, named P. Ange de Joyeuse, but he left his cloister to administer his heritage, became Maréchal de France and Grand Maître de la Garderobe. In 1600 he rejoined his order; he died making a pilgrimage to Rome. It was while Bouchage was his student that Marcilius made friends with him. Marcilius comments only on the first 28 epigrams of the *Liber Spectaculorum*, which were all that were commonly included in contemporary editions. He mainly offers etymological explanations, factual definitions, and textual illustrations from other classical authors, but refers also to contemporary commentaries. His commentary was reprinted in 1593 and reedited in 1601, this time slightly revised and enlarged by a preface to the reader.

Dedication. (ed. of Paris, 1601) Illustrissimo Principi Henrico Comiti de Boschage ac Vestiario regis. [Inc.]: Magnifica potetarum de suis rebus gloriatio semper fuit, Henrice Ioviensis, comes perillus, sed una eorum pollicitatio mihi certissima videri solet, cum profitentur se fautoribus suis largiri posse nominis immortalitatem, edito in lucem et consecrato eius poemate, quo late longeque omnes orae partesque terrarum quasi tubae cantu personent, ut et vivi gloria sua perfruantur, et cum e vita discesserint, magis etiam magisque in ore vigeant, traditi hominum memoriae sempiternae . . . Parcius ac timidius haec de poetis memorarem, comes illustrissime, si ad imperitum aliquem aut agrestem dicerentur, sed novi splendidissimum ingenium tuum, teque his studiis numquam abhorrentem fuisse scio. Reduco enim saepe nec sine magna delectatione in memoriam id tempus, cum praeclarissimae tuae et prope divinae indolis admiratione suspensus cernerem te omnibus quidem praeclarissimarum artium disciplinis deditum esse, ad poeticæ vero laudem sic natura ipsa ferri, ut magnum numerum optimorum versuum de re quavis proposita diceres paene ex tempore. Sed haec prius fuere, nunc alio te gloriae tuae cursus vocavit neque passus

est in harum artium oblectatione adhaerescere. Uberior enim tibi seges non solum bene dicendi, sed etiam faciendi praeclare, laudisque huius, quae in familia tua nobilissima semper floruit perseverandæ facultas maior et maturior debebatur. Quam tibi nunc oblatam esse magnopere laetor. . . . Ego si abundantia ingenii præstarem studiisque humanitatis circumfluerem, . . . pugnarem ac eniterer Ioviensis familiae rebus gestis dare testimonium laudis aeternum, sed alium illæ præconem, aliam in scribendo virtutem et copiam desiderant . . . Ne tamen voluntas mihi potius quam facultas deesse videretur, quod potui Valerii Martialis poetae ingeniosissimi epigrammata, quibus amphitheatrum Titi Vespasiani editaeque in eodem a Domitiano fratre venationes traditæ sunt immortalitati, a mendis repurgare ac planiora facere institui, ut quoniam poetae munus altius quiddam est, quam quo nos humi strati suspicere possimus, interpretandis saltem huius poetae scriptis particeps fierem illius divinitatis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ad te nunc animum refero, Comes illustrissime, quem si haec minuta προσφώνησις delectaverit, etsi numquam aliorum de me iudicia contempsi (ed. *contensi*), tamen si nostrum hoc qualemque munus adspernentur ac respuant, tuo suffragio contentus fructum mihi videbor diligentiae meae uberrimum cepisse. Vale Lutetiae 15 Kal. Ian. 1583.

Preface. Lectori meo. [Inc.]: Adolescentiae limine ipso cum Lutetiam Parisiorum venisse, specimen datus ingenii, epigrammata, quae Valerius Martialis in Domitianum Amphitheatrum scripsit, interpretari ausus sum, vestigia priscorum in his populi voluptatibus rituum persequens, quorum poeta hic plenissimus. Partum illum iuvenilis ingenii pro nato simul et denato deinde semper habui neque dignum, qui tolleretur, umquam putavi. Sed ut in coœdiis expositi postmodo etiam vivere et vigere deprehenduntur, sic praeter spem commentario huic libello vita vitalis fuit. Ergo et ut comici patres solent quallem agnovi familiaeque et agnationi suae

restitui, togula etiam recentata vestivi et curavi pro re nostra nitidiuscule. Hoc eo magis quod misellus in illa ipsa quasi orbitate, qui insultarent, reperit, quos refellit haec iam tertia editio, sed sine felle, sine conocio et carinatione, “leniter, dictis bonis” (sc. Plautus, *Prol. Amph.* 25).../...[Expl.]: Quo et te, lector amice, omine tam laeto nunc prosequor desinens, simul et quasi manum de tabula tollo, respectansque obiter tamen, quasi lineolam superduco. Mihi doctoris caelestis exemplar illud scriptum in animo esse, “Qui cum malediceretur non maledicebat” (sc. I. *Petr.* 2, 23). A quo nullis me umquam animus infrunitus et lingua infrenis ducet. Hoc meus “Sperat quidem animus, quo eveniat Dei in manu est” (sc. Plautus, *Bacch.* 144). Lutetiae Parisiorum VIII. Id. Novemb. MDC.

Commentary. [Inc.]: Ad M. Valerii Martialis Coqui epigrammata in Amphitheatum et Venationes Caesaris Domitianus. Inscriptio quidem huius libri pervagata est, in Amphitheatum Caesaris nempe Domitianus. Sed epigrammata quidem paene omnia conscripta sunt de venationibus iis, quas Domitianus in Amphitheatro edidit, non de Amphitheatro Ad Epig. I *Barbara* (*Spect.* I, 1)]. Inductione docet, omnibus orbis terrarum spectaculis Amphitheatum hoc iure anteponi. Prima laus amphitheatri, miraculum. *Memphis]* Huic enim proximae pyramides. Legend. Plin. c. XII lib. XXXVI. Proprie autem, barbara Memphis sileat: neque enim barbarorum est loqui. Itaque barbari ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀφωνοί, idest pro mutis. Interpretatur Aristoph. *in Aves* (sc. v. 1573), Suidas in βαρβάροις. Dictum argutum huius Coqui, fere ut argutatus Euripidi Philoctetes Tullii III de orat. (sc. III, 35, 141), “Turpe sibi esse tacere, barbaris autem loqui.” Minus recte alii *barbara miracula* intellexere .../... [Expl.]: Ασεισμὸς in nomine Neronis. Nero enim Sabinum nomen denotans fortem ac strenuum. A. Gell. CXXI lib. XIII, Suet. Tib. CI Urbane itaque dictus. *Nero piger]* (instead of *Nero dirus* in modern editions) sic Nero ipse nomen suum tangit Suetonii CXLIX οὐ πρέπει Νέρωνι, οὐ πρέπει etc.

Editions:

1584, Lutetiae (Paris): A. Beysius. BN.

(*) 1593, Lugduni (Lyons, pr. Geneva): François Le Preux. Gustave Moeckli, *Les livres imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600* 138; NUC. BM; (CtY; NNC).

1601, 1617, See Composite Editions.

b) The anonymous refutation of Laurentius Ramiresius de Prado

In 1607 (the privilege dates from Aug. 31 1607) under the name of Laurentius Ramiresius de Prado (see below) a commentary on the *Liber Spectaculorum* and the first four books of the epigrams had appeared. The author had referred critically to many previous commentators, including Marcilius. In the same year Marcilius under the pseudonym of Claudius Musambertius replied to Ramirez de Prado with an anonymous refutation, *In Laurentii Ramiresii ad M. Valerium Martialem hypomnemata commonitoria, quae et plurimis poetae locis obscuris lucem dant et Ramiresii errorum everricula sunt*. Marcilius here discusses, following Ramirez de Prado's disposition of the epigrams, the *Liber Spectaculorum* and the first four books of the epigrams. This work, in many respects a commentary of its own, is dedicated to a certain Le Vois, whom I was unable to identify. Though Marcilius says that from the philological standpoint Ramirez de Prado's work is not worth serious discussion, he thinks it his duty to defend Jacques Cujas (1522-1590), Joseph Scaliger, and Justus Lipsius, who had been criticised by Ramirez. This is amazing because Scaliger four years before had attacked Marcilius; perhaps Marcilius was not yet aware of this insult, as Scaliger's *Diatribe critica* was not published before 1619.

Dedication (ed. of Paris 1607). Amplissimo Senatori in Suprema Curia Domino Le Vois. [Inc.]: Lis mihi est cum Ramiresio, nupero Valerii Martialis interprete. Huiusc rei sive litis te cupio adigere arbitrum ... cuius cum quotidianis experimentis cognita penitusque perspecta sit aequitas ... et cum rerum earum, in quibus haec causa

vertitur, unus omnium scientissimus sis, cumque M. Valerii Martialis lectione non indelecteris, neque ego imprudenter aut impudenter fecisse videri potero, qui te arbitrum diligi, neque Ramiresio causa tergiversandi aut te iudicem recusandi ulla erit, quin ea ipsa recusatione pro confessu iudicatoque omnibus esse videatur. Mea vero causa eiusmodi est, ut quamquam favor et aequitas ipsa ei militet, quippe cum ego philologiae sapientiaeque civilis principes defendam, quos accusat Ramiresius, tamen non postulem valere hanc apud te gratiam, sed ultiro cupiam iudicio eam tuo gravissimo iugulari Sed si Ramiresiana illa tam nihili sunt, dixerit mihi forte iam aliquis, cur tu operam sumere voluisti, ut ea vinceres et iugulares? Non ergo Ramiresii reprehensio, quam tibi offero, sed CC.VV.Iacobi Cuiacii, Iosephi Scaligeri, Iusti Lipsii, aliorum defensio est, quorum capitibus ille iuvenili proiectus lascivia insultavit. Defensio eadem aequalium meorum et iuuentutis, cuius interest, a Ramiresii spurca lectione rerumque obscenissimarum pictis quasi tabellis, aperti (sic, for *aperta*). Defensio est Reipublicae totius et Christianae civitatis, ex qua omne turpiloquium, si D.Pauli praecepto parere volumus, exesse debet, longissimeque ablegari, quod ne in sua quidem civitate sive quam ipse institutis et legibus informabat, vir summus Aristoteles ferendum esse ullo modo arbitratus est.... [Expl.]: "Ut melius duo defendant retinacula navim", maiorque fiducia possim, ut ille inquit, "*έπι ταῖς δυσὶν ἀγκύραις σαλεύειν*". Sed tua quidem, ornatissime Senator, ancora magna sive sacra est, eaque mihi ut praesto sit, si usus venerit, rogo quaesoque. Tuae dignitati amplissimae cliens Cl.Musambertius Abbavillaeus.

Commentary. (Ad librum Spectaculorum) Domitianus olim "Vellem", inquit, "tam formosus esse quam Metius sibi videtur." Ego nunc vellem tam politus et ingeniosus esse, quam Ramiresius sibi videtur. Quis enim elegantior, quis capitalior te uno, qui Cuiacios, Scaligeros, Lipsios, hoc genus omne, albis, ut dicitur, dentibus rides

Assiduus tibi *labor* (*Spect.* I,2) est poetarum assidue laudantium Babylona. Sed qui, obsecro, illi poetae? an quos Semiramis in comitatu et ianuis habuit? [Expl.]: *fossae facienda artifices* (*Epigr.* IV, 91[89]; in order to explain *librarius*, Ramiresius had quoted *Dig.* L, 6, 7, where Tarruntenus speaks about the immunity of different professions)] nec enim fossatores eum dicere lingua Latina sivisset, nec *fossores* dicere potuit. Nam fossores sunt, qui agros ruri, non qui fossas in castris fodunt.—Haec sunt, Ramiresii, quae in hypomnematis tuis inani gloria et inscitia et oblivione ebriis notavi, ut gratificarer tibi, cui impense factum cupio Tun' ut omnes in omni doctrinae liberalis genere principes adlatres et censeas fore, "ut offam laudis tibi obiciamus", quae te nobis "oleo tranquilliorem" faciat, potius, quam rationibus te verbere mus, etsi opus fuerit etiam de "canina facundia" tua mutuemur aliquid, quo tamquam fuste probe probeque dedolatus, incipias velle mussare, et moderationis, modestiae, verecundiae limites non migrare? "Erras, erras, nam exultantem te et praesidentem tibi, / Repriment validae scripti habenae, atque officii insistent iugo."

Editions:

1607, Parisiis (Paris): Dionysius Langlois. BM; BN.

1617. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See CTC III, 302.

14. FEDERICUS CERUTUS.

Ceruti's commentary *Annotationes in Valerium Martialem* cannot be dated precisely. Presumably it was written in the last decade of the Cinquecento. It is a commentary in the traditional manner, which mainly explains difficult words. There is no dedication or preface, but most of the epigrams are discussed. Mittarelli (*Bibliotheca Codicum Manuscriptorum Monasterii S. Michael prope Murianum* [Venice, 1779] App. 276) describes an edition of Martial's epigrams of 1478 (Mediolani, Philippus de Lavania) "cum spissis notis mss. Federici

Ceruti", perhaps the basic text of his commentary, which undoubtedly was destined for publication as so many of his other exegetical works. Unfortunately it was impossible to locate the copy of the 1478 edition annotated by Cerutus.

Commentary (Cod. Reg. lat. 1376). [Inc.]: *Barbara Pyramidum* (*Spect. I, 1*) Res per comparationem illustriores fieri rhetorum praecepsis docemur; res vero, quibus comparantur, quo clariores extiterint, eo magis augebunt comparata. Vides itaque, quo artificio utatur poeta hoc epigrammate ad extollendum Amphitheatrum. Non parum autem laudis hoc sibi acquisivit Domitianus, quamvis a superioribus imperatoribus fuerit incohatum, ut enim Aristoteles Rheticorum primo docet, "incohata perficere iucundum est" . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Alea parva* (*Epigr. XIV, 19[18]*) Haec alea parva, superius de tessera, alea maior. Quaeritur autem, quid sit, alea parva, et alea minor. Est, ut maior, minorve ludenti cum damno agitur (sic!), et s.a. (sub alea?) emere, et vendere dicunt, quoties incertum aliquod, quid, quantum, ut facturum sit, nundinantur. Vide elegiam Ovidii de Nucibus (sc. *Nux* 75); ibi reperies sex ludos ex nucibus fuisse apud veteres. *Gemmeus iste tibi* (*Epigr. XIV, 18[20]*) In ludo tabulae sic divisi sunt calculi in duas factiones . . . (Cod. Reg. lat. 1710) *Obscura sigilli* (*Epigr. XVI, 171*) Erant ludi sigillares, qui et ipsi pars sive species erant Saturnaliorum, a genere muneris, quod mittebatur, sic appellati, videlicet sigillis, idest parvis signis sive simularcris, quae ex aere partim argentoque et auro, item fictili materia in hunc usum conflabantur, quae solebant conferre in sacellum Ditis aiae, quae Saturnianae cohaerebat. Meminit Tranquillus in Claudio (sc. *Cl. S.*): "Sed instantius legitimos flagitanti (de honoribus loquitur) id solum codicillis rescripsit" . . .

Manuscripts:

(photostat.) Vatican City, Reg. lat. 1376, s. XVI or XVII, 84 fols., comm. only. Cf. Kristeller, *Iter II*, 402.

(photostat.) Vatican City, Reg. lat. 1710, s. XVI or XVII, 72 fols., comm. only. In this manuscript an unknown hand has added to

Ceruti's text short remarks of Lipsius and Ioannes Isacius Pontanus, and others, probably from the 1619 Scrivener edition. Cf. Kristeller, *Iter II*, 403.

(These two manuscripts, offering an almost identical text, correspond to Montfaucon I 52 nrs. 1706 and 1705. The indications of *Les manuscrits de la Reine de Suède au Vatican*, Studi e Testi 238 [1964] 96 about Montfaucon nr. 1706 "manuscrit inexistant" are incorrect. Information kindly supplied by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.).

Biography:

See CTC III, 298.

15. DESIDERIUS HERALDUS

Heraldus' *Animadversiones ad libros XII epigrammaton M. Val. Martialis* which date from 1600 are dedicated as a sign of gratitude to the general and diplomat Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount of Turenne and Duke of Bouillon (1556–1623), grandson of the famous Constable of France and partisan of the King of Navarre, who had founded in his little duchy of Sedan a well-renowned academy, where many Calvinist scholars found refuge. The *Animadversiones* were first printed in 1601 as an appendix to the edition of Martial by the Paris printer Claudio Morellus alias Bartholomaeus Macaeus. Heraldus comments neither on the *Liber Spectaculorum* nor on the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*.

Dedication (ed. of Paris, 1601). Illustrissimo potentissimoque Principi, Henrico Turreo, Duci Bullioneo, Sedani, Ralcurtii, etc. Principi, Turennae Vicecomiti, Comiti Monfortii, etc., Franciae Mareschallo. [Inc.]: Ex quo singulares ingenii tui dotes, eo conspectiores, quo in plerisque principibus rariores, propius cognoscere mihi contigit, Princeps Illustrissime, aetatis nostrae miserias solari coepi, quae in tanta verae nobilitatis penuria, tantum tamen principem haberet et in eo virtutum, quae in ceteris desiderantur, omnium veluti summum et ἐπιτομὴν quandam. Eo enim temporis ventum videtur, ubi dictum illud verum videri queat, Princeps φιλομούσους

in uno anulo posse perscribi atque depingi.
 Viderunt patres nostri litteras simul cum
 humanitate renascentes, viderunt magnos
 principes in eruditione reparanda strenue
 et animose connitentes, nos vero barbariem
 grassantem prospicimus simulque principum
 in ea propulsanda ignaviam. Neque dubium,
 quin tanta vecordia non litteris solum, sed
 et bonis moribus (quod omen averruncassit
 Deus!) exitium portendat. Tu tamen re-
 pertus es unus cum paucis ex omni nobilitate
 Gallica, antiquis stemmatum flexuris et
 fumosis imaginibus clara, quo gloriari possit
 virtus, in quo paene uno res publica se iac-
 tet litteraria. Multi voluptatibus deliniti,
 plures avaritia foedati, plurimi ignorantia
 depressi, ad hanc se laudem erigere ne-
 queunt, quam tu decerpis floridissimam.
 Nam ubi illi sunt, qui veros eruditos bene-
 volentia sua complectantur? Ubi qui scholas
 et academias erigant, qui gloriari sibi quaer-
 rant? Numerabiles sane illi, at hi nec numer-
 abiles.... Video iam eruditos homines te
 paene unum respicientes, a te pendentes,
 in te oculos conientes, neque immerito.
 Si quis enim princeps est, qui exulceratis
 hisce temporibus litterarum praestantiam
 noverit, qui litteratos fovere et commodis
 iuvare in animum induxerit, is sane tu
 es.... /... [Expl.]: Has interim Animadver-
 siones excellentiae tuae dicatas et conse-
 cratas, Princeps illustrissime, laetus ac lubens
 accipe donec ingeniali nostri tenuitas aliquid
 aliud parturiat. Vale, Princeps generosis-
 sime, pientissime, fortissime, et sapientis-
 sime, et de Ecclesia Reque publica litteraria
 bene mereri perge. Sedani, e Museo nostro,
 Cal. Aug. 1600.

*Commentary. Desiderii Heraldi animad-
 versiones ad lib.I Epigrammatum M. Valerii
 Martialis. [Inc.]: (Ad Epistolam). Spero me
 secutum (Praef.libri I) Etsi epigrammata
 salibus et urbanitate paene censemur, tem-
 peramentum tamen tale adhibendum est,
 ne urbanitas in scurrilitatem desinat neve
 liberior iocus quemquam merito offendat
 ... /... [Expl.]: (Ad Epigr. XCVI) *Sybari-
 ticus libellis* (Epigr.XII,95,2)] Quemnam
 habuerint auctorem Sybaritici libelli ig-
 norant interpretes. At id te docebit Lucianus*

Προς τὸν ἀπαίδευτον [sc. *Adv. indoct.* 23]:
 ὁ αὐλητὴς ἡ ὁ κίναιδος Ἡμιθέων ὁ Συβαρίτης
 . . . χαί πάσχειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἔκεινα. Sunt
 igitur Sybaritici libelli, libri nefandae ne-
 quitiae, ab Hemitheone Sybarita scripti. Hoc
 me putabam solum observasse, cum ad me
 adlata sunt Miscellanea magni illius Angeli
 Politiani, ubi haec eadem notata.

Epilogue. [Inc.]: Hic scribendi finem
 faciemus. Adiungentur aliquando, si Deus
 voluerit, reliquis nostris libris adversariorum
 notae ad libros de Xeniis et Apophoretis.
 Hoc opere interea, quamquam non ita casti-
 gate, ut voluisse, excuso, fruere lector,
 dum alia tibi paramus paulo graviora.

Editions:

1601, 1617, See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Desiderius Heraldus (Didier Hérauld; Hérault) was born c. 1579. He studied law and classics, and became a member of the parliamentary bar in Paris. Later on he was professor of Greek at the protestant Academy of Sedan. In 1611 he had to give up his chair because of an intrigue; in his last years he had to endure bitter polemics with Saumaise, whose *Observationes in Ius Atticum et Romanum* (1645) he refuted. He died in June 1649 in Paris.

Works: Mainly on Greek and Roman Law, on Tertullian (1599), and Iamblichus' biography of Pythagoras (1613).

Blbl.: Ersch-Gruber II, 6 73; Jöcher II
 1518 sq.; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*
 XXIV 268 sq.

16. MATTHAEUS RADERUS

After having published an expurgated selection of Martial's epigrams in 1599 (Ingolstadt), Rader had his very learned commentary on the same author printed for the first time in 1602. It is dedicated to three members of the wealthy Welser family at Augsburg, namely to the antiquary and historiographer Marcus (1558–1614), and to his brothers, the bankers Matthaeus (1553–1633) and Paulus (1555–1620). The fourth brother Antonius, a clergyman of some in-

fluence, is mentioned in the dedication. As Rader declares in his preface, he comments only on a selected choice of decent epigrams, but his commentary is nevertheless one of the best of its kind and witnesses to the author's profound erudition. Apart from the text of the epigrams and the commentary, which summarizes other similar works, we find included a *Vita* of Martial, a catalogue of his poems, testimonies of other authors who wrote about him, one treatise on the epigram in general and three on the *Liber Spectaculorum*. The two subsequent editions of 1611 and 1627 differ considerably from the first one, as Rader revised every edition by adding new quotations and examples from the classics. Dedication, preface, and the above-mentioned inclusions were also revised and slightly modified. Rader notes that he was assisted in his work by his learned friends, with whom he discussed the difficulties that arose.

Dedication (ed. of Ingolstadt, 1602). Nobilissimis et amplissimis VVV. Dominis Velseris, Marco II. Viro, Urbis Praefecto, Mattheao Aedili, Paulo Consuli, Mattheae FFF., Antonii NNN., Patriciis Augustanis, B.R.Natis. [Inc.]: Adduco vobis, amplissimi VVV., Musam e Celtiberorum Augusta Colonia, Coloniam Augustam Vindelicorum, antiquam illam quidem et ante annos mille quingentos natam, sed novo iam commentariorum ornatu cultam rallaque seu vitrea veste pellucentem, quae endromidis soloce prius tecta et sepulta tenebris iacebat squalebatque, nec quam venusta esset, nisi a paucis admodum, pervidebatur. Tametsi ego tantum frontis honestatem aperio, nihilque ostendo, quod ore careat aut pudore; non minus sollicitus, quid seponam, quam exponam. Vestrorum autem nominum titulis insignitam hanc camoenam meam prodire volui, ut illustrior et augustior in publico appareat, maioremque fidem apud senatum Palatinum mereretur, si frons ipsa antistites eruditonis veluti vindices et assertores studiorum meorum prae se ferret. Invitatus sum elegantia ingeniorum vestrorum, omni disciplinarum genere excultorum, quae quanto sublimiora, tanto simul modestiora

humanioraque experiebar, uti non solum ad vos Musae omnes, ut quondam ad Herodotum, divertisse, sed cum Gratiis ipsis penitus in vestra domicilia immigrasse aut potius inter vos natae et educatae videantur. Accedit ad haec aeterna litterarum ornamenta virtus immortalis, quam declarat sapientia et consilium in deliberando, prudens in agendo, constantia in exequendo, cultus avitae religionis et adversus caeleste numen omnesque caelites Catholica Romanaque pietas, caritas in cives, clementia in omnes [Expl.]: Me vero, ut omnes, non minus delectat et capit domestica comitas et facilitas vestra, quam publica virtutis atque dignitatis auctoritas. Quoties ego, Marce, te coram, quoties per scripta, in perplexis antiquitatum vestigiis haerens nec umquam frustra consului. Omnium mihi bibliothecarum vestrarum thesauri semper patuerunt. Vadatum me obstrictumque plurimis vestrīs muneribus et officiis agnosco. Agnoscit praedicatque mecum benevolentiam erga se vestrā maiorumque vestrorum et Velseriae gentis universae Societas nostra, quam auctoritate defendere, consiliis iuvare, beneficiis ornare numquam desiistis. Conatus igitur meos et studium colendi nominis vestri spero vobis non ingratum fore, quando a vestrarum virtutum admiratione vere proficiscitur. Valete VVV. amplissimi nobisque et Reipublicae felices sospitesque vivite. Augustae Vindelicorum Cal. Febr. (February 1) A.P.C.N. 1602.

Praefatio ad Lectorem. [Inc.]: Mihi studium fuit, humanissime Lector, subselliis et cathedris servire eaque propter omnes curas et cogitationes eo verti, ut mentem poetae et intima sensa penetrarem ac aperirem, deinde geminis variorum scriptorum dictis sententiisque illustrarem, aut sicubi opus, testimentiis ac tabulis firmarem. Excurri etiam nunc in ἔθη et ritus veterum, nunc in mores et ἡθη, antiquitatis vestigia diligenter persecutus, quando vel locus admonebat, vel usus et res exigebant. Ita factum est, ut mihi opus sub manibus cresceret. . . . Didiceram enim ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν τῶν αρχαίων σχολίων ad Pindarum, Apollonium, Callimachum, Aeschylum et alios, methodum

auctores explanandi. Animadverteram, qualis ad Virgilium Servius et Donatus, ad Flaccum Acron et Porphyron, ad Iuvenalem anonymus, a quibus sane nimium quantum aetas nostra, paucis demptis, descivit, quae ideo veniam meretur, quod a fontibus et temporibus scriptorum longius abest. Et poeta noster in paucis doctus et prae ceteris αἰνιγματώδης ac tenebricosus maiore face indigebat. Non quod illius vel genus dicendi intricatum sit et abditum, vel ille voces insolentes et verba desita ex Titinniis et Pacuviiis consectari consuerit, quid enim compositione Martialis explicatius, quid verbis simplicius? Sed quod nos ipsi non satis ab antiquitatis et veteris memoriae rebus parati obscuritatem nobiscum ad illius lectionem adferamus, vel hebetiore sensu vim, argutiam et acumen epigrammatis non assequamur. Quae causa est, uti non ita presse et arcte, sed plene et copiose enarrandum hunc poetam putaremus. Res praeterea communis et publica honestas fecit, uti praetextata verba et moliores versiculos praeteriremus, quod omnis labor noster gymnasiis publicis et iuventutis usibus consecrandus esset.... Ceterum optima fide cum Martiale actum crede. Ipse purus putus Martialis tibi proponitur et exponitur. Non mea, non aliena pro verbis illius subiecta, non mens poetae, non sensus alio detortus. Sola dumtaxat stabulum et fornices olentia ad haram ejcta. Numerus in ora positus omissa tibi ostendet. Asterisci partem epigrammatis sublatam docent. Codices antiquos, ut emendatior exiret, ex Bibliotheca Bavaria, Augustana civica, Lovaniensi et nostra adhibui, quamquam plerique omnes vitiosi sint, parumque sinceri. MSS. desideravi vel aliena fide laudavi. Nec dubitavi suppetias ab aliis petere, quando mihi aqua haerebat. Docuit me per notas ad me transmissas eruditionis princeps Lipsius, docuit noster Andreas Schottus. Docuit Iacobus Gretserus, qui mihi murrhina sua propinavit. Monuere etiam Leonardus Höninglerus et Rudolphus Mattmannus, cum hasce commentationes meas reviderent et censerent. Omitto praesentes, quos coram ipse praesens consului. Nihilo secius expedire omnes

quaestiones, ut optabam, non potui satis, paratus interim ab omnibus certiora et meliora adferentibus erudiri. Bonis, tu bone lector, si qua sunt hic fruere, mediocribus fave, ceteris ignosce: "Namque opere in magno fas est obrepere somnum" (sc. Horat. *Ars poet.*360). Sed tu, lector ingenue, parce genuinum frangere in illis. Erunt plura, quae te legisse numquam paenitebit. Et ne offendaris, si quid distortum aut mendosum offendas, pleraque omnia scias a fine castigata, quae sunt a principio ad finem exerrata. "Quare aequum est te cognoscere, atque ignoscere" (sc. Terent. *Eun.* 42)." Humane facientis hoc est, atque conuentis; arrogantis illud et superbientis ἀνέγνων, ἐπέγνων, κατέγνων.

Commentary. (In Amphitheatum Caesaris) [Inc.]: Titi Caesaris Amphitheatum omnibus orbis operibus anteponit, quod per ἐπαγογὴν sive inductionem ad Antipatri exemplum facit, qui lib.I epigr.Graec. Diana Ephesiae fanum, ut ceteris orbis terrae spectaculis nobilius praedicat. Inscriptio quamvis imperite toti libello huic assignetur, in unum hoc tamen epigramma proprie convenit. *Barbara Memphis* (Spect. I,1) Non miretur suas pyramidum fabricas Aegyptus barbara. Barbaram appellat, quod a cultu et humanitate Graecorum ac Romanorum Aegyptii procul abessent.... [Expl.]: Ientacula. *Surgite iam pueri.* (Epigr. XIV,223[193]) Erudite in Variis Mercurialis lib.4 cap.17 docet pueris fere solis ientacula sumpta, ut ubique gentium mos obtinet.... Nos ope caelesti adiuti, post multas et diurnas et nocturnas lucubrationes tandem ad hoc Martialis *ientaculum* laeti properavimus, quod si forte patres eruditionum, iam saturi scientiae, non gustabunt, optabunt tamen ii, quos nuper in clientes Musae adoptarunt, etc.

Editions:

1602, Ingolstadii (Ingolstadt): Adam Sartorius. Schweiger II 597; NUC. BM; (CtY; MH).

1611, Ingolstadii (Ingolstadt): Adam Sartorius. Schweiger II 597. BM; BN.

1627, Moguntiae (Mainz): H.Meresius (together with *Analecta*, Coloniae Agrippinae

[Cologne], 1628: Io.Kinckius). Schweiger II 598; NUC. BM; BN; (IEN).

Biography:

Matthaeus (Matthias) Raderus (Rader), was born 1561 or 1564 at Innichen/Tyrol, and studied theology at Innsbruck. At the age of 20 he entered the order of the Jesuits. Because of his vast knowledge of the classics he held a professorship in rhetoric at different schools and academies of his order for over 20 years. He died Dec. 22 1634 at Munich.

Works: Besides many historical works, partly concerned with the history of his order, he commented on Martial, Curtius Rufus (1628), and Seneca (1631).

Bibl.: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* XXVII 118 (P. Anton Weis); Jöcher III 1865; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* VI coll.1371-1382.

17. IANUS GRUTERUS

Gruterus edited Martial for the first time in 1596. In 1602 a second edition was issued, this time with a commentary which was not so much intended to promote the substantial understanding of the poems as to provide a critical apparatus, discussing the textual versions of Gruterus' predecessors and explaining his own judgements. Nearly all of the epigrams are dealt with. At the suggestion of his friend Paulus Melissus-Schede the *Priapeia* are added as book XV to this edition, because Melissus believed he had identified Martial as their author (cf. Melissus' poem *Ad Ianum Gruterum, Maronem non esse auctorem Priapeiorum, sed Martialem*, in ed.1602, p.552). The critical notes of the 1602 edition were reprinted by Scrivener in 1619. This time a supplement was added, because, as Gruterus says, the 1602 edition was based on a Palatine manuscript, which he had not copied himself and which he now discovered to have been inaccurately excerpted by his English pupil Richard Thompson.

a) The Commentary of 1602

1. *Dedication.* (ed. of Frankfurt a.M., 1602) Iano Dousae Nordovici Domini etc. supremi consilii adsessori archivorumque

custodiae praefecto, amico opt.max. Ianus Gruterus. [Inc.]: Ecce tibi Martialem tuum, nobilissime Dousa, quidni enim tuum vocem, cui iam triginta totos annos, a nuncupatione scilicet Iuniana *numen* es vere *tutelare*. Quod ut etiam deinceps esse pergas, venit ecce idem multum mutatus a priore, non quidem ut Hector ille Vergilianus, sed plane sui melior, ope imprimis vetustissimi exemplaris, quod est in illustri Bibliotheca Serenissimi Electoris Palatini. Quamvis enim alia potius omnia agenda viderentur hac pestilentia, dedi id tamen precibus optimi typographorum, dedi flagitationibus amicorum, dedi denique exspectationi orbis literatoris atque horis aliquot subsicivis assumpta medici persona, membra epigrammatarii aliquot convulsa ac luxata reduxi, obligavi, ulcerata et cicatrices eius plures sanavi, explevi, verrucas maculasque recidi, detersi, totius vero corporis fuliginem ac scabritiem ablui, levigavi . . . /

... [Expl.]: Audiat numen Philium, audiat cana fides. E Museo nostro mense Decemb. MDXCVI.

Commentary. [Inc.]: *In Amphitheatum notae.* Dolendum Palatinum codicem nihil habuisse huius libelli: aliter, magna vi macularum leviorem reddidisset. Ceterum Amphitheatra istaec et Circensia visuntur in ms.nostro tertio, non loco aliquo singulari, sed post Epigramma tertium libri quarti.

(Epigr.4) *Tradita Getulis (Spect.IV,3)]* Et noster et Musarum amor Lipsius emendat *Traducta est titulis, nec etc.* ingeniose admodum. Haud id tamen ausi recipere pro germano auctoris, quod nullo fulciretur robustae auctoritatis codice ms....*In Epigrammatum lib.I notae. Veritatem* (Praef. libri I)] Ita reposui ex Palatinae Bibliothecae, Bongarsii et Iunii codicibus scriptis, antea erat *licentiam*, quod heic minus quadrabat, meo quidem animo . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *In Apophoretorum librum notae. . . Ientacula* (Epigr. XIV,223[221]) Palatinus praeferit *Iantacula*, quod libuit annotare, ut confirmarem coniectaneum Merceri supra [ad epigr.67 lib.8] positum. Bongarsii tamen ms. heic praeferit *Adipata*.

Editions:

1602, Francofurti (Frankfurt a.M.): ex officina Paltheniana sumtibus Iona Rhodii; (p. 405-551). Schweiger II 597; Graesse 4.424; Schneidewin XLIII.

1619. See *Composite editions*.

b) The edition of 1619 with the "Appendicula"

2. *Dedication.* (ed. of Leyden, 1619) Ianus Gruterus Petro Scriverio. [Inc.]: Ut domum Francofurto redii, nonnullis locis interpolavi schedas Martialis easque statim dedi describendas librario meo. Verum ut haerebam in aliquo loco ideoque consulebam M.S. Palatinum eumque invenio discrepantem a manu prima descriptore Richardo Thompsonio, subito invasit ecce me furor, totumque iterum a capite ad calcem percurri. Atque haec sunt, quae tumultuaria lectione in oculos incurserunt. Interim centum alia fortean a me praetermissa. Sed quid? aliis occupabar, quam ut licet diutius istis inhaerere. Ne autem ignores, mi Scriveri, quibus subsidiis editionem istam auspicatus sim, fuere praeter editiones aliquot veteres ad manum scripti codices quattuor: duo Bibliothecae Palatinae; quorum primus, instar omnium, iam denuo a me collatus, descriptus est ab homine litteras tantum pingere docto, non etiam intelligere; ideoque qui nihil de ingenio suo immutarit. Praeferebat autem censorem usque ad librum sextum Torquatum Gennadium, aevi Constantiniani. Altero rarius usus sum, quod esset recentior neque recederet ab editione Domitii Calderini; cuius item praeferebat notas sive commentaria. Tertius dicebatur fuisse Theodori Zwingeri, medici, dum fata deusque sinebant, celeberrimi. Quarto videbatur usus Franciscus Modius: certe ab ipso pervenerat in manus Zachariae Palthenii; ab eo ad me. Huic quadrigae accessit quoque editio Iuniana, ad fidem cod. Angl.emendata; cuius item margines variantibus aliquot lectionibus insigniverat amplissimus Bongarsius, descriptis quidem ex codice Gallicano, sed cuius possessoris haud item meminerat ("Credo maximi ICti Cuiacii fuisse", Scriverius). Tegnagelius

quoque Vienna usque exemplar Caesareae Bibliothecae permiserat. Sed vix libuit inspicere, adeo undiquaque interpolatum erat a petulanti manu, qui Martiali affingere volebat nasum non suum. Etiam comitate A.V. Marci Velseri vidi fragmenta Valerii nostri in codice Frisingensi. Verum bonitate non accedebant ad Palatinum, cuius augustam maiestatem tu, pro ea qua me amas teneritudine, tueberis contra ronchos et sibilos Neotericorum. Vale Heidelbergae MDCXVI. VIII. Novembris.

Commentary. *Appendicula ad Martialem sive notae aliquot repetitae lectionis.* [Inc.]: *Notae ad librum Spectaculorum.* (*Epigr.1*) *molles laudentur honores* (*Spect. I,3*) Nimirum, cum Diana duplex munus sustineat (cuius meminit noster infra Epigr.XIII "Excerpta est numen moriens utriusque Diana, etc.") templa ei quoque surrexere non unius generis. De varietate vero structurarum ita Vitruvius lib.I *Architect.* cap.2: "Minervae, et Marti, et Herculi, aedes Doricae fient; his enim Diis propter virtutem sine deliciis aedificia constitui decet . . ." . . . *Notae ad librum I* (*Epigr.5*) *Do tibi naumachium*] Arridet scriptura codicis Palatini, *naumachias . . . / . . .* [*Expl.*]: *mensa vocat* (*Epigr.XIV,158[156]*) *Praeposuerim Palatinum, citat. Splendida cum volitent* (*Epigr.XIV,164[162]*)] Emen-dandum auctore Palat. volitant.

Edition:

1619, see *Composite Editions*.

Biography:

Ianus Gruterus (Jan van Gruytere; pseud. Ranutius Gherus; Gualterius) was born at Antwerp Dec. 3 1560. As his mother Catherine Tishemin was of English origin, he grew up in England. He studied law and classics at Cambridge, then became pupil of Hugo Donellus and Iustus Lipsius at Leyden. Subsequently he held professorships at Rostock (1586), Wittenberg (1589), and Heidelberg (since 1592, or 93); in 1602 he became principal librarian of the famous Palatine Library, whose treasures he used for his extensive philological work. When the Palatine Library as well as his personal library were plundered and carried away by

Tilly's troops in 1622, he first fled to Bretten, home of his son-in-law Oswald Smend, then to Tübingen. After the Spanish army's withdrawal he went back to Heidelberg, where he spent his later years in a rural retreat. He died in Berhelden Sept. 20, 1627.

Works: He edited, mostly with commentary, Apuleius, Aurelius Victor, Cicero, Dinarchus, Florus, Livy, Onosander, Phaedrus, Plautus, Pliny, Sallust, Seneca, Suetonius, Tacitus, Velleius Paterculus, and prepared several anthologies of philological texts (*Lampas*) or neo-Latin poets. Most famous is his *Inscriptiones Antiquae totius orbis Romani* (1602/03; several reissues).

Bibl.: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* X 68-71 (Bursian); *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* VIII 365-381 (L. Roersch); Ersch-Gruber I, 95 356-363; Jöcher II 1218-1220; Sandys II 359 sq.

18. JOSEPH JUSTUS SCALIGER

About the year 1602 Scrivenerius, encouraged by his friend Scaliger, had started to prepare an edition of Martial, whose aim was to correct Gruterus. Scaliger had promised to contribute to this edition a refutation of Marcilius' commentary on the *Liber Spectaculorum*, which he condemns in a dedicatory letter to Scrivenerius because of the author's impertinent ignorance and arrogance. This refutation, *Diatrībe critica, qua Theodori Marcilii Commentarius Notaeque in Epigrammata de Caesaris Amphitheatro et Venationibus ordine expunguntur, auctorque pluribus locis illustratur*, was ready in 1603, but was not published until Scrivenerius had completed his own commentary in 1619 (see below p. 293).

Dedication (ed. of Leyden, 1618-19). Iosephus Scaliger Petro Scrivenerio suo S.P.D. [Inc.]: Nudius sextus, cum de interpretibus Martialis ageremus, mi Scriveneri, multa de ineptiis et fastu Theodori Marcilii inter alia disseruimus. Hortabarque te ad refutationem illius arrogantissimi pariter et imperitissimi commentatoris. Sed tu, causatus nescio quae frivola, a nullo alio quam a meipso hoc fieri posse melius

aiebas. Quare diebus hisce feriatis subsicivum aliquod tempus nactus, diatriben hanc carptim exaravi de ineptiis, barbarie, inscitia et arrogantia ludimagistri. Evidem testor, nisi ipse Marcilius nullius viri docti rationem haberet, et omnes primae notae scriptores derideret, me nihil de eo dicturum fuisse, sed vanissimi hominis petulantia coactum eius barbariem et inscitiam omnibus prodere. Rideamne igitur an deplorem inane paedagogorum cymbalum, dubito. Sed rideam, optimum est "Saturnalibus optimo dierum." Et primo barbariem morum, qui dissimulat, unde profecerit, eos, quibus plurimum debet, et quibus praeeuntibus multa didicit, inciviliter et iniuste carpat, deinde barbariem in locutione et obsoletae antiquitatis febriculosam affectationem, quali illa.... Itaque sic se comparavit, ut etiam si velit, ne tria quidem verba Latine possit dicere. Praeterea Martialem semper *Coquum* vocat, quasi id necesse sit, quia legitur in Lampadio, immo non debuit ita vocari, nisi causam nominis sciamus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Vides quam argute luserit Augustinus in Deum Manichaeorum, quod satis est ad eludendum phreneticum illud πάγκαρπον, quod quis Graece doctus intelligit?—Quod de *parabolani* (pag. VI) dicit, melius explicat commentarius noster in Manilius, unde dissimulat se accepisse.

Commentary. [Inc.]: [Epigramma I] Quid meruit, quod *barbara* coniungit cum Memphis, non cum *miracula*? Itaque hoc modo *regia* non referetur ad *miracula* in illo (lib. VIII Epigr. XXXVI) "Regia Pyramidum, Caesar, miracula ride". Inepti commenti ineptum rationem reddit. Oro tamen lectorem, ut risum tantisper abstineat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (Epigr. XXIX) Plura relinquimus, quibus et plus otii et patientiae erit. Nos non obtrectationis causa haec collegimus, quae exigua sunt, prae reliquis, quae in eum animadverti possunt, sed veritatis amore. Praeterea ut ostendamus, quanti pretii sit is, cui magni heroes ludibrio sunt, et quid metuant illi, qui eius rationem habent, adeo ut quot scita eius, tot oracula esse censeant. Si talis est,

qui in admiratione est, quales ergo, qui admirantur? Vale, mi Scriveri, et mecum ride, "Saturnalibus optimo dierum". Lugduni Batavorum An.MDCIII.

Edition:

1619. See *Composite Editions*.

Biography:

See CTC II 13.

19. LAURENTIUS RAMIRESIUS DE PRADO

In 1607 an edition of Martial was printed in Paris whose editor is supposed to be Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado (*M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Libri XV Laurentii Ramírez de Prado novis commentariis illustrati*). This edition is accompanied by a voluminous commentary of 373 pages, a commentary on the *Liber Spectaculorum* and the first four books of the epigrams, *Hypomnemata ad Librum Spectaculorum et quatuor primos epigrammaton M. Valerii Martialis, collecta ex schedis succisivis Domini Laurentii Ramírez de Prado, in quibus fere omnia epigrammata ceterorum librorum, variique auctores, tam iuriscons. quam humanioris notae, explicantur, illustrantur, emendantur*. This commentary reflects a good knowledge of all the previous ones of its kind, as Poliziano, Colerus, Calderini, Gruter, Iunius, Turnebus, Heraldus, Merula, Marcilius, and Rader are mentioned, and the author furthermore refers to famous philologists as Beroaldus, Casaubonus, Modius, Lipsius, and others. Up to now scholars have been unable to agree upon the authorship of this edition as well as of the commentary. Since the seventeenth century several researchers (David Clemente, Gregorio Mayans, Cortina, Galdardo, Menéndez y Pelayo) suggested that the famous grammarian of Granada, Baltasar de Céspedes, professor of rhetoric at the University of Salamanca, might be responsible for this work, who, without means to afford the printing, sold his rights to his preferred pupil Ramírez de Prado, who was wealthy enough to do so, but later on suppressed the real author's name. Anyway, he later admitted to have begun his com-

mentary under the guidance of Céspedes: "A quien venero por muchas razones, excelente catedrático de latín, mi maestro, bajo cuya dirección y ánimos he afrontado emprender estos Comentarios y con su sabia orientación haré cada día cosas mayores; del cual sumamente admiro su nobleza ingénita, su agudo discernimiento, su gran prudencia y profundos conocimientos" (ed. Paris, 1607, p. 33). The scholars mentioned above pointed to Ramírez de Prado's youth while arguing against his authorship, for, as they said, he was only twenty years old when the edition appeared and barely mature enough to possess the knowledge necessary for such a learned work. Furthermore it is almost certain that another of his principal works, the so-called *Pentecontarchos*, printed in Antwerp in 1612 under his name, was not composed by himself, but by his previous teacher Francisco Sánchez, named el Brocense. Whatever the truth may be, the printing of Martial put him to much trouble. The manuscript was stolen from him in Salamanca by the French librarian William Bichon, who took it to Paris where it was printed without Ramírez de Prado's permission. As the edition and commentary itself lacked any dedication or prologue, where the problem of the sources would have been discussed, the Austrian Jesuit Rader attacked Ramírez de Prado in the second edition of his own commentary (1611) for plagiarism. Ramírez de Prado protested with a broadside which was published in Madrid, though it had not been authorized by the censor. Thus he was consequently condemned to eight years of banishment and a fine of 2000 guilders. We know these details from the register in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, legajo n.30197, n.3 (cf. Andres p.175 sq.), where the broadside is still preserved. Palau y Dulcet, with reference to the eminent Spanish bibliographer Pérez Pastor, communicates a document signed Madrid May 12, 1615 "Transacción y concierto de D. Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado con Guillermo Buchón [sic!], mercado de libros, francés, sobre la impresión del libro *Hypomnemata ad Martiale*", from

which we learn that Bichon and Ramírez de Prado later came to an amicable arrangement and that the banishment evidently was suspended. Surprisingly Ramírez de Prado did not answer the attacks of Claudio Musambertius alias Theodor Marcius, which were found in the *In Laurentii Ramiresii ad M. Val. Martialem hypomnemata commonitoria*. As no book of references gives a clear and definite answer to the question whether Céspedes or Ramírez de Prado is the author of the Martial edition and commentary, we have decided to regard Ramírez de Prado as the author, since his name appears on the title-page.

Commentary. [Inc.]: (ad Spect. I) *Comparatione χατ' ἐπαγωγικόν*, per inductionem ostendit Titi amphitheatum omnibus terrarum orbis aedificiis magnificis praferendum. 1. *Barbara*] Coniungendum cum nomine Memphis, ut liquet epigr.36 lib.8 "Regia Pyramidum ... Memphis opus." De pyramidibus paene omnes geographi Graeci et Latini, copiose Herodotus (ad Spect.XXIX) quod erat signum praesentis victoriae. Hic locum habuit gratum poetae acumen "Cum duo pugnarent, vicit uterque fuit". Ad Epigr.XXX, XXXI. Haec duo postrema epigrammata duobus distichis contenta aut corrupta, aut Martiale indigna sunt [Expl.]: (ad Epigr.IV, 91[89]) Post artifices autem addita est coniunctio affirmationis causa, ne fossores quis aestimaret ab illis esse excludendos, quod illorum opera ad artifices etiam videatur referri. Hinc vernulae, qui ingenuos pueros sequebantur, eunt ad ludum, ferebantque libros, capsarii dicebantur. Suetonius in Nerone cap. 36 "Constat quosdam [liberos damnatorum] cum paedagogis et capsariis uno prandio pariter necatos". Et Ulpianus in L. "si collectaneus" (13. "de manumissis vindicta" [sc.modern ed.Dig. 40,2,13]) ait, "vel capsarius id est qui portat libros." Ex quibus intelliges Iuvenalem Sat.10 vers.116 "Quisquis ... capsae."

Edition:

1607, Lutetiae Parisiorum (Paris): Michael Sonnius alias Claudio Morellus. Graesse 4.424; NUC. BM; BN; (NNC).

Biography:

Laurentius Ramiresius de Prado (Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado) was born at Zafra about 1589 and studied law at Salamanca, where he had Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas and later on Baldasar de Céspedes as teachers. He became knight of the Order of St.James and served King Philip IV as a diplomat and financial adviser, as he was *Consejero de Hacienda, Indias y Cruzada*. Cervantes mentions him as a famous poet and humanist in his *Viaje del Parnaso* (1614). He died in 1658.

Works: Πεντηκόνταρχοι [sic!], sive *Quinquaginta militum ductor* (Antwerp, 1612), reprinted as *Observationes selectae in varia loca Novi Testamenti* (Hamburg, 1712); *Tessera legum, sive Otium aestivum pomericianum* (Madrid, 1616); *Consejo i Consejero de Príncipes* (Madrid, 1617, 2¹⁹⁵⁸); *Sotera, sive fons et viridarium* (Madrid, 1622); he edited Iulianus of Toledo (1628), and Liutprand of Cremona (1640).

Bibl.: Antonius, *Nova* s.v.; Cervantes, *Viaje del Parnaso* cap.II (ed.Schevill-Bonilla, Madrid, 1922) 28, 147; David Clemente, *Specimen Bibliothecae Hispano-Mayansiana* (Hannover, 1753) 100; Diego José Dormer, *Enmiendas y Advertencias a las Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla, por Zurita* (Zaragoza, 1683); Espasa-Calpe 49 (1923) 527; B. J. Gallardo, *Ensaya de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos* IV (Madrid 1889, reprint 1968) Nr. 3574-3576; M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *La ciencia española* III (Madrid, 1954) 177; A. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano* XV (Barcelona, 2¹⁹⁶²) Nr. 247166-247174; Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, *Opera omnia una cum ejusdem scriptoris vita* I (Geneva, 1736) 31, 62, 107; José Simon Diaz, *Bibliografía de la literatura hispánica* III, Nr. 1906, 1996; IV, Nr.204; V, Nr.3281; VII, Nr.178, 460, 3242, 7024; VIII, Nr.3867, 3868.

Gregorio de Andres, *El Maestro Baltasar de Céspedes, humanista salmantino y su Discurso de las letras* (Madrid, 1965) 172-179; J. Entrambasaguas, *Una familia de ingenios: Los Ramírez de Prado* (Madrid, 1943); Amalio Huarte, 'Un manuscrito de

la biblioteca de Ramírez de Prado', *Revista de Bibliografía Nacional* IV (1943) 159–166.

20. STEPHANUS CLAVERIUS

Though Claverius' commentary is not dated, we can fix the date of its composition and publication as 1617, for he refers to his edition of Persius ("huius loci explicationem ante duo lustra in editione Persii fusius dedi"), which was edited in 1607. Even if his commentary falls outside the usual chronological limits of the *Catalogus*, it must be nevertheless discussed, as it is fully in the tradition of the sixteenth century. It is not a complete commentary on all the epigrams, but consists of additional remarks (*annotationes*) on selected epigrams. In a very interesting foreword, which is addressed to Petrus Cagnerius, Claverius defends Martial against his detractors, who purged the epigrams of obscenities or edited only a selection, and he affirms, that the Jesuits were not the first do to so, but François Dubois. Furthermore he polemicizes against Paulus Melissus-Schede, whom, as he says, he met near Nuremberg, where Melissus stayed in about 1580/85, and who had said that Martial was also the author of the *Priapeia*.

Dedication. (ed. of Paris, 1617) Viro integritate, fide et doctrina summe conspicuo D. Petro Cagnerio, Regii Navaruae Collegii Primario, Stephanus Claverius in Curia Parisina Advocatus, S.P.D. [Inc.]: Hic poeta, quia dicit originem a gente Celtica atque inde nonnihil gloriatur, merito etiam a Celta aliquo vel pluribus omni genere officii prosequendus est. Itaque non invitus feci, ut unus e multis ei quoque venirem suppetias, si modo ars nostra quid novi aut exquisiti meditari valeat.... Si tamen huic poetae vel unicum *Iwta* dempseris, gratia omnis actum perierit, lepos denique omnis abfuerit, quamvis multo sit consultius pleraque leviter et in transitu legi quam toto sinu pressius et amabilius foveri. Verum ea videtur auctorum indolis rarae aut genii felicioris esse conditio, ut apud eos viola

urticae et spinis rosa sit vicinior, neque tamen id semper aut necessario bonis moribus longeque minus firmatae iam aetati praeiudicat. Ludorum siquidem lascivia nonnulla in Spectaculis, principum legibus vel placitis permitta est, ne populus videlicet quid peius moliatur, dum laetitiae expers aliquid, ut saepe, monstri alit ac novis rebus animum intendit. Atqui homines nostri plerisque sanctis doctoribus, non quidem sapientiores, sed zeli sui impulsu paulo severiores operi non solum satyrico, sed etiam huic poetae pudoris limas non semel evaganti suae novaculae aciem gnaviter adhibuerunt. Quod qui magnae et eruditae societati primitus ascribi volunt, vetusta nec unius tantum saeculi videre exemplaria. Id enim satis docet Parisina quaedam editio, quam Vascosanus multis post lustris splendide imitatus est. Fr. vero Silvius Ambianus, tum iuvenis, praefatione sua verbis quidem obsoletis et scrupulis, a quibus tamen postea defecit, composita omnibus palam facit meriti sui hac in parte fiduciam. Quod antiquissimum nec ignobile volumen inter aliquot S. Marionis viri clarissimi libellos quasi aliud agendo a me repertum est. Longolii sane chirographum p[re]se ferebat. Quae quidem res mirum in modum viris devoti ordinis placere potuit. Si modo insignis ille et cum primis disertus E. Augerius id praeviderit, quem profecto si P. Melissus poeta Germanus consuluisset, longe alio amandas set praesidem istum Hellesponti olim castae Aeneidi adiunctum, sua tamen opera huic nostro ex codice assertum, satis alias probabili indicio. Non tamen haec eo dicimus, quo Martiale ab omni penitus lascivia immunem praestare velimus. Satis erit ei non fuisse penitus improbum, nemo enim sine vitiis nascitur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Toto denique in orbe notus fuit Martialis, ac pauci post cineres adepti sunt, quod illi viventi ac sentienti optimo iure contigit atque haec, quodammodo selecta, saltem animi causa praefari libuit.

Commentary. Annotationum flosculi in M. Val. Martiale. [Inc.]: (Epigr. I) Barbara (Spect. I, 1)] Haec aspera vox in ipso limine aliquem sistere valeat aut sane excitet; nam

et genus dubium videri potest ac simul de numero non satis constat, nisi si quis vel ingenii acumen vel iudicii scintillam proprius admoverit [Expl.]: *Callidus emissas eludere simius hastas* (*Epigr.* XIV, 202)] Huius loci explicationem ante duo lustra in editione Persii fusius dedi tractatu singulari in locum Juvenal Sat.I., ubi post tot huius saeculi gloriosa lumina dixi, haec ad Simium pertinere, qui scabie quoque fruitur . . . Quia vero P. Melissus V.C., quem nos et vidimus apud Noricos, Val. Martiali ascribit diversorum poetarum, ut putant, lusus, dicam, quod sentio nihil mihi videri Martiale dignius, sed obniti fortius nolim. Utut sit Telethusa Lalage et Elephantis a poeta nostro celebratae in illo quoque carmine se videndas exhibent. Multa vero hic omisimus, quae tam brevi spatio includi non poterant; sed quae nondum data sunt, negata non sunt.

Edition:

1617, see *Composite Editions*.

Biography:

See CTC III 309.

21. PETRUS SCRIVERIUS

In about 1602 Scriverius had started to prepare an edition of Martial's epigrams. He thought this useful and necessary, because Gruterus' edition of 1602, which had been welcomed by many scholars, was full of mistakes. Josephus Justus Scaliger in particular urged him to hurry, for he himself had written a refutation of Marcilius' commentary on the *Liber Spectaculorum*, which was to be printed together with Scriverius' edition. The new edition was planned for Easter 1603, but in 1605 some sheets were still missing. The edition never was finished (cf. Eckstein in: Ersch-Gruber I, 95 358 s.v. "Ianus Gruterus", who makes it clear, that there never was a 1603 edition, as some bibliographers, e.g. Schweiger, had affirmed), Scriverius lost all inclination to bring his work to an end. But in 1618 he resumed his editorial activities and in 1619 the edition with commentary finally came out at Leyden. The commentary has several purposes:

it serves as a critical apparatus to the edition and corrects textual variants of other editions with the help of new manuscripts and references to other epigrams of the same author. Scriverius vehemently removes eight epigrams, which Iunius had found in an English manuscript and judged to be authentic: "Octo illa epigrammata, quae ex ms. Anglicano clarissimus Iunius eruit et editioni suae adiecit, nos fidenter ut spuria ac subditicia expunximus . . . Tam fatua, tam stulta in elegantissimo opere, ceu pannum in purpura, quis ferat? Irato prorsus Deo Musisque aversis nata . . ." (Lessing, more than a century later, still concurs in Iunius' view, cf. *Zerstreute Anmerkungen über das Epigramm, und einige der vornehmsten Epigrammatisten*, ed. Lachmann, 1895, XI 273 sq.). While preparing his edition, Scriverius had asked his friends Iustus Lipsius (1547–1606), Janus Rutgersius (1589–1625), and Ioannes Isacius Pontanus (1571–1639) to join in his efforts, mainly by comparing manuscripts unknown to him. All of them willingly complied with his request and sent him textual emendations, especially Pontanus, who stayed for some time in Denmark, where he had access to Danish libraries not yet explored for philological undertakings. The edition also includes their correspondence and emendations as well as the *diatebe critica* of Scaliger against Marcilius, and the notes of Ioannes Brodaeus (p. 169–208), Hadrianus Turnebus (p. 209–265), and Angelus Politianus (p. 266–280). In the course of the seventeenth century (1621, 1628, 1650, 1664, 1696) Scriverius' edition was reprinted without the commentary and the other additions.

Commentary. [Inc.]: (Ad librum *Spectaculorum*). Libellum de Spectaculis, qui extra ordinem reliquorum in limine Marcialis hactenus legi solet, destinaveram initio, cum operi manum mentemque admoverem, in calcem ultimam reicere, post ipsa adeo Apophoreta, quod iudicarem Marcialis foetum non esse . . . (*Epigr.* 1) [In Amphitheatum Caesaris] Non est lemma catholicon totius libri, quod quidam putant, sed primi epigrammatis inscriptio. Quare

non recte Parisiensis Magister commentarium suum in hunc librum inscripsit *Notas in amphitheatrum Caesaris* (In Martialis Epigr.Lib.1. In Epistola ad Lectorem) *Spero me sequutum etc.*] In plerisque antiquis exemplaribus mss. praeftationi huic appictum est lemma sive epigrapha huiusmodi: "M.Val.Martialis lectori suo S.", alias "M.Val.Martialis Coquus lectori S." . . . [Expl.]: (In Lib.Aphoretorum) CCXVIII: Non capio quorundam acumen. Itaque hoc distichon ad pristinam lectionem reformavi. CCXXI: *Adipata*] Ita reposui fide libraria. Vulgo erat *ientacula*.

Cl.VV.Iusti Lipsii, Iani Rutgersii, I. Isaaci Pontani Notae in Martialem. Ad Petrum Scriverium.

[Iustus Lipsius]. Antverpia me habebat recurrandae valetudini, cum tuae alterae ad me venerunt . . . Ex ipsis disco, in Martiali concinnando, an eo illustrando, te esse. Gaudeo, et acuto poetae tale ingenium contigisse . . . In Martialem pauca, magis ut voluisse gratia tua videar, quam quia condigna sint, mitto. Quid autem opus est? Nonne, virum illic habes, πολλῶν (μάλλον δὲ πάντων) ἀντάξιον ἄλλων? Consule, saluta, et dic nuper scripsisse. Vale. . . Lovanii MDCIII. (There follow six propositions, how to correct the text).

[Ianus Rutgersius]. Paruimus praecepsis tuis . . . ac Martialem tuum relegimus. Si, quid de tuis ad eum notis sentiam, quaeris, non aliter quam tacendo respondebo. Tot enim ac tanta sunt, quae tu in eo praestisti, ut praestitisti, ut praedicationem meam longe supergressa sint. Evidem Belgii nostri fortunae gratulor, penes quod servati Martialis gloria est . . . His (sc. Hadriano Iunio, Iano Grutero) tu successisti, Scriveri, qui, si quid illis defuit, suppleres. Quod tam feliciter tibi cecidit, ut sanos quidem, qui id post te tentaturi erant, a scribendo deterrueris. Quo magis irasci, si tam crudele verbum fraternus amor non refugit, tibi debeo, qui hactenus nos desiderio tuorum languere sinis. Interim, ut voluisti, mea habe, quae tua vel exemplo eliciant,

vel, si id non potest, convicio exprimant. (43 variae lectiones follow).

[Ioannis Isaaci Pontani Spicilegium ad Martialem]. In Daniam cum nuper evocatus excurrissem, essemque in eo, ut quaecumque ad historiam ac res Daniae illustrandas proprius pertinerent, conquerirerem atque indagarem, accidit, ut illustris ac magnifici viri Christiani Friis, serenissimi Maiestatis Regiae Magni Cancellarii, instructissimam bibliothecam ingressus, non tantum, quae huic siti levandae facerent luculenter prehenderem, sed et alia, interque ceteros litteraturae elegantioris auctores Martialem in membranis reperiem. Quem quia te, Scriveri iucundissime, multis iam annis reipublicae litterariae ex promisso debere non ignorarem, cogitavi haud abs re facturum me, si et hic codex, non nolente illustri cancellario cum libris vulgatis collatus, tuis illis post omnes omnium accuratissimis observationibus suam quoque symbolam conferret. Et ecce vel ista iam tibi, quae ego, dum permittunt feriae, quodammodo furtim et festinanter, adhibitis praecipue tua et Gruteri nostri limatissimis editionibus, in hanc corollam vice spicilegii et quasi e quercu exsculpta, conieci. Nam post vestras palmas totque inspectos consultosque manuscriptos, hic velle satagere, multaque ac magna minitari, esset, quod dicitur, sincerum vas incrustare, et stellis nebulam spargere candidis. Hoc itaque agamus. (Follow about 60 variants).

Edition:

1618-1619. See *Composite Editions*.

Biography:

Petrus Scriverius (Schrijver, Schryver, Schreiner [?]) was born at Haarlem Jan. 12 1576. He was educated in his native town by Cornelius Schoenaeus (Terentius Christianus), and studied law and classics at Leyden. Among his friends were Meursius, Lipsius, P. Merula, J. J. Scaliger, Ioannes I. Pontanus, and others. He lived on his own means at Leyden without aspiring for an appointment at the University. Scriverius became blind in his later years, and he died on his estate Worlewijk April 30, 1660.

Works. He edited Apuleius, Arnobius,

Ausonius, Frontinus, Hyginus, Seneca, Suetonius, Vegetius; he wrote historical works, and poems.

Bibl.: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie XXXIII 492 (Hocke); *Jöcher IV* 446-447; *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle* 43.593-594; *Sandys II* 307.

22. LOST OR DOUBTFUL COMMENTARIES

a. JOHANNES MAREGUS

John Bale (1495-1563), later Bishop of Ossory, and mostly known for his dramas, but also a man of great theological and historical learning, is not only the author of the well-known History of English Literature, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytaniae ... catalogus XIV centurias continens* (1557/59, Basileae: Ioannes Oporinus), but also of an unpublished History of Carmelite writers, actually Cod. Harleianus 3838 of the British Museum in London (*Catal. Harleian MSS. III* 86). On f.76 of this *Perpaucorum Carmeli scriptorum, ab Helia Thesbite ad Bartoldum primum eorum magistrum generalem catalogus admodum brevissimus*, as well as in Centuria VII Nr.32 (p. 531-532) of the *Scriptorum illustrium Catalogus*, mentioned above, he deals with the Carmelite Ioannes Maregus (Marego; John Marrey, Marre), later head of the Carmelite convent at Doncaster, who died on March 18, 1407. Bale makes a list of Marrey's writings which are mostly theological. The only exception is the eighth work he registers, *In Epigramma Martialis lib.I*, which began "Aethereas lascivae cupidinis". All these works unfortunately are lost at present, so that there is no proof whether Maregus really wrote a commentary on the epigrams of Martial, or whether he confused Martial with his medieval imitator Geoffrey of Winchester, whose gnomic epigrams would have fitted his theological interests better than the lascivious epigrams of the Roman satirist. There is no reason to doubt that Bale saw such a commentary, as he himself was a former Carmelite at Norwich, where there was a considerable library of

Carmelite authors. In any case, this work is no longer extant, but if it really existed, it was the earliest Martial commentary.

Bibliography: *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* II 53-54 Nr. XLIX; *Dictionary of National Biography* XXXVI 196 (James Tait); *Fabri- cius-Ernesti* II 380; Leland, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis* 410 sq.; *Index Britanniae Scriptorum quos ex variis bibliothecis non parvo labore collegit Ioannes Baleus, cum aliis. John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers*, ed. by Reginald Lane Poole with the help of Mary Bateson (Anecdota Oxoniensia. Texts, Documents, and Extracts Chiefly From Manuscripts in the Bodleian and Other Oxford Libraries IV, Medieval and Modern Series IX, Oxford, 1902) 233.

b. GUARINUS VERONENSIS

Girolamo Baruffaldi Jr., in many respects a not very reliable authority, tells us that Guarino Veronense (1374-1460), too, had commented on Martial. Baruffaldi affirms to have seen such a commentary coming from the possession of Battista Panetti (d.1491), whose books were preserved in the Carmelite Monastery of San Paolo at Ferrara. In the Napoleonic Era, some of Panetti's books were lost, while some came into the possession of the Biblioteca Ariostea (Biblioteca Civica) of Ferrara. Among the manuscripts which can be proved to have belonged to Panetti there is no commentary on Martial, and I presume that such a commentary never existed. Otherwise, how could we explain that Guarino mentions Martial only twice in his voluminous epistolary, whereas authors he knew well are quoted very often, e.g. Ovid, Vergil, Catullus, Persius, and Juvenal, the last two being authors on whom Guarino had lectured and commented? Both commentaries are preserved in lecture notes; for the Juvenal commentary see CTC I, 205-08 and for the Persius commentary III, 255-58. It appears that Baruffaldi through faulty memory confused the actual Juvenal commentary with a non-existent one on Martial.

Bibliography: Girolamo Baruffaldi, *Della*

tipografia Ferrarese dall'anno MCCCCLXXI al MD. Saggio letterario bibliografico (Ferrara, 1777) 30; Giuseppe Procacci, 'Index codicum latinorum classicorum qui Ferrariae in civica bybliotheca adservantur', *Studi Italiani* XIX (1912) 24–52, 28; id., 'Scholia a Giovenale di Battista Guarini in un codice Ferrarese', *Studi Italiani* XX (1913) 425–437.

c. PETRUS MARSUS

Fabricius-Ernesti II 380, and Antonius,

Hisp. vet. 85, list a Martial edition "Venetiis 1492, apud Bonettum Locatellum 'Cum commentariis Petri Marsi'", but both admit that they have not seen it. Such an edition could not be traced. The only work of a classical author with the commentary of Petrus Marsus (c. 1442–1512) that appeared in Venice in 1492 (May 18), and what is more, at the printing press of Bonetus Locatellus, is Silius Italicus, *Punica* (H 14740; BMC 5.440), so that the authorities mentioned above may be supposed to have been mistaken.