

VALERIUS MAXIMUS

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Fortuna

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FORTUNA*

Probably in the third and fourth decades of the first century Valerius Maximus recorded in his *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem* almost a thousand examples of virtues to be fostered and vices to be shunned. Intended for the use of rhetoricians and orators, they run the gamut from bravery, patience, and moderation to avarice, cruelty, and lust and are culled from Roman, Greek, and other civilizations. The sources were writers like Livy, Cicero, and Varro. The work itself is the best evidence for the time of its composition: it is dedicated to Tiberius, and its denunciation of Sejanus (IX 11, ext. 4) leads to the assumption that it was at least finished after that conspirator's downfall in the year 31. The work is also the best, if scanty, evidence for the life of its author, revealing

not only the excellence of his education but also the fact that he was friend and protégé of Sextus Pompeius (II 6, 8 and IV 7, ext. 2), consul in the year 14 and about 27 proconsul of Asia, on which mission Valerius accompanied him.

Often repeated is the statement made almost a century and a half ago by Barthold Georg Niebuhr in his *Historische und philologische Vorträge an der Universität zu Bonn gehalten*, that the text of Valerius was regarded throughout the Middle Ages as the most important book next to the Bible. Few scholars today would go as far, but the nine following sections of this *Fortuna* should demonstrate that his influence in the Middle Ages and later was indeed enormous. Documentation for these sections is provided in Section III of the Bibliography.

1. *THE EXEMPLUM AS A LITERARY GENRE*

The literature of *exempla* is a vast one which has been too little investigated. It is vast because the urge to pattern conduct on an example, whether written or not, is universal. Whoever watches a little girl as she instinctively balances a teacup on its saucer in imitation of her mother understands the importance of example in the learning process. The animal world illustrates the same truth. In the *Thesaurus linguae latinae* I. Kapp and G. Meyer

* I am grateful to the official readers of this article and in particular to Professors Cranz and Kristeller. They are hard taskmasters, or to change the metaphor from the book of Exodus to classical Greece, they have acted as Socratic gadflies to goad me to increased accuracy and clarity. Almost profligate of their own time in assisting others, they have bettered this presentation at countless points of transcription, interpretation, and bibliography. At the proper places I have acknowledged the assistance of other scholars and librarians of the republic of letters.

had to devote in the second fascicle of volume V full twenty-five broad columns to the word *exemplum*. And when the *exemplum* is written, and mankind uses it in its narrowed, specific, literary sense which is the ultimate manifestation of its popularity, then all history becomes in one sense a series of *exempla*, and the literature progresses steadily from early Eastern and pagan times straight through to William Francis Shaw's *The Preacher's Promptuary of Anecdote: Stories, New and Old, Arranged, Indexed, and Classified for the Use of Preachers, Teachers, and Catechists* (London, 1884) and even, for example, to the subject index of a late edition of John Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*.

This is not a kind of writing, however, which is necessarily or perhaps even desirably bellettristic; it is a literature of convenience, a literature for someone hunting in history an illustration of courage, or perfidy, or humility. When Erasmus has Nosoponus remark scathingly in the *Ciceronianus* that Valerius Maximus in his style resembles Cicero as a mule resembles a man he ignores the purpose of a collection of *exempla*, which is practicality.

2. ANCIENT TESTIMONY

Valerius had had his predecessors in other worlds and in the Roman world; he has had his imitators, conscious and unconscious, for nineteen centuries since. We must remember, however, that parallel passages in ancient authors can deceive and that whether Valerius is named or not—in Pliny the Elder, Lucan, L. Annaeus Seneca, Frontinus, Plutarch, Gellius, Apuleius, Aelian, Lactantius, Ammianus, Macrobius, Symmachus—, the possibility of a common source must be considered. The reader is referred to modern studies on the matter for considered judgments. It is unfortunate that a doctoral dissertation on Aelian's borrowings from Valerius which was under way three decades ago with Warren E. Blake at the University of Michigan was lost to scholarship when the candidate became timorous and shifted, *nolente* Blake, to another subject.

The concept of the common source will operate very often also in the *Fortuna* of Valerius, as will the question of indirect transmission. Does a writer, actually naming Valerius, draw from him directly or from an anthology or collection of excerpts? Does the anthologist or collector of excerpts, actually naming Valerius, use him directly or indirectly through an earlier anthologist or collector of excerpts? Each case must eventually be decided, when it can, on the basis of the individual circumstances peculiar to it, and it is well that in recent years scholars have examined more closely the part played by florilegia in the transmission of ancient authors.

3. EPITOMES, ANNOTATIONS, FLORILEGIA, EXCERPTS

The contribution of Valerius was known in the period which is mistakenly called the Dark Ages. Julius Paris, who perhaps as early as the fourth century had epitomized his huge bulk, and Januarius Nepotianus, who set down a shorter epitome probably before the sixth century, are accorded separate articles in this volume even though they lack commentators; commentators, as is understandable, concentrated on Valerius himself. In the ninth century Sedulius Scottus excerpted him, and Servatus Lupus set down in Bernensis 366, s. IX, those marginalia the identification of which remains one of the great achievements of the sciences of palaeography and textual criticism. As Lindsay put it, 'At one touch of Traube's magic wand, this Berne MS has become one of the most precious monuments of mediaeval learning.' Heiric, in turn, bearing witness to the excellent teaching of Lupus, recorded selected excerpts which have been transmitted in nine manuscripts. This tradition of teacher-to-student, a *Leitmotiv*, is happily prominent in all the *Fortuna* of Valerius and especially, of course, in Renaissance Italy, as will be seen below, where it flowered from humanist to evolving humanist.

The tradition of annotating manuscripts of Valerius also continued. Among the densest and most competent representatives are the annotations of Johannes Caballinus de Cer-

ronibus; they were probably completed by 1350 and are treated in the section on commentaries. Similar annotations, appearing as marginal and interlinear glosses in several hands, are carried in Ottobonianus latinus 2843, s. XIV-XV; in Ambrosianus D. 81 Inf., anno 1407, to f. 55v, Book IV 1, 5 (for photocopies which have jogged my memory I would express my appreciation to Donald Yates of the Ambrosiana Cataloguing Project, University of Notre Dame); and in Ambrosianus H.25. Inf., s. XV. Annotations by Gasparinus Barzizius in Vaticanus latinus 7229, s. XIV, might lead to the assumption that their author contemplated a commentary on Valerius. As Cesare Colombo, whose early death halted his important work on the correspondence and library of Barzizius, has stated, the margins are crammed with these glosses; in addition Barzizius must have had available a copy of the commentary of Johannes de Ravenna, who is treated below; he owned Ost Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 649, s. XIV, containing the commentary of Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri; he had access probably to other manuscripts of Valerius; and he mentions in his letters the difficulties presented by the text of Valerius. Colombo believed, however, that in the letter to Giovanni Cornaro, written from Padua in the period 1411–1415, which is printed on Colombo's pages 22–23, Barzizius is not necessarily referring to a formal commentary on Valerius; the many and detailed annotations in Vaticanus latinus 7229 may represent his principal contribution to the elucidation of Valerius. A century and more later, Michael Mackius set down remarks which are treated below in the section on commentaries.

In the later Middle Ages the popularity of Valerius is abundantly witnessed also by the citations in catalogues of mediaeval libraries of manuscripts of his text which are now lost and by the hundreds of manuscripts which have descended intact from that and ensuing periods. Authors using his material include Fulbert of Chartres, to whom he was Valerius Rufus, Gauzlin of Fleury, Wibald, Peter of Blois, Petrus Cantor, John of Salisbury, Giraldus Cambrensis, and Saxo Grammaticus.

Several manuscripts of the twelfth century transmit an anonymous anthology of Valerius and Gellius. Valerius is represented in the *Florilegium angelicum* and the *Florilegium morale oxoniense*. Early florilegia like these became the models of such later collections as Hieremias de Montagnone's *Compendium moralium notabilium*, compiled about 1300 and published first at Venice in 1505, and Johannes Basilius Herold's *Exempla virtutum et vitiorum atque etiam aliarum rerum maxime memorabilium futura lectori supra modum magnus thesaurus* (Basileae, 1555).

And the epitomes continued. Anonymous epitomators are represented, for example, in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 166 Gud. lat. 4°, s. XII, and Roma, Accademia dei Lincei, Biblioteca Corsiniana, 43. D. 27, s. XIV. The contribution of the great Bolognese juriconsult Johannes Andreae, who died in 1348, is preserved in a half-dozen manuscripts of the fifteenth century, for example, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticani latini 5817 and 7320. In the mid-fifteenth century the humanist Nicolaus Vulpes of Vicenza, who taught at Bologna from 1440 to 1460, set down an epitome which, preserved in Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 735, s. XV, and Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Suss. I. 51, an. 1453, adapts and selects from the text of Valerius with some freedom. That of Robert Duval appeared first at Paris as an undated incunabulum (R 1888; Pellechet 4538) and that of Joannes Honorius Crispus ('nullius ut videtur pretii' according to Fabricius) was published at Leipzig in 1503. In 1566 at Lyon Antonius Gryphius published the *Collectanea, id est, selecta exempla* edited by Robertus Constantinus (d. 1605), pupil of Julius Caesar Scaliger.

4. VERSIFICATIONS

A curious phenomenon was the urge to commit the text of Valerius to verse. This arduous effort was undertaken in the eleventh century by Rodulfus Tortarius, a Benedictine monk of Fleury, whose elegiacs are contained, with other works of his, in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis lati-

nus 1357, s. XII. Three centuries later the activity of a scholar and poet of Fano produced an epitome of Valerius, again in elegiacs, which was dedicated to Federico da Montefeltro (1422–1482), duke of Urbino, and is carried anonymously in Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F.68 Sup., s. XV, and N.138 Sup., an. 1481. It would be pleasant to attribute this unconditionally to Antonius Constantius Fanensis (1436–1490), who as a pupil of Guarinus Veronensis may have been exposed early to Valerius. This identification was in fact suggested by Remigio Sabbadini in 'Il Fanense e Nicola Volpe,' *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XLVI (1905), 75–77, and was put forth as certain by the same authority in 'Antonio Costanzo e Valerio Massimo,' *Classici e umanisti da codici ambrosiani* (Firenze, 1933 [Fontes Ambrosiani, II]), 119–122; Kristeller (Iter I, 299, 302) seems to accept it. I hesitate for two reasons. Augusto Campana in 'Scritture di umanisti,' *Rinascimento*, I (1950), 238, felt that Sabbadini's reworking of his first article had resulted in a 'rielaborazione più ampia, forse meno prudente,' and in 1951 in Milano Giuseppe Rotondi, for whose scholarship and modesty I have much respect and whose early death in 1953 was a great loss (Aristide Calderini provided an obituary and a bibliography of 47 items in Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, *Rendiconti*, LXXXVI [1953], Parte Generale e Atti Ufficiali, 141–144) told me that he knew the two manuscripts at the Ambrosiana but, believing the proof on Constantius insufficient, preferred to continue to regard the work as anonymous. It still attests, however, to the interest of a gifted writer from Fano in Valerius about the year 1480.

One versifier was unable to complete his unenviable task: after the death of P. Carolus a S. Wenceslao, of Litomyšl in Bohemia, his versification, also in elegiacs, was edited, enlarged by more than half, and published in 1722 at Rastatt by the Viennese Piarist Martinus a S. Brunone (1622–1734), author of other poetical works.

5. QUOTATIONS AND CITATIONS

Several lifetimes would not suffice to col-

lect quotations and citations from Valerius in authors, and they are legion, of mediaeval, Renaissance, and modern times. Certainly not all are from the full text; some are undoubtedly at second hand, but all attest to the usefulness of Valerius over many centuries. He was known in the thirteenth century, for example, to Jacobus de Cessolis and Vincent de Beauvais and to the compiler of the *Novellino*; in the fourteenth, to Giordano da Pisa, Giovanni Villani, Thomas Hibernicus, Robert de Basevorn, John Ridevall, Richard Aungerville de Bury, Michele da Massa Maritima, Cola di Rienzo, Johannes de Columna, Thomas Waleys, Robert Holcot, Piero di Dante Alighieri, Guglielmo da Pastrengo, Thomas de Ringstead, Lapo da Castiglione, Geoffrey Chaucer, Honoré Bonet (who mentions him as 'magnus Valerius' in a speech which, as James John graciously informs me, was transcribed by John Hus in 1399), Coluccio Salutati, Giovanni de Loddovicis, Jean de Montreuil; in the fifteenth, to Cino Rinuccini, Pierre Flamenc, Enrique de Villena, Giovanni Dominici, Clemente Sanchez de Vercial, John Boston of Bury, Georgius Stella, Sicco Polenton, Vittorino da Feltre, Nicolaus de Cleman-giis, Franciscus Philelphus, Angelo Poliziano, Lauro Quirini, Gregor von Heimburg, Domitius Calderinus, Antonio de Lebrija, Bartholomaeus Fontius, Johannes Whethamstede, Albrecht von Eyb, Joannes Cynicus, Hartmann Schedel, John Russell, Petrus Crinitus. The geographical representation is equally comprehensive in the sixteenth century, witness Johannes Cuspinianus, Aldus Manutius, Thomas Pentzeldt, Andreas Meinhardi, François Rabelais, Gregorius Bontius, Juan de Valdés, Johannes Lubranski, Titus Sempronius Hieronymus Castellioneus, Niccolò Franco, Jacobus Schegkianus, Marc Antoine Muret, Michel de Montaigne, Franciscus Modius, Caspar Cunradus, Joseph Scaliger, Tommaso Campanella. All names, to be sure, but not 'just names,' for most are very prominent and those which are humble are perhaps even more convincing witnesses to the popularity of Valerius. In the seventeenth century he leaves traces in Ben Jonson, Baltasar Gracián, Gerardus Vossius, Christian Daum, Petrus Lambecius,

Charles Sorel, Jean Hardouin, Philippe Labbé, Johannes Conradus Dietericus, Pompeo Al-drovandi, Francesco Maria Cervelli, and in the eighteenth, in Cotton Mather, Charles Louis de Montesquieu, Johann Georg Schelhorn, François Vavasseur, James Boswell; as late as 1960 the *Penguin Dictionary of Quotations* listed the appeal (VI 2, ext. 1) from Philip drunk to Philip sober.

I have reserved one category which more specifically illustrates the popularity of Valerius through the centuries but reveals also a decline as Latin became familiar to fewer people. Perhaps in my other role as historian of medicine I may be permitted the observation that physicians used to take a degree in *Arts and Medicine*. Rare is the physician today who has a background in languages and humanistic studies, though E.R.N. Grigg in 1955 (*Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, X, 74), in a review of tuberculosis in the mentally ill, was able to call attention to the disease of Antiochus which is related by Valerius (whom he terms 'rhetor and sycophant') in V 7, ext. 1. Many and eminent were the earlier physicians who, trained in *Arts and Medicine* and competent to handle the Latin language, displayed a knowledge of Valerius—Niccolò Leonicensio, Hieronymus Brunschwig, Antonio Guainerio, Girolamo Cardano, André Du Laurens, Hieronymus Fabricius ab Aquapendente, Girolamo Mercuriale, Francesco Redi, Marco Aurelio Severino, Ralph Bathurst, Giovanni Maria Lancisi, Giorgio Baglivi, Johann Gottfried von Berger, Jean Jacques Manget, Giambattista Morgagni, François Leuret, and P. Gratiolet. Certainly the great Lancisi in his *De subitaneis mortibus* (Romae, 1707), I, 5, looked with greater favor on Valerius than did Dr. Grigg: making the point that sometimes the blame for sudden death is assigned to certain factors which accompany but do not necessarily contribute, he cites the words of Valerius (and I quote from the translation of Paul Dudley White and Alfred V. Boursy [New York, 1970], pages 11–12) that 'since the end of our life is accessible to various and occult causes, certain factors assume at times unwarrantedly the honor of final arbiter, when they are by far more

incidental to the time of death, than the cause of death itself' (IX 12, 8). Saul Jarcho, one of the rare Latinists *and* physicians of modern times, reminded me of this tract in connection with the sudden death of Pope John Paul I on 28 September 1978 (*Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, XXXIV [1979], 91), and I am in turn reminded of Lancisi's remarks in his *Dissertatio de recta medicorum studiorum ratione instituenda habitata ad novae academiae alumnos, et medicinae tyrones in Archinosocomio S. Spiritus in Saxia* (Romae, 1715) that, in the unpublished translation of Howard B. Adelman, 'there are a great many who study medicine only six months and acquire no skill even in the Latin language, to say nothing of mathematics, and no knowledge of chemistry, botany, zoology, or anatomy. . . . As for Latin, it is not so much a mark of distinction to know it as it is disgraceful not to. The man who knows no Latin cannot understand what others have written and cannot write what will be intelligible to foreigners and to posterity.' Perhaps, therefore, to end this digression on the education of physicians, we should say, 'Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.'

6. COPYISTS, OWNERS, BORROWERS

Let us return to relations which from one point of view are closer and consider the copyists who penned the manuscripts of Valerius, the persons, scholars or not, who owned or annotated manuscripts and printed editions, and the scholars who, unable or unwilling to purchase a manuscript or printed edition, borrowed the text from friend or library. Here in subscriptions, in inscriptions of ownership, in lists of manuscripts in private and public libraries is a vast mine from which to assess the popularity of any author. It is a mine as yet relatively unworked, and the few examples cited here for Valerius will serve to indicate also the rich veins available for all authors. A Johannes, for example, copied at Verona in 1328 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus latinus 1917 and proudly signed his name; it is the opinion of Sabbadini (II, 193) that he was not Johannes

de Matociis, called Mansionarius, but in a more modern age Rino Avesani, himself Veronese, favors Mansionarius. We are happy to read in West Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. fol. 585, of the involvement of Benedictus de Pileo with this manuscript in 1416: 'Finis Valerii Maximi, qui lectus est in Constancia civitate tempore generalis concilii per dominum Benedictum de Pilleo poetam laureatum anno videlicet Domini 1416.' Franciscus Nutus wrote in 1423 the manuscript Ost Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 648/I, which Zeno da Castiglione, bishop of Bayeux from 1432 to 1459, gave to the duke Charles d'Orléans; in 1453 Nicolaus Astesanus, secretary to Charles, wrote Hamilton 648/II. Three years later the jurist Johannes Pirkheimer (d. 1501), father of Bilibaldus, wrote at the age of sixteen London, British Library, Arundel 256; the manuscript was purchased in 1636 in Nürnberg with others from the son's library by Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, and came to its present home in 1828.

Among owners we call to mind representatives of princely and noble families like Lodovico Gonzaga, who lent his Valerius to Aldobrandino III d'Este for copying and then was asked to send next the commentary of Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri; Cosimo di Giovanni de' Medici, for whose library at the Badia di Fiesole Vespasiano da Bisticci obtained, classed with histories, a manuscript of Valerius which was transferred to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence in 1783 and is Fiesole CLXXVIII there; Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, who owned what is now LXIII.24 there; and Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici, who bought from Poggio Bracciolini what is now LXIII.26 in the same library. We remember physicians like Amplonius Ratinc, whose rather slight holdings in Valerius went in 1412 with his generally rich library to Erfurt; Giovanni Marco (d. 1474) da Rimini, who listed a Valerius in his will; Antonio Benivieni, pioneer of pathological anatomy in his publication *De abditis nonnullis ac mirandis morborum et sanationum causis* (Florentiae, 1507), who included a Valerius in a list of his books on 25 December 1487; and John Caius, whose

Valerius was recorded in an inventory made on his death in 1573. We recollect ecclesiastics like Jacques de Combarn, who annotated the manuscript of Valerius and his commentator Dionysius which is now at Clermont-Ferrand, Arch. dép. du Puy-de-Dôme, F.O.88; Domenico Cardinal Capranica, who owned both the full Valerius and the epitome of Johannes Andreae; William Grey, probably the first Englishman to attend the lectures of Guarinus Veronensis, who owned a copy of Dionysius which is now Oxford, Balliol College Library, CXXII; John Gunthorpe, also a student of Guarinus and likewise representative of the teacher-to-student tradition, who possessed the only printed edition (Strassburg, not after 1475) in Latin of Dionysius; Jean Crabbe, abbé des Dunes from 1457 to 1488, who commissioned the French translation by Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse which is now MS. 157-159 in the library of the Grootseminarie of Bruges; Johannes Duvravius, whose richly annotated manuscripts of Valerius are now, with the rest of his library, in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska at Kraków; and Solomon Stoddard, first librarian of Harvard College and distinguished pastor at Northampton, Massachusetts, for whose library at Harvard the Frankfurt, 1627 edition of Valerius was registered in 1664.

Other scholars, bibliophiles, and publishers owned copies of Valerius. In 1335 Oliviero Forzetta of Treviso listed ancient authors whose texts he wanted to obtain; Valerius was among them, and Valerius he obtained. The jurist Pietro da Monteforte annotated Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus latinus 1919, s. XIV. Jan de Wilde (1389-1419), alderman of Bruges, owned a manuscript of Valerius. Petrus Matthaeus de Marco of Civitella Castellana annotated in 1418 the manuscript which is now Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Acq. e Doni, 440. Pearl Kibre's listing of the library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola includes copies of Valerius. Giampietro Stella, Venetian grand chancellor from 1517 to 1522, mentioned in his will his printed Valerius. Federicus Cerutus, commentator of Persius (CTC III, 297-298) received as a gift what is now Città del Vati-

cano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regimensis latinus 876. The poet Gabriel Harvey annotated the Estienne edition of Valerius which is now in the Cambridge University Library. An inventory of the printer Roger Ward's Shrewsbury stock made in 1585 included two editions of Valerius. The bibliophile Hélié du Fresnoy's copy of an edition of Valerius bound in red morocco brought £170 at a sale in Paris in 1957. And in Philadelphia James Logan, secretary to William Penn and chief justice of the Supreme Court, possessed the Leiden, 1660, and Rotterdam, 1671 editions.

These are a selected few of individuals who owned the text of Valerius. In the fashion of owners who inscribed their books 'Ad usum mei et amicorum' many, like owners today, lent them generously to friends. But perhaps nowhere does the act of conscientious borrowing shine more brightly than in the first two registers of loans from the Vatican Library which have been so splendidly edited by Maria Bertòla. On 22 May 1479 the Florentine Luca Dolci, *cameriere* of cardinal Domenico della Rovere, borrowed an annotated parchment manuscript of Valerius which was duly returned on 21 April. On 5 January 1481 Pietro Ghirarducci, presbyter of Parma and from 1476 apostolic acolyte, borrowed a Vegetius and a Frontinus and left as surety his own Valerius. On 7 July 1483 Carlo Bucconi, secretary to the cardinal bishop of Parma and in 1495 himself a bishop, borrowed a paper manuscript of Valerius, bound in leather, which was subject to recall on request; he returned it on 13 September.

7. IMITATORS

The imitators, conscious and unconscious, direct and indirect, were many; the extent, form, and quality of their imitation varied. John of Salisbury and Saxo Grammaticus, who have already been mentioned, borrowed directly. Nicolaus Hanapus, patriarch of Jerusalem who died in 1291, assembled *exempla* of virtues and vices from both the Old and the New Testament; his work was actually published with that of Valerius at Basel in

1555, and with them in that florilegium compiled by Johannes Basilius Herold are, appropriately, the following representatives of the same literary genre: the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomicarum dispensationum exempla*, Heraclides Lembus's *De politiis*, and the *Erotica* of Parthenius, all three of which, of course, preceded Valerius; the *Strategemata* of Frontinus and the *Varia historia* of Aelian, which have been mentioned before; the *De dictis factisque memorabilibus collectanea* of Baptista Fregosus (Fulgosus), who was doge of Genoa from 1478 until he was banished in 1483 by his uncle Paolo Cardinal Fregoso; the *Exemplorum libri decem* of Marcus Antonius Coccius, called Sabellicus; the *De religiose vivendi institutione per exempla* of Marcus Marulus of Spalato, which was first published in 1513; and the *De rebus humanis variorum exemplorum liber* of Guy de Fontenay of Bourges, written in 1516. And in England in the century of Hanapus John of Wales (Walleys, Wallensis) 'armed his readers,' in the words of Beryl Smalley, 'with a new Valerius Maximus brought up to date, vastly elaborated and expanded'; his 'outstanding characteristic . . . particularly in the *Compendiloquium* and the *Breviloquium de virtutibus* is,' according to W. A. Pantin, 'his constant use of quotations and anecdotes from the pagan classical world for the purpose of moral edification.'

In the fourteenth century two luminaries in the literature of all mankind took their course in part from Valerius. The epitome of the juriconsult Johannes Andreae has been mentioned above. On 27 December 1343 Petrarch informed him (*Fam.* V.7) that he had in process a *Liber memorandarum rerum*. Petrarch's affinity for Valerius may be due to his close relations with the commentator Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri. Valerius was among his favorite books, marginalia citing Valerius which he entered in other manuscripts show that he had ready access to the text, and he possessed at least from 1335 a twelfth-century copy of Vaticanus latinus 4929, which carries the epitome of Julius Paris. There are many traces of Valerius in the *Familiares* and even in so short a work as the tenth eclogue, *Lau-*

rea occidens. Petrarch may object (*Fam.* IV.15) that Valerius is not his favorite moralist and that Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca rate before him, but Valerius had an important place among those who furnished the *exempla* so necessary to him. He admits (*Fam.* VI.4) his overuse of *exempla*, saying that he could indeed use fewer, that he could as a matter of fact simply not write, but in this letter to Giovanni Cardinal Colonna, to whom Dionysius dedicated his commentary, he quotes Juvenal's 'Difficile est satyram non scribere' and finds the ills of the world so discouraging that it is hard to be silent; nothing moves him like the examples of eminent men. He will therefore, he adds, continue to cite them, and after all, if there are those who do not like *exempla*, they need not read; he forces no one to read him. For his *Rerum memorandarum libri*, as Giuseppe Billanovich points out, Valerius was both source and model.

The second luminary illustrates the teacher-to-student tradition. Giovanni Boccaccio was immensely influenced in Naples by Dionysius, his library contained manuscripts of the commentary of Dionysius and the text of Valerius, and he is now credited with translating Valerius into Italian (see below, p. 297). In his Latin works he shows a firm acquaintance with Valerius, but especially in the *Filocolo* is the contribution of the ancient author 'presente e viva,' as Quaglio states. It induced him to set down episodes and events in the tradition of the mediaeval anthologies, it opened the gates to a world where the heroes of the past returned to walk the earth of his day, and it provided repeated instances even of close verbal similarity.

As in the case of Petrarch, the fact that the distinguished humanist Johannes de Ravenna (Giovanni da Ravenna, Giovanni di Conversino, 1343–1408), wrote a *Memorandarum rerum liber* implies at once an acquaintance on his part with the work of Valerius Maximus, an acquaintance perhaps inspired by Petrarch and fostered under his teacher Petrus de Muglio. This imitation, together with his newfound commentary on Valerius, is treated in the section on commentators, as is Petrus de Muglio. 'Maestro' Marzagaia, an obvious imitator, I

also reserve for that section. Meanwhile and in successive centuries numerous works were composed the very titles of which ring of Valerius and the content of which in greater or lesser degree recalls Valerius and the whole genre of *exempla*. Christine de Pisan (ca. 1363–ca. 1431) wrote *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, *Le livre des trois vertus*, *Dits moraux ou les enseignements que Christine donne à son fils*, and *Le livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie*. According to her biographer Marie-Josèphe Pinet almost all her more important prose works owe much to Valerius, and she herself refers to the part played by Charles V in the French translation by Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse which is listed below. Antonius Beccadelli, called Panormita, celebrated Alfonso V in 1455 in *De dictis ac factis Alphonsi regis Aragonum libri IV*, the chapters of which according to Gianvito Resta in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* were keyed to such adverbs as *iuste*, *modeste*, *fortiter*; it was published first at Pisa in 1485, was often translated, and was supplied with a commentary by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405–1464), Pope Pius II, who also began *Commentarii rerum memorabilium, quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. The humanist, physician, and astronomer Galeottus Martius (1427–probably 1497), who studied at Padua, taught at Bologna, and was first director of the royal library at Buda and secretary to Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, extolled that king in *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Matthiae ad ducem Iohannem eius filium*; Martius was teacher of Georgius Merula, who is mentioned below under the commentator Oliverius Arzignanensis. *Les faictz et dictz* of Alain Chartier, who died before 1463, was published in several editions. The contribution of Baptista Fregosus has been mentioned at the beginning of this section. And in Spain Diego Rodriguez de Almella published in 1487 *Valerio de las estorias escolasticas y de España*, which appeared also in later editions. But there is an exception which proves the rule, as it were, and attests to the need for constant caution. The *Liber de dictis philosophorum antiquorum*, which was originally compiled by Mubash-

shir ibn Fātik in Arabic in the eleventh century, enjoyed a rebirth in this period; translated into French in the fourteenth century by Guillaume de Tignonville and into English in the fifteenth by Anthony Woodville, earl of Rivers, it was printed in 1477 by William Caxton as *The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* and quite apart from its content holds a lofty, honored, and envied position as the first dated book printed in England. In Ezio Franceschini, Curt F. Bühler, and Giuseppe Billanovich it has had in recent decades observers and promoters worthy of its importance. It is precisely in such a work that borrowings from Valerius might be expected, but they quite simply do not occur. From it, by contrast, Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri drew for his commentary on Valerius.

In the sixteenth century in France Guillaume du Bellay was composing *exempla* of French history in imitation of Valerius, and the *Sententiae & exempla ex probatissimis quibusque auctoribus scriptoribus collecta* of Andreas [Rodrigues] Eborensis appeared at Lyon in 1557. Lodovico Domenichi furnished *Historia de' detti e fatti degni di memoria di diversi principi et huomini privati, antichi e moderni* (Vinegia, 1556), Lodovico Guicciardini, nephew of the historian Francesco, wrote *Detti e fatti piacevoli et gravi di diversi principi, filosofi, et cortigiani* (Venetia, 1565), and Luigi Contarini's *Il vago, e dilettevole giardino, ove si leggono gli infelici fini di molti uomini illustri. I varij, & mirabili essempli di virtù, & vitij degli uomini* was published first in Vicenza in 1589. Switzerland too was represented: in 1580 the work *De rebus et factis memorabilibus loci communes historici* of Richardus Dinothus was published at Basel.

Franciscus Schottus, nephew of the better known Andreas Schottus and Franciscus Schottus, bridges the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; his *Centuria exemplorum sententiarumque ex optimis quibusque auctoribus cum sacris tum profanis collecta* appeared at Douai in 1605. Karl Kempf has suggested in his 1888 edition of Valerius that the uncle Andreas may have known at Stavelot the important manuscript of Valerius which is now Laurentianus Ashb. 1899. The *Facetiarum exemplorumque*

libri VII (Romae, 1518) of Lucius Domitius Brusonius actually received at Frankfurt in 1600 the title *Rerum memorabilium insignium sententiarum, historiarum, miraculorum, apophthegmatum, exemplorum facetiarumque . . . libri VII*. Balthasar Exner provided a *Valerius Maximus christianus: hoc est dictorum et factorum memorabilium unius atque alterius seculi imperatorum, regum, principum, imprimis christianorum, libri novem* (Hanoviae, 1620; for a precursor see p. 388 below). In London in 1624 Thomas Heywood, unwitting precursor of the present age, published nine books on women, each book named for a Muse and the whole modeled on Aelian and Valerius. Joannes Franciscus Lauredanus (1607–1661) pledged, according to Fabricius, to set down 'dicta et facta Venetorum illustria' in imitation of Valerius, and in a kind of geographical spread Nicolaus Vernulaeus published *Virtutum augustissimae gentis austriacae libri tres, solis caesarum, regum, principumque austriacorum exemplis adornati unacum monitis ethicis politicisque* (Lovanii, 1640), Otto Sperling (1634–1715) left in manuscript nineteen books of a *Valerius Maximus danicus*, and Johannes Schefferus celebrated the Swedish people in *Memorabilium sueticae gentis exemplorum liber singularis* (Hamburgi, 1671).

In the eighteenth century the imitators, conscious and unconscious, continued especially in France. Pierre Antoine de la Place published at Paris in 1672 *Valère Maxime français*. Claude-Louis-Michel de Sacy prepared eight volumes (Paris, 1769–72) entitled *L'honneur français, ou Histoire des vertus et des exploits de notre nation*. Of the same genre are the *avocat* Rossel's *Histoire du patriotisme français* (Paris, 1769, 6 vols.) and Jean-Baptiste-Louis Brayer de Beauregard's *L'honneur français, ou Tableau des personnages qui, depuis 1789 jusqu'à ce jour ont contribué . . . à honorer le nom français* (Paris, 1808, 2 vols.).

8. TRANSLATIONS AND VERNACULAR COMMENTARIES

We come to actual translations. Certainly by the first half of the fourteenth century trans-

lations of the nine books were necessary if the work was to continue popular, and the onerous task was not shirked. It was performed sometimes entire, sometimes with commentary added in the vernacular, sometimes in partial or epitomized form. As was to be expected, the author's own land was first in the running. Among the earlier renditions was that of Accursu Di Cremona in the Messinese dialect which is preserved in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 8820 (X 103), an. 1428 (stopping in VIII 13, ext. 1) and 8833 (X 104), s. XIV, and has only very recently been published. It is dedicated to Pietro II (1305–1341) as locum tenens for his father Federico III (d. 25 June 1337), who created him King of Sicily on 19 April 1321 with the stipulation that the son be associated with him under the title king in all public pronouncements. The translation is a fairly literal one and as such not only disseminated the text of Valerius at that time to a public versed in the vernacular alone but also preserves now to the modern scholar a copious testimony on the history of that vernacular.

But it was a Tuscan translation which for qualities of language and form became and has endured as a *testo di lingua*. Unsigned, it has long been ascribed to the Florentine notary, translator, and publicist Andrea Lancia (ca. 1280–ca. 1360), to whom are attributed also translations from Vergil, Ovid, Quintilian, and Seneca. Recent scholarship, however, doubts that he was responsible and even suggests instead the father of classic Italian prose, Giovanni Boccaccio, whose familiarity with Valerius Maximus has been mentioned above. The translation is preserved in numerous manuscripts but is not represented in printing of the fifteenth century. The first edition was published in a slim and elegant folio by Albertinus de Lisona in Venice in 1504. Editions of 1509, 1526, and 1537 followed; the Accademia della Crusca cited from it in the several editions of its *Vocabolario*; a tiny *Saggio* and *Secondo saggio del volgarizzamento antico di Valerio Massimo citato dagli Accademici della Crusca per testo di lingua* appeared, accompanied by the Latin text, at Bologna in 202 copies in 1862; and in 1867–68

Roberto de Visiani edited the version from the manuscripts in two volumes which were published at Bologna in the series *Collezione di Opere Inedite o Rare dei Primi Tre Secoli della Lingua*, Pubblicata per Cura della R. Commissione pe' Testi di Lingua nelle Province dell'Emilia.

Meanwhile Giorgio Dati, *canonicus Florentinus* of the sixteenth century, provided a Tuscan translation which was dedicated to Nicolò Cardinal Ridolfi (d. 1550) and first published in Rome in 1539 and then in Venice in 1547, 1551, 1555, 1564, 1573, 1586, and 1605. 'Se io mi persuadessi,' he says, 'di haverla [the work of Valerius] così ben tradotta in Toscano, come egli in latino la compose, visto, che hora mai la Lingua Toscana comincia non molto à vergognarsi dalla latina, io crederei, che lo haverla giudicata degna di publicarla sotto il nome di V. S. R. non fusse in parte alcuna biasimevole. Ma io confesso bene, considerato la difficoltà, che è di trarre d'una lingua & porre in un'altra, & similmente la insufficienza del mio ingegno, che lo stile, che io ho tenuto nel tradurla, manca assai di quella dignità & splendore, che nella Latina si riconosce . . .' There is not one word about the earlier translation.

Except for Dati's edition of 1605 the seventeenth century is barren of translations in Italian, and I find none for the eighteenth. In 1821 Michele Battaglia, who in the second, third, and fourth decades of the nineteenth century contributed several learned monographs on Venetian history and is often cited by Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna in his great compilation of Venetian inscriptions, published a translation at Treviso in two volumes, whereupon a revived Giorgio Dati sprinted and came from behind, as it were, in a corrected edition issued at Milano in 1826 in two volumes and at Venice in 1839. A modern translation by Rino Faranda was published in 1971, with Kempf's Latin text from the edition of 1966, by UTET of Torino in the series *Classici Latini*, Collezione Fondata da Augusto Rostagni, Diretta da Italo Lana.

Until a critical edition of the abbreviated German translation and/or commentary of Heinrich von Mügelin appears, together with critical editions of the Latin commentaries

which he used, his relations with his sources will remain doubtful, but it is probable that he knew the commentary of Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and possible that he knew that of Conradus Waldhauser. He dedicated the work in 1369 to a Hertneid von Pettau (Steiermark); twenty manuscripts of it are listed by Heribert A. Hilgers, and it was published in 1489 in Augsburg by Anton Sorg as *Valerius Maximus. Die Geschichte der Römer* (H 4104 = 11632; Goff D-243). Heinrich's laudatory mention in other works of John (1296–1346), king of Bohemia, of his son Charles IV (1316–1378), Holy Roman Emperor, who held his court mainly at Prague, of Rudolf IV (1339–1365), duke of Austria, and of Louis I (1326–1382), king of Hungary, bespeaks travels to royal courts, and it would be tempting to search a connection with Petrarch during that humanist's mission to Charles IV in Prague in 1356. To Heinrich's outstanding reputation as a poet of aphorisms and maxims is due the interest lately evinced in him by Johannes Kibelka, formerly of Köln and now of Hamburg, and his students, who are also investigating the work on Valerius and supply in their publications the bibliography for both it and Heinrich's other prose and poetic contributions. The work is of additional interest as a testimony to early German humanism.

Several versions in German followed that of Heinrich von Mügeln. The poet Hans Vintler (d. 1419) borrowed from him almost word for word for the numerous extracts which he included in *Die Pluemen der Tugent*. In 1533 and again in 1535 and 1541 Jakob Kammerlander published in Strassburg the abbreviated version of Petrus Selbet, 'beider Rechten dess geystlichen und weltlichen Licentiat,' who included the missing episodes from I 1, ext. 4 to I 4, ext. 1 which are supplied by modern editors from Julius Paris and Januarius Nepotianus and who may indeed have been following an epitomizer rather than the full text of Valerius. His text was 'gebessert' by Niklas Heiden in an edition published at Frankfurt am Main in 1565 by Sigmund Feyerabend and Simon Hüter.

In the seventeenth century the polyhistor Eberhard Werner Happel (1647–1690) provid-

ed a translation which appeared at Hamburg in 1676 and 1678 in defiance of the difficulties, so manifest to any textual critic or translator, which he set forth in the following words in his letter to the reader: 'Ich habe mich unternommen nach meinem gar geringem Verstande gegenwärtigen sehr schweren Autorem, den Valerium Maximum ins reine Teutsche zu übersetzen; Nun muss ein jeder der nicht die Witz allein gefressen freylich bekennen dass dieser Autor nicht allein sehr schwer wegen seiner ungebräuchlichen ja oftmalen gar veralteten und gleichwol auch hochtrabenden Redens-Art sondern weil der Text durch die Verschiedenheit der Schrifften ehe der Druck erfunden über alle massen sehr verderbet und fast kein einziges Manuscriptum zu finden das mit dem andern überein käme.'

In the following century Georg Christian Eberhard Westphal, who translated into German as *Geschichte der Königl. Pariser Bibliothek* (Quedlinburg, 1778) the abbé Jourdain's *Mémoire historique sur la bibliothèque du Roy* (Paris, 1739, in *Catalogue des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque du Roy*), published *Des Valerius Maximus denkwuerdige Beyspiele ins Teutsche übersetzt* (Lemgo, 1780). A German translation appeared at Frankfurt am Main in 1805–1807, and in 1828–1829 Friedrich Hoffmann, 'Diaconus zu Balingen im Königreich Württemberg' and author of *Pastoral-Grundsätze* (Stuttgart, 1829) published at Stuttgart in five small volumes continuously paginated the *Sammlung merkwürdiger Reden und Thaten* of Valerius, which he based on the Latin editions of Vorstius, Torrenius, and Kapp. It was his engaging opinion that 'Das Werk des Valerius Maximus ist nicht ohne innern Werth.'

In France the beginnings in the vernacular came somewhat later. In honor of Charles V (1337–1380) Simon de Hesdin started in 1375 a French translation and commentary which he carried into Book VII and which Nicolas de Gonesse, beginning with Chapter 6 of that book, completed in 1401; over sixty manuscripts are known, there were several editions in the fifteenth century, and at least one appeared in the sixteenth. The commentary, interspersed with the translation and almost over-

whelming it, leans on Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and Lucas de Penna and was perhaps known to Benvenutus de Imola; it deals with historical rather than grammatical points. The work was the basis of the Castilian translation by Hugo de Urriés cited below, and a portion of it was excerpted in 1497 for a French edition of Aristoteles, *Secreta secretorum* (GW 2489).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fr. 2118, an. 1463, contains an epitome in French written by Jean de Hangest, 'seigneur de Genly,' while he was in Paris 'en arrest par le roy Loys'; it too stems from the translation of Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse. The Latin epitome of Robert Duval was translated into French by Guillaume Michel of Tours and appeared at Paris in 1525 and 1541. Likewise the section of Valerius on dreams and their interpretation (I 7) was published in 1555, 1571, 1581, 1595, and as late as 1634 with the French translation, by the Parisian Charles Fontaine (b. 1515), of the five books of Artemidorus Daldianus on dreams. Fontaine was pupil and friend of the poet Clément Marot. But of greater influence and endurance, and of special interest because they were not always by professional classicists, are the full translations into French which followed that of Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse. Jean Leblond (d. 1553), 'curé et seigneur de Brenville,' dedicated his to Henry II (d. 1559) with the verses '. . . mea Roma Lutetia nunc est/ Henricus mihi rex, et mihi Caesar erit'; it appeared in editions of 1548, 1557, 1567, 1572, 1579, 1581, and 1615. That of Nicole de Mailly is preserved at Chantilly, Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Musée Condé, 835-837, an. 1545; it had been requested in 1541, at a price, by the bookseller Galliot Du Pré and was based on the Latin text published by Simon de Colines in 1535. Jean Claveret (d. 1666), friend and then enemy of Pierre Corneille, published his translation in 1647; editions of 1656, 1659, 1665, and 1700 followed. The next century was less active. One Tarboicher, 'avocat en nôtre cour de parlement de Paris,' received from Louis XIV on 5 June 1712 a privilege (which he ceded to 'Sieur Brunet libraire à Paris') for a translation which appeared at Paris in two

small volumes in 1713 from the publishing house of Michel Brunet, and much later, in 1796, René Binet, 'dernier recteur de l'ancienne Université de Paris,' provided a second translation in two volumes. Revealing are the comments of a later translator, C. A. F. Frémion, on his predecessors Claveret and Tarboicher. The translation of the first is, he says, 'come celles de l'époque, assez peu fidèle; mais il s'en faisait alors de plus infidèles encore.' As for Tarboicher's, 'elle n'est pas tout ce que j'attendais d'un auteur qui dit dans sa préface, en parlant de celle de 1665: *Il seroit difficile d'en lire une page sans dégoût*. Quand un écrivain parle ainsi de ses prédécesseurs, il devrait, ce me semble, être irréprochable . . .' And yet some of Tarboicher's general remarks on translators in his preface have penetrating validity today. 'Je me suis fait une règle et je la crois bonne,' he says. 'C'est qu'un traducteur est obligé d'imiter le stile de son original, d'étudier son tour, ses manieres, et de le représenter s'il se peut avec tant d'art, qu'on ne trouve entre eux que la différence de la langue. . . . Les commentateurs ont un grand avantage. S'ils trouvent en leur chemin quelque endroit difficile, ils se detournent et marchent par des sentiers plus aisés. Un traducteur n'a pas cette infidelle facilité. Il doit aller par tout, le flambeau à la main, et se faire jour au travers des obscurités les plus épaisses.'

Activity was more vigorous in the nineteenth century. The translation of Charles Hubert Peuchot and E.-P. Allais appeared in two volumes at Paris in 1822. Our above-mentioned C. A. F. Frémion, 'professeur au Collège Royal de Charlemagne,' prepared three volumes which were issued in Paris in 1827-28 in C. F. L. Panckoucke's series *Bibliothèque Latine-Française, Collection des Classiques Latins avec la Traduction en Regard*, publiée par Jules Pierrot; the translation was reissued in 1834-35 and, by Garnier Frères, in 1864. In 1841 and again in 1850, 1864, and 1879 appeared the version, based on Hase's Latin text, of that almost professional translator Théophile Baudement in the huge volume *Cornelius Nepos, Quinte-Curce, Justin, Valère Maxime, Julius Obsequens* of the series *Collection des Auteurs Latins avec la Traduction en Fran-*

çais, publiés sous la Direction de M. Nisard. Gien, Bibliothèque Municipale, 32, preserves a translation by Adolphe Bréan, who in the second half of the century published on Roman authors and ruins and, in several editions, a drama on Vercingetorix. Finally, in 1935, Pierre Constant, 'agrégé de grammaire, proviseur honoraire,' contributed to the series *Classiques Garnier* two volumes, French text facing the Latin, of a 'Traduction Nouvelle avec Introduction et Notes' based on Kempf's Latin text of 1888. It was by then a more modern age, an age which could be very brutally frank, and Constant could remark (vol. I, p. XIII) on his *chosen* author that 'les mérites de Valère Maxime suffisent à peine à lui assurer dans l'histoire littéraire une place à la suite et à bonne distance des grands noms. Historien sans vues d'ensemble, moraliste sans véritable élévation d'esprit, il n'est qu'un écrivain d'un rang secondaire, parce qu'il a traité un sujet sérieux sans conviction profonde, avec la frivolité d'un bel esprit. Moins préoccupé du fond des choses que de leur expression, il semble avoir ignoré que l'art qui se voit trop manque son but et il a dépensé une réelle habileté de plume à des riens, en sacrifiant pour un succès éphémère les conditions mêmes d'une gloire durable. Aussi est-ce moins peut-être par la vertu de ses qualités littéraires que par la nature de son contenu que son livre a été sauvé de l'oubli.'

Such translations were paralleled by those in other countries. It was apparently Catalan which provided the first one in Spain when in 1395 Antoni Canals (d. 1419) completed the version which, represented by several manuscripts in Spain and France, was published only in 1914. He seems to have known the French translation of Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse, on which certainly the Castilian translation of Hugo de Urriés (Zaragoza, 1495, HC 15797, Goff V-46; also Sevilla, 1514, and Alcalá de Henares, 1529) was based. It is worthy of notice that Hugo de Urriés, who went to England as ambassador of Aragon in 1466 and later served also in Burgundy and Flanders, could successfully combine his talents as statesman and his avocation of translator. After him it was a century before Castil-

ian enjoyed a direct translation from the Latin; Diego Lopez, a true classicist who was occupied also with Caesar, Vergil, Persius, and Juvenal, provided one, with commentary, which was published at Sevilla in 1631-32, and at Madrid in 1647 and 1655-54. His lofty opinion of his author is expressed in his preface in such sentences as 'Ningun Istoriador Gentil se à de poner con Valerio Maximo, porque si la Istoria . . . es la maestra de la vida, y un tesoro de lo pasado, todo esto se halla en Valerio, porque no dexa virtud moral, in parte alguna de la vida umana de que no trate. . . . Cada uno de sus libros es un teatro, en que se representan varias tragicomedias. . . . Inflama los animos generosos a enprender grandes cosas. Refrena los sobervios, con el freno, y riendas de la moderacion. . . .' Lopez knew and praised the work of Stephanus Pighius (see below, p. 391) on Valerius.

The British Isles lagged. A half-century after the first edition (1555) of the French translation, with Artemidorus Daldianus, of the section on dreams an English version (1606) appeared in London. The full translation of the nine books waited longer, until in 1678 the divine, Samuel Speed (1631-1682), gave to the press *Romae antiquae descriptio. A View of the Religion, Laws, Customs, Manners, and Dispositions of the Romans, and Others: Comprehended in their most Illustrious Acts and Sayings Agreeable to History*; it was dedicated to the Lord High Chancellor of England, Heneage Finch (1621-1682), 'the far-excelling Tully of our Age,' and was reprinted in 1684. A portion of an English translation from Book VII is preserved in London, British Library, Sloane 848, s. XVII, ff.2-7v. Ebert, under no. 23350, mentions as announced in 1814 an English translation by a Charles Lloyd, of which I have not traced a copy. British possessions in the Western hemisphere are not represented, and for the United States I find no record.

By contrast the Low Countries contributed the translations of Conradus Mirkinus (Rotterdam, 1614) and of Abraham Bogaert (Amsterdam, 1721, and Leiden, 1729). A Russian version by Ivan Alekseev, translator also of Diodorus Siculus, was published at St. Peters-

burg in two volumes in 1722. Portions translated into Icelandic by Thorstein Petursson appear in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bor. 99, an. 1783. A Danish translation by Anders Krag Holm (1767–1851) was issued at Copenhagen in 1797. A Swedish translation of the year 1907 by Samuel Erik Melander (b. 1875) is carried, with translations of Julius Paris and Januarius Nepotianus, in Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Vö 16:45.

Valerius Maximus, it can be seen, did not lack translators to disseminate his *exempla* in the vernacular.

9. EDITORS

There would have been no translations without the editors of the Latin text. The line of these stretches long and unbroken to the twentieth century and is marked by some of the most eminent names in the history of classical scholarship. Actual editing had of course begun long before the invention of movable type. In a sense every scribe who copies a manuscript edits it, whether for good or for bad. This process, initiated probably by Valerius himself and by the scribe who first copied the archetype, would have continued down the years. It is very certain that many of the persons who in one way or another altered the text were not of the caliber of scholars like Servatus Lupus and Heiric. But the mere fact that almost two millennia after it was composed the work of Valerius is extant in more than eight hundred manuscripts in a variety of forms—in the full text, in epitomes, annotations, florilegia, excerpts, versifications, translations, together with the commentaries which provide the body of this article—bears witness of course to its popularity with readers but also to intense labor by a host of conscientious scholars. Not the least of these were indexers like the Augustinian Junta de Sancto Geminiano, who realized that for ready consultation of a text of such bulk a finding aid based on the alphabet was necessary. His subject index is extant, for example, in the fourteenth-century manuscripts London, British Library, Add. 11798, New Haven, Yale University, The Beinecke Rare Book and Manu-

script Library, Marston, 37, and Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus latinus 7229. It is also contained in the fifteenth-century manuscripts Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa, 339 (B.242); Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV.D.7; Sankt Paul in Kärnten, Stiftsbibliothek der Benediktiner, XXV.2.5; and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.ch. q.22. It is introduced by the statement 'Maximi Valerii verborum suavitas me inducit et quorundam dilectorum fratrum caritas me compellit ut operi [Valerii] iungam ego Frater Junta de Sancto Geminiano Fratrum Heremitarum Ordinis Sancti Augustini inventarium sive tabulam.' A Junta de S. Gimignano, but Dominican, is recorded for the year 1288 at Florence. Giuseppe Billanovich would identify our indexer with the Augustinian who is mentioned in the acts of his convent at San Gimignano for 4 February 1318, 28 November 1324, and 1 November 1343 and who also compiled a Tabula of Seneca which is carried in Parisinus latinus 8544. A Junta de Sancto Geminiano was the author of a life of St. Bartolo (d. 12 December 1300) which was published at Florence in Tuscan translation in 1575. An extension of the index concept, whether conscious or not, is the alphabetical anthology, under such headings as Abstinencia, Adversitas, Adulatio, Alexander, Ambitio, Amicitia . . . Uisio, Uita, Uoluntas, Uoluptas, Utensilia, Utilitas, Uxor, which is preserved in Vaticanus latinus 1932, s. XV; it was compiled by the Benedictine Joannes de Fayt (d. 1395), who for forty-five years served as abbot of St. Bavo's in Ghent and compiled also a Tabula of the *De consolatione philosophiae* of Boethius.

Here too with the conscientious scholars of the manuscript period we must number the representatives of the teacher-to-student tradition, teachers especially in the humanistic era who lectured on Valerius and students who learned from them the rudiments of textual criticism. Some have already been mentioned in this Fortuna, others will be found with the commentators. Johannes Lamola, student himself of Guarinus Veronensis, is recalled in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis latinus 786, s. XV,

for his 'Oratio . . . pro principio lectionum suarum, a quodam discipulo suo recitata,' an oration on Cicero, Valerius, and Horace. In 1456 Peter Luder was lecturing on Horace and Valerius in Heidelberg, and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 424, s. XV, carries an oration on Valerius which was delivered by the student Udalricus Gossenbrot of Augsburg, who died in Rome in 1465. Joannes Baptista Valentinus Cantalicus, student of Gaspar Veronensis (who had probably studied under Guarinus), used more than once an introductory lecture on Horace and Valerius which is found in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, LXXX. Sup. 24, s. XVI, and excerpts from which were translated by Eva M. Sanford. An excellent example is Petrus Mochius of Siena, who taught at Venice toward the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century and whose work *De cruciatu exilioque Cupidinis* (Parisii, 1537; Venetiis, 1545) the Inquisition condemned. Evidence of his activity is Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 206, written in 1517–18 and containing a number of rhetorical letters and a series of prefaces to the study of classical authors. From folio 24, indeed, which transmits the preface of one Melchiorre Allegretti on Valerius Maximus, we learn that this student was expounding selected passages of Valerius. His short preface, which is entitled 'Praefatio Melchioris Allegretti cum Valerii Maximi electorum commentarios auspiciatus est per Petrum Mochium,' begins 'Sentio, studiosissimi adulescentes et condiscipuli suavissimi, onus Aetna gravius hac luce mihi demandatum,' and ends, on the verso, 'Verum ne ad incultum ieiunumque sermonem meum tedium quoque longitudinis accedat, iamiam velim ad ipsam expositionem descendere, quam vobis et iucundam et utilem fore confido. *Urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna, quae apud alios latius diffusa sunt* (I *Prooemium*) Et cetera.' Professor Kristeller informs me that Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, O. IV. 12, s. XVI, preserves an oration on Valerius by Nicolaus Maria Paniciatus.

With the invention of printing it was predictable that publishers would turn early to a

text already so popular in manuscripts and in the schools. The first printed edition appeared in Strassburg from the press of Johann Mentelin (HC 15773; Goff V-22); it cannot date after 1470. No less than twenty-five editions are recorded for Germany, Italy, and France through the year 1500. But one notes a wariness, a diffidence, a reluctance among their publishers to give credit to the scholars who furnished the text. Dedicatory letters are not always present, sometimes the publisher and his *corrector* bore the entire responsibility for the text, there was probably piracy from one edition to another, and in at least one case the name of an editor (see s. Oliverius Arzignanensis) was changed in successive copies of a single edition. We do know that Bonus Accursius was responsible for the editions issued at Milan in 1475 by Antonius Zarotus (HC 15777; Goff, V-27), at Venice in 1478 (HCR 15781; Goff V-30) by four successors who are designated in the colophon only by their initials, and at Milan in 1480 by Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler (HC 15783; Goff V-31). This was Accursius of Pisa (d. ca. 1485), student of Franciscus Philelphus; he busied himself with several Greek and Latin authors. For the editions which carried also the commentary of Oliverius Arzignanensis the reader is referred to that commentator.

With the sixteenth century editions proliferated, and here again in many cases the publisher functioned without the services of an editor, at least in the modern sense of that term, a scholar-editor, that is, outside his establishment whose text of an author a publisher accepts or rejects as economic and other considerations dictate. The beginning of the century was marked by two startling innovations. The twenty-four *exempla* missing from Book I (I, ext. 4–4, ext. 1) were supplied apparently first in the Leipzig edition issued by Martinus Herbipolensis in 1501 and then by Aldus Manutius in 1503 in a kind of supplement inserted in some copies of his 1502 edition. In his prefatory letter of April 1503 to Johannes Cuspinianus (Johann Spiesshaymer, 1473–1529), who was born at Schweinfurt in Franconia but removed to Vienna where he was professor of rhetoric and medicine and had

access to what is now the great Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Aldus states that Italian editions and manuscripts which he had seen lacked these *exempla* and that Cuspinianus has sent them to him 'perhumaniter'; Aldus has thanked him privately, but does it publicly because, as he says in effect, 'of your own accord, when you heard that I was publishing Valerius, you indicated to me "vidisse te in praeclara urbe Vienna, cum publice studia humanitatis inibi profitereris, Valerium antiquissimum, in cuius principio quaedam nunquam ante a te visa haberentur, titulosque omnium scripseris, ut si ea mihi non essent, facerem te certiores, quandoquidem ad me illico ea esses daturus. Quod et factum est. . . . Id vero mi Cuspiniane fuit mihi longe gratius, quam si auri multum gemmarumve misisses muneri; illud impenditur, consumitur, disperit, hoc etsi omnibus impertitur tamen aequae apud impertientem ac impertitum divino excursorio munere manet aeternum, hoc et viventes et posteris perpetuo habebunt utrique nostrum plurimam gratiam. . . .'" Aldus was the mover also of the second innovation. As with his editions of other classical authors his pocket-sized text of Valerius, so great a departure from the cumbersome folios of the previous century, printed in a clear and easily legible italic type, a convenient manual and bible for scholar and schoolboy alike, at once enhanced the popularity of its author; it appeared in numerous genuine editions by Aldus and his successors, was brazenly counterfeited in Lyon, and was emulated consciously and unconsciously year after year, decade after decade, by scores of printers far beyond the confines of Venice and indeed of Italy. It was the remote ancestor of the modern *tascabile*, with the differences that it was printed on good paper, was possessed of ample margins, was sewn through the folds, and opened flat.

In a slow trickle, the names of scholar-editors begin to appear. Bartholomaeus Matthaeatius Marosticus was busy with the Venice, 1503 and 1505 editions by Albertinus de Lisona which carried the commentary of Oliverius Arzignanensis, and Antonius Lenas, 'praeclarae indolis adolescens,' with the Milan, 1508, edition by Nicolaus Gorgonzola which

carried also the index by Franciscus Puteolanus of Parma (Francesco Pozzo, d. 1490). In Paris Nicolaus Beraldus (Nicolas Béraud, 1473–1550), friend of Erasmus and teacher of the admiral Gaspard de Coligny, prepared for Joannes Parvus editions of 1512 and 1517. A 1513 edition by the same publisher included a preface by Joannes Maurus of Coutances (Jean Le More, d. 1550), who was himself printer and professor of grammar. Antonius Francinus of Montevarchi, *corrector* of numerous editions of classical authors for the Juntine press of Florence, actually furnished the dedicatory letter for the 1517 edition published by that press and again in 1523 in Venice by Melchior Sessa and Petrus de Ravanis; the Juntine press issued it once more in 1526 and Victor a Ravanis in 1539. Speaking of those who wrote 'res memoratu dignas' Franciscus compares Valerius to the busy bee and says, 'Quantum autem hoc scribendi genere Valerius meruerit omnes qui eius scripta legent facillime cognoscent, cum hic egregia dicta factaque, quae caeteri tum graeci, tum latini auctores sparsim per innumeros libros scripserunt (apes certe imitatus, quae ex variis floribus herbisque mella sua colligunt) tam eleganter, tam breviter tamque dilucide delegerit, ut equidem nullum ex latinis auctoribus maiorem legentibus utilitatem afferre posse affirmaverim, vereque omnium maximus appellare potest.' It is of interest that Francinus dedicated his 1520 edition of the *Vocabularium* of Julius Pollux to the English physician Thomas Linacre, graduate of the University of Padua.

Venice still held power on the far side of the Adriatic when the *canonicus* Lucas Panetius of Dulcigno, modern Ulcinj, dedicated to the Augustinian Antonius Contarenus (d. 1524), 'Venetiarum patriarcha,' the edition of Valerius and Oliverius which issued in Venice from the press of Augustinus de Zanis in 1518, in Milan from the house of Nicolaus Gorgonzola in 1522, and in Venice from the press of Gulielmus de Fontaneto in 1523; the physician Georgius Valla, friend of the physician Alexander Benedictus, was teacher to Panetius. Here again the reader finds a paean of praise to Valerius, but Panetius is aware also

of the need for a certain amount of textual criticism. 'Congessit utique,' he says (ed. of 1522), 'gravissimus author omnia gesta, omnia monumenta, omnia vetustatis exempla non domestica solum sed etiam externa, quae cum facultatem summam ad res gerendas conflare, tum etiam hominem promptum atque idoneum ad facillime suapte natura operandum reddere solent, nihilque quod ad morum scientiam, et civilem doctrinam attinet, nihilque quod est homine libero dignum, a tanto doctore omisum est, sed ut uno verbo absolvam, inter moralis doctrinae praeceptores quibus humana vita instituitur et docetur, nulli profecto Valerius cedit. Cuius quidem divina scripta, quamquam multorum impressorum labefacta temeritate in perniciem lapsa sunt adeoque magnis scatent erroribus, ut quam plures doctos ab eorum avertant lectione, collatis in unum omnibus exemplaribus, quae invenire potui, multa restitui, distinxi, annotavi, ut vel eruditum quemque ad se allectare possent. Qua in re nunc illud de Valerii scriptis pleno ore affirmare ausim, multo omnium esse emendatissime, quam quae ad hunc usque diem excussa circumferuntur, quod cuique cognitu facillimum erit, qui hanc nostram emendationem cum caeteris conferre voluerit. . . .'

In the North by a strange quirk Ortuin Gratius (1491–1542) of Deventer, best known, if perhaps unjustly, as opponent of humanism and as addressee of the satiric *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, was responsible for the edition published in Köln by the house of Quentell in 1519. Johannes Cauchius (Johann Kukius, Jan van Cuyck, d. 1566) of Utrecht edited the text issued by Lazarus Schurerius at Schlettstadt in Alsace in 1520; he worked also on Cicero and Ausonius. At Frankfurt near the middle of the century Petrus Brubachius published an edition which had been supervised and corrected by Jacobus Micylus (Jacob Moltzer, 1503–1558) of Strassburg, worthy student of Eobanus Hessus and Philipp Melanchthon and editor of the *editio princeps* of Hyginus (Basileae, 1535). The Swiss polymath Henricus Loritus Glareanus was busy on annotations which constitute in effect a selective commentary and are treated below.

Meanwhile in the South, Joannes Andreas

Straneus (Juan Andrés Strany) of Valencia was occupied, according to Nicolaus Antonius in *Bibliotheca hispana nova*, at about this period with annotations which were apparently never published. Sebastianus Corradus (d. 1556) of Reggio Emilia, student of Baptista Egnatius (whose observations on Valerius were attached to the commentary of Oliverius Arzignanensis) and professor at Reggio and Bologna, published in 1545 from the house of Vincentius Valgrisius in Venice a text which attained such popularity that later editions of it appeared from various presses in Italy and France in 1551, 1553, 1554, 1559, 1564, 1575, 1579, 1587, 1590, 1601, 1605, and 1612. It is supplied with brief marginalia calculated to aid the reader; they consist largely in references to authors who carry the tales which Valerius tells and in textual emendations. In his lengthy letter to the reader, after singing the praises of history which 'iuvenes ad maiorum instituta instituit, et sic exemplis instruit ut cum senibus saepe prudentia et rerum cognitione contendat; quae senibus ipsis nihil non, quod opus sit ad Rempublicam bene sapienterque regendam, suppeditat quae privatos magistratibus dignos facit; quae imperatores non minus ad rem militarem erudit, quam ad immortalem gloriam hortatur et inflammat; quae milites timidos et saepe abiectos excitat, victores et ob id ferociores in officio retinet, victos vero consolatur; quae bonos ad laudem et gloriam ut primo vocavit, sic etiam semper confirmat, et improbos poenae et infamiae metu a sceleribus deterret; quae denique nulli non hominum generi et ordini prodest,' Corradus offers Valerius, in whom 'nihil . . . possis desiderare, praeter latinam magis elocutionem, quam tamen ille vel contempsit, contentus, ut inquit, res ipsas exemplis demonstrare vel certe non magni fecit . . . Latinos Catonem, Pictorem, et Pisonem imitatus, unamque dicendi laudem putavit esse brevitate, in qua Graecos omnes et Latinos longe superavit, novem duntaxat libris hisque admodum brevibus facta ac dicta omnium pene gentium et populorum memorabilia complexus. In qua scribendi ratione viris doctis ita probatus est ut eum Baptista Fulgosius et M. Antonius Sabellicus superioribus annis sint

imitati, et nunc Egnatius vir magni nominis imitari dicatur.' For Corradus too Valerius imitates the bees, which 'de tot tamque variis floribus optimos colligunt, ex quibus favos fingant: sic vir prudentissimus, quum videret innumerabiles pene res ab aliis scriptas, quae ad historiae continuationem potius et ordinem quam ad vitae institutionem pertinerent, nec ulli tantum temporis concedi, ut eas omnes possit perlegere, ex omnibus ille optimas quasque selegit, et . . . ipse in genera et capita ita digessit, ut, quod diu multumque tibi quaerendum fuisset, hinc petere nullo negotio possis (ed. of 1545, ff. 6b-7a, 8b, 9a).' My reader will note how Corradus, recognizing that the Latinity of Valerius was scarcely Ciceronian, made of this failing a virtue. And a generation later, in 1571, Joannes Gryphius published in Venice the edition of Augustinus Ferentillus, which again was supplied with brief marginalia which are close to those of Corradus. Ferentillus, editor also of Benedictus Varchius, wrote on creation and universal history. He too sings, for page after page, the glories of history, than which (ff. 3b-4b) 'quid enim . . . in hac vita non dico iucundius, sed etiam utilius existimari potest, cum illa nihil aliud sit, quam vitae optime instituendae exemplisque aut confirmandae aut corrigendae nitidissimum speculum? . . . Historia enim pectus humanum reddit instructum scientia multarum rerum, atque non solum benedicendi, sed et optime iudicandi exempla passim proponit, quibus totam possumus vitam in utrumque fortunae casum sapientissime instituere praemunireque. Quare non defuerunt qui eam Dei opus esse putarint, quod parum aut nihil a coelo et terra maximis eius operibus differat, cum ad summam eius gloriae praedicationem, quatenus eam assequi liceat, pertineret. . . . Historiae enim viva et clara vox, et vere animatum ac vocale praeconium ad omnem pertinet posteritatem. . . .'

In none of these editors does the modern editor discern any overwhelming attention to the manuscript tradition of Valerius. Manuscripts are rarely mentioned, identification of any used would be difficult, those used, except in the case of the one containing the twenty-four new *exempla* of Aldus, were probably

those closest geographically to the editor, and all too often it was a previously printed text which was pressed into service for a new edition. But in 1567 Stephanus Vinandus Pighius (1520-1604) of Kampen took a long step toward modern text criticism in the edition published in Antwerp by Christophorus Plantinus; its annotations lift it into the province of commentaries, and it is treated below, as are the contributions of Claudius Mitalerius which became attached to it and those of Justus Lipsius (see below, pp. 391, 395, 396).

This tradition of attention to the manuscripts, of collation of their readings, continued in the seventeenth century on the principles formulated by Pighius. The editors were increasingly from north of the Alps. There was the philologist and jurist Christophorus Colerus, whose octavo edition (Francofurti, 1601) repeats the notes of Pighius and Lipsius, takes account of Mitalerius and Corradus, uses 'vetustissimum V. Cl. Petri Danielis I. C. exemplar' which is probably our Bernensis 366, and provides his own 'Animadversiones' (see below, pp. 399). There was the Danish physician Johannes Isacius Pontanus (1571-1639), student also of Martial, Petronius, L. Annaeus Seneca, Florus, Curtius Rufus, and Tacitus, who 'ex museo [suo]' furnished a Valerius 'manualem ac portatilem' which beginning in 1625 was issued several times in the seventeenth century in those tiny editions popularized by the Elzevir and Jansson presses in Amsterdam. There was Antonius Thysius (1565-1640), born in Antwerp and professor of theology at Harderwijk and Leiden, who in 1651 at Leiden, and in three later editions, dedicated to Queen Christina of Sweden an octavo text 'cum selectis variorum observationibus,' a Valerius 'valentem iterum et deterosa nube tenebrarum nitidum atque fulgentem.' For the first time the notes appear as footnotes at the bottom of the pages, almost full circle around, that is, from the commentaries which in incunabula editions enclosed the text on three and four sides. We are today unfortunately full circle once more to notes which follow on texts in a separate section.

As if to herald that the states of Italy were

still in the running a mysterious Evangelista Oriens had appeared as the lone 'new' representative south of the Alps. He was operating in a Venice which continued to look across the Adriatic and even to the Aegean, but neither his 1638 nor his 1670 edition helps to pierce his identity; no dedication is present, no preface, no privilege, no commentary, only a page of elegiac verse at the end of the second edition written in praise of Valerius by T. Sempronius Hieronymus Castellioneus and lifted probably from one of the editions of Sebastianus Corradus published at Venice in the sixteenth century. There was also an edition at Treviso in 1654. Evangelista was clearly not a Manuele Crisolora or a Giorgio da Trebisonda or a Costantino Lascaris; in his mystery he almost recalls rather the Greco-Venetian family Apostulos, and in particular Aglaura Apostulos, so vividly presented by Ippolito Nievo in *Le confessioni d'un italiano*. In about the same period, however, Gaudenzio Paganini (1596–1649), native of the Valtellina and for twenty-two years professor at Pisa, displayed critical acumen when he set down in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. latinus 1600, s. XVII, 'Varietas lectionis in Valerium Maximum et Martialem expensa.'

The 1662 edition of Johannes Minellius (d. 1683), preceptor and rector in Rotterdam, enjoyed the support of the famous Rotterdam publisher Arnoldus Leers; its text is enclosed on three sides by notes, that is, as Minellius states in his letter 'Erudito Lectori,' 'brevioribus quibusdam et succinctioribus annotationibus, ex multis prolixioribusque in hunc autorem commentationibus magna ex parte excerptis . . . non alio fine quam ut studiosis adolescentibus aliqua ex parte commodarem. . . . Verba difficiliora aut synonymo notiore aut periphrasi explico; aliquando et integras sententias aliis verbis reddo; quae per ellipsin deerant, addo.' Three more editions appeared at Rotterdam in that century, and in the eighteenth it was reprinted at Copenhagen, Venice, and Paris.

It was in the following year, 1663, that Christophorus Adamus Rupertus (1612–1647), professor of history at Altdorf, published in two parts in neighboring Nürnberg his *Disserta-*

tiones observationesque mixtae ad Valerium Maximum et C. Velleium Paterculum. Those on Valerius run to 584 octavo pages, cover all nine books, and as was to be expected are historical in emphasis. And in 1679 the French Jesuit Petrus Josephus Cantel (1645–1684), native of Les Ifs, contributed the Delphin edition ('in usum Serenissimi Delphini,' who was the Grand Dauphin Louis [1661–1711], son of Louis XIV [1638–1715], destined not to ascend to the throne); it was magnificently published in quarto in Paris by the widow of Claudius Thiboust and by Petrus Esclassan. Cantel used in particular the commentaries of Oliverius, Theophilus Chalcondyles, Badius, Pighius, and Lipsius and the notes of Colerus and Thysius, and he succinctly characterizes each one in his preface. He set down, as he had for Justinus, 'interpretationem, chronologiam et notas, sed omnia hic multo uberiora quia Valerius Justino et obscurior est, et brevior; quare, quae ille dixit obscure, nos clarius, quae breviter, nos fusius explicamus.' Variant readings he avoided wherever possible, asking, 'Quid enim aut voluptatis habet aut utilitatis, modo scriptura et integra sit et sincera, obtrudere saepius?' *Ita Campensis codex. Sic Gemblacensis. Paulo aliter Sambuci manuscriptus liber.* He almost had a point. This statement was first of all a blow at Pighius, whom he praises elsewhere. At the beginning Cantel discourses on Roman names and families, on classes and magistrates, on priests, on the militia, and at the end he furnishes, without a modern computer and in 82 pages, each in three columns of tiny type, an 'Index vocabulorum quae in Valerio Maximo leguntur,' with reference by page and line. The next 'Delphin' edition was to appear in 1823; it lacked a genuine dauphin, was published in London, in three volumes, in Abraham Valpy's series Delphin and Variorum Classics (London, 1819–30, 183 vols.), was based on Johann Kapp's 1782 Leipzig edition, and took account of Cantel.

But on variant readings Cantel was a throwback. A new era in editing, recalling to some degree that initiated by Pighius, was signaled by Johannes Vorstius (1623–1676) at Berlin in 1672. He had found two manuscripts of

Valerius in the Electoral Library of Brandenburg, an electorate which was flourishing then under the Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm (1640–1688); these he collated for an octavo volume running, with notes, to well over seven hundred pages, and his text was followed substantially in the 1783 edition published at Zweibrücken and, in two volumes, at Strassburg in 1806, both editions from the press of the Bipontine Society. Vorstius was schoolmaster and librarian, theologian and student of Latin style; he worked also on Cornelius Nepos, Sallust, Vergil, Justinus, and Sulpicius Severus, and it is a measure of his versatility and certainly of his courage that he dared to publish, though under the pseudonym Janus Orchamus, *De generatione animantium conjectura, observationi cuidam Harveanae, ne vetus pervulgataque omnium gentium opinio per hanc concidat submissa a Jano Orchamo* (Coloniae Brandenburgicae, 1667). This, 58 pages in length, was answered two years later by Georg Friedrich Rall, *De generatione animalium disquisitio medico-physica, in qua celeberrimorum virorum, D. D. Guilelmi Harvei et Anton. Deusingii sententia a nuperis J. Orchami instantiis vindicatur, ipsumque generationis opus juxta recentiorum observata succincte exponitur* (Stetini, 1669, 379 p.).

The work of Vorstius was incorporated in the huge quarto edition edited by Abraham Torrenius and published at Leiden by Samuel Luchtmans in 1726. Torrenius, unlike a certain brand of young scholar today who, arrogant but self-deceiving, looks with scorn on all that has been done by earlier scholars, acknowledged his obligations to his predecessors and in fact included at the beginning of his volume dedications and prefaces by Aldus and Paulus Manutius, Henricus Loritus Glareanus, Justus Lipsius, Stephanus Pighius, Christophorus Colerus, Johannes Isacius Pontanus, Johannes Vorstius, and others. The book is also furnished with their 'notis integris . . . nec non selectis aliorum observationibus, quibus accedunt emendationes ineditae Casparis Barthii, Francisci Guyeti et Marquardi Gudii, item notae et observationes perpetuae Jacobi Perizonii, ut et Antonii Schultingii, J.Cti & antecessoris, Exercitatio ad Val.

Max. Lib. VII. Cap. VII. De testamentis rescissis.' This was a large order, which Torrenius conscientiously filled; in addition, 'Ad plurimorum MSS. fidem opus recensuit, et notas [suas] adjecit.'

Of the scholars known to Torrenius, the critic Caspar Barthius (Caspar von Barth, 1587–1658, CTC III 335–336) was more concerned with poets—Vergil, Statius, Claudian—, but the variety of his publications was wide and he had been occupied with a glossary of Valerius; Torrenius prints two passages from his *Adversaria* (Francofurti, 1624) which deal with Valerius. The commentator and poet Franciscus Guyet (1575–1655) of Angers had edited and commented on several Greek and Latin authors. The philologist Marquard Gudius (1635–1689) of Rendsburg, professor at Duisburg and Deventer, had transcribed manuscripts and inscriptions from Paris to Rome; the manuscripts which he collected, Valerius among them, are now, of course, one of the shining glories of the Herzog August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel. The Dutch jurist and philologist Antonius Schultingius (Schultingh, 1659–1734), professor of law at Harderwijk, Franeker, and Leiden, was quite properly concerned with broken wills. Torrenius acknowledges the work of other scholars, earlier and contemporary, including Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577–1649), born near Heidelberg but of Dutch parents, who was rector at Dordrecht and Leiden and professor of history at Amsterdam and who published on grammar, rhetoric, and the Greek and Latin historians; Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611–1671) of Hamburg, editor of Livy, the Senecas, Tacitus, and Gellius; Johannes Schefferus (1621–1679) of Strassburg, librarian at Uppsala, editor of Aelian and other classical authors, and investigator of the history of Sweden; Cornelius Tollius (1628–1654), professor of eloquence and Greek at Harderwijk, who according to Jöcher 'wolte . . . den Valerium Maximum ediren'; Petrus Burmannus (1688–1741), professor at Utrecht and Leiden, who edited the Latin classics, both prose and poetry; Henricus Snakenburgius (1674–1750) of Leiden, editor of Curtius Rufus; Arnoldus Drakenborchius (1684–1748), professor of history and

eloquence at Utrecht and editor of Livy; Franciscus Oudendorpius (1696–1761), editor of several Latin authors; Matthaeus Klokkius, ‘antiquae linguae studiosior, quam Valerianae elocutionis peritior’; Michael Benedictus, colleague of Torrenius, who did his *Index Verborum et Locutionum* by book, chapter, and *exemplum* number.

Torrenius is especially proud that in this edition he can rescue some of the unpublished contributions of Jacobus Perizonius (1651–1715), professor of history and eloquence at Franeker and Leiden. It is another indication of the intense activity in the Netherlands that the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit at Leiden possesses two Valerius manuscripts of Perizonius and six manuscripts of his collations, variant readings, glosses, emendations, annotations, and indexes; five Valerius manuscripts of Vossius including a portion of the commentary of Lucas de Penna; and one manuscript each of the collations of Gronovius and Oudendorpius. Torrenius was familiar also with the many editions, from the fifteenth century on, which had preceded his. He lists twenty-five and more manuscripts of Valerius and his commentators. In addition he knew and used the account of Valerius in the first edition of the Lutheran theologian Johann Albert Fabricius’s (1668–1736) *Bibliotheca latina*, published at Hamburg in 1697. I too would salute Fabricius, who continues to be useful to me in the Venice, 1728, edition, the second volume of which, containing Valerius, a beneficent fortune ordained that I purchase in 1933 at the Rag Market in Rome (and for two lire, when the lira had a value of five cents).

In 1753 Johann Peter Miller (1705–1781), philologist and rector at Ulm, published an octavo edition which carried as footnotes short citations of sources and parallels gleaned from his predecessors; he expressed the pious hope that his index would be useful. It is a working edition for student or for hasty consultation. The next significant advance was provided by Johann Kapp (1739–1817), who taught at Erlangen and who in preparation for his Leipzig edition of 1782, in octavo, consulted his predecessors and ‘ex his quae ad Valerium illustrandum facere videbantur, diligenter ex-

cerpsi[t],’ but ‘omissis iis, quae ad ostentandam tantummodo eruditionem dicta essent, aut auctoris lectionem nihil iuvarent.’ He followed Torrenius in large part, and he states that he will be satisfied if, ‘licet vix quarta pars variantium lectionum ex Torrenii spisso volumine relictis sit, . . . lectores ex mea farragine vel dimidiam partem notatu dignam iudicent.’ He supplemented his notes with an *Index Scriptorum a Valerio Maximo Citatorum*, an *Index Geographicus*, an *Index Historicus*, an *Index Latinitatis*, an *Index Rerum et Verborum Quae in Notis Explicantur*, an *Index Graecus*, an *Index Auctorum in Notis vel Emendatorum vel Illustratorum*, and an *Index Scriptorum in Margine Citatorum*. It was his ‘animus,’ indeed, ‘talem parare editionem, quae et omnibus subsidiis ad intelligendum Valerium instructa esset, et omnia ab interpretibus dicta contineret, quo lector inoffenso pede pergere posset, neque opus haberet, evolvendis multis libris tempus perdere, sive criticam, sive historiam, sive chronologiam, sive geographiam, sive antiquitatem, sive denique latinitatem spectaret.’ His readers, he knew, would be of more than one kind, ‘Diversus enim est lectorum scopus, diversa cognitio, diversum studium. Alii brevitatem amant, alii copiam, alii in facilioribus haerent, aliis fere nihil negotii occurrit; aliis nil nisi critice placet, alii crisin ne tantillum quidem aestimant. Hos omnes ante oculos habui, his studii satisfacere, ita tamen, ut quoad fieri potuit, prima lex esset brevitatis.’ The edition was repeated at London in 1819 and in expanded form in three volumes in 1823 in the Delphin edition mentioned above. In 1799 Johann Theodor Benjamin Helfrecht issued an octavo edition at Stadt am Hof which was also based on Torrenius; Helfrecht too, especially with a biography of Tycho Brahe (Hof, 1798) demonstrated like Vorstius a certain versatility.

In the nineteenth century the German Karl Benedict Hase (1780–1864) enjoyed a career in a foreign country similar in some respects to that of the Italian Antonio Panizzi (1797–1879) at what is now the British Library. Born at Sulza bei Naumburg and trained at Jena and Helmstedt, Hase went to Paris in 1801 where he became in time conservator of manu-

scripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, collaborator on its *Notices et Extraits*, editor of the *Journal des Savants*, member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur. Along the way he taught modern Greek, palaeography, and comparative grammar and found time to edit Suetonius and other authors and to participate in the preparation of the first volume of the new edition of Henri Estienne's *Thesaurus graecae linguae* (Parisii, 1831). His Valerius, to which were added Julius Obsequens with Conradus Lycosthenes, the *De ostentis* of Joannes Lydus in Greek and Latin, the *Roma luxurians sive De luxu romanorum* of Joannes Meursius, the *De somniorum iudiciis* of Astrampsyclus in Greek and Latin, the *Oneirocriticon* of Nicephorus in Greek and Latin, and the *Oracula magica* of Zoroaster in Greek and Latin, was issued in Paris (colligebat Nicolaus Eligius Lemaire) in 1822–23 in the series *Bibliotheca Classica Latina sive Collectio Auctorum Classicorum Latinorum*. Since the second volume consists of two parts, the work issued actually in three fat physical volumes, in octavo. Hase was following substantially the text of Vorstius from the 1806 Bipontine edition, but he profited from the work of many predecessors, and whereas Helfrecht, he says, 'solis . . . discentium rationibus consuluit,' he thought it would be helpful to prepare an edition 'quae omnibus subsidiis ad intelligendum Valerium undique instructa, discentium et docentium commodis aequae serviret.' His footnotes are supplemented, in the first part of the second volume, by indexes running to more than three hundred pages, the bulk of which are occupied by the *Index Verborum et Locutionum*. It is already clear that concordances could be conscientiously and competently prepared before the days of the modern computer. The second part of the second volume is occupied by the other authors mentioned above, by the prefaces of Hase's predecessors, and, on pages 421–449, by Antoine Alexandre Barbier's useful index of editions (see Bibliography). The learned bibliographer Barbier (1765–1825), born at Coulommiers, was librarian of Napoleon and was responsible for the first edition

(Paris, 1806–09, 4 vols.) of that classic work beloved of bibliographers, the *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes*.

The first half of the nineteenth century numbered additional scholars occupied with Valerius. The several translators have already been listed; they rather regularly ran a Latin text below their translations or on facing pages. Angelo Cardinal Mai (1782–1854), like Achille Ratti after him *scriptor* of the Ambrosiana and prefect of the Vaticana (but not pope), to whom we owe the science of reading palimpsests and the exciting discovery of the *De re publica* of Cicero, included in his series *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* (Romae, vol. III, pt. 3, 1828, 1–89 and 93–115) the epitomators Julius Paris and Januarius Nepotianus. Johann Friedrich Duebner (1802–1867), who was concerned with more than a score of Greek and Latin authors, edited Valerius at Gotha in the Thirties. The edition of J. Salvini de Lennemas appeared at Paris in 1836–37 in two volumes in the series *Scriptorum Latinorum Bibliotheca* of Charles Louis Fleury Pancoucke. Jean Pierre Charpentier (b. 1797) employed its text and notes in the Paris, 1845, edition. Charpentier has the dubious distinction of having attempted to decide, in 1828, whether French literature owed more to Greek or to Latin literature. Tauchnitz editions began to appear at Leipzig in 1830.

We have arrived at our own age, for the text which was first issued in 1854, and in revised form in 1888, has not been superseded; in fact, in the current scarcity of classical texts the first edition was reprinted photographically in 1976 (Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag) and the second by stereotype in 1966 (Stuttgart, Teubner). Karl Friedrich Kempf (b. 1819), director of the Friedrichs-Gymnasium in Berlin, was a young man of thirty-five when his 1854 edition appeared in Berlin. He was even younger when he prepared it. It had been more than three years in the hands of the printer, he had been in military service, and it was only 'pacato rei publicae statu' that he could return to his studies, and even then, involved in teaching, he could 'nonnisi subsecivas horas de nocte saepe detrahendas huic libro impendere.' He disparages his pref-

ace, which is, however, a careful job of 99 octavo pages under the headings, 'De Valerii Maximi vita et scriptis,' 'De fontibus Valerii Maximi,' 'De Valerii Maximi auctoritate et fide historica,' 'De Valerii Maximi stilo et dicendi genere,' 'Historia critica Valeriani operis,' 'De Iulio Paride, Valerii Maximi abbreviatore,' 'De Ianuario Nepotiano et aliis Valerii Maximi abbreviatoribus,' and 'De Valerii Maximi codicibus manuscriptis.' He uses Bernensis 366, Vindobonensis 196, Berolinenses Lat. fol. 46 and 48, Guelferbytani 61 Gud. lat. 2°, 39 Gud. lat. 2°, and 166 Gud lat. 4°, and Paris and Nepotianus. The variant readings are indicated by line number at the bottom of each page of text, and below them he provides footnotes by *exemplum* number. The volume runs to 790 pages plus two pages of Addenda et Corrigenda. From an editor especially of his years it was a major contribution. His devotion to Valerius continued throughout his life; in the same year he published *De incerti auctoris fragmento quod inscribitur De praenominibus* (Progr. d. Berl. Gymn. zum Grauen Kloster, 30 p.) and in later years, in addition to his 1888 text, *Novae quaestiones Valerianae* (Progr. d. Berl. Gymn. zum Grauen Kloster, 1866, 35 p.), 'Zu Valerius Maximus' (*Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, CXXXIII, 1886, 49–64), and 'Bericht über die neuere den Valerius Maximus betreffende Litteratur' (*Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, LXIII, 1890, 254–286).

Also in 1854 Karl Felix von Halm (1809–1882), to whom more than seven columns are devoted in the *National Union Catalog*, published at Munich thirty-two pages of *Emendationes Valerianae*. Halm edited several Latin authors, was an early proponent of a *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, worked also in Greek syntax and etymology, and is perhaps best known to classical scholars today as one of the editors of the *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*. His *Emendationes* gave indication of what was to come. In 1865 B. G. Teubner published at Leipzig his edition of Valerius, Paris, and Ianuarius Nepotianus. It was a small volume of XXII and 554 pages, equipped, in the Teubner

tradition, with variant readings but no other notes, with Paris printed in full at the bottom of each relevant page and Ianuarius printed at the end of the volume; these epitomators Kempf had used without furnishing their texts.

In his preface Halm sets forth the reasons for and the methodology of his edition. He felt that greater attention was due the two epitomators and the later hands of the Bernensis. He went to Bern to determine whether he could adopt Kempf's readings for the most part, but he found so many sins of omission and commission that further perusal was necessary, and the authorities at the library 'mihi roganti facile concesserunt, ut codicem primum Monachium perferrem et dum liber typis expressus esset domi haberem.' This is rightly a privilege no longer accorded scholars. Halm used for Paris Vaticanus latinus 4929, where Kempf had cited from Mai's edition, and he records a few readings also from the *editio princeps* of Valerius.

But in the end two factors beyond the control of either man, age and a new manuscript, combined to give Kempf precedence. Halm was well past his half-century mark when his edition appeared in 1865, and he died in 1882; Kempf at the age of sixty-nine was still abundantly able to publish his second edition in 1888, an edition which Teubner in Leipzig must have undertaken with alacrity especially because it used a manuscript which Halm had not known. In 1882 Laurentianus Ashb. 1899, which Guglielmo Libri had procured at Gand in 1847, was not yet in the public domain; it was purchased in 1884 by the Italian government. Kempf puts the case dramatically: he was almost at the point of transmitting his copy to the printer when 'ecce venit nuntius perantiquum Valerii codicem eo usque in Britannia in bibliotheca viri inl. Ashburnham latentem et publico usui subtractum, iam vero cum magno librorum manuscriptorum numero a regno Italico emptum Florentiam, in bibliothecam Laurentianam esse translatum' (pp. XX–XXI). Theodor Stangl had examined it in Florence and shared his notes with Kempf; Bruno Keil, also in Florence and then aged twenty-five, undertook 'hoc in se negotium . . . omnem lectionis varietatem mihi descri-

bendi' (p. XXI), and Laurentianus Ashb. 1899 assumed its late but rightful and important place in the transmission of Valerius.

Kempf had not neglected Bernensis 366. Once again it traveled bravely north, this time to Berlin, by permission of the authorities of its library and after friends of Kempf's in Bern had informed him that not all Halm's strictures were justified. They rankled: he acknowledged that as a young man he was not sufficiently skilled in collating manuscripts, that he was pressed for time, etc. etc., but on examining the manuscript in Berlin he noticed that 'plures quam suspicatus eram ab Halmio . . . commissos esse errores. In quo praecipue mirabar qui accidere id potuerit homini in legendis veterum scriptorum libris versatissimo' (p. IV). Books could of course be written on the pitiful altercations of scholars, but here there could be no rejoinder from Halm, and Kempf indeed gave credit where credit was due, saying, 'Haec habui quae dicerem de Halmiana scripturae varietate e Bernensi libro excerpta, magna ex parte levia illa quidem, si tamen quicquam leve est in hoc genere maxime in locis corruptis, sed profecto non omnia nullius momenti in restituendis Valerii verbis. In qua re unum illud deprecor, nequis me haec tam sedulo collegisse opinetur ad detrectanda insignia praestantissimi illius viri praesertim iam defuncti merita. A quo pravo consilio me longissime abesse et olim in Novis quaestionibus meis Valerianis . . . professus sum, cum acrius ab eo obiurgatus excusare studerem quae in describendis codicibus illius lectionibus peccassem, et hodie profiteor ab ipso Halmio edoctus quam sit illud negotium difficile, postquam intellexi vel diligentissimo veterum librorum perscrutatori et in legendis iis versatissimo talia posse evenire' (p. XIII).

Kempf's is still the standard Teubner edition of Valerius, on whose text follow the texts of Paris from the collation of H. Kruse and of Januarius, the Index Auctorum a Valerio Laudatorum, and the Index Nominum et Rerum, XXXIV, 672 pages in all. The text was run by Pierre Constant and by Rino Faranda on pages facing their respective translations and is the basis for the lexicon by Enrique Otón Sobrino which is currently ap-

pearing (Madrid, 1977-, 2 vols. to date).

The activity of Kempf and Halm evoked numerous contributions from scholars eager to improve specific points in the corrupt text, to assess the manuscripts, to trace the history of a printing, to investigate the sources of Valerius and how he in turn was used as a source. Their contributions are duly recorded in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* and, for more recent years, in *L'année philologique*; it is not difficult to assemble a bibliography on Valerius. Criticism began of course much earlier. In the nineteenth century familiar names like August Reifferscheid, Alfred Fleckeisen, Johan Nikolai Madvig, Franz Buecheler, Ludwig Traube and his student Joseph Schnetz, for whom Bernensis 366 traveled north a third time in 1898, Wilhelm Heraeus, Max Ihm, and Johannes Vahlen occur. For the twentieth I would mention here only Rudolf Helm's convenient survey of Valerius in Pauly-Wissowa (see Bibliography).

The Leitmotiv of teacher-to-student testifies to the constant use of Valerius in the schools. James John points out to me that Jakob Wimpheling (1450-1528) recommended Valerius in *Isidoneus Germanicus de erudienda iuventute* [Strassburg, about 1498, H 16179, Goff W-37; the first edition, H 16177, Goff W-36, appeared at Speier after 22 August 1497], chapter 21, 'De lectione poetarum et oratorum.' Valerius was indeed thumbed in the schools through many centuries before and after Wimpheling. It is pleasant therefore to record here finally three modern editions of *selections* calculated to attract the young. The Latin of Valerius is a poor second best to Caesar's, but presumably the variety of his subject matter was considered more appealing. No less a figure than William Ralph Inge (1860-1954), Dean of St. Paul's, whose works in the classics and in theology occupy six columns in the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum*, published at London in 1890 selections amounting to almost half the entire work, 228 pages, and appended his notes on pages 231-314. I am indebted to Michael Kasper of Amherst College Library for information on this edition. 'The selection has been made,'

the Dean states, 'on the principle of choosing the liveliest stories and omitting the more vapid moralisings: a few pages have been omitted on account of the desperate condition of the text. . . . The editor has felt severely the dearth of literature on Valerius. Lexicographers have neglected him as much as commentators, and there are dozens of cases where even the newest lexicons are silent on a usage found in this author. And the old commentators embodied in Torrenius are not very helpful, frequently passing over the most serious difficulties.' In America Charles Sidney Smith, whose 1910 thesis at the Johns Hopkins University was entitled *Metaphor and Comparison in the Epistulae ad Lucilium of L. Annaeus Seneca*, published fifty selections with notes and an introduction in Boston in 1895 in The Students' Series of Latin Classics. Charles Henry Ward and his publisher Macmillan & Company were perhaps the most daring with *Selections from the Anecdotes of Valerius Maximus Adapted for the Use of Beginners* (London, 1897, in the series Elementary Classics). The *General Report of the Classical Investigation, American Classical League*, Part I (Princeton, 1924, p. 149) recommended Valerius as an author for the fourth semester of high-school Latin, and A. M. Rovelstad discussed 'Valerius Maximus as an Author in the High-School Course' in the *Classical Journal*, XXIV (1929), 578-584. But fifty and more years have gone by, and whether desirable or not, it does not seem likely that Valerius will very soon become again a favored teaching medium.

Such has been the popularity of Valerius Maximus over almost two millennia. This *Fortuna* has hit only the higher spots; numerous scholars and editions have gone unlisted. The popularity is attested also by the more than eight hundred manuscripts, scattered the world over but of course concentrated mainly in Europe, which I have newly listed in *Miscellanea Augusto Campana*, II (Padova, 1981 [Medioevo e umanesimo, 45]), pages 695-728. But nowhere is that popularity better exhibited than in the mediaeval and Renaissance commentators who follow. Their contributions should, however, be judged for each age not in isolation but against the wider activity

which this *Fortuna* has tried to portray.

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I. EDITIONS

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II. GENERAL TREATMENTS

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III. REFERENCES

To lessen printing costs I have assembled here references to the *Fortuna* which would otherwise have been cast as footnotes. The sections correspond to the sections in the *Fortuna*. I have tried in general to omit the more obvious references (to Petrarch, for example) and to illuminate those subjects and figures

which are less familiar. I have also, for the sake of convenience and sometimes for one or another particular reason, included in the text itself references which did not interrupt unduly the flow of thought. The text provides in some detail a bibliography of editors (and editions) of Valerius, and references given here for that section are accordingly limited. Numerous quotations from the sources which might normally be treated as footnotes I have incorporated into the text itself in order to recreate, as it were, the period and circumstances under discussion and vivify the activities of earlier scholars; the modern scholar will read these, even when they are in another language, as part of the English text and will require no translation.

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4. VERSIFICATIONS

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Martinus a S. Brunone: *Valerii Maximi dictorum, factorumque memorabilium, olim obiter, et strictim versibus expositorum libri novem, opus posthumum, ex umbris in lucem solerter vindicatum; juvandaeque tantisper claritatis gratia, amplius dimidio versuum numero sparsim adauctum: nec non ad calcem cujusque libri indiculo instructum, opera, et studio Martini a S. Brunone austriaco-vien-*

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5. QUOTATIONS AND CITATIONS

Standard editions of many of the authors mentioned in this section are readily found; from these, from catalogues of the authors' libraries, from mention of them in other authors or in modern criticism I have gleaned through the years evidence of their acquaintance with Valerius. The Honoré Bonet-John Hus manuscript is preserved in the Universitní Knihovna at Praha, XIII. F. 16.

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scripts of the translation see *Der Leipziger Valerius Maximus*, mit einer Einleitung über die Anfänge des Sittenbildes in den Niederlanden von Friedrich Winkler (Leipzig, 1921; also in a French edition, Leipzig, 1922) and *Valerius Maximus. Miniatures of the School of Jean Fouquet Illustrating the French Version by Simon de Hesdin and Nicholas de Gonesse Contained in a MS. Written about A.D. 1475 for Philippe de Comines*. Reproduced in Photogravure with Frontispiece in Colour for Henry Yates Thompson with an Introduction by George F. Warner (London, 1907).

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Jean Claveret: Michaud, VIII, 374; *Nouvelle biographie générale*, X, 718.

René Binet: Michaud, IV, 348-349; *Nouvelle biographie générale*, VI, 100-101.

Antoni Canals: *Llibre anomenat Valeri Máximo dels dits y fets memorables*, traducció catalana del XIV^{en} segle per Frare Antoni Canals ara per primera volta estampada segons el codex del Consell de Cent, Barceloní, per R. Miquel y Planas (Barcelona, 1914 [Biblioteca Catalana]), 2 vols. On Canals and his work see its introduction and the unsigned account in *Bibliofilia* (Barcelona), XVI (1914), 602-615; Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, I (Romae ad S. Sabinae, 1970), 105-108; José Ribelles Comín, *Bibliografía de la lengua valenciana*, I (Madrid, 1915), 115-121; Martín de Riquer, *Història de la literatura catalana*, II (Barcelona, 1964), 443, 445-450; Juan Roig Giro-

nella, S.J., 'La "Scala de Contemplacio" de Antonio Canals,' *Analecta sacra tarraconensis*, XLVI (1973), 129–263.

Hugo de Urriés: *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada*, LXV, 1509, and Theodore S. Beardsley, Jr., *Hispano-Classical Translations Printed between 1482 and 1699* (Pittsburgh, 1970 [Modern Humanities Research Association Monograph, Duquesne Studies, Philological Series, 12]), pp. 3 and 25, no. 10.

Diego Lopez: *Enciclopedia* . . . , XXXI, 110, and Beardsley, pp. 12 and 84–85, no. 175. I have not studied several manuscript translations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Castilian, at least one of which (El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, h.l.10, s. XIV), antedating that of Hugo de Urriés, was translated from the Catalan. Zaragoza, Biblioteca Universitaria, 157, s. XVII, carries a Spanish translation by Diego Felipe Vizcaino.

Samuel Speed: *Dictionary of National Biography*, LIII, 320.

Charles Lloyd: Charles Lloyd (1748–1828), banker and philanthropist of Birmingham and member of the Society of Friends, published translations from Homer and Horace. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXIII, 409–410.

Conradus Mirkinus: Mirkinus died before 12 December 1633; see *Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, I, 1340.

Abraham Bogaert: Bogaert lived from 1663 to 1727; *ibid.*, III, 131–133.

Anders Krag Holm: *Dansk biografisk leksikon*, X, 405–406.

(Firenze, 1805, repr. Bologna, 1967), I, 444; Élisabeth Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1955), 261, n. 843.

Peter Luder: Ludwig Bertalot, 'Humanistische Vorlesungsankündigungen in Deutschland im 15. Jahrhundert,' *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts*, V (1915), 1–24, reprinted in his *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, herausgegeben von Paul Oskar Kristeller (Roma, 1975 [Storia e Letteratura, Raccolta di Studi e Testi, 130]), I, 219–249, specifically 222.

Johannes Baptista Valentinus Cantalicius: Eva M. Sanford, 'Inaugural Lectures on the Classics,' *Classical Journal*, XLVIII (1953), 267–269.

Petrus Mochius: Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 13; Paola Medioli Masotti, 'Un "praeceptor" a Venezia fra Quattro e Cinquecento: Pietro Mochi senese,' *Lettere italiane*, XXVI (1974), 484–495; Isidoro Ugurgieri Azzolini, *Le pompe sanesi, o vero relazione delli huomini, e donne illustri di Siena, e suo stato*, I (Pistoia, 1649), 590.

Evangelista Oriens: Dorothy M. Schullian, 'An Early Ex Libris,' *Classical Journal*, XXXIX (1944), 291–293 (on T. Sempronius Hieronymus Castellioneus).

Johannes Vorstius: Proponents and opponents of William Harvey's *De motu cordis* were listed by E. Weil in 'The Echo of Harvey's *De motu cordis* (1628) 1628 to 1657,' *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, XII (1957), 167–174.

9. EDITORS

Junta de Sancto Geminiano: *Acta provincialium provinciae romanae (1243–1344)*, ed. Thomas Kaeppli (Romae ad S. Sabinae, 1941), 85; Giuseppe Billanovich, 'Il Petrarca e gli storici latini,' *Tra latino e volgare per Carlo Dionisotti* (Padova, 1974 [Medioevo e umanesimo, 17–18]), 78; Saturnino Lopez, 'Chartularium Conventus Sancti Geminiani O.E.S.A.,' *Analecta augustiniana*, XII (1927–28), 247, 248, 283, 290; Domenico Moreni, *Bibliografia storico-ragionata della Toscana*

COMPOSITE EDITIONS

(*) s.d., Mediolani (Milan): Johannes Jacobus et Fratres, de Lignano. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis and Theophilus Chalcondyles, with contributions by Hermolaus Barbarus, Georgius Merula, Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, Janus Parrhasius, Raphael Regius, and Baptista Egnatius. Perhaps before 1503, since it does not contain the twenty-four exempla published by Aldus Manutius at Venice in that year and by Martinus Herbipolensis at Leipzig in 1501. Luigi Balsamo, however,

makes it [1509–1511] and assigns it to Scinzenzeler in *Giovanni Angelo Scinzenzeler, tipografo in Milano (1500–1526)* (Firenze, 1959), no. 199. BN.

1508, 24 October, Venetiis (Venice): per Bartholomaeum de Zanis, de Portesio. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis and Theophilus Chalcondyles, with contributions by Hermolaus Barbarus, Georgius Merula, Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, Janus Parrhasius, and Raphael Regius. The privilege to publish, requested 3 December 1503, is listed by Rinaldo Fulin, 'Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana,' *Archivio veneto*, XXIII (1882), 152–153. Panzer VIII, 390, no. 428; Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530* (Milan, 1942), no. 7453; NUC. BL (DLC; MH; Dorothy M. Schullian, hereafter abbreviated DMS).

(*) 1508, 31 October, Mediolani (Milan): Nicolaus Gorgonzola. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis and Theophilus Chalcondyles. Panzer VII, 385, no. 62; Adams V-86; NUC, where the one and only attribution, MH, is incorrect. BL, BN.

1510, 29 April–5 June, [Paris]: venundantur ab ipso Ascensio, Joanne Parvo, et Joanne Coubergo. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Panzer VII, 544, no. 381; Philippe Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des oeuvres de Josse Bade Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste, 1462–1535* (New York, 1963, reprint of Paris, 1908, edition), III, 316–318; NUC. BN (DLC; MH; DMS).

(*) 1510, 31 July, Mediolani (Milan): Nicolaus Gorgonzola. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis and Theophilus Chalcondyles. Panzer VII, 390, no. 97; Adams V-88. Cambridge, Jesus College.

(*) 1512, Paris: Joannes Parvus. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

1513, 16 and 28 February, Mediolani (Milan): apud Leonardum Vegium. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Panzer VII, 393, no. 127; Renouard III, 318–319; NUC. BL (DLC; DMS).

1513, 5 March, [Paris]: Venundantur ab Ascensio et Ioanne Parvo. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Panzer VIII, 2, no. 616; Renouard III 319; Adams V-90, 91; NUC. BL; BN; Cambridge, Trinity College (NNC; DMS).

(*) 1513, 20 August, Venetiis (Venice): per D. Lucam Antonium de Junta. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Panzer VIII, 416, no. 646; Paolo Camerini, *Annali dei Giunti* (Firenze, 1962–1963), I, no. 159; Renouard III 319; Sander, no. 7455.

1513, 30 December, Mediolani (Milan): Opera ac diligentia Joannis Angeli Scinzenzeler, impensis nobilium mercatorum Joannis Jacobi et Fratrum, de Lignano. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Panzer VII, 393, no. 126; Renouard III 318 (1513 ou 1512?). (DMS.)

(*) 1517, dedication dated 24 March, [Paris: title device of Bernard Aubri]. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Adams V-97. Cambridge University Library.

1517, 28 March, Luteciae (Paris): in aedibus Wolphgangi Hopyl [or] Joannis Parvi. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Panzer VIII, 37, no. 920; Renouard III 319–320; Adams V-95, 96; NUC. BL; BN; Cambridge, St. John's College, University Library (MH; DMS).

(*) 1518, 6 February, Venetiis (Venice): Gulielmus de Fontaneto. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Panzer XI, 516, no. 932b; Renouard III, 320 (perhaps edition of 6 February 1523, reading XVIII instead of XXIII?).

(*) 1518, 20 May, Venetiis (Venice): per Augustinum de Zannis, de Portesio. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Renouard III 320; Sander no. 7456; NUC. BL (CSmH).

(*) 1522, [Paris]: Nicolas des Prés for Joannes Parvus or Poncet le Preux. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Panzer VIII, 78, no. 1319; NUC. BL; BN (NNC).

1522, Mediolani (Milan): impressum per Augustinum de Vicomercato ad instantiam Nicolai Gorgonzolae. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Sander, no. 7457. (DMS.)

1523, 6 February, Venetiis (Venice): impressum per Gulielmum de Fontaneto Montisferati. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Renouard III 321; Sander, no. 7458; NUC. BL (MH; DMS).

1531, 1 April, Venetiis (Venice): per Gulielmum de Fontaneto sumptibus Lucae Antonii Juntae. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Panzer VIII, 522, no. 1584; Camerini I, no. 341; Renouard III 322; Sander no. 7461. (DMS.)

1535, Luteciae (Paris): apud Poncetum le Preux [for] Joannes Parvus, Petrus Gaudoul, [or] Ambroise Girault. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Panzer VIII, 191, no. 2511; Renouard III 322; NUC. Aberdeen, BU; Paris, BU; (NNC; DMS).

1536, Venetiis (Venice): Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Renouard III 322; NUC. BN (DLC; CtY; DMS).

1541, Venetiis (Venice): apud Octavianum Scotum, D. Amadei F. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. NUC (CU; DMS).

1546, Venetiis (Venice): apud Franciscum Bindonum et Mapheum Pasinum. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. NUC (CtY; MH; NN; DMS).

1547 (colophon 1546), Venetiis (Venice): apud Venturinum Rufinellum. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. NUC (MH; DMS).

(*)1548, Venetiis (Venice). Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Fabricius, BL (1728) II 393 and Barbier, 436; see Bibliography.

1558, Venetiis (Venice): apud Joannem Ma-

riam Bonellum. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Friedrich Adolf Ebert, *Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexikon* (Hildesheim, 1965, reprint of Leipzig edition, 1821–1831), no. 23326; NUC. (MH; DMS.)

1565, Venetiis (Venice): apud Joannem Mariam Bonellum. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Renouard III 323; Adams V-114; NUC. BN; Trinity Hall, Cambridge (NNC; DMS).

1568, Venetiis (Venice): Hieronymus Scotus. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Renouard III 323–324; NUC. BL (ViLxW; DMS, two copies).

1569, Venetiis (Venice): apud Joannem Mariam Bonellum. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Renouard III 324. (DMS.)

1575, Venetiis (Venice): apud haeredes Joannis Mariae Bonelli. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Renouard III 324; NUC. BL; BN (NIC; OCU; DMS).

(*) 1576, Lugduni (Lyon): apud Antonium Gryphium. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Claudius Mitalerius. Baudrier VIII 370; NUC. BN (MH).

1581, Lugduni (Lyon): apud Antonium Gryphium. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Claudius Mitalerius. Baudrier VIII 384; NUC. BL (NNUT; CtY; DMS).

1585, Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud Christophorum Plantinum. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. Charles Louis Ruelens and Augustin De Backer, *Annales plantiniennes* (Paris, 1866 and Burt Franklin reprint, New York, 1967, Bibliography and Reference Series, no. 127), p. 278, no. 8; *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV; Adams V-117; NUC. BL; BN (MH; DMS).

(*) 1587, Lugduni (Lyon): apud Antonium Gryphium. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Claudius Mitalerius. Baudrier VIII, 399; Adams V-118; NUC. (ICU.)

(*) 1588, Lutetiae (Paris): apud Joannem Macaeum. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzig-

nanensis and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Renouard III 324–325. BL. It is stated on the title page that this edition is provided with 'Nicolai Beraldi familiarissima ac plane dilucida expositione.' Dennis E. Rhodes, Deputy Keeper, Rare Books Section, of the British Library, graciously informs me that the edition contains indeed a much earlier dedicatory letter of Beraldus but no section of commentary which can be ascribed to him.

1590, Venetiis (Venice): apud Laurentium Bertellum. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Adams V-120. Cambridge, University Library (DMS).

(*) 1592, Lugduni (Lyon): sumptibus Sybilae à Porta. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Claudius Mitalerius. Adams V-121. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

(*) 1592, Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud Joannem Helvidium. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV; NUC. BN (ICN).

(*) 1594, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): ex officina Plantiniana apud Franciscum Raphelengium. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV; Adams V-122; NUC. BL, BN (MH).

(*) 1598, Venetiis (Venice): apud Laurentium Bertellum. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. Renouard III 325.

(*) 1600, Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud Martinum Nutium. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV. BN.

(*) 1601, Lugduni (Lyon): excudebat Antonius Gryphius. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 2nd series, XXIII; NUC. (IU.)

1601, Francofurti (Frankfurt): typis Wechelianis apud Claudium Marnium et haeredes Joannis Aubrii. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, Justus Lipsius, and Christophorus Colerus. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV. BL (two copies, one with manuscript notes by Richard Bentley). (DMS; I

cannot resist adding that I purchased this copy from a dealer in Philadelphia in 1933 for \$1.50.)

(*) 1601, s. 1. [Genevae]: apud Iacobum Chouët. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV. BN.

(*) 1602, s. 1. [Genevae]: excudebat Samuel Crispinus. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV. BN.

(*) 1606, Lugduni (Lyon): Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. BL.

(*) 1607, Lugduni (Lyon): apud Antonium de Harsy. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV; NUC. (MH, NPV.)

(*) 1607, Lugduni (Lyon): apud J. Pillehotte. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. BN.

(*) 1608, Venetiis (Venice): apud Nicolaum Misserinum. Commentaries of Oliverius Arzignanensis, Theophilus Chalcondyles, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. NUC. (NNC.)

(*) 1608, Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud Martinum Nutium. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale.

(*) 1612, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. BL.

(*) 1612, Lugduni (Lyon): apud viduam Antonii de Harsy. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka.

(*) 1614, Antverpiae (Antwerp): sumptibus haeredum Martini Nutii et Ioannis Meursii. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV. Mons, Bibliothèque de la Ville.

(*) 1614, Hanoviae (Hanau): typis Wechelianis, apud haeredes Ioannis Aubrii. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, Justus Lipsius, and Christophorus Colerus. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV. BL; NUC.

(ICU.)

(*) 1618, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva): apud Petrum et Iacobum Chouët. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV; NUC. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale. (NjP).

(*) 1620, Lermae (Lerma): ex officina Joannis Baptistae Varesii. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. Graesse VII 245.

(*) 1621, Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud Ioannem Keerbergium. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV. BL.

(*) 1621, Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud Henricum Aertissium. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV.

(*) 1621, Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud Martinum Nutium. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Justus Lipsius. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV.

1627, Francofurti (Frankfurt): typis et sumptibus Wecheliorum, apud Danielelem et Davidem Aubrios et Clementem Schleichium. Commentaries of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, Justus Lipsius, and Christophorus Colerus. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV; NUC. BN (ICU; DMS).

1651, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): apud Franciscum Hackium. A Variorum edition, with notes from Oliverius Arzignanensis, Jodocus Badius Ascensius, Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, *et al.* NUC. BL; BN: (DLC; DMS).

(*) 1652, Francofurti (Frankfurt). A Variorum edition, with notes from several scholars, cura Christophori Coleri. Kapp III, 1400; Barbier, 441.

(*) 1655, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): apud Franciscum Hackium. A Variorum edition, with notes from Oliverius Arzignanensis, Jodocus Badius Ascensius, Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, *et al.* NUC (MH).

1660, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): apud Franciscum Hackium. A Variorum edition, with notes from Oliverius Arzignanensis, Jodocus Badius Ascensius, Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, *et al.* Kapp (see Bibliography) III, 1400; NUC. (ICU; ViU; DMS).

1670, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): ex officina Hackiana. A Variorum edition, with notes from Oliverius Arzignanensis, Jodocus Badius Ascensius, Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, *et al.* Kapp III, 1401; NUC. BL; BN (NN; ICU; DMS).

1726, Leidae (Leiden): apud Samuelem Luchtmans. A Variorum edition with the commentaries of Henricus Loritus Glareanus, Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, Justus Lipsius, Christophorus Colerus, Johannes Vorstius, *et al.* Kapp III, 1401; NUC. BL; BN (NIC; MH; CtY; OCU; ICU; DMS).

(*) 1799, Curiae Regnitorum (Stadt am Hof): sumtibus Godofredi Adolphi Grau. A Variorum edition with notes from several scholars and those of Johannes Theodorus Benjamin Helfrecht. Kapp III, 1402; NUC, BN (ICU).

1822–23, Parisiis (Paris): N. E. Lemaire (Biblioteca classica Latina, 122–124). A Variorum edition, with notes from several scholars. 2 pts. in 3 vols. NUC, 20 locations. BN (DMS).

1823, Londini (London): curante et impimente A. J. Valpy. 3 vols, A Variorum edition, with notes from several scholars. NUC. BN (CtY; DMS).

(*) 1836–37, Parisiis (Paris): excudit C. L. F. Panckoucke (Nova scriptorum latinorum bibliotheca). A Variorum edition, with notes from several scholars. NUC (ICU).

(*) 1845, Paris. A Variorum edition, with notes from several scholars. NUC (CU; PU)

I. FACTORUM ET DICTORUM MEMORABILIVM LIBRI NOVE

COMMENTARIES

I. DIONYSIVS DE BURGO SANCTI SEPULCHRI

The commentary was completed after 18 December 1327, since it is dedicated to Giovanni Cardinal Colonna, who received the purple on that day, and before 31 May 1342, on which day the author's successor as bishop of Monopoli was confirmed. The finishing

touches can be assigned to his years 1339–1342 in Naples, since he mentions archaeological ruins of that vicinity (*Cererique* etc. [I 1, 1] . . . [Avelia] civitas antiqua fuit, cuius adhuc vestigia prope Salernum apparent; *Sed quid externa* [IV 7, 1] . . . Graccus quia potentiam suam saluti patriae praetulerat merito eius inimicus existimatus est. In hoc cum proposito pravo amicum constantem habuit Blossium Cumanum de civitate posita in Campania cuius vestigia prope Neapolim adhuc apparent; *Mitridacesque quoque rex* [V 2, ext.2] Hic rex Mitridaces pro uno milite suo qui fuerat suae libertatis custos navali pugna excepto, id est, capto omnes captivos quos de Rhodis habebat commutavit, satius id est melius existimans ab invisissimis id est inimicis et odiosis circumveniri quam benemerito militi gratiam non referre. Gratitude istius grati regis in casu consimili imitatus fuit bonae memoriae illustris Karolus rex Siciliae qui in redemptionem domini Reynaldi de Avella militis strenui et sibi fidelissimi quem rex Fridericus tenebat captivum primo captivos Siculos quos habebat et demum Yschiam Capreas Procidas insulas sui regni notabiles insuper castrum abbatis insigne locale quibus acerrime suum regnum poterat circumveniri contulit et dedit potius volens praedictis quam tanti militis et tam fidelis carere praesidio). The bulk of the commentary, however, was probably composed during his years at Avignon (about 1330–1338), where Petrarch doubtless knew it. A manuscript of it has been credited to the library of Boccaccio, who certainly knew Dionysius in Naples.

Dedication (ed. of [Strassburg, not after 1475]) [R]everendo in Cristo patri et suo domino speciali, domino Iohanni de Columna, divina providentia Sancti Angeli dyacono cardinali frater Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini cum omni subiectione et reverentia filiali se totum. [*Inc.*]: Moraliū philosophorum attestante sententia ad vitae humanae praecavendas insidias et hominum versutias discernendas virtus quae prudentia nominatur dinoscitur prae ceteris ymo convincitur necessaria. Ea siquidem, clementissime pater, falli non potest, fallere non vult. Homo prudens

scit qua via egredi debeat et cito agenda diiudicat; hinc praeterita memorantur, dispensantur praesentia, providentur futura ut vere tali virtute dotatum sit oculis corpus plenum intrinsecus aut extrinsecus ante et retro per totum, ut prophetica visio et Iohannis revelatio manifestant. Sane librum Valerii Maximi pro sui brevitate modernis obscurum temporibus (in quo virtutum relucent exempla et quodam modo singulari prudentia ipsa refulget) declarandum assumpsi, ut legentibus clarum fiat quod difficile primitus apparebat. Hoc autem nullatenus facere potuissem nisi gesta Romanorum ac alienigena per antiquos autores diversis in locis narrata serie perlegissem, qui quod ipse Valerius breviter diffuse narravit ac prolixo ego hic annotare curavi ut operi certior fides detur nec labor videatur inanis tantorum testimonio comprobatus. Sunt autem praedicti autores quos necessario oportuit intueri: Titus Livius principaliter et egregii doctores Augustinus, Gregorius, Ambrosius, et Ieronimus, quorum dicta maxime Augustini libro de civitate dei et Ieronimi [*sic*] inronicis et epistolis fuerunt plerumque necessaria. Quandoque etiam de biblia et a magistro historiarum ac etiam de decreto et de Iohanne Crisostomo aliqua pro maiore declaratione propositi sunt accepta. Praeterea hic inserta assumpta sunt de Hugone libro de sacramentis, de Ysidoro libro ethymologiarum, de Papia, de Huguicione, de Prisciano, de Iosepho libro historiarum antiquarum, de Orosio, de Lactantio, de Macrobio libro de somno Scipionis, de Polycrato [Ioanne Sarisberiensi], de Suetonio, de Bohecio, de Sedulio [Scotto], de Cassiodoro libro variarum, de Seneca, de Tulio, de Platone, de Aristotile, de Averroi, de Avicenna libro naturalium, de Varrone, de Iuvenali, de Vegetio, de Solino, de Plinio, de F[r]ontino, de vita philosophorum, de rethorica Grilli, de computo, de Fabio historico, de Salustio, de Paulo Longobardorum historiographo, de Fustino [Iustino] et de Iulio Florio [L. Annaeo Floro]. Fuit autem necessarium poetas inspicere, sicut Virgilium, Lucanum, Oratium, Persium, Ovidium, Iuvenalem, Eustachium [Eustratium], Venusinum [Ricardum de Venusia?] qui sub nomine poetae [i]ntroducitur et Plautus Ytalie nominatur, Iulium Caesarem et eius

poetiam, Statium, et Alexandri hystoriam tam metrice quam prosayce scriptam. Insuper oportuit cronicas intueri videlicet cronicam Helinandi, cronicam Atheniensium, Hyspanorum et Gallorum ac etiam annalia Romanorum quorum autor non habetur, et cronicam Petri [not Godefridi?] Viterbiensis quae pantheon appellatur et etiam plures alios rerum gestarum et particularum narratores. Praefatum igitur opus, pater reverende, vestro ingenio corrigendum submitto, ut qui origine urbis, dignitate orbis princeps existitis utriusque gesta vestri examinis discreto iudicio discernatis, ac ex varietate praeterita, praesentia ordinando, possitis futurorum notitiam arbitrari et tandem vita feliciter usi illius (qui laborantibus datur in praemium et a quo et laboris initium et consumationis finem accepi) possitis gloriae sociari.

*Commentary. [Inc.]: (Urbis Romae (I Prooemium) etc. Valerius huic operi suo primo prohemium ponit, in quo suum propositum ostendens auditores benivolos facit. Secundo tractatum prosequitur in quo quae in prohemio promiserat per ordinem declarantur, ibi Maiores (I 1, 1). Prohemium ipsum dividitur in duas partes, quia primo intentionem suam praemittit, secundo ad Caesarem pro auxilio recurrit, ibi Te igitur (I Prooemium) . . . Maiores statuas etc. (I 1, 1) Finito prohemio prosequitur tractatum, qui habet novem libros partiales, in quorum octo tractat de virtutibus, in nono de viciis ut patebit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (Idem barbarum (IX 15, ext. 2) . . . iusto supplicio Caesar impendere coegit. Igitur ut principium et finis huius libri idem esset Valerius in prologo Caesaris auxilium postulavit et in fine cum Caesare divo Iulio terminavit, qui (ut Suetonius dicit) iustitiam servavit, quae non aliud est, dicente Seneca [cf. *Epist. ad Lucil.* 90, 3], quam lex divina et vinculum societatis humanae, in qua veritatis religio tuetur et ipse deus colitur, in cuius quidem cultu sincero eterna vita promittitur in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

Bibl.: Rudolph Arbesmann, O.S.A., 'Der Augustinereremitenorden und der Beginn der humanistischen Bewegung,' *Cassiciacum*, XIX (1965), 25–36; Heribert A. Hilgers, *Die Ueberlieferung der Valerius-Maximus-Auslegung*

Heinrichs von Mügeln (Köln, Wien, 1973), 394–402. For Boccaccio's library see A. Goldmann, 'Drei italienische Handschriften Kataloge s. XIII–XV,' *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, IV (1887), 139, 154; David Gutiérrez, O.E.S.A., 'La biblioteca di Santo Spirito in Firenze nella metà del secolo XV,' *Analecta augustiniana*, XXV (1962), 83; Antonio Mazza, 'L'inventario della "parva libraria" di Santo Spirito e la biblioteca del Boccaccio,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, IX (1966), 54–56.

Manuscripts:

Listed in Adolar Zumkeller, O.S.A., 'Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken,' *Augustiniana*, XI (1961), 303, XV (1965), 544 and *Cassiciacum*, XX (1966), 109, 576; Arbesmann, *Augustiniana*, XIV (1964), 264–266, XV (1965), 293, and *Cassiciacum*, XIX (1965), 23–25, 143; John William Larkin, S.J., *A Critical Edition of the First Book of the Commentary of Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro on the Facta et dicta memorabilia urbis Romae of Valerius Maximus*, Diss., Fordham University, lxx, 307, 5 pp. (New York, 1967; University Microfilms facsimile, Order no. 68–3697, 1971), xvi–xxxv. Larkin lists 15 complete manuscripts, 1 incomplete, 4 abbreviated and truncated, 2 containing small fragments, and 10 unavailable; ten are dated s. XIV ex., twenty from the first three decades of the fifteenth century, one 1461, one s. XVI. To the manuscripts listed by Zumkeller, Arbesmann, and Larkin I add or make adjustments as follows:

(Photo) Arezzo, Biblioteca della Città di Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternità di Santa Maria, 345, s. XIV, f.128v. Commentary on Book I 1, 4. (Mazzatinti VI [1896], 230 and letter of Edoardo Mirri, 15 October 1976).

(*) Avignon, Musée Calvet, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1213, s. XV. The manuscript is incomplete at beginning and end. (Cat. Gén. Fr. Dept. Octavo XXVII [1894], 532–533; Giuseppe Di Stefano, 'Dionigi da Borgo S. Sepolcro, amico del Petrarca e maestro del Boccaccio' [See *Bibl.* below], 301, assigned this to Petrus Herardi, but I accept his later designation ['Tradizione esegetica e traduzioni di Valerio Massimo nel primo umanesimo

francese,' *Studi francesi*, n. 21 (1963), 414] of Dionysius).

(*) Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, E.II.10, s. XV, f. 295v. Dedicatory letter and beginning of commentary on the prooemium. (Letter of Martin Steinmann, 5 April 1976).

(*) Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, E.II.62, s. XIV, ff.IIra-IVrb. Commentary on the prooemium and beginning of Book I 1, 1. (Letter of Martin Steinmann, 5 April 1976).

(*) Berlin (Ost), Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 649, s. XIV. (Élisabeth Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan au XV^e siècle* [Paris, 1955], 356; Helmut Boese, *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* [Berlin, 1966], 317–318. This is the manuscript described in Giovanni Benedetto Mittarelli, *Bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum Monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiarum prope Murianum* [Venetiis, 1779], coll. 328, 1174–1176, which Larkin, xxxii, believed unavailable).

(*) Berlin (West), Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. fol. 437, s. XIV, ff. 1–88. (This is located by Zumkeller, respectively 544 and 576, in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin Ost. Ludwig Bertalot describes it in *Bibliofilia*, XXIV (1922–23), 261–264, reprinted in his *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, herausgegeben von Paul Oskar Kristeller [Roma, 1975 (Storia e Letteratura, Raccolta di Studi e Testi, 130)] II, 303–306).

Bressanone, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, A.12, an. 1399. (Known to Zumkeller but listed by Larkin, xxxiii, as unavailable, I consulted it in 1953. It is duly included in Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 37).

(*) Burgo de Osmá, Catedral, s. XV. (Letter of Larkin, 7 April 1969; Timoteo Rojo Orcajo, *Catálogo descriptivo de los códices que se conservan en la S. Iglesia Catedral de Burgo de Osmá* [Madrid, 1929], no. 24; Grubbs II [1933], 86).

(*) Clermont-Ferrand, Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, F.O.88, s. XV. (Letter of Di Stefano, 1 February 1966; André Bossuat, 'Jacques de Comborn et son secré-

taire,' *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel* [Paris, 1955], I, 157).

(*) Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 1.1.7, an. 1393. (Letter of Di Stefano, 1 February 1966; I. C. Cunningham, 'Latin Classical Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland,' *Scriptorium*, XXVII [1973], 66).

Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 423, s. XVI. (Listed by Larkin, xxxv, as unavailable, I consulted it in 1951. It is duly included in Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 73).

Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 483, s. XV. (Listed by Larkin, xxxv, as unavailable, I consulted it in 1972 after finding it listed in Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 73).

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. I.VII.12, ff. 107–201, s. XV. It contains the commentary only for Books VI–IX; that for Books I–V is stated in an early hand to be in another volume which remained 'in Catalonia.' (Listed by Larkin, xxxv, as unavailable, I consulted it in 1954; a live worm dropped out as I was using it. It is duly listed in Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 162. In Berthold L. Ullman and Philip A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* [Padova, 1972 (Medioevo e umanesimo, 10)], 186, it is dated s. XIV).

(*) Klosterneuburg, Bibliothek des Chorherrenstiftes, 744. (Letters of Larkin, 27 April 1969, and Heribert A. Hilgers, 26 August 1970; Joannes Felix Ossinger, *Bibliotheca augustini-ana* [Ingolstadii, 1768], 167).

(*) London, British Library, Add. 22123, s. XIV. (British Museum, *Catal. Add. Mss.* 1854–1860, 589).

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R.66 Sup., s. XV. Stops on f.51r in II 6, 8. (Cf. Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 309, where the commentary is left anonymous).

New Haven, Yale University, The Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Marston MS. 37, ff. 6–142, s. XIV (Bond, 68; in 1962, when this catalogue was published, the manuscript was still in Mr. Marston's possession. Professor Ullman called it to my attention on 2 May 1960).

(*) Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Solg. 45.2°, s. XV. (Listed by Larkin, xxxiii, as unavailable, it was confirmed as at hand in a letter of

4 August 1976 from Elisabeth Becker).

(*) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. infra 1.1, s. XV, Books IV-IX only (Madan and others, II, Part I, 364-5).

(*) Oxford, Merton College Library, 302 (H.3.4), s. XV (Coxe I, no. 3, p. 120; F. M. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College* [Oxford, 1931], 202).

(*) Pamplona, Biblioteca Catedral, 27, s. XV. (Letters of Larkin, 7 April 1969, and of José Goñi Gaztambide, 2 May 1976; A. S. Hunt, 'The Library of the Cathedral of Pamplona,' *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XIV [1897], 287, no. 27; Grubbs, II [1933], 61).

(*) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 14634-5, s. XV. (Léopold Delisle, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XXX [1869], 32, [two copies]; Di Stefano, 'Tradizione esegetica e traduzioni di Valerio Massimo nel primo umanesimo francese,' *Studi francesi*, n. 21 [1963], 416).

(*) Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale 240 (135), s. XV, containing both the commentary by Benvenutus de Imola (*Cat. Gén. Fr. Dept.* Octavo XXV, 69) and the commentary of Dionysius for Book I (Berlincourt [see below s. *Editions*], 37-38).

(*) Praha, Universitní knihovna, 1152 (VI.F.13), s. XV. (Letter of Di Stefano, 1 February 1966; Truhlář, I, 464, left the commentary unidentified).

(*) Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, 7-4-14 (AA 144.2), s. XV. (Haenel, col. 981; letter of director, 15 February 1975).

Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1494, ff. 1-160, s. XIV. (Cf. Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 403).

Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1846, f.4r, an. 1349. Portion of dedicatory letter to Giovanni Cardinal Colonna. (Nogara, 297).

Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1927, f.94v, s. XIV. Dedicatory letter only. (Nogara, 358).

Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1931, s. XIV. Only Books VIII-IX, according to Di Stefano, letter of 1 February 1966; I would add VII. (Nogara, 360, who does not identify it).

Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica

Vaticana, Vat. lat. 8895, ff. 18-346v. Di Stefano, letter of 1 February 1966, identifies the commentary as that of Dionysius.

(*) Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Rehdig. 133, an. 1416, was lost during World War II (letter of the director, 20 May 1976; cf. K. Ziegler, *Catalogus codicum latinorum classicorum qui in Bibliotheca Urbica Wratislaviensi adservantur* [Breslau, 1915], p. 107).

Editions:

[Not after 1475, Strassburg: the R-Printer (Adolph Rusch)]. GW 8411; HC 4103*; Goff D-242. (DLC; MH; NIC).

1954, Prooemium and I 7 only, in Marjorie Alkins Berlincourt, *The Commentary on Valerius Maximus by Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and Its Influence upon Later Commentaries*, Diss., Yale University, 184 pp. (microfilm may be requested; the dissertation is repeated in shortened but not fully updated form, without the two Latin appendixes, and under the title 'The Relationship of Some Fourteenth Century Commentaries on Valerius Maximus' in *Mediaeval Studies*, XXXIV [1972], 362-387, Appendix I, 95-147).

1967, Book I only, ed. Larkin, see above. Father Larkin, who died 5 April 1977, had hoped to edit the commentary for all nine books.

Biography:

Dionysius (Dyonisius) de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri (Dionysius, philosophus et astrologus, Dionysius a Burgo, Dionysius a Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, Dionysius Burgensis, Dionysius de Arretio, Dionysius de Burgo, Dionysius de Rubertis, Dionysius Tuscus; Denys de Borgo San Sepolcro, Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro, Dionigi de' Roberti, Dionigi Roberti da Borgo San Sepolcro, Dionisio di Borgo San Sepolcro, Francesco Dionigi, Francesco Dionisio).

Dionysius was born about 1280 at Borgo San Sepolcro, near Arezzo, and died in Naples early in 1342. In his native town he studied with the Augustinians and was received into that order; at Paris he studied theology, was occupied (1316-1317) with the first two books of the *Sentences* of Petrus Lombardus, became Baccalaureus (about 1318) and Magister (1323 or 1324), and served as General definitor at

the convention (1329) of his order. In the years that followed he was probably based in Avignon, but he spent a short period (September 1329) in Todi, served again as General definitor at the conventions of his order in Venice (June 1332) and Grasse (1335), was twice Provincial of his home province, Vallis Spoletana, and was in Florence in 1338. In that same year he went to Naples and served until his death at the court of King Robert; he was professor of Canon Law and in 1340 was named Bishop of Monopoli.

Boccaccio was his pupil in Naples, and Giovanni Villani was his friend. He had especially close relationships with Petrarch, whom he met probably in Avignon, to whom he was father-confessor, to whom he presented a copy of the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, whom he recommended to King Robert for the honor of the laurel crown, from whose correspondence comes much of our knowledge of his life, and who dedicated to his memory the famous letter on the ascent of Mont Ventoux.

Works: Dionysius edited the *Compendium logicae* of Aegidius de Columna and wrote commentaries on Aristotle's *Politics* and *Rhetoric*, Vergil, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Seneca's tragedies. The works reveal an acquaintance with numerous Greek, Latin, Arabic, and patristic authors.

Bibl.: Chevalier I, 1173; Cosenza II, 1231-1236, V, 622; Fabricius BLMA I, 447; Sabbadini, *Scoperte* II, 36-44; Tiraboschi (Milano, 1833-36) X, 12-20.

Arbesmann, *Augustiniana*, XIV (1964), 257-264, and *Cassiciacum* XIX (1965), 16-23; Giuseppe Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato. I. Lo scrittoio del Petrarca* (Roma, 1947), 62-65, and 'Petrarca e il Ventoso,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, IX (1966), 389-401; Giuseppe Di Stefano, 'Dionigi da Borgo S. Sepolcro, amico del Petrarca e maestro del Boccaccio,' *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, XCVI (1961-62), 272-314, 'Per la fortuna di Valerio Massimo nel Trecento. Le glosse di Pietro da Monteforte ed il commento di Dionigi da Borgo S. Sepolcro,' *ibid.*, 777-790, both reviewed by Giorgio Padoan in *Studi sul Boccaccio*, I (1963), 540-544, and 'Ricerche

sulla cultura avignonese del secolo XIV,' *Studi francesi*, n. 19 (1963), 1-16; Larkin (see above), i-xiii; Ugo Mariani, O.E.S.A., 'Dionigi da Borgo S. Sepolcro,' in his *Il Petrarca e gli agostiniani* (Roma, 1946), 31-49; Émile van Moé, 'Les Ermites de S. Augustin amis de Pétrarque,' *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, École Française de Rome*, XLVI (1929), 260-267; Joannes Felix Ossinger, *Bibliotheca augustiniiana* (Ingolstadii, 1768), 167-168; J. Ricci, 'Un amico del Petrarca, Dionigi Roberti da Borgo S. Sepolcro,' *Bollettino storico agostiniano*, XV (1939), 41-43; B. L. Ullman, 'The Library of the Sorbonne in the Fourteenth Century,' *The Septicentennial Celebration of the Founding of the Sorbonne College in the University of Paris, Chapel Hill, February 1953, Proceedings & Papers* (Chapel Hill, 1953), 45-46; Robert Weiss, 'Notes on Dionigi da Borgo S. Sepolcro,' *Italian Studies*, X (1955) 40-42.

Here, for the first commentator of the fourteenth century, I would record my deep regret that I was unable to consult at the University of Padua Leandro Zancan's dissertation 'Valerio Massimo nel Trecento.' Padua does not film its dissertations.

2. MILIANUS DE SPOLETO

I owe to Helmut Boese my introduction to this incomplete commentary which was written by the Dominican Milianus de Spoleto probably, according to Dr. Boese's calculations, in 1338, that is, at about the time that Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri was finishing his.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: [C]um plurium patrum et fratrum meorum plurimis rogationibus pulsatus ut historias librorum seu voluminis Maximi Valerii, alto quidem et facundo necnon subtili et obscuro stilo conscriptas, plano baso ac plebeio sermone elucidarem, volens eorum votis parere devote necnon et vitare cupiens tristitiae spiritum otiosum qui excitat medullas et ossa et docet malitiam multam . . . ego frater Milianus de Spoleto minimus fratrum Predicatorum opus aggrediar ingenio meo nimis arduum et difficile, utilitati tamen legentium predicantium et conversan-

tium ad mores instruendos, vitia resecanda, et inserendas virtutes perutile et facundum. Attende tamen, o lector, quod non est intentionis meae in hoc opere textum Maximi Valerii exponere de verbo ad verbum ut iacet, quia nimis esset prolixum opus, sed solum historias in summa capere et clare ponere, alia autem omittere nisi quandoque aliquod verbum notabile occurreret, quod tunc intendo in fine historiae vel intra ubi decentius videbitur collocare. Distinguitur autem volumen istud in 9 libros et liber quilibet distinguitur in capitula et capitula distinguuntur in paragraphos. Considerandum tamen est in hoc opere quod semper predictus Maximus Valerius hunc composuit librum tempore Octaviani Augusti. Hoc etiam dicit Vincentius in libro VI^o historiali capitulo cxxii^o [Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII 123], ut patet expresse in prologo primi libri et in 9^o libro capitulo ultimo sive penultimo [IX 15, 2] qui sic incipit, 'Nec diu [divi] quidem Augusti et nunc terram regentis et excellentissimum numen intentatum ab hoc genere iniuriae extitit.' Incipit a Romanis tamquam a dignioribus, unde primo circa materiam de qua loquitur ponit exempla Romanorum et postea aliarum gentium. Fuit autem hic Valerius Romanus natione et ut dictum est tempore imperii Octaviani incepit istum librum et sibi ipsum intitulat. Et ut satis est probabile Valerius iste vixit et hunc librum composuit ante Christi adventum, nam ut communiter dicunt antiquae historiae et chronica Martiniani [cf. 'Chronicon turonense auctore anonymo canonico turonensi S. Martini,' pages 917–1072 in volume V (1729) of Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio* (Parisiis, 1724–1733, 9 vols.)] dictus Octavianus vixit imperator sive in imperio 56 annis, et 42. anno imperii sui natus est Dominus Noster Jesus Christus, et post regnavit 14 annis. Nam primis 12 annis habuit collegam imperii sui Antonium, postmodum vero sine Antonio regnavit 44 annis, et tamen Valerius de Domino Nostro vel actibus suis et gestis [non] facit penitus aliquam mentionem. Et ideo extimo et verisimile est quod ante Domini Nostri nativitatem hunc

composuit librum, quia de eo et suis mirificis et magnificis actibus omnino fecisset aliquam mentionem. Peto igitur a vobis humiliter ad quorum manus primo pervenerit incultum et inpolitum opusculum quatenus me peccatorem in vestris orationibus habere dignum commendatum, et ubi inveneritis aliquid bene dictum totum attribuite Deo vero, ubi vero minus bene meae insufficientiae et imperitiae arrogate.

[L]iber primus habet 6 capitula. Verum est tamen quod a quibusdam distinguitur in 7, nam sextum capitulum quod est de miraculis distinguitur etiam in capitulum de monstris. Primum ergo capitulum est de religione, id est de cultu divino vel de cultu qui exhibebatur diis. Secundum capitulum est de neglecta religione, id est de negligentia commissa erga cultum divinum quae vere a diis extitit vindicata. Tertium capitulum est de ominibus sine ho . . . Exponam quidem omen quando pertractabo capitulum. Quartum capitulum est de prodigiis. Quintum est de sompniis. Sextum est de miraculis, et septimum est dividendo istud sextum capitulum de monstris.

Primum autem capitulum quod est de religione sive cultu exhibendo diis habet xv paragraphos, in quibus omnibus intendit ostendere quam exquisita et sollerti cura Romani erant dediti deorum suorum cultui et divinationi. In quo exemplum habemus quod ex quo pagani et gentiles sic attente et omni diligentia apposita et negligentia deposita suos venerabantur deos immo, ut verius dicam, demones. Quanto magis nos Christiani et fideles cum omni mentis et animi devotione et attentione omnimoda debemus Deum verum unum in essentia et trinum in personis venerari et colere. (I 1, 1) In isto autem primo paragrapho qui incipit sic *maiores statas sollempne[s] ceremonias* etc. breviter autem ipse autor ponit. 5(?) Nota hic super hoc vocabulo *statas* quod tripliciter potest intelligi, uno modo ut per *statas* intelligantur vigiliae seu excubiae quae fiebant in honore deorum, alio modo ut per *statas* intelligantur hostiae pacificae quae offerebantur diis ad pacificandos eos, tertio modo ut per *statas* maiores intelligantur hostiae quae offerebantur Iovi deo. Iupiter dicebatur olim stator vel deus quia quando pervenitur ad

ipsum aut deos statuer in ipso tamquam in supremo. Nam ut dicit Augustinus de civitate dei libro quarto capitulo 9^o Iupiter apud paganos erat summus et maximus deorum. *Maiores ergo statas* id est ceremonias et hostias maiores quae deo Iovi offeruntur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (III 2, 3) . . . cum Octaviano Augusto in templo dicti dei Feretri quod vetustate erat consumptum.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Berlin (Ost), Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Diez C qu. 50. s. XIV. Books I-III 2, 3 only (Letter of Helmut Boese, 4 May 1961, and kindness of the director of the Handschriftenabteilung, Dr. Hans-Erich Teitge, who sent film a second time when the first package was damaged in the mails).

Biography:

The name of Milianus (Aemilianus, Melionus) de Spoleto, O.P., appears in documents of his order for the years 1311 (Viterbo), 1313 (Orvieto), 1332 (Rome), 1338 (Prato), 1339 (Arezzo), 1340 (Pisa), and 1341 (Perugia). He is the compiler of 'Extractiones de libro Ethicorum secundum ordinem alphabeti.'

Bibl.: Acta capitulum provinciarum provinciae Romanae (1243-1344) edidit Thomas Kaeppli O.P. auxiliante Antonio Dondaine O.P. (Romae ad S. Sabinae, 1941 [Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica volumen XX edunt socii Instituti Historici Fratrum Praedicatorum ad S. Sabinae in Urbe]), 182, 189, 276, 297, 313, 326; Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, III (Romae ad S. Sabinae, 1980), 137.

3. FRATER LUCAS

As early as 1948 Thomas Kaeppli had noted in Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1333-34, s. XV, references to the Latin commentaries of Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, of a Frater Lucas Ordinis Praedicatorum, and of Lucas de Penna and to the French commentary of Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse. He had shown that because the commentary in the Reims manuscript mentions Dionysius it cannot be, as it had been catalogued, his. Giuseppe Di Stefano in several later articles mentioned Frater Lucas, in

1963 assigned the anonymous commentary in the Reims manuscript to Petrus Herardi, and in 1971, at the First International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, the proceedings of which were published in 1973, performed the very useful act of quoting the passages from both Lucas de Penna (Auch, Bibliothèque Municipale, 8, s. XV) and Petrus Herardi (the Reims MS.) in which Frater Lucas is cited; the latter passages were derived from Lucas de Penna and are secondary.

These passages have enabled me to corroborate the identification, which I owe to the kindness of Martin Steinmann, of Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, E.II.15, an. 1442, as the commentary of Frater Lucas. It ordinarily appears in the manuscripts as anonymous; in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5866, s. XV, a later hand, which has provided marginalia, introduces it with the note 'interpretatum facit(?) Lodovico.' The commentary would seem to fall in date between Dionysius and Lucas de Penna and to be connected with the circle at Avignon. Its author provides his information, which is largely on historical points, in straightforward and workmanlike fashion, in facile Latin, with cross references to other passages of Valerius, and with citations from pagan and Christian authors such as Aristophanes, Aristotle, Cicero, Sallust, Varro, Vergil, Livy, the Younger Seneca, Lucan, Suetonius, Justinus, Vegetius, Orosius, Augustine, and Isidore. But his identity eludes us.

Frater Lucas had already been studied, as I have stated, by Father Kaeppli from the Reims manuscript of Petrus Herardi. Lacking the commentary itself he was able nonetheless, on pages 249-250 of the article cited below, to make the attractive suggestion that, since Dominican writers of the name Lucas are very few and since Luca Mannelli in his commentary on Seneca cited Valerius Maximus often, he may be the Frater Lucas of the commentary on Valerius. To the suggestion was added the caution that it would be necessary to examine all citations from Frater Lucas in the Reims manuscript and make sure that they were not derived from the commentary on Seneca.

With the commentary on Valerius firmly

attributed to a Frater Lucas Ordinis Praedicatorum it will now be possible to comb the entire work for hints on the identity of this Lucas. Certainly for the commentary on Seneca Mannelli was using, with many ancient authors (Kaeppeli, p. 263), Sallust, who appears in some manuscripts of the commentary on Valerius at I 1 (in others the reference is to Cicero) and occurs elsewhere in it, and he was using 'maxime' Valerius. In Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6467, s. XIV, which is the manuscript of his *Compendium moralis philosophiae* dedicated, probably before May 1344, to Bruzio Visconti, natural son of Luchino, he is depicted offering the tract to Visconti in the presence of personages labeled Valerius, Seneca, Aristotle, St. Thomas, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine. It may be added that in the dedicatory epistle and incipits cited by Kaeppeli for the commentary on Seneca Mannelli is indeed referred to as Frater Lucas, Ordinis Praedicatorum, without the cognomen, but usually also with the designation 'Episcopus Auximane dyocesis.' He was named bishop of Osimo on 5 November 1347.

Giuseppe Billanovich and Di Stefano have looked with some favor on Mannelli's hypothetical authorship of the commentary on Valerius, but Father Kaeppeli informed me in a letter of 7 October 1976 that he had 'abandoned the suggestion of an attribution of Lucas to Luca Mannelli' and was awaiting my possible solution of the problem. This I regret I cannot furnish now. The biography below and its bibliography are, however, of Luca Mannelli, who for his knowledge and use of Valerius has a solid place in that author's Fortuna. In 1980 Kaeppeli listed among Mannelli's works 'Expositio Valerii Maximi, Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri IX (prooemium).'

Commentary (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, E.II.15). [*Inc.*]: *Urbis Romae* (I *Prooemium*) Cassiodorus super historiam tripartitam [*Historia ecclesiastica vocata tripartita*, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, LXIX (1848), col. 879] dicit sic. Utiliter nimis in capite libri praefatio ponitur ubi futuri operis qualitas indicatur. Quid enim commodius quam prius per eam aliquid discere ne dictio

possit inopinata confundere? Qua propter Valerius Maximus libro suo prologum praemitit in quo exprimit in quedam [quodam modo] generali qualitem et condicionem eorum quae tractantur in libro videlicet de vitiis et virtutibus et de omnibus quae digna sunt memoria. Et in isto prologo reddit auditorem benevolum, docilem, et attentum, quae tria in praefatione cuiuslibet libri debet implere auctor ut patet per Tulum in Rhetorica [Cicero, *De inventione*, I 15]. Benevolum quidem reddit Caesarem cui hoc opus scribit ipsum laudando in favore virtutum et exterminio vitiorum et ipsum adaequando patri et avo, qui pater et avus relati fuerant in sidera id est fuerunt deificati et secundum hoc videtur scripsisse librum Tiberio imperatori cuius pater adoptivus fuit Caesar Augustus et avus Iulius Caesar, qui ambo fuerant auctoritate senatus deificati. Et quod temporibus Tiberii scripsit librum probatur titulo De censoria nota, ubi dicitur [II 9,6] Claudius Nero et Livius Salinator secundi punici belli temporibus post victorias habitas de Asdrubale se ipsos mutuo exilio dampnaverunt. Et dicit ibi textus 'Quibus viris si quis caelestium significasset futurum ut eorum sanguis illustrium imaginum serie deductus in ortum salutaris principis nostri conflueret, depositis inimicitiis artissimo se amicitiae foedere iunxerunt, servatam ab ipsis patriam communi stirpi servandam relicturni.' Vult dicere quod Tiberius fuit istorum duorum communis stirps videlicet quia ex patre fuit de Claudiis de quibus fuit Claudius Nero suprapositus et mater eius fuit Livia uxor Caesaris Augusti de qua domo fuit Livius Salinator suprapositus, et secundum hanc allegationem scripsit Tiberio Caesari hunc librum. Et huic sincere consonat quod scribitur libro quinto capitulo quarto De pietate erga fratres ubi scribitur [V 5, 3] quod Tiberius uno comite solo contentus ivit in Germaniam ad videndum fratrem suum Drusum Germanicum infirmum et dicit ibi textus 'Tantum enim amorem princeps parensque noster insitum animo fratris Drusi habuit' etc. Ecce vocat Tiberium principem et patrem patriae. Scilicet in contrarium est quod scribitur libro ultimo titulo De his qui infimo loco nati clarissimis se familiis inserere conati sunt [IX 15] capi-

tulo quinto. Dicitur ibi 'Nec divi quidem Augusti etiam nunc terram regentis,' ex quibus verbis patet quod tempore quo scripsit Valerius istum librum Caesar Augustus Octavianus praesidebat mundo . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Et Tullius primo de officiis dicit [I 7, 20] quod iustitia [?] est splendor maximus ex qua praecipue viri boni dicuntur, inter partes autem iustitiae religio tenet primum [munus]. *Maiores statas* (I 1, 1) Vult dicere quod maiores id est antiqui Romani (nam isto modo loquendi utitur Tullius in Catellinario [Cicero, *Cat.* I 5, 11, II 2, 12]) et dicit Valerius quod ipsi maiores reppulerunt libros portentorum, id est horribilium signorum, et omnia ad religionem suam pertinentia voluerunt explicari doctrina etrusca id est Tuscie, quia ista gens praecipue vacabat cultui deorum et ideo acceperunt nomen a thure ratione officii quod offertur in altari, et dicit quod ad sequendum ritus Tuscorum inducebantur scientia pontificum, quae scientia est rerum bene gerendarum. Ad hoc enim sacrificia et alia pontificalia ordinabant ut res eorum feliciter et prospere gererentur . . . [Expl.] *Idem* (IX 15, ext. 2) Quidam barbarus homo robustus et ignotus erat valde similis Ariathe regis Capadociae et fingens quod esset Ariathes petebat Capadociae regnum et omnes illi de regno sibi favebant et volebant ipsum in regem. Quia luce clarius erat quod ille Ariathes rex a magistro equitum Iulii Caesaris fuerat occisus et Iulius Caesar ipsum dampnavit et mori fecit. Et nota quod Valerius in fine libri sui ut principium et finis idem esset in prologo Caesaris adiutorium postulavit et in fine cum Iulio Caesare librum terminavit. Et iste Iulius Caesar ut dicit Suetonius [*Divus Iulius* 45, 48] etiam in rebus domesticis disciplinam severam servavit, qui statura excelsus colore candidus fuit, qui tunc erat exactor disciplinae gravissimus cum hostes in proximo erant, et merito, quia iustitia dicente Seneca [cf. *Epist. ad Lucil.* 90, 4 and Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, above] quid aliud est quam lex divina et vinculum societatis humanae, per ipsam naturam religio veritatis tenetur et ipse deus iusto servitio colitur in cuius cultu sincero eterna vita promittitur in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Bibl.: Marjorie Alkins Berlincourt, *The Com-*

mentary on Valerius Maximus by Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and Its Influence upon Later Commentaries (see above. s. Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, *Editions*), 55–60 and (1972) 383–385, who, however, confuses Frater Lucas and Lucas de Penna; Giuseppe Billanovich, 'Il Petrarca e gli storici latini,' *Tra latino e volgare, per Carlo Dionisotti* (Medioevo e umanesimo, 17–18, [1974]), 79, note preceding n. 1, and 92, n. 2; Giuseppe Di Stefano, 'Ricerche sulla cultura avignonese del secolo XIV,' *Studi francesi*, n. 19 (1963), 12, n. 2, 'Tradizione esegetica e traduzioni di Valerio Massimo nel primo umanesimo francese,' *ibid.*, n. 21 (1963), 411, 'Ricerche su Nicolas de Gonesse traduttore di Valerio Massimo,' *ibid.*, n. 26 (1965), 218, note preceding n. 1, 'Tendenze culturali del primo umanesimo francese,' *ibid.*, n. 27 (1965), 409, 'La diffusion de Valère-Maxime au XIVe siècle: Le commentaire attribué à Frater Lucas,' *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis, Proceedings of the First International Congress of Neo-Latin studies, Louvain, 23–28 August 1971* (Louvain, 1973), 219–227; Thomas Kaeppli, 'Luca Mannelli (†1362) e la sua Tabulatio et expositio Senecae,' *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XVIII (1948), 249–250.

Manuscripts:

(*) Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, E.II.10, s. XV. (Letter of Martin Steinmann, 5 April 1976).

(micro.) Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, E.II.15, an. 1442. (Letter of Martin Steinmann, 5 April 1976, and *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in der Schweiz in lateinischer Schrift vom Anfang des Mittelalters bis 1550*, I, Text, *Die Handschriften von Aarau, Appenzell und Basel*, bearbeitet von Beat Matthias Scarpattetti [Dietikon-Zürich, 1977], 169 [no. 470], 263).

(*) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 7540 (X.96), s. XIV/XV. (Grubbs, no. 5, p. 127; Élisabeth Pellegrin, 'Manuscripts des auteurs classiques latins de Madrid et du Chapitre de Tolède,' Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, *Bulletin d'information*, II [1953], 9; and letter of Manuel Sánchez Mariana, 29 April 1976).

(*) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 8818

(X.108), s. XV. (Jaime Massó Torrents, *Manuscripts catalans de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* [Barcelona, 1896], p. 181 [in a section devoted to non-Catalan manuscripts] and letter of Manuel Sánchez Mariana, 29 April 1976).

(photo.) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5866, s. XV. Books I-V only (Catal. Bibl. Regiae IV, 167, and letter of Denise Bloch, 24 May 1976).

(*) Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS. Hist. Fol. 229, an. 1448. (Wilhelm von Heyd, *Die historischen Handschriften der kgl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Stuttgart*, I [Stuttgart, 1889], 104–105, where the commentary is left anonymous, and letter of Helmut Boese, 7 January 1976).

Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1931, s. XIV. Books I-IV are Frater Lucas, V-VI are garbled and incomplete, VII-IX (Giuseppe Di Stefano in a letter of 1 February 1966 had already identified VIII-IX) are Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri. (Nogara, 360, who does not identify the commentaries).

Biography:

Frater Lucas (Lucas) Ordinis Praedicatorum (Frater Lucas de Mannellis; Luca Mannelli, Luca [Lucha] de' Mannelli [Manelly]).

Frater Lucas de Mannellis (if he be this Frater Lucas) was born about 1294 in Florence and died in Fano before 8 November 1362, when his successor as bishop of Fano was appointed. He entered the Dominican order early in Santa Maria Novella and was prior of San Domenico in Pistoia and 'predicatore generale' of the province. He came in contact with the papal court at Avignon and was named bishop of Lamia (Zituni) in Greece on 28 May 1344, of Osimo on 5 November 1347, and of Fano on 24 January 1358. Clement VI appointed him also apostolic nuncio in Tuscany and the Kingdom of Naples.

It is probable that Frater Lucas governed the first two dioceses from Avignon. He knew Giovanni Cardinal Colonna, to whom Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri dedicated his commentary on Valerius. Giovanni Mannelli, brother of Lucas, enjoyed friendly relations with Malatesta II.

Works: Frater Lucas de Mannellis wrote the *Compendium moralis philosophiae* mentioned above, in which also he cites Valerius Maximus, and on request of Clement VI the *Tabulatio et expositio Senecae*. There is mention also of a 'Sermo quem fecit quarta dominica adventus anno Domini MCCCXLVI in capella domini nostri papae Avenione coram ipso et dominis cardinalibus reverendus pater dominus frater Lucas, episcopus ordinis Praedicatorum, familiaris domini cardinalis de Columpna.'

Bibl.: Chevalier II, 2989, Fabricius, BMLA IV, 563, Jöcher, III, 105.

Kaeppli (see above), 238–264 and *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, III (Romae ad S. Sabinae, 1980), 89–90; Giulio Negri, *Istoria degli scrittori fiorentini* (Ferrara, 1722), 384; Jacques Quétif and Jacques Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum I* (Paris, 1719), 652.

4. JOHANNES CABALLINUS DE CERRONIBUS

Originally Johannes Caballinus de Cerronibus had been treated in the Fortuna of this article. He is transferred here at the request of the Editor in Chief, and I am happy to give him by this means the greater visibility which he unquestionably merits; however, his contribution is still not a genuine commentary and is not easily cast in the mold set for this project. It has no real form, and it provides nothing which can properly be called an incipit or an explicit. It consists of sometimes scattered, sometimes tightly packed annotations in the margins and between the lines of the text of Valerius Maximus which is transmitted in Vaticanus latinus 1927, s. XIV. They are called glosses and scholia by the Vaticana's cataloguer. They were probably begun in the third decade of the fourteenth century and finished by 1350. Many are illegible because of the moisture to which the manuscript has been subjected; 'totus codex madore labefactus, maculis ubique scatet,' continues the cataloguer, and he points out that the 'scholia complura, interdum evanida,' are mostly in two hands of the same period and name Caballinus as author. On f.1 we read that the manu-

script is 'liber Valerii Maximi Johannis Caballini de Cerronibus de Urbe [Roma], scriptoris domini papae et canonici Sanctae Mariae Rotundae [in the Pantheon] de dicta urbe.' On f.93v he wrote in his own hand 'Librum istum Valerii correxit Johannes Caballini de Cerronibus de Urbe scriptor domini papae cum Valerio reverendi patris et domini domini Johannis archiepiscopi panormitani de genere Ursinorum de Campoflore et aliquas concordantias apposuit manu sua ex dictis Titi [Livii] et Tullii et plurium aliorum historiographorum.' The scribe of the manuscript was 'Radulphus plenus amoris.'

Caballinus, therefore, not only provided annotations but also emended the text of his manuscript from one belonging to the Roman noble Giovanni Orsini, archbishop of Palermo from 1320 until his death in 1333. On f.95v one annotation mentions the war between the Orsini and Colonna families in the year 1335, when on 3 September the Orsini destroyed the two central arches of the Pons Aemilius. The annotations probably had their origin in the favoring atmosphere of Avignon, where Caballinus was papal scribe. He alludes frequently to contemporary personages and events, furnishing his reader in the process with autobiographical details. He knew the commentary of Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, the dedicatory letter of which appears on f.94v of this manuscript, and his acquaintance with Valerius would seem to have influenced the work 'Polistoria: De virtutibus et dotibus Romanorum libri X' which is ascribed to him in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 47 Gud. lat. 2°, s. XIV, is preserved also in other manuscripts, and is mentioned by him in his annotations on Valerius.

It would appear that Caballinus, annotating Valerius, used some passages almost as pegs on which to hang his references to contemporary personages and events and indeed at times his own very strong opinions. Sabbadini cites, for example, a passage on f.20v (Valerius Maximus III 2, 4) where we read, 'Nota contra Thebaldum de Sancto Eustachio [Sant'Eustachio is a church of the twelfth century situated just a block or two from Santa

Maria Rotonda; of the original structure only the campanile remains today] et illos de genere suo qui assidue spoliunt altare Sanctae Mariae Rotundae' and likewise (f. 90v, Valerius IX 11, 6) 'Sed Theballus de Sancto Eustachio vivit mala vita auferendo et spoliando altare ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae Rotundae'; on f. 76v (Valerius VIII 6, 3), 'Nota contra papam Benedictum XII [1334-42], qui imperavit episcopis et prelatibus ad eorum episcopatum reddere et ipse sedem Petri apostulatu vacuum despicit visitare'; and on f.85v (Valerius IX 2, ext. 1) 'Supple Fredum de Parione de Urbe cum cuius periculosa simulatione ac perfidia truculenta est tetrius dimicare quam hostibus manifestis . . .; sic hostes Johannis Caballini corrumpunt dictum Fredum evidenter fallacem.' He had his enemies certainly, and he had also a passion for his native land, so that on f.55v, where in Valerius VI 2, 3 the tribune Gaius Papirius Carbo exclaims 'Taceant quibus Italia noverca est' Caballinus lists Italy's riches and cries out, 'Ergo taceant quibus Italia tot dotibus plena habetur noverca. Sed quia virtus sibi parat invidiam, non est mirum si Italici et Italia paradisi terrestres socia ab aliis nationibus brutali more viventibus novercatur.'

All this does not particularly elucidate Valerius himself, but it does characterize the annotations and it affords a refreshing insight into the times which could produce them and into human nature. Repeated references to Roman and Christian authors also characterize them; Livy and Cicero are cited most frequently, and Sabbadini lists a score of other Roman writers, mostly of prose, and ten Christian authors. Caballinus obviously had access to a library rich in manuscripts. And were it not a little like wondering what would have been the course of history had the Greeks been defeated at Marathon one might speculate on the relations between him and Dionysius. Just how did Caballinus learn of the dedicatory letter to the commentary of Dionysius? Did the two know one another at Avignon in the fourth decade of the fourteenth century? Did they discuss their mutual friend Valerius and exchange ideas concerning him? Did one borrow from the other or was there a scholarly interplay which benefited both? Did both of

them, and not Dionysius alone, know Petrarch, also a student of Valerius, at Avignon? Some of these questions may eventually be answered from a careful comparison of their contributions.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus latinus 1927, s. XIV. (Nogara, 358). I saw this manuscript briefly before I knew that Caballinus would be included here as a commentator.

Biography:

Johannes Caballinus de Cerronibus (Giovanni Cavallini de' Cerroni) was born in Rome, probably near the end of the thirteenth century, to a middle-class but prominent family among whose members was numbered the painter Pietro Cavallini (1250–1330). He had undoubtedly an excellent education for his ensuing ecclesiastical career, which was marked by two principal phases, the first in Rome where he served until 1325 as canon of the church of Santa Maria Rotonda and the second as papal scribe at Avignon. He died in Rome.

It is clear that Caballinus was a fervent bibliophile. He was not occupied with Valerius Maximus alone; he owned the famous manuscript of the *Liber pontificalis* which belonged to Landolfo Colonna, in which Augusto Campana has recognized the hand of Caballinus and which is now Vaticanus latinus 3762, and he had in Sabbadini's opinion a knowledge surprising for his day of manuscripts at Monte Cassino: he knew that the second decade of Livy was not common but that Monte Cassino possessed it (Vaticanus latinus 1927, f. 88v: 'Liber Livii de bello punico primo comuniter non habetur sed reperitur hodie in Monasterio Montiscasinatis') and that the monastery possessed also a manuscript of Cicero's *De re publica* (*ibid.*, 'ubi etiam consistit liber Tullii de re publica sex libros continens').

Caballinus records in Vaticanus latinus 1927, f. 52, the defeat of the Colonna by Cola di Rienzo at Porta San Lorenzo on 20 November 1347. The document transferring to his successor the benefits of Santa Maria Rotonda, which he had retained at Avignon, is dated 9

September 1349. He died perhaps not long before that date.

Works: Caballinus wrote *Polistoria de virtutibus et dotibus Romanorum ipsorumque imperatoris et papae singularibus monarchiis ac aliis incidentiis eorundem*, which is mentioned with abbreviated title above. It was dedicated to Clement VI (1342–52) and in its descriptions of events, places, and customs lauds imperial and Christian Rome and manifests again its author's love for the 'City.' To date only some topographical extracts from it have been published.

Bibl.: Chevalier I, 739; Cosenza, I, 750–751, V, 360–361; Fabricius, BMLA, IV, 348; Remigio Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, II (Firenze, 1914), 47–50, 267. Sabbadini, who must have had the manuscript long at hand, transcribed with beautiful accuracy; I have checked his passages quoted above against microfilm and have made no changes except to normalize the spelling and expand a few abbreviations.

Giuseppe Billanovich, 'Gli umanisti e le cronache medioevali. Il "Liber pontificalis," le "Decadi" di Tito Livio e il primo umanesimo a Roma,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, I (1958), 103–137 and 'Nella biblioteca del Petrarca,' *ibid.*, III (1960), 3; Cornelia Coulter, 'Boccaccio and the Cassinese Manuscripts of the Laurentian Library,' *Classical Philology*, XLIII (1948), 219; Giuseppe Di Stefano, 'Dionigi da Borgo S. Sepolcro, amico del Petrarca e maestro del Boccaccio,' *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, XCVI (1961–62), 300 and 'Ricerche sulla cultura avignonese del secolo XIV,' *Studi francesi*, n. 19 (1963), 10; Hermann Diener, 'Johannes Cavallini, der Verfasser der Polistoria de virtutibus et dotibus Romanorum,' *Storiografia e storia, studi in onore di Eugenio Dupré Theseider* (Roma, 1974), I, 151–173; Marco Palma, 'Cavallini dei Cerroni, Giovanni,' *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, XXII (1979), 785–787; Roberto Valentini, 'Un codice abbreviato di Valerio Massimo, Corsiniano 43.D.27,' *Studi di filologia classica*, XVII (1910), 295.

The reader is referred to the documentation in Billanovich, Diener, and Palma for

additional references.

5. CONRADUS WALDHAUSER

My knowledge of the commentary of Conradus I owe in large part to Heribert A. Hilgers, who studied him in connection with his doctoral work on Heinrich von Mügeln and who has identified three anonymous manuscripts as related to the two in which Conradus is named. Dr. Hilgers is now engaged in further investigation of the commentary and its author. It is a commentary which exhibits an *applicatio moralis*, an *applicatio sententiarum Valerii Maximi ad theologiam*, or *sententiae Valerii Maximi ad theologiam applicatae*, as befitted its Augustinian author, and it was composed before 28 December 1369, the date of his death. We have indeed in the correspondence of Johann von Neumarkt references to the interest of Conradus in Valerius during the decade of the Sixties, references which may well allude to this very commentary; Johann in an undated letter written to him perhaps about 1360 uses the words 'sicut dilectus tibi testatur Valerius,' and Conradus in answer says, '... talibus tamen carminibus omnimodis occupari formido, ipsa quia foro meo non tam fructuosa quam laboriosa (excepto divo, ut fatear, theologicae narrationis Valerio) esse cognosco.' I cannot account for the date 1387 in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3140, f.lv. The commentary occurs sometimes with the full text of Valerius and with that of the German commentary of Heinrich von Mügeln, leans very heavily on Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, and may have been known to Heinrich.

Commentary (letters of Dr. Hilgers, 26 August 1970 and 18 February 1976 [from Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek, 160]). [*Inc.*]: *Urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna* (I *Prooemium*) Sciendum quod hic ponentur notabilia de Valerio Maximo et stilo facili paene omnia digna memoria quae in libro suo posuit quem ut dicit in prohemio tempore Tiberii Caesaris ad aedificationem morum posuit, illius inquam Tiberii qui fuit filius adoptivus Octaviani et

successor et nepos Iulii, tertius scilicet post Iulium monarchiam tenens. Hi duo imperatores scilicet Iulius et Octavianus viri gloriosi et quasi divini modo humano fuerunt. Nam maxime deorum cultum pagano more loquendo auxerunt, praecipue Octavianus, ut in sua cronica legitur. Dicebat Popilius quod fuit vir non immerito deo putatus similis. Comparat igitur Valerius Tiberium avo suo Iulio et patri suo Octaviano, cuius ipse fuit adoptatus, quamvis fuerunt multum dissimiles. Quia sicut dicit Iosephus in xviii^o Antiquitatum Tiberius fuit in cunctis negotiis morosus, et sicut in cronica dicitur inerat ei scientia litterarum multa. Habuit eloquia clara et in cogitatione rei publicae multum continuus, tamen fuit ingenio pessimus, crudelis, avarus, insidiosus, simulans ea se nolle quae volebat, responsionibus repentinis melior quam meditatis. Primum ergo memoria dignum dicit auctor volens probare quod Caesar Tiberius praevaleret deis, dicit 'Deos accepimus, Caesares dedimus' quasi diceret 'Beatius est dare quam accipere.' Nam Romani provincias subiugantes deos provinciarum Romam portabant, sed non sic de Caesare quia aliunde non venit sed in Roma incepit. Sed nota, si queratur quare beatius est dare quam accipere respondeo quod ex hoc quod aliquis dat duo concurrunt, videlicet actus virtutis quia dare ad libertatem pertinet et ipsa libertas quia ex hoc quod aliquis alteri dat non est minus liber immo forte plus, sed recipiens etsi virtuose possit recipere eo ipso tamen quod recipit obligatur ei a quo recipit si non ingratus, unde Aristoteles quinto Ethicorum dicit quod proprium est gratiae ut pro gratia retribuatur gratia... *Maiores statas* (I 1, 1) In hoc primo capitulo libri primi sciendum quod totus liber Valerii habet novem libros partiales in quorum octo tractat de virtutibus in nono de vitiis ut patebit. In primo ergo huius libri capitulo tractat Valerius de cultu et religione deorum. Et sciendum quod per religionem non solum iste auctor sed etiam philosophi et sancti cultum divinum intelligunt qui est virtus quaedam moralis qua quilibet homo in se ipso deo se ligat. Unde Augustinus [in] libro de vera religione [55 (113)] 'Religet nos religio uni omnipotenti deo.' In hoc ergo quod Valerius librum suum a divino

cultu incipit qui heu fuit paganus virtuosior multis malis Christianis quorum pro dolor infinitus est numerus est notandum quod nos Christiani in omnibus nostris operibus primo debemus quaerere regnum Dei. Cultum divinum praemittendo Valerius hoc primo capitulo narrat quod Romani circa prima tempora non fuerunt circa sacrificia deorum certi sed quasdam superstitiones observabant median- tibus quibusdam signis et divinationibus quae dicebantur portenta. Tusci vero artem sacrificandi plene habuerunt. Videntes ergo Romani quod Tusci eos in sacrificiis praevalebant abiecerunt libros quos habebant de portentis et a Tuscis volebant habere artem sacrificandi . . . / . . . [Expl., with some question, from Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3140] (IX 15) Cuius mendacium tanto est nequius quanto ad nocendum efficacius, et ideo mendacium a sanctis omnibus omnium vitiorum fundamen- tum.

Bibl.: Jörg Hennig, *Chronologie der Werke Heinrichs von Mügeln* (Hamburg, 1972, Diss. [Hamburger philologische Studien, 27]), pp. 226–228; Heribert A. Hilgers, 'Das Klagenfurter Fragment der Valerius-Maximus-Auslegung Heinrichs von Mügeln,' *Carinthia I*, CLX (1970), 550–552, and *Die Überlieferung der Valerius-Maximus-Auslegung Heinrichs von Mügeln: Vorstudien zu einer kritischen Ausgabe* (Köln, Wien, 1973 [Kölner germanistische Studien, 8]), pp. 395–396; Johann von Neumarkt, *Briefe*, ed. Paul Piur (Berlin, 1937 [Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation: Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Bildung, ed. Konrad Burdach, 8]), pp. 170, 468. The results of Dana Pěnková's manuscript thesis on the commentary were summarized in her article 'Latinský rukopisný komentář Konráda Waldhausera k Valeriu Maximovi' in *Věstník české královské společnosti nauk—Třída historicko-filosofická*. R. 1952, part 3; photocopies of the article I owe to the kindness of Dr. Josef Bleha, Deputy Director, State Library of the Czech Socialist Republic. The article provides additional bibliography.

Manuscripts:

(*) Götting, Stiftsbibliothek, 160, part 2, s. XIV. (Letters of Dr. Hilgers, 26 August 1970 and 18 February 1976).

(*) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 543 (49), pp. 1–214, an. 1459. The commentary is anonymous here. (*Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Mellicensis O. S. B. servantur. I* [Vienna, 1889], 94).

(*) Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, G. 37, s. XV (used by Dana Pěnková; see the article cited above).

(*) Praha, Universitní Knihovna, 1493 (VIII. C.24), ff. 1–78v, an. 1393. The commentary is anonymous here. (Letter of Dr. Hilgers, 26 August 1970, and Truhlář, I 550).

(*) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2905, ff. 169–323v, an. 1430. The commentary is anonymous here. (Letter of Dr. Hilgers, 26 August 1970, and his book, cited above, 65–67; Tabulae II 153; Hermann Menhardt, *Verzeichnis der altheutschen literarischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* [Berlin, 1960–1961], I, 606; and Franz Unterkircher, *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich II, Die datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek von 1401 bis 1450* [Wien, 1971], 44).

(*) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3119, ff. 1–104, s. XV. The commentary is anonymous here. (Letter of Dr. Hilgers, 26 August 1970; Endlicher 86–87, no. 178; and Tabulae II, 201).

(*) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3140, ff. 242–250, s. XV. (Letters of Dr. Hilgers, 11 January 1966 and 18 February 1976 and his book, cited above, 73–76; Endlicher, 87, no. 179; Tabulae II, 213; and Menhardt II, 880, according to whom f.1 carries the information 'Hic notandum est, Quod in unum opus dicta Valerii Maximi primo ponitur corpus in se, secundo moralitas seu moraliter applicatus per dominum Conradum de Walthausen anno domini 1387, tertio Hainricus de Mügeln vulgariter translato. . . .')

(*) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3149, ff. 1–88, s. XV. The commentary is anonymous here. (Endlicher, 235–6, no. 337; Tabulae II, 215).

Biography:

Conradus Waldhauser [Walthausen] (Conradus [Konradus] in Waldhausen [Walthausen], Conradus Waldhusanus, Conrad de Wald-

hausen, Konrad von Waldhausen).

Conradus was born in Upper Austria about 1326 and died in Prague on 28 December 1369. Augustinian, priest, penitential and reform preacher, he was active in Vienna, in Prague on more than one stay, in Leitmeritz and Saaz, and presumably also in Bavaria and Salzburg. He had relations with Charles IV (1316–1378), Holy Roman Emperor, and with Rudolf IV (1339–1365), duke of Austria. His sermons were delivered in German or Latin and included strictures against simony in the mendicant orders. In 1364 he was accused of heresy by the Dominicans and wrote an apology in defense. He is sometimes considered a forerunner of John Hus.

Works: Conradus wrote the *Apologie* mentioned above, *Postilla studentium sanctae universitatis pragensis*, and *Prothemata sermonum*, *Accusationes mendicantium*.

Bibl.: Chevalier II, 4732–4733; Franz Heinrich Reusch in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* XL (1896), 700.

Karl Adolf Constantin von Höfler, *Fontes rerum austriacarum*, Abth. 1, Scriptores, VI, Th. 2 (1865), 17–39; Ferdinand Menčík in *Česká společnost nauk*, Praha, *Abhandlungen*, VI, Folge, XI (1881) 33 p.; Heinrich Felix Schmid, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2. ed., VI (Freiburg, 1961), 474–475.

6. PETRUS DE MUGLIO (Not Found)

A missing commentary is that of Petrus de Muglio. An investigation of this by Luciano Gargan was promised in 1964 and 1974 and is eagerly awaited. 'Sono in grado,' he wrote me in 1975, 'di dimostrare che Pietro commentò Valerio Massimo, grazie a due note marginali di un codice trecentesco dove si fa espressamente il nome del maestro.' The manuscript is stated by Giuseppe Billanovich in *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, XXII (1979), 372 to be Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus latinus 122, s. XIV, where on folios 94v and 95r the opinion of Petrus is adduced in two marginalia. Billanovich speaks truly and wisely when he says, 'Se continueremo a scavare nella tradizione sterminata di Valerio, troveremo certo molto di

più.' It is not yet clear how formal the commentary of Petrus may have been; it was prepared certainly, as were his comments on other authors, for his students, and it may have taken the form only of lecture notes set down by him or by his students.

Biography:

Petrus de Muglio (Pietro da Moglio, 'Pietro della Retorica') was Bolognese in origin, was born probably in the early years of the fourteenth century, and died of the plague on 13 October 1383. New and sustained activity in recent years on the part of Billanovich and his circle has combined with the solid contributions of earlier scholars to provide a wealth of detail on Petrus which can only be skimmed here. He was probably a pupil of Giovanni del Virgilio. He taught grammar and rhetoric privately at Bologna until 1362, and he taught at Padua until 1368. He then returned to Bologna, where he is listed in the *rotuli* of the Studio for 1370–71, 1376–77, 1378–80, and 1381–82. Friend and correspondent of Petrarch and Boccaccio, he figures in the correspondence of his student Coluccio Salutati and was teacher also of Johannes de Ravenna, who followed him in commenting on Valerius, of Francesco da Fiano, and of Francesco Piendibeni. He knew also Benvenutus de Imola, whose commentary is treated below. Two manuscripts of Valerius bear on his biography: at the end of London, British Library, Arundel 7, ca. 1400, are four hexameters by him which constitute his own epitaph; two of these appear also in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus latinus 1925, s. XIV.

Works: In addition to writing a poem of 249 hexameters based on Ovid's *Fasti*, III 523–554 and entitled *De Anna sorore Dido-nis* and to making metrical summaries of the tragedies of Seneca (a hexameter for each tragedy) and the comedies of Terence (an elegiac couplet for each comedy, with a final couplet in recapitulation), Petrus commented to his students on these tragedies and comedies, on Cicero's *De inventione* and the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, on the *De quattuor virtutibus* of the pseudo-Seneca, on the *Consolatio philosophiae* of Boethius,

on bucolic texts old and new including those of Vergil, Dante, and Giovanni del Virgilio, Petrararch, and Boccaccio, and on the *Poetria nova* of Galfredus de Vino Salvo ('Lo mostrerà presto,' stated Billanovich in 1979, 'Dino Puncuh').

Bibl.: Giovanni Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, VI (Bologna, 1788), 127–130; Umberto Dallari, *I rotuli dei lettori legisti e artisti dello Studio Bolognese dal 1384 al 1799*, IV (Bologna, 1924), 4, 5, 6, 7.

Giuseppe Billanovich, 'Giovanni del Virgilio, Pietro da Moglio, Francesco da Fiano,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, VI (1963), 203–234 and VII (1964), 279–324 (although the word '(continua)' appears on page 322 at the end of the text and before the footnotes for that page, the table of contents at the beginning of the volume states distinctly '(continuazione e fine)'), 'I commenti a Terenzio di Giacomino Robazzi e di Pietro da Moglio,' *ibid.*, XVII (1974), 15–42, 'Il Petrarca e gli storici latini,' *Tra latino e volgare, per Carlo Dionisotti* (Medioevo e umanesimo, 17–18 [1974], 79–81, 'L'insegnamento della grammatica e della retorica nelle università italiane tra Petrarca e Guarino,' *The Universities in the Late Middle Ages*, edited by Jozef IJsewijn and Jacques Paquet (Leuven/Louvain, 1978 [Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series I, Studia VI]), 368–380, and 'Petrarca, Pietro da Moglio, e Pietro da Parma,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, XXII (1979), 367–395; Arnaldo Foresti, 'Pietro da Moglio a Padova e la sua amicizia col Petrarca e col Boccaccio,' *Archiginnasio*, XV (1920), 163–173; Lodovico Frati, 'Pietro da Moglio e il suo commento a Boezio,' *Studi e memorie per la storia dell'Università di Bologna*, V (1920), 237–276, 'Nuovi documenti su Pietro da Moglio,' *ibid.*, XII (1935), 81–97, and 'Di m^o Benevenuto da Imola . . .,' *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, LXXII (1918), 90–95; Remigio Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, II (Firenze, 1914), 151 and *Giovanni da Ravenna, insigne figura di umanista (1343–1408), da documenti inediti* (Como, 1924 and Torino, 1961), 25–31, 141–143; Berthold Louis Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Roma, 1955), 219–220, 286,

297–301; Robert Weiss, *Il primo secolo dell'umanesimo* (Roma, 1949), 93–99, 150–154.

7. JOHANNES DE RAVENNA

Another commentary was still 'missing' when this article was in galley. The familiarity of Johannes de Ravenna with Valerius Maximus was already clear to us from his *Memorandarum rerum liber* (see above, p. 295). The interest may have been inspired by Petrararch and encouraged by his teacher Petrus de Muglio. This work was set down in his old age; never finished, autobiographical in large part and far from notable in literary quality, short and consisting of only twenty-two sections which offer modern rather than ancient *exempla*, the 'book' still groups its virtues and vices under headings like those of Valerius and reveals his influence throughout.

Earlier too, in the summer of 1374, Johannes drew several times on his knowledge of Valerius in his letter on the death of Petrararch to his teacher and friend Donatus de Albanzani (*ante* 1328–*post* 1411), through whom he had first met the poet. The familiarity with Valerius had certainly been of long duration, and Johannes shared it repeatedly with his students. An interpretation of his is cited by Benvenutus de Imola, who knew him in Bologna, and the notes of Gasparinus Barzizius (see above, p. 290) on the text of Valerius in Vaticanus latinus 7229, s. XIV, also cited Johannes. Giuseppe Billanovich in his magisterial treatment of the Valerius manuscript Vaticanus Palatinus latinus 903, an. 1397, which he assigns to Poggio Bracciolini as copyist, reproduces the marginal note on f. 18r which credits a reading to Johannes. Johannes quotes from Valerius in *De dilectione regnantium* and *Dragmaologia*.

But in particular a statement by Giovanni degli Agostini reveals that whether as formal commentary or as students' notes compiled from his lectures the contributions of Johannes to the text of Valerius were transmitted to his successors: a manuscript of 1449 carries the explicit 'Expliciunt feliciter recollecte Valerii Maximi sub reverendo viro Magistro Johanne de Ravenna olim digno Cancellario

domini paduani, quas explevi ego Jacobus Barbo grammaticorum minimus die 24. Decembris in vigilia nativitatis domini nostri Jesu Christi hora 22. 1449.' This manuscript, Venezia, Museo Correr, cod. Correr 855, s. XV, Professor Kristeller discovered in October 1983. He has generously suggested that I announce his find here. To the subscription he adds 'Habui exemplar a Ser Marco Engaldeo (?) cive Justinopolitano tunc cant. (Cancellario?) Chersi cuius filium Vitalem tenebam in domo et instruebam artem grammatice, habebam etiam in domo Antonium et Donatum fratres et filios Ser Stefani de Buchina de Cherso.' In the eighteenth century the manuscript was in the library of S. Matia di Murano. It begins with the Aristotelian passage 'Historiae antiquorum utiles sunt ad danda bona consilia,' which was used also by Benvenutus de Imola (see page 348 below). The explicits are also familiar. Further particulars must be set down later, possibly in the Addenda of Volume VI.

Sabbadini believed that Johannes was commenting on Valerius in 1364 in Bologna; the *Recollectae*, whether his own or a student's notes, may be later. Benjamin D. Kohl points out that the location of the manuscript of which the one of 1449 is an apograph is unknown today.

Biography:

Johannes de Ravenna (Johannes Conversinus or Conversanus, Giovanni Conversini or Conversano, Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna [the form adopted by Kohl], Giovanni grammatico, Ivan Ravenjanin).

Johannes de Ravenna was born in 1343 not in Ravenna, but in Buda, where his physician father Bonattus Conversinus, of Frignano in the Modenese Apennines, was in the service of King Louis I of Hungary. An uncle, Thomas, a Franciscan, pursued an ecclesiastical career and in 1378 was created cardinal by Urban VI. The life of Johannes is richly documented not only by his autobiographical *Rationarium vitae* and the *Memorandarum rerum liber* but also by archives of the various towns and cities in which he lived or which he visited, by his own letters, and by the testimony of friends and students. As a

boy he was befriended and educated, through the intervention of his uncle, by the nuns of the convent of San Paolo in Ravenna, to whom he expressed his gratitude by adopting as a young man the name Johannes de Ravenna. Early grammatical studies in Bologna were so unsuccessful as to make a runaway of him; he returned to Ravenna in 1353, but later, beginning about 1359, he pursued his studies at Bologna and Padua.

His teachers included Donatus de Albanzanis and Petrus de Muglio. They shaped him well for the career as humanist, historian, and notary for which we know him. It was a restless career, spread over much of Italy and extending also into Dalmatia. In addition to Buda, Ravenna, Bologna, and Padua we can trace him during his lifetime to Ferrara, Cesena, San Piero a Sieve, Treviso, Florence, Conegliano, Belluno, Rome, Dubrovnik, Udine, Muggia, and Venice. The stays in some of these towns and cities were often repeated and long. He died in Venice in 1408.

It was a career productive not only of the works listed below but also of such eminent students as Benvenutus de Imola, Guarinus Veronensis, Franciscus Barbarus, Franciscus Philephus, and Siccus Polentonius and of such friends as Petrarch, Boccaccio, Marsilius de Sancta Sophia, Coluccio Salutati, and Petrus Paulus Vergerius. We can regret that of the Angevin library of King Robert which was confiscated by King Louis I and given to the father of Johannes the portion which passed to his uncle and finally to him was so reduced that in Sabbadini's time only two codices could be identified ('che . . . appartenessero al fondo angioino, non mi pare improbabile').

Works: Johannes wrote (I follow the chronological order and geographical indications established by Professor Kohl) *De miseria humanae vitae* (Belluno, 1377?), *De Christi conceptu* (Belluno, 1377?), *De fato* (Belluno, 1378), *Dialogus inter Johannem et Literam* (Belluno, 1378; addressed to his uncle on his elevation to the cardinalate), *De primo eius introitu ad aulam* (Dubrovnik, 1385), *Historia Ragusii* (Dubrovnik, 1387), *De fortuna aulica* (Padua, 1396), *Dolosa astus narratio* (Padua, ca. 1396), *Violatae pudicitiae narra-*

tio (Padua, ca. 1396), *Apologia* (Padua, 1399), *De dilectione regnantium* (Padua, 1399), *De lustro Alborum in urbe Padua* (Padua, 1400), *Rationarium vitae* (Padua, 1400; Kohl reports that Luciano Gargan has an edition in progress), *Hymnus Sancti Johannis Evangelistae* (Padua, 1401), *De consolatione in obitu filii* (Padua, 1401), *Familiae Carrariensis natio* (Venice, 1401; 'but a version finished in 1379'), *Dracmalogia de eligibili vitae genere* (Venice, 1404); edited with introduction, translation, and notes by Helen Lanneau Eaker and Benjamin G. Kohl (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, 1980 [Renaissance Society of America, Renaissance Texts, 7]), *Conventio inter podagram et araneam* (Muggia, 1407), *Memorandum rerum liber* (Venice, 1408; unfinished). Portions of these works are included in Sabbadini's biography. Ninety letters survive and are carefully listed by Kohl, who has in progress, with James Day, an edition of *De primo eius introitu ad aulam*, *De fortuna aulica*, and *De dilectione regnantium* for the Renaissance Texts series of the Renaissance Society of America and who writes me that he hopes to publish an article on the copyists, owners, and readers of the works of Johannes. It is of some interest that of the ninety letters written by this son of a physician fifteen are addressed to physicians.

Bibl.: Giovanni degli Agostini, *Notizie storico-critiche intorno la vita, e le opere degli scrittori viniziani*, II (Venezia, 1754), 29; Cosenza, II, 1836–1839, V, 934–936.

Giuseppe Billanovich, 'Alle origini della scrittura umanistica: Padova 1261 e Firenze 1397,' *Miscellanea Augusto Campana*, I (Padova 1981 [Medioevo e umanesimo, 44]), 136; Arnaldo Foresti, 'Giovanni da Ravenna e il Petrarca,' *Ateneo di Scienze, Lettere e Arti in Brescia*, *Commentari* (Brescia, 1924), Anno 1923, pp. 165–201; Luciano Gargan, 'Giovanni Conversini e la cultura letteraria a Treviso nella seconda metà del Trecento,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, VIII (1965), 85–159, and 'Il preumanesimo a Vicenza, Treviso, e Venezia,' *Storia della cultura veneta. Il Trecento* (Vicenza, 1976), 161–163; Tiberio Kardos, 'Magyar tárgyú fejezetek Giovanni da Ravenna emlékiratában,' *Egyetemes philologiai köz-*

löny, LX (1936), 284–297 (I owe this reference to Professor Kohl); Theodor Klette, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Litteratur der italienischen Gelehrtenrenaissance*, I (Greifswald, 1888), *Johannes Conversanus und Johannes Malpaghini von Ravenna*; Benjamin G. Kohl, 'The Works of Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna: A Catalogue of Manuscripts and Editions,' *Traditio*, XXXI (1975), 349–367; *id.* and James Day, 'Giovanni Conversini's *Consolatio ad Donatum* on the Death of Petrarch,' *Studies in the Renaissance*, XXI (1974), 9–30; Vittore Nason, 'Osservazioni intorno al proemio del "Rationarium vite" di Giovanni da Ravenna,' *Giornale italiano di filologia*, XXVIII (1976), 311–321; Remigio Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna, insigne figura di umanista (1343–1408) da documenti inediti* (Como, 1924, and Torino, 1961); Robert Weiss, 'Il codice oxoniense e altri codici delle opere di Giovanni da Ravenna,' *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, CXXV (1948), 133–148; Vittorio Zaccaria, 'Il *Memorandum rerum liber* di Giovanni di Conversini da Ravenna,' *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, CVI (1947–1948), Parte 2, Classe di scienze morali e letterarie, 221–250.

8. LUCAS DE PENNA

The commentary is dedicated to a Pope Gregory, that is, Gregory XI (Pierre Roger de Beaufort), last of the French popes, who was elected 30 December 1370, entered on his pontificate at Avignon 5 January 1371, left for Rome 2 October 1376 and arrived there 17 January 1377, thus ending the Babylonian captivity of the popes, and died in Rome on 27 March 1378. Giuseppe Di Stefano, in the second of his articles listed below, dates at least the early part of it more precisely by identifying with it a work which Lucas, writing to Petrarch from Avignon on 3 February 1374, says he has undertaken at the request of the Pope. Lucas, who was writing at about the same time as Simon de Hesdin, knew the commentary of Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and also that of Frater Lucas, with whom he is sometimes confused. It is probable that Nicolas de Gonesse in turn and Petrus

Herardi drew on him.

Dedication (Auch, Bibliothèque Municipale, 8) Sanctissimo in Christo patri et clementissimo domino domino Gregorio digna Dei providentia sacrosanctae romanae ac universalis ecclesiae summo pontifici Lucas de Penna, legum doctor et minimus vestrae beatitudinis secretarius devota pedum oscula beatorum. [*Inc.*]: Ut philosophiae princeps Aristoteles in principio suae Metaphysicae scribit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: quoniam si ea laboriosum est legere, fuit laboriosius invenire laborisiusque [*sic*] est brevia provideri quam porrecta succidi ut ait Cassiodorus libro quinto Variarum.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: *Urbis* (I *Prooemium*) Sicut dicit hic magister Dionysius qui hunc librum exposuit prohemium dictum est quod pro aemulis in libris apponitur ut multi qui scriptoribus saepe detrahere conantur ipso prohemio reprimantur. Haec alias praefatio quae, prout notat hic frater Lucas de ordine praedicatorum qui melius, ut asserit, exposuit, inducens Cassiodorum super Historia Tripartita, utiliter nimis in capite libri ponitur ubi futura libri qualitas indicatur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Summa autem iustitiae pars est religio erga Deum ff. [Digesto] de iustitia et iure veluti animo modo conditione eius, scilicet cultus deorum qui est religio. *Maiores* (I 1, 1) Quorum est optimum sequi vestigia si recte processerunt et non quod circa deorum cultum etrusca vixit disciplina hoc dicit principium istud . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (IX 15, ext. 2) *Idem* Caesar *barbarum* quendam robustum et ignotum *Ariates* proprium nomen regis. *clarius* luce *paene* fere quasi *caput* illius barbari *supplicio* quia fecit eum occidi. Audivi Valerium plures his adiecisse libros quod puto verum. Materia quippe copiosa erat cum multo plura sint vitia quam virtutes.

Bibl.: Marjorie Alkins Berlincourt, *The Commentary on Valerius Maximus by Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and Its Influence upon Later Commentaries* [see above s. Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, *Editions*], 55–60 and [1972] 383–385; Giuseppe Di Stefano, 'Dionigi da Borgo S. Sepolcro, amico del Petrarca e maestro del Boccaccio,' *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, Clas-

se di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche XCVI (1961–62), 300, 'Ricerche sulla cultura avignonese del secolo XIV,' *Studi francesi*, n. 19 (1963), 3–5, 'Ricerche su Nicolas de Gonesse traduttore di Valerio Massimo,' *ibid.*, n. 26 (1965), 217–221, 'Tendenze culturali del primo umanesimo francese,' *ibid.*, n. 27 (1965), 407, 408, 'Nicolas de Gonesse et la culture italienne,' *Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Études Françaises*, n° 23 (1971), 31–32, 'La diffusion de Valère-Maxime au XIVe siècle: Le commentaire attribué à Frater Lucas,' *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Louvain, 23–28 August 1971* (Louvain, 1973), 219–227, and the article cited below s. *Manuscripts*.

Manuscripts:

(photo.) Auch, Bibliothèque Municipale, 8, s. XV. (*Cat. Gén. Fr. Dept.* Octavo, IV [1886], 396; Di Stefano, 'Tradizione esegetica e traduzioni di Valerio Massimo nel primo umanesimo francese,' *Studi francesi*, n. 21 [1963], 411–413).

(*) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. F. 89, s. XIV. Books I–III 2, 16 only. (Fabricius, BL [1728], II, 393; Bibliotheca Academiae Lugduno-Batavae, *Catalogus*, Deel 14 [1932], *Inventaris van de Handschriften*, Eerste Afdeeling, 5; Di Stefano, 412; Karel Adriaan de Meyier, *Codices vossiani latini*, Pars I [Leiden, 1973], 198–199).

(*) Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1332, s. XIV. It breaks off in VII 2, ext. 1. (*Cat. Gén. Fr. Dept.* Octavo XXXIX [1904], 478; Berlincourt [see above]; Di Stefano, 412. Mrs. Berlincourt maintains that only the introduction and dedication to Pope Gregory are from the commentary of Lucas de Penna and that the remainder of the commentary is anonymous, Di Stefano that it is Lucas de Penna's).

Biography:

Lucas de Penna (Luca da Penne).

Lucas was born about 1320 at Penne in the province of Pescara, in the Abruzzi, and died in 1390 in Naples. He had as jurisconsult a career so eminent that in the account of Penne in the volume for Abruzzi and Molise of the *Guida d'Italia* of the Touring Club Italiano he is mentioned as a native son. It is perhaps

due to Penne near Toulouse and to French editions of his legal commentaries that he is sometimes mistakenly designated 'Doctor Tholosanus' and 'Doctor Gallicus.' He took his legal training at the University of Naples, where Henricus Acconziocus de Ravello and Simon de Brussano were his teachers and from which he was graduated in 1345. Never apparently appointed to an academic post, he is nonetheless styled in editions of his works 'utriusque juris professor egregius.' Several passages refer to his activity as lawyer and judge, and he served the papal court. It was Paulus Perusinus who pointed out to him that the last three books of Justinian's *Code*, X-XII, had never been properly studied. Lucas as he wrote the commentaries on them took care to state that the commentaries were not set down for the public or to rank with works of other jurists, but his views nonetheless quickly won vast influence and are repeatedly quoted. Throughout he reveals a wide acquaintance with Cicero and Valerius Maximus. He was buried in the town of his birth, where Mutius Pansa's inscription of 1625 to him terms him a jurisconsult 'eminetissimus' whom 'Penna in Samnio genuit, Parthenope excoluit, sibi aemula adscripsit Gallia, universa suscepit Europa.'

Works: His main work is *Commentaria in tres posteriores libros Codicis Justiniani imperatoris*, which Ullmann (page 15) states is not merely a commentary but 'rather a complete exposition of the fundamental legal principles and juristic rules relating to all departments and ramifications of the law.' Glosses of his were included with glosses of other jurists in editions of *Constitutiones Regni Neapolitani* and *Capitula Regni Siciliae*. He left in manuscript *De juris interpretatione* and *De praesumptionibus juris*.

Bibl.: Chevalier II, 2910; Cosenza, III, 2018, V, 1028-1029.

Raffaele Aurini, *Dizionario bibliografico della gente d'Abruzzo*, I (Teramo, 1952), 153-160 (bibliography, 157-160); Giovanni Bernardino Tafuri, *Istoria degli scrittori nati nel Regno di Napoli* II, Parte 2 (Napoli, 1749?), 38-40; Nicolò Toppi, *Biblioteca napoletana* I (Napoli, 1678), 192-193; Walter Ullmann, *The*

Medieval Idea of Law As Represented by Lucas de Penna (London, 1946), in particular Chapter II, 'Lucas and His Work,' pages 7-34, and bibliography, 208-213.

9. MARZAGAIA

I owe to Rino Avesani my introduction to the work *De modernis gestis* in which the Veronese teacher and grammarian Marzagaia (d. about 1430) revealed his extensive acquaintance with Valerius. He had interpreted Valerius earlier to Antonio della Scala (d. 1388), for he states in this work (I 8, 3) that Antonio 'Continuam . . . eius ystorici [Valerii Maximi] dictis suam indulgentiam temperabat, mea vigili tradente cura.' The work was written in the later years of his life and mentions events of the period 1410-12, when Venice already held dominion over Verona. Set down in four books in a style which is twisted, obscure, and difficult ('strano e ravviluppato' to Scipione Maffei; 'lussureggiante, ricercato' to Avesani; Billanovich speaks of Marzagaia's 'zoppo latino.'), it is a free and imperfect imitation of Valerius and has similarly a moral and philosophical purpose. Many chapter headings are borrowed from Valerius, but the content of the chapters is drawn largely from the events of Marzagaia's own epoch, and the work has accordingly a certain historical value for that epoch. That Marzagaia was esteemed by his contemporaries is clear from the poem which Guarinus Veronensis addressed to him in praise and admiration.

With this background of acquaintance with Marzagaia it was to me a great joy to find, as I endeavored to identify the commentary carried in Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 303, s. XV, which is followed by anonymous commentaries on Strabo, Persius (CTC III 228), Sallust, and Horace, that Marzagaia had apparently actually committed to writing the interpretation of Valerius which he provided to Antonio della Scala. It is not a title, an incipit, or an explicit which transmits this information: the dedication, though not in epistolary form, is to a Scaliger whose praises he sings and to whom he expresses his gratitude, he speaks of 'me, Marzagaia' in it, and he appears in the

canzone which follows the work. It is possible that he mentions himself elsewhere in the commentary; certainly its involved style at least in the earlier sections rivals that of the *De modernis gestis*. But the commentary does not cover all nine books: he himself states in the dedication that only the first two books are supplied with exegesis and that for the remaining books he has set down only a compendium. The last four paragraphs, for example, are little more than summaries of IX 15, 4-ext. 2.

The scribe was Italian and did not hesitate, for example, to delete *storici* when he wrote it inadvertently and to replace it with *hystorici*. The text presents other problems in addition to its involved thought and style and the difficulties of the script. If it was set down at the time of the lessons, the reference in the dedication to impending blindness, if literal, is striking. If, on the other hand, it was set down in the early decades of the fifteenth century, when Marzagaia was still writing, it could not have been dedicated to Antonio della Scala, and the references to the 'very learned' Gaius Antonius, to whom Marzagaia submitted it for correction and who is mentioned in the dedication, in the work itself, and in the *canzone*, cannot be to Antonius de Gaio of Legnago, who died in 1384 and who is treated in Book II 1, 8 of the *De modernis gestis*. To the various problems Rino Avesani, who tells me that he had known of this manuscript through Father Cesare Cenci, is unable to address himself at the present time. It is eagerly to be hoped that he can examine them later.

Dedication (Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 303). [*Inc.*]: Omnes aequa participatione benigna fecundo Phoebi radio aequaliter potiuntur. In nothi [nocte] caliginosa intemperies humanis visibus opponatur et vestris aliquid semper quidem iuri parcat divinis haurire praepositis auribus ad sua iusta proposita potiuntur. Atque locum semper in illis licet vero vacuis vox aequa reperuit. Meritum enim increpari possem, o pie inter divos ac serenissime, nullitatis quia alte nimium praesumptionis fuligine tactus sim in gratiam vestri misericordem avitte abianite[?], quod Scaliger divinitati consimilis est, in quam nedum mei atavi

quinimmo maiores procubuerunt ardentius ad procumbendum accederem. O quam optimum veterum vestigia imitari ubi recta fuerunt, amarissima enim sorte conflagor si quos pios meorum tantopere servile iugum emisit mea parvopere dementia non reservet. Quis enim divo memoratu serenissime stirpis decus piissimum non adoret, utique enim praedecessorum vestro scidens [?] per tristia utcumque iactus adhesi et ad gratiae vestrae portum vestro propitio quidem misericorditer asperum tollit in prospera numine favente enatabo, cuius me tanto serenissimae pietatis fulgor oblectat ut quicquid ad vestrae generosae potentiae culmum dignum fore suspicor totis sinceri viribus cordis ad superos precari non desino, ut et sceptriferum apicem augendo conservent. Omnis provectus est divini muneris. O quam iocunda est rei publicae gubernatio cum pro principi disciplinis contingit famulari. Quid obesse liquet ut michi cui caecitas imminet non minuenda vestri divina claritas elucescat? Praestet ergo vestrae decus divae pietatis egregium dulce iter ad patriam. Nusquam iocundior est vita quam ubi incepit. Pium equidem est miseris subvenire, piissimum vero eorum ordinis occurrere et honestae mortis genere cum eterna immortalitatis scilicet fama ita agere ut amici beneficio potentiam sentiant, hostes vero iniuriis factum [?] equidem iudico peccantibus ita ignoscere ac si remissis peccatis forent deorum imitatus vestigia qui beneficium misericorditer conferunt. Non quippe deus iracundiam novit, misericordia iustitiam fovet, leges peccantem timere faciunt, innocentia vero fortunam tribuere gratia divinae majestatis auxilium michi tantillulo vestra sincera serenitas cuius quidem serenitatis principatui quoniam historiarum seriem et utilem et iocundam fore decrevi prout [3 words cancelled] strenuorum hisdem militando vigit. Ideo aliquid prout vires meae valuerunt ad Valerii declarationem quamquam et alii melius dixerint vestrae majestati narrare proposui, et quaequam disertissimo viro vestro Gaio Antonio corrigenda disposui quae forte minus bene posita permulta historicorum considerans quod Ethicorum tertio philosophus dicit Historiae utiles sunt ad danda bona consilia civitati. Civitas quippe fortitudinis rigore et con-

silli vigore bene geritur quod primum primo Moraliū [I 32, Migne, *Patrologia latina*, LXXV (1849), 547] beati Gregorii satis enucleatius apparet dum dicit 'Et valde fortitudo destruitur nisi per consilium fulciatur, quia quo plus se posse conspicit, eo virtus sine rationis moderamine deterius in praeceps ruit' et quia nec principari hominem dominus sed rationem consideravit luculentissimus auctor noster Valerius quia princeps custos est iusti et aequi ad bonos mores pro quibus capiendum est consilium quoniam quosdam preces vincunt et meae vestram augustam vincant magnificentiam me patria frui quidam consiliis instant ut nunc pro me Marzagaia diserat iste libellus, qui se coram vestra diva magnificentia pro me offeram in quo licet diffusius super primo et secundo narraverim tamen solum historiam narrando per ceteros levius pertransibo gratia brevitatis et ut citius sub compendio capiantur historiae.

Commentary. [Inc]: Urbis (I Prooemium) Tam subiectae materiae quam auctoris qualicumque commendatione praetermissa, mi Gai, prae ceteris quem amplector ad eius declarationem condescendendo libri divisionem aggredior pleraque tamen ad tituli primordium praelibabo qui tali debet gloriari splendore. Valerii Maximi factorum dictorumque memorabilium ad Tiberium Caesarem liber primus incipit. In quibus quidem verbis tangitur primo causa efficiens, secundo causa materialis, tertio causa formalis. Primo enim tangitur causa efficiens cum dicitur Valerii Maximi, adverte hic, Gai, brevissime quia Valerius est nomen primum et cognomen cum fuerunt de domo Valeriorum . . . opera iam fatetur. Maximus praenomen est antonomastice. Causa materialis cum dicitur dictorum factorumve series tam Romanorum quam Graecorum ad quaeque et singula praeposita applicabilium ut per illa discurrendo patebit. Causa formalis cum dicitur liber primus, ideo illa est duplex scilicet tractandi et tractatus divisiva videlicet in libros, et in [ex] libris ex [in] capitula ex capitulis in paragraphos singulis exempla singula collocando. Cause finalis huius illustrissimi auctoris licet non principalis est diligentissimas vetustorum curas moralium ad nostram benegerendarum rerum formam adducere nos

ad illorum mores per exempla luculentissima ex aliis electa cohortando; ad nos quidem Aris tuba resonat, opus mortale suscepimus, non ut sciamus sed ut boni fiamus. Hoc igitur opus morali philosophiae supponitur quia nunc ethice nunc politice nunc economice huius utilitas est virtutum vitiorumque cognitio [ac quorum deleted] ac quorumcumque agibilium fere notitia cum vero in titulo dicitur ad Tiberium Caesarem tangitur tempus principis sub quo vixit auctor de quo multi dubium faciunt sed quidem tempore Tiberii nulli debent incurrere dubium licet in VIII Augustum nominare sentiat ut patet cum dicit *divi Augusti cuius imperio* hoc alibi diffusius tangam testum discurrendo.

Istis praelibatis ad litterae expositionem descendo. Iste liber prima sui divisione dividitur in partes duas, in prohemium et tractatum. In prima aperit suam intentionem de quo principaliter tractare intendat, in secunda prosequitur quod intendit, secunda ibi *Maiores*. Istud prohemium dividitur in duas partes. In prima dicendorum praeponit materiam, suam intentionem aperiendo, in secunda ad sincerissimum Tiberii principis serenissimi recurrit imperium, eius favorem sollenniter invocando. Ibi secunda *te igitur*. In prima duo facit, primo namque ut debitum est dicendorum praeponit materiam, in secunda huius suae intentionis finalem causam adducit, in tertia parte antipodorum subiungendo vel ut melius propositum suum quod assumpsit probat rationabile fore duplici ratione, secunda ibi *ut longe*, tertia ibi *nec mihi . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Idem* (IX 15, ext. 2) . . . Unus qui fingeat se esse regem Capodociae Ariatem propter similitudinem formae qui fuerat mortuus per Antonium sed Caesar videns quod hoc modo regnum occupare conabatur fecit mactari illum. Fuit morientis et eius suffultum munitum suffragiis quia favebatur illi a cunctis Orientalibus etc. Incepit librum unum a commendatione Augusti nunc in fine terminat librum etiam in laude. Amen.

Soperna possanza che tucte duce/Septe mote sieme per suo governo/Com armonia de canto si eterno/Cha hanimante sempre vita luce/Dispose de te per suave focce/Gaio gentile mo si come cerno/Che tucte le muse de

suo Pierno/Cum Orpheo celano loro voce/
Que dolce pensiero grave de faconda/ Mar-
zagaia condusse cum labore/ No so se vero o
falsita feconda/ La mie [*sic*] mente regge senza
furore/ Nobel costume bem chalcum diffon-
da/ Dispose de noie alternar amore/ Ma zo
senza dolore/ Picta [*pietà*] me move piena de
dolceza/ De voi cantare somma gentileza/ El
pater nostro collave Maria/ Sempre per voi
diro com voce pia . . .

Manuscript:

(photo) Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 303,
s. XV, ff. 1-74 (Mazzatinti IV 69; Kristeller,
Iter, I 4-5).

Biography:

Marzagaia was son of the notary Ser Careto,
who was still living in 1389 but was dead by
1399. His works reveal that he was possessed
of a certain classical education. He taught in
Verona and Cividale. In Verona, where he
was already living in 1372, he was close to the
court of Antonio della Scala; he probably fol-
lowed him into exile when Gian Galeazzo
Visconti deprived him of power (1387) and
returned to Verona some time after Antonio's
death (1388). Marzagaia's last years were de-
voted to writing; he was still living in 1425
and probably in 1430, but was dead by 1433.

Works: Marzagaia wrote also the *De moder-
nis gestis* mentioned above and three *Opus-
cula*, the first on the Scaligers and Verona,
the second on the vices of woman, and the
third an invective against someone unnamed.

Bibl.: Cosenza, III, 2225, V, 1129; Scipione
Maffei, *Verona illustrata* (Milano, Edizione
delle opere classiche italiane del secolo XVIII),
Parte seconda (v. III, 1825), 135.

Rino Avesani, 'Guarino Veronese, Marza-
gaia e Manuele Crisolora,' *Annali della Facol-
tà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di
Macerata*, VIII (1975), 367-379, and 'Il preu-
manesimo veronese,' *Storia della cultura vene-
ta. Il Trecento* (Venezia, 1976), 137-138, and
on Antonio del Gaio da Legnago, 131-136;
Giuseppe Biadego, 'Un maestro di gramma-
tica amico del Petrarca (Rinaldo Cavalcini
da Villafranca), *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto
di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, LVIII (1898-99),
Parte seconda, 262-265 [on Antonio da Le-
gnago] and 'Per la storia della cultura vero-

nese nel XIV secolo: Antonio da Legnago e
Rinaldo da Villafranca,' *ibid.*, LXII (1902-03),
Parte seconda, 583-621; Giuseppe Billanovich,
'Dal Livio di Raterio (Laur. 63, 19) al Livio
del Petrarca (B. M., Harl. 2493),' *Italia medio-
evale e umanistica*, II (1959), 160-169 [on
Antonio da Legnago]; Carlo Cipolla, 'Postille
al I. volume delle Antiche Cronache Veronesi.
I. Il carme di Guarino al maestro Marzagaia,'
Nuovo archivio veneto, I (1891), 114-117;
Gian Paolo Marchi, 'Giacomino Robazzi e
Antonio da Legnago,' *Italia medioevale e
umanistica*, XVII (1974), 499-513; Marzagaia,
'Magister Marzagaia de modernis gestis' and
'Opuscula' (testo curato da Francesco e Carlo
Cipolla, con note storiche di quest'ultimo),
Antiche cronache veronesi, I (Venezia, 1890
[Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. Depu-
tazione Veneta di Storia Patria, s. III, *Cro-
nache e diarii*, II]), 1-338 and 339-383, with
Prefazione by Carlo Cipolla on pp. I-XXXIII,
Giunte e Correzioni on pp. 505-528, and
Nuove Giunte on pp. 538-539; Carlo Sali-
nari, 'Antonio da Legnago,' *Dizionario bio-
grafico degli italiani*, III (1961), 553.

10. BENVENUTUS DE IMOLA

That a polished copy of the commentary
was being set down in the last years of its
author's life is clear from the letter which Pier
Paolo Vergerio wrote on 17 June 1390 to Ugo
da Ferrara; he had heard, apparently late, of
the death of Benvenutus, and he wondered
whether the commentary had been completed
(*Audivi heri illud summum eloquentie sidus,
Benevenutum de Imola, eclipsim passum, ita
tamen ut in se nullum lumen amiserit; imo
maius longe acquisierit, si quid virtuti post
mortem deberi credimus; nobis autem occul-
tatum. Sibi congaudeo, nobis condoleo, qui-
bus tantum lumen sublatum est. Fama erat
quod super libro magni Valerii opus nulli pri-
orum cessurum cudebat: quod qui eventus
exceperit dubium est. Creditur quod nondum
in totam personam exierat. Si quid super hoc
tibi notum fuerit, michi scribe et amicum
solare merentem*).

But the commentary obviously was circu-
lating in some form earlier, for Benvenutus

had lectured on Valerius in Bologna two decades before; some of our manuscripts preserve student's notes, are entitled *Recollectae*, transmit a varying text, and are dated earlier; and only a few provide the formal, dedicatory letter to a marquis who is thought to be Nicolò II d'Este and other formal passages. Benvenutus lectured on Valerius also at Ferrara. Of special significance is the fact that he cites not only Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, whose work he corrects and supplements, but also (I 1, 1) Johannes de Ravenna (Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco, lat. X. 19 [3651] Ego intellexi a reverendo viro magistro Ioanne de Ravenna, quod debebat dicere 'statas' pro 'statutas,' cui puto fore credendum magis), whom he knew in Bologna. His knowledge of Valerius Maximus is displayed also in his *Romuleon* and other works.

Dedication (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Strozzi 59, quoted in Bandini, Suppl., II. col. 396). [*Inc.*]: Poscis, clarissime marchio, memorandarum avidus rerum alta mente, ut Valerii Maximi maximum, breveque compendium exponendum adsumam . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: de quo dici potest illud, quod de Caesare Cicero, nihil, inquit, solebat oblivisci, nisi iniuriarum [cf. Cicero, *Pro Q. Ligario*, 35].

Commentary (Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I. 242 Inf.). [*Inc.*]: *Urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta* (I *Prooemium*) Historiae antiquorum utiles sunt ad danda bona consilia civitati. Aristotiles tertio Rethoricorum commendaturus rethorem magnum invoco deum [Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco, lat. X. 183 (3589), for example, reads after *tertio*: Ethicorum commendaturus nobilissimum oratorem in cuius moralissimo opere velut in speculo relucet exempla virtutum et humana vita singulari quodam dogmate decoratur. Ex verbis propositi thematis duo possum breviter elicere quae excellentissimi auctoris laudem celebrant et extollunt. Quorum primum est commoditas in se fructuosa quod tangitur in auctoritate praemissa cum dicunt historiae antiquorum utiles sunt. Secundum fructuositas in aliis luminosa quod tangitur. . . . Virtutis igitur cultum et vitiorum fugam nobis concedere dignetur ad cuius

felicitatem omnis virtus principaliter ordinatur. Amen]. Praemissa auctoris et materiae commendatione multiplici nunc restat descendere ad materiam, unde sunt quaedam praelibanda et primo quis auctor, secundo quae materia, tertio quae intentio, quarto quae utilitas, quinto cui parti philosophiae supponatur, sexto quis sit libri titulus. Ad primum dico quod Valerius fuit auctor huius operis, ubi nota quod Valerius est nomen proprium et cognomen quoniam familia Valeriorum fuit praeclara in Roma. Inter quos fuit unus Valerius qui una cum Bruto liberavit rem publicam a Tarquiniis et inde dictus est Valerius Publicola quasi publicum bonum colens. Inde etiam fuerunt multi Valerii Probi . . . Ad ultimum dico quod titulus libri est iste, Valerii Maximi Factorum dictorumque memorabilium ad Tiberium Caesarem . . . [*Expl.*]: *vates* idest poete ut puta Romanus Virgilius et alii . . . [?] et quere [?] dat ordinem . . . [?] scilicet tractus urnis [tractaturus ?] et sic finit prohemium. *Maiores statas solemnesque* (I 1, 1) Quia in fine praemissi prohemii Valerius promisit se primo tractaturum de cultu et religione deorum ideo nunc dicit de ea. Et primo Valerius breviter colligit diligentiam qua usi sunt antiqui circa cultum deorum et solertiam, secundo breviter colligit causas generales quibus principaliter solebant ipsa sacra celebrari apud Romanos . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *Imminens* (IX 15, ext. 2) id est insistens. Nota quod auctor iste usus est magna cautela quia incepit librum a laudibus Iulii Caesaris et Caesaris Augusti et in commendationem Tiberii dixit quod erat similis Caesari et Augusto. Nunc vero finit in commendationem Caesaris et Augusti.

On incipit and explicit, cf. Johannes de Ravenna (p. 341).

Bibl.: Berlincourt (see below), 36–48 and (1972) 376–381; Kristeller, *Iter* I, 225, II, 517 (but the commentary in Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 3603, s. XV, attributed to Benvenutus by Berta Maracchi, is instead that of Johannes de Floremontis); Sicco Polenton, *Scriptorum illustrium latinae linguae libri XVIII*, edited by B. L. Ullman (Rome, 1928), page 272, lines 20–24; Remigio Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna, insigne figura d'umanista (1343–1408)* (Como, 1924, and Torino,

1961), 29–30; Pier Paolo Vergerio, *Epistolario*, a cura di Leonardo Smith (Rome, 1934 [Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, Epistolari, secolo XIV–XV]), 40–41.

Manuscripts:

(*) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Cod. 105, s. XV. (G. C. Mezger, *Geschichte der vereinigten Kgl. Kreis- und Stadt-Bibliothek in Augsburg* [Augsburg, 1842], 80–81).

(*) Berlin (West), Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. fol. 540, s. XIV. I am grateful to Professor Kristeller for having identified as this manuscript the one described in Annibale Tenneroni, *Catalogo ragionato dei manoscritti appartenuti al fu conte Giacomo Manzoni*, Quarta parte (Città di Castello, 1894), 28–29.

(*) Burgo de Osma, Catedral, ms. 28, s. XV (Timoteo Rojo Orcajo, *Catálogo descriptivo de los códices que se conservan en la S. Iglesia Catedral de Burgo de Osma* [Madrid, 1929], p. 91; Grubbs II [1933], 169).

(*) Escorial, El, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, n. II.13, s. XV. Books I–IV only. (Antolín, III [1913], 137–138, and Grubbs, V [1935], 58, both of whom attribute it to Omnibonus Leonicensis).

(*) Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Strozzi 59, an. 1420 (Bandini, *Suppl.*, II, coll. 396–397).

Imola, Biblioteca Comunale, A.B.5.27 (132), an. 1415 (Romeo Galli, *I manoscritti e gli incunaboli della Biblioteca Comunale di Imola* [Imola, 1894], LXXXVII, no. 106).

(*) Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 416 (CC.II.10), ff. 204–225, s. XV. A Tabula only, which the scribe attributes to Benvenutus with the words 'Haec Parisius per magistrum Beneventum de Ymola, historiographum eximium, cuius expositionem scribere non valeo' (Wislocki, 137).

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C. 100 Inf., s. XV. Lacks Book IX. Stated by Ambrogio M. Amelli, O.S.B., *Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi* XX (1909), 161, to be the commentary of Oliverius Arzignanensis, s. XIII (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 281, where it is not identified).

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 81 Inf.,

s. XV (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 289, where it is not identified).

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I. 242 Inf., an. 1383 (dated 1343 in Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 296).

(*) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 16220, s. XV (*Catal. CLM*, II.3, 61).

Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 655, s. XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 14, where it is not identified).

(*) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5863, s. XV (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, IV, 167).

(*) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5865, s. XV. Books I–III 2, 7 only. (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, IV, 167; Giuseppe Mazzatinti, *La biblioteca dei rei d'Aragona in Napoli* [Rocca S. Casciano, 1897], 95, no. 237; Tammaro de Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei rei d'Aragona*, II [Milano, 1947], 167–168).

(*) Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 240 (135), s. XV (see above s. Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, *Manuscripts*).

(photo.) Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, K V 20, s. XV. Books I 1, 2–IX 7, 4. (N. Terzaghi, 'De codicibus latinis philologicis qui Senis in Bibliotheca Publica adservantur,' *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, X (1903), 409; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 156).

(*) Soest, Stadtbibliothek, 22, s. XV. I owe this entry to the kindness of Professor Kristeller, and I thank the Stadtbibliothek for further information from preliminary studies by Norbert Eickermann for a catalogue of the library's mediaeval manuscripts. The MS. contains also a 'Tabula Valerii Maximi facta per Dominicum Silvestri de Fflorentia.'

Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco, lat. X. 19 (3651), an. 1399 (Valentinelli, VI, 29 [Class XXII, no. 52]. Kristeller, *Iter* II, 230).

Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco, lat. X. 20 (2988), s. XV (Valentinelli, VI, 30 [Class XXII, no. 54]; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 230).

Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco, lat. X. 183 (3589), s. XV. Books I and II 1–7 only (Valentinelli, VI, 26–27 [Class XXII, no. 49]).

Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco, Zanetti lat. 380 (1908), an. 1406 (Zanetti, p. 155; Valentinelli, VI, 29–30 [Class XXII, no. 53]; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 213).

(*) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3131, an. 1429. (Tabulae II, 211; Franz Unterkircher, *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich II, Die datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek von 1401 bis 1450* [Wien, 1971], 51).

(*) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3142, an. 1472 (Tabulae II, 214; Unterkircher, III *Die datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek von 1451 bis 1500* [Wien, 1974], 66).

(*) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 121 Gud. lat. 2°, s. XV. (Heinemann, Vierte Abtheilung, F. Koehler und G. Milchsack, *Die Gudischen Handschriften*, 148).

Edition:

1954, 17 only, in Marjorie Alkins Berlin-court, *The Commentary on Valerius Maximus by Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and Its Influence upon Later Commentaries* (see above s. Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, *Editions*), 148–184.

Biography:

Benvenutus de Imola (Benvenutus de Rambaldi, Benevenutus de Imola, Magister Imolensis, Magister Benvenutus quondam Compagni quondam Archibensis; Benvenuto da Imola, Benvenuto Rambaldi, Benvenuto de' Rambaldi).

Benvenutus was born at Imola probably after 1320 and died at Ferrara not in 1390, as the letter of Pier Paolo Vergerio cited above might indicate, but probably between 1387 and 13 August 1388, at which date his heirs already appear in a document. Little is known of his training; after Imola he may have continued his studies at Bologna, and he may have visited Rome during Holy Year 1350. He was in Bologna in 1361–1362 with Gómez Albornoz, nephew of Egidio Cardinal Albornoz, and by 1364 he had composed for him his *Romuleon*, which immediately revealed his vast acquaintance with historical literature. In 1365 he was sent to Avignon on an unsuccessful embassy to Urban V against the activities of the Alidosi, with the result that after they became pontifical vicars in Imola his native city was closed to him. He taught privately in Bologna for some years, lecturing

on Vergil, Valerius Maximus, and Lucan, and began there the work on Dante which was to bring him his greatest fame. He knew Petrarch there or in Imola; he knew Pietro da Moglio there and through him Coluccio Salutati; he attended in Florence in 1373 or 1374 Boccaccio's lectures on Dante. Professional rivalries in Bologna drove him after a decade to the protection of Nicolò II d'Este in Ferrara, where he lectured again on Vergil, Valerius, and Lucan, worked on the tragedies of Seneca, and completed his commentary on the *Divina Commedia*.

Works: *Romuleon*, a history of Rome from the destruction of Troy to Diocletian; *Libellus Augustalis*, a short history of Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Wenceslaus; *Comentum super Dantis Aligherii Comediam*; commentaries on Vergil, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and Petrarch's *Bucolicum Carmen*.

Bibl.: Chevalier II, 3873; Cosenza I, 528–529, V, 253–254, VI, 37; Fabricius, BMLA I 194–195; Jöcher III, 1889; Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, I, 28, II, 154–156, 157, 178, 187.

To the exhaustive bibliography provided by Lao Paoletti, 'Benvenuto da Imola,' *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* VIII (1966), 691–694, I add only Nice Contieri, 'Il "Libellus Augustalis" di Benvenuto da Imola apparso in Polonia sotto il nome del Petrarca,' in Mieczysław Brahmer, comp., *Italia, Venezia e Polonia tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento* (Wrocław, 1967), 139–141; Carlo Dionisotti, 'Lettura del commento di Benvenuto da Imola,' *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Danteschi, a cura del Comune di Ravenna e della Società Dantesca Italiana* (Ravenna, 10–12 settembre 1971) (Ravenna, 1979), 203–215; Louis Marcello La Favia, *Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola: Dantista* (Madrid, 1977 [Studia humanitatis]); Guido Martelotti, 'La questione dei due Seneca da Petrarca a Benvenuto,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, XV (1972), 149–169; Giulio Natali, 'Benvenuto da Imola,' *Enc. Ital.* VI (1930), 660–661; Carlo Paolazzi, 'Le letture dantesche di Benvenuto da Imola a Bologna e a Ferrara e le redazioni del suo "Comentum,"' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, XXII (1979), 319–366; Apostolo Zeno, *Dissertationi vossiane*, I (Venezia,

1752), 27–28.

11. FRATER PETRUS

Linked also in some insistent way with Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri is the commentary of a Frater Petrus, O.P., of whom Quétif can say only that, so called in what is now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5864, s. XV, he 'non aliunde mihi notus est.' Two of the manuscripts are stated to be of the fourteenth century, and the number of those now or formerly in France shows that the commentary was well known there. We remember that Innocent V (d. 1276) of Tarentaise was earlier called Frater Petrus in ordine Praedicatorum, but certainly in his work *In IV. libros Sententiarum commentaria* he displays no ready knowledge of Valerius. Nor can I find evidence for activity in this field by a Petrus, frater Dominicanus, who Mario Cosenza thought was probably Pietro Calò of Chioggia and who wrote a letter in hexameters on three lion cubs born in the portico of the Doge's Palace on 12 September 1316. Thomas Kaeppli makes Frater Petrus a native of southern France and says that he flourished in the second half of the fourteenth century; both conclusions are based on the statement in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5864, that he had seen the bishop of Mende, whose dogs guarded him at night and were fed only by his hand. Father Kaeppli identifies this bishop as Guillaume de Chanac, who became bishop of Mende in 1371 and in the same year was created cardinal by Gregory XI; he died at Avignon in 1383. To Maria De Marco, and to Beryl Smalley following her, it seemed that Dionysius may have had the commentary of Frater Petrus in mind when he wrote his own; Helmut Boese felt instead that our commentator, anonymous in the Berlin manuscript, was drawing on Dionysius, shortening him and polishing his style to such a degree that the reader might expect to identify him in humanistic circles and perhaps even with the scribe of that manuscript, Nicolaus Aste-sanus.

Clearly a close examination of the commentary and of its relation to that of Dionysius is

needed. Long passages parallel Dionysius with only slight changes of wording. Dedicatory letter and commentary on the prooemium are absent, but it is of interest that in the Modena manuscript the commentary is followed by a list of chapter headings of Valerius and then by the following passage which, harking back to the four causes of Aristotle, occurs similarly in the commentaries of Dionysius and of Lucas de Penna on the prooemium of Valerius and in echoes in other commentaries: Huius autem libri quadruplex causa assignatur, videlicet: efficiens qui est ipse Valerius qui hunc librum efficienter edidit; causa materialis, quae sunt facta et dicta Romanorum atque aliarum gentium et universaliter virtutes et vitia de quibus, ut ipse testatur, in toto processu est dicturus. Causa formalis duplex est, videlicet forma tractatus et forma tractandi. Forma tractandi est ipsam veritatem breviter et lucide tradere. Sed forma tractatus est divisio libri in partes vel in speciales libros, quia sunt novem libri partiales ut patet in processu, et libros in capitula dividere. Causa finalis est homines ad virtutes inducere et a vitiis remove. Nam hoc intendit Valerius in toto opere suo: homines a vitiis retrahere et virtutibus informare. Ex his sequitur quod iste liber supponitur ethicae, cuius est virtutes cognoscere et de ipsis docere et scientiam tradere. Quare sicut loquitur de subiecto libri *Ethicorum* Aristotelis ita per omnia de huius libri subiecto loquendum est. Suum ergo opus Valerius incohans a causa materiali et subiectiva exordium sumit, dicens: *Urbis Romae*.

Commentary. (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, lat. 694 [α. W. 8. 9]). [*Inc.*]: Romani (I 1, 1) cum primo deos colerent quibusdam divinationibus quae portenta appellabant non sacrificabant nec immolabant aliquod animal. Tusci vero qui tunc appellabantur Etrusi [Etrusci] artem sacrificandi habebant. Videntes ergo Romani quod Tusci eos in sacrificando praevalabant abiecerunt libros quos habebant de portentis et artem sacrificandi acceperunt a Tuscis. Et hoc fecerunt maiores Romanorum moti primo scientia legali quae est scientia bene gerendarum rerum, item auctoritate augurum et moti monitione Apollinis et praedicatione vatum id est sacerdotum suorum et pon-

tificum. Et omnem modum quem habebant sacrificandi abiecerunt et acceperunt modum Tuscorum. Habuerunt autem quatuor modos colendi deos suos. Primus modus erat cum templum alicuius dei intrabant et se ipsos ac sibi coniunctos ei commendabant. Secundus modus erat cum precibus multis effusis a deo aliquid petebant. Tertius modus erat cum soluebant promissa et fiebant gratiae de praeteritis cum laetitia. Quartus modus erat omnibus sollemnior scilicet cum deus aliquis in intestinis et carnibus animalium honorabatur. Et iste modus maxime fiebat quando aliquid arduum imminabat. Similiter Romani divinum cultum ampliare volentes de senatus consilio decem filios principum miserunt in Tusciam ut ibi instruerentur de modo honorandi deos et sacrificandi. Et ut videtur magna cura eis fuit quod de tam nobili civitate sicut est Roma decem filii principum ad addiscendum modum sacrificandi mitterentur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Item (IX 15, ext. 2) fuit unus rex in Cappadocia qui vocabatur Arietes. Hic rex movens bellum contra Romanos a Marco Antonio magistro equitum Caesaris interfectus est et hoc luce clarius erat. Fuit tamen quidam barbarus id est homo robustus et fortis qui secundum corpus illi regi similis fuit et regnum Cappadociae a Caesare petebat et habuit favorem illorum qui erant de dicto regno et auxilium fere totius orientis quia omnes ipsum regem volebant et sibi suffragabantur. Nichilominus tamen ipsum sic falsum et suffragiis circumdatum Iulius Caesar quamvis similitudinem regis haberet caput eius abstulit et mori coegit et iusto supplicio. Igitur Valerius principio libri sui finem annectens ut principium et finis idem essent in prologo auxilium Caesaris postulavit et in fine cum divo Iulio Caesare terminavit. Qui Iulius ut dicit Suetonius in rebus domesticis disciplinam severam servavit, qui statura excelsus colore candidus, qui tunc erat exactor disciplinae gravissimus cum hostes in proximo erant et benemerito quia iustitia dicente Seneca [cf. *Epist. ad Lucil.* 90, 3 and Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and Frater Lucas above] nil aliud est quam lex divina et vinculum societatis humanae, per ipsam namque religio veritatis tuetur et ipse deus iuste colitur in cuius cultu sincero eterna vita

promittitur in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Manuscripts:

(*) Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, 158, ff. 1–111v, s. XV. (*Cat. Gén. Fr. Dept.* Octavo X [1889], 76–77, where it is not distinguished from the commentary by Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri which follows on ff. 112bis–258. It was identified by Giuseppe Di Stefano in ‘Ricerche su Nicolas de Gonesse traduttore di Valerio Massimo,’ *Studi francesi*, n. 26 [1965], 217, n. 6. John William Larkin, S. J., *A Critical Edition of the First Book of the Commentary of Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro on the Facta et dicta memorabilia urbis Romae of Valerius Maximus* [New York, 1967; see above s. Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, *Manuscripts*], xxii, states that it is ‘a commentary on Valerius Maximus, not by Dionigi.’)

(*) Berlin (Ost), Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 648/II, an. 1453 (Helmut Boese, *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* [Wiesbaden, 1966], 317, where it is anonymous; I was unable to identify it when Dr. Boese wrote me on 21 March 1961).

Modena, Biblioteca Estense, lat. 694 (α. W. 8. 9), s. XV, (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 373, where it is ascribed to Franciscus Petrus, O. P.).

(*) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5864, s. XV (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, IV, 167, and Di Stefano, ‘Tradizione esegetica e traduzioni di Valerio Massimo nel primo umanesimo francese,’ *Studi francesi*, n. 21 [1963], 410, 416, n. 2).

(photo.) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9689, s. XV. The commentary is anonymous here. (Léopold Delisle, ‘Inventaire des manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les nos. 8823–11503 du fonds latin,’ *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes*, XXIII [1862], 481).

(*) Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 589 (150), an. 1472. The commentary is anonymous here. (*Cat. Gén. Fr. Dept.* Octavo XXIV [1894] 235).

(*) Toulouse, Archives Départementales (Haute-Garonne), 8 (F. 5), ff. 14–189, s. XIV (Ministère de l’Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, *Catalogue des manuscrits conser-*

vés dans les dépôts d'archives départementales communales et hospitalières [Paris, 1886], 107, and Adolphe Baudouin, 'Un commentaire manuscrit de Valère-Maxime,' *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences. Inscriptions, et Belles-Lettres de Toulouse*, IX. série, I [1889], 273–278).

Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1704, s. XIV (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 418; Maria De Marco, 'Un nuovo codice del commento di "Frater Petrus, O. P." a Valerio Massimo,' *Aevum*, XXX [1956], 554–558. The manuscript was written in France.).

Biography:

See above p. 351.

Bibl.: The literature already cited under *Manuscripts* and Cosenza, III, 2703; Innocent V, *In IV. libros Sententiarum* [of Petrus Lombardus] *commentaria ex manuscriptis Bibliothecae Tolosanae Conventus Sancti Thomae Aquinatis* (Tolosae, 1649–1652, 4 vols., in the 1964 reprint, Ridgewood, New Jersey); Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, III (Romae ad S. Sabinae, 1980), 214; Marie Hyacinthe Laurent, *Le bienheureux Innocent V (Pierre de Tarentaise) et son temps* (Città del Vaticano, 1947 [Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Studi e testi*, CXXIX]), 401; Jacques Quétif and Jacques Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, I (Paris, 1719), 352 (s. v. Nicolaus Trivet), 729; Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960), 288.

12. PETRUS HERARDI

The influence of Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri was continued also in the commentary of Petrus Herardi of Reims, who according to the subscription completed it on 1 August 1409 ([Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1592] 'Opitulante Deo praecepto reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Guidonis de Roia, Remorum archipraesulis, ego Frater Petrus Herardi Remensis Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum volumen istud confeci quo textus Valerii Maximi correctior et clarior haberi potest et historiarum eiusdem fun-

us et origo perplene cognosci. Quod manu propria cursorie tamen scripsi. Complevi illud Dei gratia prima Augusti die anno Domini M^{mo} CCCC^o IX^o, quo anno dictus dominus meus et Remensium reverendissimus pergens ad consilium Pisanum Deo spiritum reddidit. Amen. Deo gratias'). It had been commissioned by the bibliophile Guy de Roye, archbishop of Reims, who was assassinated at Voltri, now a fraction of Genoa, on 8 June 1409 on his way to the council of Pisa. Since the commentary mentions Lucas de Penna it is of some interest that Guy de Roye had owned Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1332 (see above s. Lucas de Penna, *Manuscripts*), which carries the incomplete commentary of that author. The familiarity of Petrus Herardi with the commentary of Frater Lucas may well have been, as Giuseppe Di Stefano points out, at second hand through the work of Lucas de Penna. He knew at first hand the French translation and commentary of Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse and even supplied, at the end of his own commentary on Valerius, several extraneous exempla which Nicolas de Gonesse had adopted from Boccaccio's *Decasibus*. Di Stefano terms his work an *expositio textualis*: he paraphrases Valerius paragraph by paragraph but comments only sparsely.

Commentary (Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1333–34). [*Inc.*]: *Urbis Romae* (I *Prooemium*) [Incipit primi libri Valerii Maximi prohemium, quod secundum magistrum Dionysium de Burgo, huius libri expositorem, pro aemulis ponitur qui consueti sunt librorum auctoribus detrahare ad eos reprimendos. Cui alludit Frater Lucas, Ordinis Praedicatorum, praesentem textum pulchre declarans, prohemium praefationem vocans quae utiliter nimis in capite libri ponitur ubi et futura libri qualitas indicatur. Quid enim commodius prohemio discere ne possit etiam sequens dictis inopinatum confundere? Praemittit igitur Valerius operi suo toti generaliter sed primo libro specialiter prohemium propter [proprie?] dictum, in quo sicut in ceteris communiter prohemii immo rebus omnibus occurrunt quatuor causae, materialis, formalis, efficiens, et finalis. Materialis est dicta et facta Romanorum

primo et principaliter, deinde et ceterorum quos exteros vocat, et generaliter virtutes et vitia et horum circumstantiae sunt huius libri materia. Formalis causa duplex est, forma tractandi et forma tractatus. Forma tractandi est brevis et nobilis Valerii scribendi stilus atque praegnans quoad hoc differens a stilo ceterorum doctorum qui de unica materia prolix[iss]ime scripserunt. Nam eloquentissimus omnium Titus Livius Romanorum gesta triginta decadibus digessisse narratur. Trogus etiam Pompeius Orientalium gesta in 4 et 40 libris disseruit. Similiter Sallustius in Catilinario et Bello Iugurthino, Victor [Vitensis] de historia Africanorum, Methodius [Saint, Bishop of Olympus] de principio et fine saeculi, Iulius Celsus [Constantinus] de bellis Iulii Caesaris, Pompeius Trogus de Pompeio Magno, Phrogius [Dares Phrygius] de Troia, Phuculphus [Freculphus] de Assyriis sua materia considerata prolixius sumpserunt. Hic autem paucis novem videlicet vel decem brevibus libris materiam suam amplissimam de vitiis et virtutibus videlicet stilo compendioso deducit. Forma tractatus est divisio libri sui in libros, librorum in capitula, capitulorum in paragraphos. Causa finalis est exemplis ad omne fere propositum audientes et legentes inducere ad sequelam virtutum et fugam vitiorum, unde clare liquet quod liber iste sub philosophia morali reponendus est, qui suum studentem citius et cum minori labore sanctum prudentemque reddit. Causa efficiens fuit Valerius Maximus, dictus ex cognomine tantum et non per excellentiam Maximus, ut dicit Frater Simon de Hesdinio, Ordinis Sancti Iohannis Iherosolimitani, magister in theologia, qui praesentem textum de Latino transtulit in Gallicum. . . . Valerius more quo iuvenes Romani virtuosos moralesque maxime sunt effecti, audiendo videlicet maiorum et illustrium gesta plurima imitatione digna . . . philosophorum et aliorum Romanorum principaliter et primo ceterorumque qui virtutibus multum studuerunt et illorum etiam qui dediti vitiis se a virtutibus averterunt exempla nobis relinquere curavit, quia qua ratione laudabilia virtutum exempla iubemur imitari eadem vitiorum dampnabilia detestari debemus. Ad hoc igitur Valerius electa diligenter et extracta de libris

doctorum sollemnium Orosii, Titi Livii, Sallustii et aliorum . . . ad evitandum etiam laboriosae inquisitionis taedium et ut reddat huius libri delectabile studium antiquorum non omnia dicta similiter et facta non omnia sed quae tantum memoratu digna sunt et quam brevius commode fieri potest determinat se traditurum, non tamen clariori stilo vel dictamine praestantiori vel cura vehementiore quam ceteri scripserunt libros suos auctores, quod dicit ex humilitate sui et ipsius difficultate rei . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quia a cultu deorum principiare in eius animo fuit cuius potissima pars est religio. *Maiores statas . . . voluerunt* (I 1, 1) [I]ncipit liber primus cuius sententia est quod a cultu deorum patriali et solito non est inconsulte recedendum aut subito . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (IX 15, ext. 2) se dicebat Ariathem fore et regem Cappadociae cui quamquam faverent pene totius Orientis et omnium civitatum populi nichilominus eius caput mendosum iusto tormento adfixit idem Iulius Caesar. Et hic terminat Valerius librum suum finem eius correspondere facientem principio, nam in principio Caesaris numen, quem deificatum credebat, imploravit, et iustitias eius recitans hic finem imponit operi.

Bibl.: The literature cited below under *Manuscripts* and Étienne Delaruelle, Edmond René Labande, and Paul Ourliac, *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire, 1378-1449* (Paris, 1962—[Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, 14]), p. 153, n. 28; Di Stefano, 'Ricerche su Nicolas de Gonesse traduttore di Valerio Massimo,' *Studi francesi*, n. 26 (1965), 213, 'Tendenze culturali del primo umanesimo francese,' *ibid.*, n. 27 (1965), 420-422, and 'La diffusion de Valère-Maxime au XIVe siècle: le commentaire attribué à Frater Lucas,' *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis, Proceedings of the First International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Louvain, 23-28 August 1971* (Louvain, 1973), 219, 220, 222-223, 225; Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, III (Romae ad S. Sabinae, 1980), 230; Jacqueline Le Braz, 'La bibliothèque de Guy de Roye, archevêque de Reims (1390-1409),' *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, VI (1957),

67–100 and in particular page 90, no. 147.

Manuscripts:

(*) Dole, Bibliothèque Municipale, 385, s. XV. Books V-IX only. (*Cat. Gén. Fr. Dept. Octavo*, XIII [1891], 449.)

(photo.) Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1592, s. XV. Books IV-IX only (Auguste Molinier, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, II [1886], 126).

(photo.) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6151. Designated 'seemingly' s. XVI in *Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, IV (1744), 208; I gladly accept the confirmation of James John that it was written ca. 1500. Anonymous, truncated, garbled, lacking the text of Valerius, the commentary on the prooemium, the *exempla* adapted from Boccaccio, and the subscription, I place it here because for the first and last chapters it is very close to the tradition of Petrus Herardi. Who culled these 'Notulae' is not revealed.

(micro.) Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1333–34, s. XV. Kaeppli, 'Luca Mannelli (†1362) e la sua Tabulatio et expositio Senecae,' *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XVIII (1948), 249–250, recognized that neither the incipits of the prooemium and commentary nor the explicit accorded with those in the commentary of Dionysius and that it was instead an anonymous commentary whose author cited the commentaries of Dionysius, Frater Lucas, and Lucas de Penna and the French translation of Valerius by Simon de Hesdin. In 1954 Marjorie Alkins Berlincourt, who did not know Kaeppli, concluded in *The Commentary on Valerius Maximus by Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and Its Influence upon Later Commentaries* (see above s. Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, *Editions*), 61 and (1972) 385–386, that it was the work of one or more anonymous commentators and was based principally on Simon de Hesdin and the commentary in MS. 1332 in the same library, which with Di Stefano I have ascribed to Lucas de Penna. The identification of the commentary as that of Petrus Herardi was made by Di Stefano in 'Tradizione esegetica e traduzioni di Valerio Massimo nel primo umanesimo francese,' *Studi francesi*, n. 21 (1963), 413–416. (*Cat. Gén. Fr.*

Dept. Octavo, XXXIX [1904], 479–480, where it is ascribed to Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri.).

Biography:

Pierre Hérard.

I have not found elsewhere Petrus Herardi of Reims. He is not, of course, to be confused with the earlier Petrus of Reims (d. 1245), who was bishop of Agen and wrote on theological subjects. His acquaintance with Guy de Roye, archbishop of Reims, has been mentioned above.

13. JOHANNES DE FLOREMONTIS

Also involved with the Alidosi, like Benvenutus de Imola, but favorably, was Johannes de Floremontis, whose commentary can at present be dated only from the fact that it is dedicated to Ludovico Alidosi (d. 1430; see G. De Caro, 'Alidosi, Ludovico,' *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* II [1960], 376–377), who came to joint power in Imola with his brother Lippo in 1391 and to sole power, on the death of the brother, in 1396. It is reasonable to think that the author was a native of Imola and also that the dedication was made before 24 February 1424, on which date the forces of Filippo Maria Visconti occupied Imola and took Ludovico prisoner; freed after two years, he never found it possible to return to Imola, and he died in Rome. Indeed, the tone of the dedication is such that it seems addressed to a young person, to a Ludovico who is still a student and who is being urged by a preceptor to follow the right path throughout his life.

It is not possible to identify the author with either the Johannes de Imola who taught logic at Bologna in 1385–86, logic and philosophy 1386–87, logic and moral philosophy 1387–88, moral and natural philosophy 1388–89, moral philosophy and medicine 1392–93, and medicine 1395–96 (Umberto Dallari, *I rotuli dei lettori legisti e artisti dello Studio Bolognese dal 1384 al 1799*, I [Bologna, 1888], 7, IV [Bologna, 1924], 12, 14, 17, 19) or the scholar often so called, Johannes de Nicoletis, who was jurisconsult and canonist at Bologna, Ferrara, and Padua and died in Bologna in 1439

(Mazzetti, no. 2220). An Augustinian Joannes Antonius de Imola, whose *In libros Posteriorum Analyticorum Aristotelis* is contained in a manuscript at Imola, is listed in David Aurelius Perini, O.E.S.A., *Bibliographia augustiniana cum notis biographicis. Scriptores itali*, II (Firenze, 1931), 136. Benjamin G. Kohl suggests a possible connection with the Floramontius family of Perugia; according to Agostino Oldoini, *Athenaeum augustum in quo Perusinarum scripta publice exponuntur* (Perusiae, 1678; reprinted Farnborough, 1969), 21, 104, 110, three members of this family in the seventeenth century were writers. Galeazzo Florimonte (d. ca. 1565), bishop of Aquino and Sessa, is recorded in Kristeller, *Iter*, I and II.

The influence of Benvenutus de Imola is already apparent in the introduction. It is accordingly of some interest that while Vaticanus latinus 9936 names the commentator Johannes de Floremontis, and while other manuscripts fail to name him, the incomplete manuscript at Cremona calls him rather Johannes de Camerino and carries earlier in its folios the commentary of Benvenutus on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* of Vergil. This manuscript, which gives the impression of a copy-book, belonged to the Augustinians at Cremona and may have been set down by one of them. It will be remembered that Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri was an Augustinian; Johannes draws also on Dionysius. A Johannes de Camerino in the Greek form of the name (with Καμαράνου), Dominican, occurs in Vaticanus latinus 927, s. XIV (*Cod. Vat. Lat., Codices 579–1134*, recensuit Augustus Pelzer, p. 339) and one of the same name, juriconsult, in Vaticanus latinus 10726, s. XV med. (*Cod. Vat. Lat., Codices 10701–10875*, recensuit Iohannes Baptista Borino, p. 130). The well-known Franciscan Johannes de Camerino who is commonly called Johannes Camers (see, for example, Cosenza II, 1819–1821, V, 926–927, VI, 149 and CTC III 54), who edited several Latin authors and who died in 1546, does not seem chronologically possible here as author, but he may in his youth have been copying from Johannes de Floremontis. I owe to Giacomo Boccanera,

director of the Biblioteca Valentiniana at Camerino, in a letter of 2 March 1976, the suggestions Johannes de Camerino, a Dominican, who took his doctorate in theology at the University of Ferrara on 19 December 1461 (Giuseppe Pardi, *Titoli dottorali conferiti dallo Studio di Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI* [Lucca, 1901], 38), Johannes de Camerino who on 14 June 1474 wrote from Florence to Lorenzo the Magnificent, and the Franciscan Johannes de Camerino who took his doctorate in theology at Ferrara on 5 October 1497 (Pardi, 102); these too seem late. Francesco Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, II (Roma, 1893), 484–486, was similarly troubled by the Johannes de Camerino to whom Salutati wrote an undated letter, perhaps in the period 1392–1396. Giuseppe Billanovich, 'Il Petrarca e gli storici latini,' *Tra latino e volgare per Carlo Dionisotti*, (Padova, 1974 [Medioevo e umanesimo, 17–18]), 78 names the commentator Giovanni Fioremonti da Camerino.

Invocation (Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 9936). [*Inc.*]: Valerii Maximi expositionem aggressurus in nomine individuae trinitatis exordia mihi sumam, eius primo invocando favorem ut queam procellis evitatis ad portum pervenire tranquilum. Da rerum omnium creator deus huius libri me profundas indagare sententias. Caelorum princeps ad vota mea con[de]scende benignus facundiam tribuens ut discentium mentes ab ignorantia tetra quasi caligine sententiarum exuam fulgore. Da pater omnipotens invidorum linguas vitare molestas. Da illius cuius amore hoc opus ago gratam benevolentiam mihi posse vindicare ac etiam aliis posse complacere legentibus.

Dedication. [*Inc.*]: Ex Alidosiorum spectabili prosapia, generose mi domine Lodovice, claram qui ducis originem, quia ex nobili genere ortus es et conscientia sit bonorum honorabilium iuxta philosophum in libro De anima, ideo tibi nobili expedit ingenti cupiditate moveri ut scientiarum flores capias et intellectum acuas. Disciplina, mentis perspicacitas, in te viget ac virtutis industria simul cum nobilitate generis in te sedem collocavit. Sperne igitur delectationes sensuales et intellectualibus

adhaereas quibus degustatis intrinsecusque susceptis senties quid mellifluum. Esto dissimilis illis qui delectationes sensuales solum gustantes intellectuales ignorantes verum non percipiunt dulcorem quia qui mel non degustavit non percipit mellis dulcedinem . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quare hortor te mi domine nobilem origine et generosum animo bonis intellectualibus inhaerere, vana et ludicra deserendo, quod ut agas zelo tuae gratiae dilectionis eximio commentum praefati libri expositionemque ad tui honorem et gloriam condo prout tua grata providentia a me flagitavit ut iugiter in hoc libro insudando fructus pulcherrimos colligas post laborem.

Introduction. [Inc.]: His igitur praemissis ad propositum redeo opus prosequens intentum. Sed tamen antequam ad expositionem libri deveniam primo praemitto quaedam universalialia quae in prohemiiis librorum tangi consuevere, secundo ad specialia et particularia condescendam. Igitur circa hoc sublime opus sunt aliqua principalia inquirenda, primo quae sit huius libri materia sive subiectum, secundo quis fuerit auctor, tertio quae fuerit auctoris intentio, quarto quae utilitas, quinto quis libri titulus, sexto cui parti philosophiae supponatur. Materia autem sive subiectum huius libri est dicta et facta romanorum et aliarum gentium, hoc est historiae peregrinae in quibus continetur quid viri illustres gesserunt et qualia operati sunt. Auctor autem fuit Valerius ex nobili prosapia romanorum oriundus qui antiquorum prolixitates et historias famosas prolixè ab antiquis traditas sub compendio stilo recollegit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quaeretur cui parti philosophiae supponetur. subiacet autem hic liber ethicae philosophiae quia docet nos vivere moraliter.

Commentary. [Inc.]: His extrinsecus praetactis ad divisionem libri condescendo. Dividitur itaque hic liber in duas partes, in prohemium et tractatum. Et primo ponit prohemium in quo auditores praeparat ad audiendum quae sequuntur. In secundo ponit tractatum. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quia primo ponit intentum secundo antiprophorizat id est . . . nec mihi cuncta. *Urbis Romae* (I *Prooemium*) Dicit primo quod proposuit describere dicta et facta urbis Romae scripta ab aliis auctori-

bus authenticis diffuso modo, ipse autem scribet breviter . . . [Expl.]: in primis venerare deos. *Maiores statas* (I 1, 1) Posito prohemio ponit hic executionem et tractatum in quo continentur virtutes et vitia antiquorum virorum . . . [Expl.]: (IX 15, ext. 2) Populus romanus credendo ipsum fore regem consentiebat quod restitueretur sibi regnum. Sed Caesar hoc cognoscens iussit eum mactari etc.

Bibl.: Marjorie Alkins Berlincourt, *The Commentary on Valerius Maximus by Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and Its Influence upon Later Commentaries* (see above. s. Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, *Editions*), 49–54 and (1972) 381–383.

Manuscripts:

Cremona, Biblioteca Statale, Fondo Governativo 109, s. XV, ff. 177–190v. Incomplete, it stops with I 1, 21. (Mazzatinti, LXX, p. 83).

Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 3603, s. XV, ff. 1–104, attributed according to Kristeller, *Iter* II, 517, to Benvenuto de Imola by Berta Maracchi.

(micro.) London, British Library, Harley 2504, s. XV. I would express my appreciation to T. S. Pattie, Assistant Keeper, Department of Manuscripts, for his assistance on this manuscript. (*Catal. Harleian MSS.*, II 696).

(*) Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 540, an. 1444, pp. 343–571. (Wislocki I, 167).

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G. 133 Inf., s. XV, attributed by Novati, 484, n. 1, Giuseppe Di Stefano, 'Ricerche su Nicolas de Gonesse traduttore di Valerio Massimo,' *Studi francesi*, n. 26 (1965), 217, n. 6, and Billanovich to this commentator (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 291, where it is not identified).

(*) Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, 5–7–2, s. XV (Haenel, col. 981, and letters from the director, 15 February 1975 and 6 May 1976).

(*) Soissons, Bibliothèque Communale, 25, an. 1445 (*Cat. Gén. Fr. Dept.* Quarto III [1885], 79).

Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 9936, an 1428 (*Cod. Vat. Lat.*, *Codices 9852–10300*, descripserunt Marcus Vattasso et Henricus Carusi, pp. 156–157).

Biography:

See above, p. 355.

14. GUARINUS VERONENSIS

The commentary of Guarinus Veronensis is almost certainly an end-product of his teaching, and probably of his later teaching. A classroom aura emanates from it as word after word, phrase after phrase, is selected for explanation, and it may very well be, indeed, that for the commentary as we have it entire in the Paduan manuscript, entitled quite simply 'Guarinus Veronensis in Valerium Maximum,' we are indebted to a student's notes.

The interest of Guarinus in Valerius endured over a long period and has long been known. It was not necessarily sparked by the influence of Marzagaia in Verona and of Johannes de Ravenna in Padua. The allusions to Valerius as indexed in Sabbadini's edition of the *Epistolario* begin only with the year 1412 and run into 1456. In 1415 Guarinus wrote of inserting Greek words in a manuscript of Valerius for his friend Ugo Mazzolato, and his activity with the text of Valerius is revealed also in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, LXIII.27 and Belluno, Biblioteca Lolliniana, 55. One lexicon which he compiled drew on several authors, Valerius included. In his 'Corso grammaticale' Valerius was a fundamental text. The inaugural oration for this is a paean to the study of history, quotes in slightly altered form the famous passage in Cicero, *De oratore* II 9, 36 (*Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis*), and presents Valerius as one who 'ex rebus gestis ita singula virtutum genera excerpsit ut non tam erudire mortales quam eos bonos reddere velle visus sit'; the oration has survived in numerous copies (for example, Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea I.62, an. 1773, f. 11v–12v, II. 19, s. XV, ff. 5v–6r, II. 110, s. XV, ff. 104v–105r, II. 135, s. XV, ff. 60v–61r; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 78, s. XV; Reggio Emilia, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca, B.a.29 (già M.b.4), s. XV, f. 7; Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 286, s. XV, ff. 29v–30v and 868, s. XV, f. 78; Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, CCLXIII [235], s. XV, ff. 131–132v).

Friends and students of Guarinus evinced a corresponding interest in Valerius. On 13

December 1406 Guglielmo Capello finished writing Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco, Zanetti lat. 380 (1908), which contains the commentary of Benvenutus de Imola. Giocchino Castiglione mentions Guarinus in a *prolusio* to a course on Valerius which he delivered while still a student and before he left Ferrara in 1435. To Antonio Costanzo is sometimes assigned an epitome of Valerius in verse. Pietro del Monte (d. 1457), also a student of Guarinus, borrowed in his letters no more from Valerius than from other classical authors, but the treatise *De virtutibus et vitiis* which he wrote in England may recall Valerius. It is preserved, for example, in Cambridge, University of Cambridge Library, 2136 (Ll I.7) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F.5.26; he stated in a letter of 1439 to John Bostock, abbot of St. Albans, that he had written it the year before; and its dedication to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, was published by Mandell Creighton, bishop of Peterborough, in 'Some Literary Correspondence of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester,' *English Historical Review*, X (1895), 101–103.

Commentary (Padova, Biblioteca del Seminario, 142) [*Inc.*]: (I *Prooemium*) Valerius iste civis Romanus fuit, homo militaris et Sexto Pompeio non mediocri familiaritate coniunctus, sub quo etiam militasse accepimus. Scribit autem hoc opus ad Tiberium Caesarem, tertium post Octavianum Augustum imperatorem, qui quidem ex gente Claudia ab Octaviano adoptatus imperium obtinuit. Solet saepe numero inter legentes quaedam suboriri dubitatio annalesne scribat vel historiam; non magis autem historiam scribere videtur. Titulus huius operis est Valerii Maximi dictorum factorumque memorabilium liber primus incipit. Valerius proprium est ipsius scriptoris, Maximus cognationis nomen, dictorum factorumque memorabilium operis materia. Liber primus ad aliorum differentiam; scripsit enim VIII libros, quorum in primis octo ea quae ad solam virtutem pertinent tractare videtur, in ultimo vero in hominum vitia invehitur. *Urbis* hic abusus est vocabulo. *Urbis* moenia sunt. Civitatis autem dicere debuit, quom etiam non murorum gesta tractare intendat. Civitas est multitudo civium congregata eodem

iure viventium. *Exterus* idem est et *externus*. *Illustribus* ex gestis suis claritatem habentibus a lustro. *Deligere* de aliis multisque elegere. *Cupido* quaedam immensa voluntas. *Domesticae* romanae et latinae, *peregrinae* externorum ut Graecorum et aliorum. *Historiae* inter historiam et annales hoc interest, nam historia est eorum temporum quae vidimus vel videre potuimus, id est a videndo, Annales vero sunt eorum annorum et temporum quae nostra non novit aetas, unde Livius ex annalibus et historia constat. Hoc tamen confunditur licenter ut Vergilius [*Aen.* I. 373] pro historia posuit annales, 'Et vacet annales nostrorum audire laborum.' *Caesar* scilicet Tiberius. Nam omnes imperatores per successionem a C. Iulio Caesare Caesares vocati sunt, sicut etiam reges Aegyptii Ptolomei. Caesar autem dictus quod caeso matris ventre natus est, vel quod eius avus in Africa manu propria elephantem cecidit, qui Poenorum lingua caesa dicitur, vel quia cum caesarie in lucem venerit. *Invocare* ad auxilium implorare. *Vindicantur* puniuntur, *foventur* aluntur; est autem metaphora a gallina, pullos sub se tenente, sumpta. *Optimo* in se, *Maximo* quia deorum et hominum deus est. *Ordire* incipere, *colligere* sumitur, habetur, *pater* scilicet Octaviano qui eum adoptavit, *avito* Iulii Caesaris patris adoptivi Octaviani. *Sideri* hoc dicit quia ambo in caelum inter sidera translati sunt, unde Vergilius [*Ecl.* IX 47] 'Ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum.' *Quo* id est quantum, *videtur* conspicitur et apparet. *Opinari* est partim scire partim ignorare, unde opinio. *Caerimoniae* sunt ritus sacrorum quasi carimoniae quia eo tempore homines se a multis abstinent rebus vel a Cerere ut Valerio placet, quod non multum probatur ab arte dicendi peritis. *Deos enim reliquos accepimus*, nam ex Dyrrachio Aesculapium in forma serpentis, ex Phrygia Cybelem, ex Graecia Herculem Romanos advexisse constat et nisi Romae Caesares fuisse. *Disseram summatim* id est paucis verbis disputabo. Primum capitulum de deorum cultu et religione. *Maiores statas* (I 1, 1) Cum superius se a religione incepturum praeposuerit hoc in loco declarat et quibus partibus consistat religio et hae omnes partes patent per exempla infrascripta.

Maiores praecessores . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (IX 15, ext. 2) *imminens* insistens. Nota. Valerius Maximus usus est cautela quia librum inceptum a laudibus Iulii Caesaris et Caesaris Augusti et in Tiberii commendationem dixit eum similem Caesari et Augusto. Nunc igitur finit librum in iustitiae Caesaris et Augusti commendationem.

Manuscripts:

Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 3607, s. XV, ff. 81–149. Books I–VII 3, ext. 1 only. The commentary is anonymous here.

Padova, Biblioteca del Seminario, 142, s. XV, ff. 1–39r. The manuscript belonged to Jacopo Facciolati. (Apostolo Zeno, *Dissertationi Vossiane*, I [Venezia, 1752], 219; Tammara de Marinis, *La legatura artistica in Italia nei secoli XV e XVI; notizie ed elenchi*, II [Firenze, 1960], 67, n. 1475, without mention of Guarinus; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 9).

Biography:

See CTC I, 207–208; II, 229; III, 257; IV, 295–296.

Add to the bibliography: Rino Avesani, 'Guarino Veronese, Marzagaia, e Manuele Crisolora,' *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Macerata*, VIII (1975), 367–379; Augusto Campana, 'Una lettera inedita di Guarino Veronese e il Plutarco medico della bottega di Vespasiano,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, V (1962), 171–178; Cesare Colombo, 'Quattro lettere inedite di Guarino,' *ibid.*, VIII (1965), 213–242 and 'Giunte all'Epistolario di Guarino Veronese. Altri inediti guariniani,' *ibid.*, X (1967) 219–258; Cosenza II, 1694–1717, V, 870–874, VI, 140–141; Patricia Hochschild, 'Identification and Translation of a Letter of Guarino Guarini of Verona,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVIII (1955), 142–143; Kristeller, 'An Unknown Letter of Giovanni Barbo to Guarino,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, VIII (1965), 243–248; Manlio Pastore Stocchi, 'Aggiunte al carteggio di Guarino Veronese,' *Studi in onore di Mario Puppò* (Padova, 1969), 15–22; W. Keith Percival, 'The Historical Sources of Guarino's "Regulae Grammaticales." A Reconsideration of Sabbadini's Evidence,' Centro di Studi Umanistici di Montepulciano, *Civiltà dell'umanesimo*,

Atti del VI, VII, VIII Convegno internazionale del Centro di Studi Umanistici, Montepulciano, Palazzo Tarugi, 1968, 1970, 1971, a cura di Giovannangiola Tarugi (Firenze, 1972), 263–284; Sesto Prete, *Two Humanistic Anthologies* [Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 42 and Toledo, Cathedral Library, 100. 42] (Città del Vaticano, 1964 [Studi e testi, 230]); Remigio Sabbadini, 'Codici latini posseduti, scoperti, illustrati da Guarino Veronese,' *Museo italiano di antichità classica*, III (1888), coll. 374–455; Renate Schweyen, *Guarino Veronese: Philosophie und humanistische Pädagogik* (München, 1973 [Humanistische Bibliothek, Reihe 3, Skripten, Bd. 3]); Ian Thomson, 'Manuel Chrysoloras and the Early Italian Renaissance,' *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, VII (1966), 69–76, 'Two Unpublished Items from Toledo MS. 100.42' [poems by Guarinus Veronensis and Jacobus Cremonensis], *Traditio*, XXV (1969), 411–415, 'A Textual Problem in the Epistolary of Guarino,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, XXIV (1971), 485–486, and 'Some Notes on the Content of Guarino's Library,' *ibid.*, XXIX (1976), 169–177; Robert Weiss, 'Some Unpublished Correspondence of Guarino da Verona,' *Italian Studies* II (1939), 110–117.

Note: Remigio Sabbadini's *Vita di Guarino Veronese* (Genova, 1891) and *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese* (Catania, 1896) were reprinted in one volume, entitled *Guariniana* and edited by Mario Sancipriano, at Torino in 1964; Sabbadini's edition of the *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese* (Venezia, 1915–1919, 3 vols. [R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, Miscellanea di Storia Veneta, Serie terza, vols. 8, 11, 14]) was reprinted at Torino in 1959.

For Pietro del Monte see Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford, 1976), 62; Piero da Monte, *ein Gelehrter und päpstlicher Beamter des 15. Jahrhunderts. Seine Briefsammlung*, herausgegeben und erläutert von Johannes Haller (Rom, 1941 [Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 19]); Agostino Sottili, *Studenti tedeschi e umanesimo italiano nell'Università di Padova durante il Quattrocento. I. Pietro del Monte nella società acca-*

demica padovana (1430–1433) (Padova, 1971 [Contributi alla storia dell'Università di Padova, 7]), reviewed by Gianni Zippel in *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, VII (1974), 79–87; Gilbert Tournoy, 'Un nuovo testo del periodo padovano di Pietro del Monte,' *ibid.*, VIII (1975), 67–72; Agostino Zanelli, 'Pietro del Monte,' *Archivio storico lombardo*, Serie quarta, VII (1907), 317–378 and VIII (1907), 46–115.

15. PALLACINUS (OMNIBONUS LEONICENUS?)

On 18 June 1482 Joannes de Gregorio, de Forlivio, published in Venice a commentary assigned to Omnibonus Leonicenus (CTC I, 208–209, III 257–258). This first edition, one of four, is apparently the only one to carry a dedicatory letter by Raphael Regius (CTC III, 269–270, IV, 338). In some copies it is addressed to Bernardinus Martinengus (see on him *Storia di Brescia*, promossa e diretta da Giovanni Treccani degli Alfieri [Brescia, 1963–1964, 5 vols.], II, 171 n. 4, 201 n. 1, 222, 223 n.5; Augusto Campana has pointed out to me that the Vatican's copy [Inc. III. 27] of the text of Valerius Maximus published at Venice 1 July 1478 by P. F., B. R., S. F., Z. F. [HCR 15781, Goff V-30] has this letter in manuscript through 'illustrium virorum' on f.1b). In other copies, as the cataloguer of the British Library remarks (BMC V 339), it is addressed instead to Antonius Moretus (Cosenza III, 2369, V, 1210–1211; Moretus was press *corrector* and later a printer in Venice and a member of the *Accademia Veneta*), and the unsigned leaves which carry it occur sometimes at the beginning, sometimes at the end. The copy in the Free Library of Philadelphia, about which Howell J. Heaney has courteously informed me, carries the letter, addressed to Moretus, at the beginning. In the letter, which is transcribed below, Regius states that Moretus (who edited the commentary of Oliverius Arzignans published in Milan by Leonardus Vegius on 28 February 1513) had wrested the commentary of Omnibonus from those who were hiding it and when Regius had deleted what was superfluous had attended to the printing.

Certainly Regius had an interest in Vale-

rius which continued after 1482. Observations of his are said to be included in the edition of the commentary of Oliverius Arzignanensis published in Venice by Bartholomaeus de Zanis on 24 October 1508, and in his well-known quarrel with Johannes Calphurnius (CTC IV, 416; Cosenza I, 794–797, V, 381–382) he devoted one tirade in his *Epistolae Plinii enarrationes* [with other tracts] (Venice, Guilelmus Anima Mia, Tridinesis, 23 May 1490; cf. CTC IV 338), ff. c2b–c3, to Calphurnius's interpretation of Valerius Maximus I 1, 1. 'Hebetissimo es ingenio et penitus iudicio cares,' he says to Calphurnius in photocopies furnished to me by William H. Bond from the copy in the Houghton Library, '... at dices, "Mei praeceptores ita semper exposuerunt." Quasi vero deceat eum qui se mundi primum hominem esse iactet, alienae expositiones sequi fatuas praesertim, ac non modo sensa sed ipsum quoque verborum contextum pervertentes. Cum igitur in iis tam pueriliter turpiterque labaris quae ad grammaticam spectant in quibusque frustra aetatem contrivisti, quid in iis quae ad rhetoricam pertinent facere es iudicandus?'

In view of his acquaintance with Valerius we should accordingly like to accept the belief of Regius that our commentary is that of Omnibonus Leonicensus. And yet, and yet—why does his letter appear only in the first edition, and why, even then, is it addressed sometimes to Martinengus, sometimes to Moretus, and placed sometimes at the beginning, sometimes at the end? Let us turn to Oliverius Arzignanensis for additional evidence and consider portions of the dedicatory letter to the first edition of his commentary, which appeared from the press of the same publisher on 8 March 1487; the Latin is transcribed below under Oliverius. The letter is addressed to Petrus de Brutis, bishop of Kotor (Cattaro) in Dalmatia from about 1474 to 1493. Oliverius, a loyal student of Omnibonus Leonicensus, states that he wrote the commentary at the repeated request of the son of Omnibonus, Jacobus. The obligation to publish became even greater when the commentary which Oliverius ascribes not to Omnibonus Leonicensus but to a certain Pallacinus was published

on 18 June 1482. This commentary Oliverius considered inferior; he even terms it *nugae*, and Johannes Calphurnius, also a student of Omnibonus, had heartily condemned it when it was submitted to him and had refused to correct it, saying that he would prefer to write a new one. In his reply to this letter, dated from Vicenza 22 December 1486, the dedicatee Petrus de Brutis praises the work of Oliverius, calls him a second Omnibonus, and expresses no surprise that the earlier and arid commentary had been issued by men greedy for money. It is not clear why, when Oliverius and Petrus de Brutis denigrated the printers of the first commentary, Oliverius entrusted his to the same house.

Such are the quarrels of scholars and of publishers in competition fair or foul. It would seem that the four editions of the commentary attributed to Omnibonus Leonicensus in catalogues of incunabula should be ascribed instead to Pallacinus of Brescia. Another version of events, however, attaches less blame to Pallacinus; it is in fact he who becomes the injured party in the dedicatory letter to the senate and people of Brescia with which Johannes Britannicus (CTC I, 231–232, III, 267–269) introduced his commentary on the *Satires* of Persius (Venice, Bartholomaeus de Ragazonibus, 17 January 1492/93); he is issuing the commentary, Britannicus says, in haste lest that befall him still living which befell his learned fellow-citizen Pallacinus. Pallacinus had written no less fluently than wisely on Cicero's *De officiis* and on Valerius Maximus but was prevented by death from publishing, and his efforts were then appropriated by men who had no conscience, were suppressed for a time, and were later published by these men as their own. The Latin reads, 'Festinantius itaque editionem maturavi quae erat in animo, veritus ne id mihi viventi accideret, quod nuper mortuo accidit Palacino municipi meo viro singularis doctrinae, qui cum in Officia Ciceronis et Valerium Maximum non minus diserte quam sapienter quaedam scripsisset, eadem morte praeventus edere non potuit, quae ab iis excepta, qui gloriam alieno partam labore et periculo in se libenter transferunt, supprimuntur, ut successu temporis ipsi pro

suis edant, iniuriam profecto Palacini manibus facturi maximam' (text available also in Angelo Maria Quirini, *Specimen variae litteraturae quae in urbe Brixia ejusque ditone paulo post typographiae incunabula florebat, scilicet vergente ad finem saeculi XV., usque ad medietatem saeculi XVI.* . . . [Brixiae, 1739], pt. 1, 126).

It is not clear precisely where the full truth lies. I here tentatively transfer the commentary ascribed to Omnibonus Leonicensis to Pallacinus and trust that evidence may be discovered in the future to clarify the matter. My teacher Eva M. Sanford (d. 1954), who invited me (in 1946!) to survey the commentaries on Valerius for this project, stated (CTC I 209) that commentaries on both Lucan and Valerius are falsely attributed to Omnibonus.

Dedication of the entire edition (ed. of Venice, 1482, from the copy in the Free Library of Philadelphia). Raphael Regius Antonio Moreto salutem. [*Inc.*]: Percurri perquam libenter quae mihi tradidisti corrigenda Omniboni Leonicensi eruditissimi viri accurata in Valerium Maximum commentaria, quo tecum grammaticorum turbae Valerii collectanea semper fere non immerito in scholis lectitantium aliqua ex parte prodessemus. Ea namque Valerius ex priscis historicis collegit, quibus non solum orator instrui verum tota hominum vita facile institui possit. Quae enim praestantes philosophi de moribus argute subtiliterque disseruerunt, ea Valerius illustrium virorum exemplis sequenda vitandave ornate copioseque indicavit. Quae enim est praeclara virtus, cuius vim atque naturam exemplis a Valerio selectis facile non valeas comprobare? Quod extat insigne vitium, cuius malignitatem iisdem exemplis non possis detestari? Huc accedit quod non contentus facta memoranda collegisse adiecit etiam dicta, ac quicquid apud omnes gentes praeclari unquam evenit, operi suo inserere pulchrum putavit. Id vero opus si quod aliud diligenti indigebat enarratione, tum propter concisum dicendi genus ad multa brevi colligenda maxime accommodatum tum vero propter historiae tam nostrae quam peregrinae varietatem. Hanc tu, mi Antoni, difficultatem in opere esse intelligens omni diligentia luculentissimas Omniboni expositiones a manibus

quorundam eas occultantium extorsisti, ac postquam quae superflua videbantur resecavimus imprimendas curasti, ut haberent omnes Valeriani operis studiosi quo confugere possent si quid in eo forte difficultatis ostendissent. Sed quoniam Valerius nomen sibi a colligendis historiis peperisse videtur nonnulla de historiae ratione brevi commemorare non ab re esse duxi. Historia igitur est rerum gestarum dilucida enarratio. Huius species quatuor esse constat: alia enim dicitur topice ubi loca describuntur, cuius auctores pro qualitate materiae nunc cosmographi a totius mundi complexu, nunc geographi, nunc chorographi a regionum descriptione appellantur; alia chronice qua temporum rationem supputamus atque discernimus quales sunt Eusebii libri de Temporibus; alia genealogice, quae nobilium virorum genus et vitam exponit; alia pragmatice, quae vel sola merito historia est cognominanda ut in qua gesta ipsa et hominum consilia ac denique loca tempora illustrium virorum genera comprehenduntur. Hanc ita commendat latinae eloquentiae parens [Cicero, *De oratore* II 9.36], 'Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vitae [vita] memoria [memoriae] magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis qua voce alia nisi oratoris immortalitati commendatur.' In huiusmodi historia conscribenda complures tam apud graecos quam apud latinos diversis temporibus floruerunt e quorum operibus pulcherrima quaeque in volumina sua transtulit Valerius ac collectanea factorum dictorumque memoratu dignorum composuit. [*Expl.*]: Quod quidem ante postque eum fecisse nonnullos constat in primisque A. Gellium, qui et ipse plurimas ex priscorum voluminibus excerptas historias elegantissime refert. Sed de hoc satis atque etiam nimium. De Valerii autem vita quae comperi paucula haec accipe.

A Vita follows: [*Inc.*]: Valerius Maximus patricius Romanus fuit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Comperta haec habui, mi Morete, quae de Valerio scriberem, reliqua quae a nonnullis iactantur ut sunt incerta ita fortasse falsa atque ideo mihi minime litteris committenda. Vale.

Commentary (ed. of Venice, 1485). [*Inc.*]: *Urbis Romae exterarumque gentium* (I *Prooemium*) Primo quidem domestica dicta, postea exterorum, id est Graecorum vel bar-

barorum exempla ponit, quem ordinem in omni generatione operis sui servat. *Facta simul ac dicta*, quia non solum facta verum etiam dicta recordatione et memoria digna declarare intendit. *Latius diffusa*, id est uberius et copiosius tractata. *Quam ut breviter cognosci*, id est latius sunt dispersa, ita ut non breviter possint cognosci. *Deligere*, de aliis eligere. *Documenta*, praeceptiones. *Complectendi*, comprehendendi. *Cupido incessit*, id est cupiditas invasit. *Compos mentis*, id est sani consilii. *Domesticae peregrinaeque historiae seriem*, id est ordinem Romanae et externae historiae. *Foelici*, foecundo. *Superiorum stilo*, altiloquo. *Stilo*, scriptura, oratione. *Attentiore cura*, maiore diligentia. *Praestantior facundia*, id est ornatiore eloquentia quam superiores tradidere scriptores. *Traditum*, expositum . . . *Maiores* (I 1, 1) Hic incipit tractare de cultu deorum cuius conditionem breviter tangit, quom a maioribus sacra sollemnia instituta fuerint, qua ratione et diligentia celebrata sint. *Statas sollemnesque*, Festus Pompeius [*De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome*, ed. Wallace M. Lindsay, Lipsiae, 1913, p. 466, lines 22–28, with omissions and alterations; cf. below s. Oliverius Arzignanensis] sic inquit, ‘Stata dicebantur sacrificia quae certis diebus fiebant, Cato [in his oration ‘In L. Veturium de sacrificio commissio cum ei equum ademit’; see *M. Catonis praeter librum De re rustica quae extant*, ed. Henri Jordan, Lipsiae, 1860, p. 48], “sacra stata sollemnia sancta deseruisti.” Sollemnia sacra dicuntur quae certis temporibus fiunt. *Statas*, id est statutas, et intelligit sacrificia quae singulis annis fieri consueverant. *Pontificum scientia*, id est iure pontificio, quod nos ius canonicum appellamus, *pontifices* enim sacerdotes docebant quibus templis quibus hostiis et quibus modis sacra celebrarentur. *Auctoritates rerum bene gestarum*, haec videntur excepta ex Marci Tullii oratione quae De responsis haruspicum in P. Clodium [9.18; cf. below s. Oliverius Arzignanensis] inscribitur, illius haec verba sunt. ‘Qui illorum prudentiam non dicam assequi, sed, quanta fuerit, perspicere possint, qui statas sollemnesque caerimonias pontificum, rerum bene gerendarum auctoritates augurio, fato-

rum veteres praedicationes, Apollinis vatum libros, portentorum explanationes Etruscorum disciplina contineri putarunt.’ *Bene gerendarum et auctoritates*, pro rebus bene gerendis sacrificia fiebant ut earum rerum dii essent auctores. *Augurum observatione*, quia cum augures captassent auguria sua dixissentque esse sacrificandum pro aliquo negotio si illud prosperum fuisset in usum tale sacrificium veniebat. *Apollinis praedictiones vatum*, id est oraculo accepto a Phoebadibus quibus sacrificiis dii irati placari possent. *Libris portentorum depulsionem*, id est spretis et longe habitis libris magorum a quibus Romani longe alieni fuere. *Etrusca disciplina*, id est secundum Etruscam disciplinam. *Prisco etiam instituto*, ostendit Romanos non solum Etrusca consuetudine sed etiam maiorum suorum ritu sacrificare solitos, *rebus divinis opera datur*, id est sacrificatur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Idem* (IX 15, ext. 2) Caesar. *Iusto impendere supplicio*, id est iustum subire supplicium coegit.

Editions:

(*) 1482, 18 June, Venetiis (Venice): impresum per Johannem de Forlivio et socios eius. HC 15786; Goff V-33; NUC. BL; BN; (MH; CSmH; PP).

1485, 20 April, Venetiis (Venice): per Dionysium et Pelegrinum [de Pasqualibus] Bono-nienses. HC 15787; Goff V-34; NUC. BN; (DLC; MH; DMS).

(*) [not after 1485], Venetiis (Venice): [Joannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivio?]. HC 15785; Goff V-35; NUC. BL; (DLC; ICU).

(*) 1487, 7 May, Venetiis (Venice): Leonardus Pachel and Uldericus Scinzenzeler. HC 15789; Goff V-37; NUC. (DLC; CtY; VtMiM). Roger J. Trienens graciously checked the LC copy for me; Ballistreri (see below) states that Oliverius Arzignanensis set down in this edition what he recalled having heard from Omnibonus. From photocopies sent me from the copy in the Egbert Starr Library of Middlebury College, through the special kindness of Ronald Rucker, it is again clear that the commentator is not Oliverius Arzignanensis, as H 15789 had stated. Goff points out the double entry for the same place, printer, and date, H 15788 with the commentary of Omnibonus Leonicensus and H 15789 with the commen-

tary of Oliverius Arzignanensis.

Biography:

I find no further information on the life of Pallacinus. A search of sources at Brescia is desirable.

Bibl.: For Pallacinus see Cosenza III 2553–2554, V 1303. Marjorie Alkins Berlincourt, *The Commentary on Valerius Maximus by Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and Its Influence upon Later Commentaries* [see above s. Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, *Editions*], 65–66, accepts without question the ascription of the commentary to Omnibonus Leonicensus. In addition to the works already cited see for Omnibonus Gianni Ballistreri in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, XII (1970), 234–236 (s. Bonisoli, Ognibene) and Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 1808 and Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco, lat. XIV, 109 (4623), both s. XV, which transmit his oration on Valerius Maximus. The oration is printed in Karl Müllner, *Reden und Briefe italienischer Humanisten* (München, 1970, reprint of the edition of Wien, 1899 [Humanistische Bibliothek, Abhandlungen und Texte, Reihe II, Texte, Bd. 1]), 142–144.

16. OLIVERIUS ARZIGNANENSIS

Oliverius Arzignanensis, as is clear from the preceding section on Pallacinus, was a loyal student of Omnibonus Leonicensus (CTC I, 208–209, III, 257–258) and states in his fulsome dedicatory letter to Petrus de Brutis, bishop of Kotor (Cattaro) in Dalmatia from about 1474 to 1493, that he wrote his commentary at the repeated request of the son of Omnibonus, Jacobus. Appalled by the discredit done the memory of Omnibonus when the inferior and paltry commentary of Pallacinus was published under the name of Omnibonus on 18 June 1482, he bent every effort to publish a solid, substantial, and reliable commentary which would constantly and faithfully reflect the excellent training he had received from Omnibonus.

It appeared in Venice on 8 March 1487 from the press of Joannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis, de Forlivo, preceded by a 'Compen-

diosa vita Valerii Maximi.' Petrus de Brutis, replying to the dedicatory letter on 22 December 1486 from Vicenza, praises the commentary fulsomely but quite justly. Occupied largely in interpreting difficult words for his reader and in amplifying historical points from other sources, Oliverius had over the earlier commentators the advantage of familiarity with Greek, and at the end of his dedicatory letter he lists 'supra centum et viginti' Greek, Latin, and Hebrew authors—historians, poets, orators, grammarians, philosophers—whom he uses and conscientiously cites in the body of his work. The result is a comprehensive augmenting of Valerius designed to satisfy the reader's every query in philological and historical matters.

The popularity of the commentary was at once evident as edition after edition issued from the press—eight from Venice for the incunabula period and some thirty from Italy and France during the sixteenth century. From the list of editions appended below it is also evident that the observations of other humanists were soon attached to the commentary of Oliverius. The contributions were of varying importance; some, if actually made, are quite thoroughly hidden and some were perhaps furnished in lecture rooms or in personal communications between students of Valerius. To the commentaries of Theophilus Chalcondyles and of Jodocus Badius Ascensius I devote sections below in their own right. To wrench Theophilus from Oliverius, even in order to give him independent rating, is almost unnatural, and readers are urged to peruse carefully the following article on him if they want as full a story as can now be told of the fortunes and misfortunes of the commentary of Oliverius. The other scholars, who would normally have been treated in the *Fortuna* of this article, I list here instead in the order in which their names occur on the title page of the edition of Valerius and Oliverius published at Venice on 24 October 1508 by Bartholomaeus de Zanis, de Portesio, which carries a woodcut of Valerius at his desk, flanked on his right by Oliverius and on his left by Theophilus, and states grandly that the text of Valerius is offered 'cum laudatis Oliverii ac Theo-

phili commentariis, Hermolai Barbari, Georgii Merulae, Marci Antonii Sabellici, Iani Parrhasii, Raphaelis Rhegii, multorumque praeterea novis observationibus.' These scholars then, some mentioned by Oliverius, some by Theophilus, some already departed in 1508 but remembered for their work on Valerius, are the following:

Hermolaus Barbarus (1453 or 4–1493), friend of Georgius Merula who follows here, perhaps best known as commentator of Aristotle, Pliny, and Pomponius Mela. In spite of the attribution on the title page it is difficult to state exactly what his relation to this Venice, 1508, edition may have been, but we know from the citation below that notes of his, as of so many other scholars, were widely circulated. See on him CTC IV, 343–344, Cosenza V, 193–194, VI, 31, and for recent articles Emilio Bigi in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, VI (1964), 96–99; Vittore Branca, 'Ermolao Barbaro and Late Quattrocento Venetian Humanism' in John Rigby Hale, ed., *Renaissance Venice* (Totowa, New Jersey, 1973), 218–243; and Aubrey Diller, 'The Library of Francesco and Ermolao Barbaro,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, VI (1963), 253–262. Branca has edited his *Epistolae, orationes et carmina* (Firenze, 1943, 2 vols.) and *De coelibatu, De officio legati* (Firenze, 1969) in the series Nuova Collezione di Testi Umanistici Inediti o Rari, V, VI, and XIV).

Georgius Merula (1430/31–1494), who is cited by Theophilus Chalcondyles in his observations on I 1, 1. See on Merula CTC I, 134, 221–223, IV, 265–266, 418; Cosenza III, 2296–2302, V, 1171–1172, VI, 182.

Marcus Antonius Coccius (1436–1506), called Sabellicus, the Venetian historian whose admiration of Valerius was such that in imitation he wrote ten books of exempla which were posthumously published. See on him CTC II, 336, IV, 347–348; Cosenza VI, 252; Agostino Pertusi, pages 204–208 in 'Le fonti greche del "De gestis, moribus et nobilitate Civitatis Venetiarum" di Lorenzo de Monacis cancelliere di Creta (1388–1428),' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, VIII (1965); and my note on Baptista Egnatius below. Fabricius, BL

(1728), II, 392, states that he edited the 1487 edition.

Aulus Janus Parrhasius (1470–1521) of Cosenza, who is cited as authority a score and more times by Theophilus and Oliverius. His importance is clear from the unsigned, undated dedication of this 1508 edition: 'Ad ornatiss. Adolescent. Stephanum etc. [*Inc.*]: Valerium Maximum publice privatimque domi praelegit hoc anno Ianus, ex eo quam tetra rerum verborumque portenta collatis exemplaribus ingeniiue sollertia sustulerit, quam varia passim loca Cimmeriis (ut aiunt) obducta tenebris utriusque linguae excussis auctoribus illustrarit, ipse testis es optimus . . . Libuit haec efflagitata toties impressoribus edenda tradere in communem studiosae iuventutis utilitatem tibiue nuncupare quem Ianus ex omnibus suis auditoribus plurimi (nec iniuria) facit [praise of Stephanus and his father Augustinus]. . . . Habebis interea Parrhasii tui non minus accurate emendata quam luculenter exposita quaedam Valerii loca, quae tuo nomine publicavimus. Additis in Corollarium si qua caeteri quoque nostri temporis grammatici professores eius generis emisserunt, quae suis quaeque nominibus et auctoritati reddidimus, ne quenquam sua laude fraudemus idemque nobis eveniat quod nuper impressori cuidam Minutiano qui quom bonam partem Livianarum castigationum quas triennio iam Parrhasius (ut scis) ex bello Macedonico frequenti promulgavit auditorio pro suis edidisset . . . [*Expl.*]: Operae pretium me tulisse existimabo si tu fraterque tuus hilaris et ameni puer ingenii Nicolaus, quibus labor hic noster desudat aequi bonique consuletis. Id si feceritis (ut spero) forsan ad maiora mihi adiicietis aculeos. Vale.' Another edition of Theophilus and Oliverius, published a week later in Milan by Nicolaus Gorgonzola under the editorship of Antonius Lenas, states that 'Codicem Theophilus Chalcondyles emendavit ab antiquo fidelissimoque exemplari Iani Parrhasii.' It will be remembered that Parrhasius married the daughter of Demetrius Chalcondyles. Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV.D.3, s. XV and V.D.15, s. XVI, contain a preface by Parrhasius on Valerius and XIII.B.14, notes by him on Valerius, s. XVI. His work is men-

tioned also in the dedicatory letter, by Nicolaus Beraldis, to the edition of Valerius and Oliverius published at Paris by Joannes Parvus in 1517. See on him CTC III, 102–105 (to which Cosenza V, 1328–1329 and VI, 212, should be added), 126–127, 164–167, 448–449, and for recent articles Mirella Ferrari, pages 153–161 in 'Le scoperte a Bobbio nel 1493,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, XIII (1970), and Brian Richardson, 'Pucci, Parrasio and Catullus' in the same journal, XIX (1976), 277–289. Mrs. Carlotta Griffiths read a paper on Parrhasius at the international conference 'Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 1500–1700,' held at King's College, Cambridge, in April 1974, but the paper was not included in the proceedings edited by R. R. Bolgar and published at Cambridge in 1976.

Raphael Regius (d.1520), whose short-lived dedicatory letter and whose celebrated quarrel with Johannes Calphurnius have been mentioned above s. Pallacius. See on him CTC III, 269–270, IV, 337–338. Aldus Manutius in his dedicatory letter, October, 1502, to his edition of Valerius speaks of him as 'Raphael Regius noster, homo fide plenus et doctrina.'

Perhaps one of the 'multorumque' is Battista Egnatius (1478–1553), the one name not listed on the title page of our Venice, 1508, edition but included on the one published at Milan, without date, by Joannes Jacobus et Fratres, de Lignano, perhaps in the period 1509–1511. Egnatius, whose real name was Giovanni Battista Cipelli and whose published works are many, continued the *Libellus Augustalis* of Benvenutus de Imola and wrote nine books, posthumously published, *De exemplis illustrium virorum Venetae civitatis atque aliarum gentium*. Rivalry between him and the much older Marcus Antonius Sabellicus was at once ended when in 1506 that scholar, dying, entrusted to Egnatius his unfinished *Decem exemplorum libri*; this work Egnatius brought to publication in 1507, and he also delivered the funeral oration on Sabellicus. See on him CTC IV, 49; Paul Lehmann, 'Das Buchinventar eines italienischen Humanisten von etwa 1471,' *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, III (1960), 323–324; Elpidio Mioni, 'Cipelli, Giovanni Battista,' *Dizionario biografico degli*

italiani, XXV (1981), 698–702; Agostino Pertusi, 'Giovanni Battista Egnazio (Cipelli) e Ludovico Tuberone (Crijeva) tra i primi storici occidentali del popolo turco (*riassunto*),' in *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, a cura di Vittore Branca (Firenze, 1973 [Civiltà veneziana, Studi, 28]), 479–487; Silvia Rizzo, 'Congetture di Battista Egnazio ad orazioni di Cicerone,' *Miscellanea Augusto Campana*, II (Padova, 1981 [Medioevo e umanesimo, 45]), 671–680; and James Bruce Ross, 'Venetian Schools and Teachers, Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century: A Survey and Study of Giovanni Battista Egnazio,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, XXIX (1976), 521–566.

It remains to notice finally a humanist not listed on our title page of Venice, 1508, but mentioned in the text (see below p. 376). Antonius Urceus (1446–1500), surnamed Codrus, professor of grammar and eloquence at Bologna, delivered probably in 1484–85 a 'Sermo de virtute in Valerium Maximum.' A consequence of his teaching, it begins 'Postquam cunctis fere nostris auditoribus et mihi quoque placuit, ut ego Valerii Maximi libros hoc anno publice profiterer . . . ' and ends ' . . . Sed iam me satis audivistis, deinceps ipsum Valerium audietis. Dixi.' The works of Codrus were published at Bologna in 1502; I have quoted here from the edition of Valerius published at Strassburg in 1521. See on Urceus CTC III, 198–199, Cosenza IV, 3513–3520, V, 1815.

I am informed by Professor Cranz of other complications in the convoluted story of Oliverius Arzignanensis and his service to Valerius Maximus. Another edition for the year 1508 appeared just a week later, on 31 October, from the press of Nicolaus Gorgonzola in Milan. Its title speaks of 'paucis annotationibus quas Arcadicus ille [unidentified] sub Theophili nomine marginibus inspersit. Id Antonius Lenas praeclarae indolis adolescens recognovit, eo videlicet consilio, ut per eam occasionem bicipitis illius monstri latratus et plusquam cerbeream rabiem coerceret, sed praeceptoris modestiae obtemperans ab incepto destitit, gravitate vindictae praesentem lenitatem compensaturus. In quo quidem opere si quae memoratu digna facile invenire cupis index quem Franciscus Puteolanus [see above

p. 303] excogitaverat sine ullo errore commons-trahit. Accedit et alter index vocabulorum qui in proxima editione promissus non praestatur. Vale Lector.' I am grateful to Dennis E. Rhodes for checking the copy in the British Library. The exact role of Antonius Lenas (Cosenza, III 1962, V 997) in all this is not clear, and the intrigue thickens as we peruse the edition published at Milan by Leonardus Vegius on 16 and 28 February 1513 and realize that it displays substitutions and accretions.

Here, in fact, the verso of the title presents a letter by Oliverius himself dated 1492. It is addressed to Antonius Moretus of Brescia, to whom, as we remember, the dedicatory letter of Raphael Regius is directed in some copies of the first edition of Pallacinus (see above p. 362); it reads, in high dudgeon, 'Nicolaus ille Ienson sive quis alius is fuerit, qui novum hunc scribendi modum invenit, boni ne an mali plus literariae reipublicae attulerit, nec satis scio, nec si sciam, dicere ausim. Quippe qui videam quamplurimos huius artis inventores divinis laudibus extollere quod parvo admodum aere eorum librorum sibi facta sit copia, quibus comparandis magni principes vix pares antea fuissent, contra alios id inventum maxime vituperaret (*sic*), quod per illud bonarum artium studiis maximas calamitates invectas videant. Nec mirum, Nam qui tali artificio praesunt, literarum penitus expertes existunt, eamque tractant artem cuius nullam prorsus notitiam habeant, et qui talium officinarum mancipēs sunt, nihil praeter lucrum curare videantur, parati optimos quosque libros contaminare ut eos populares faciant, et dum quamplurimis placere student, ea plerumque bonis libris addant quae literati viri maxime fastidiant. In hac igitur sententiarum varietate sicut iudicium meum non interpono, ita hoc affirmare non dubito, nonnullorum librorum temeritatem laboribus nostris plurimum obfuisse. Nam cum in Valerium commentarios seorsum ab ipso (ut tu non ignoras) auctore primum edidissem ea sobrietate concinnatos qua in reliquis nostris operibus uti consuevimus, audacissimus ille quisquis fuerit verbosissimos fecit, qui ut volumen maius et proinde preciosius redderet, historias plerasque suppressis scriptorum nominibus Valerii

marginibus adaptavit, cum earum ego ipse locos tantum commostrassem quo maior studio librorum copia quaeretur, et inquirendi locorum studio plura legerent, sicque doctores indices fierent. Quam quidem contumeliam ne et ipse probasse videar, primam meam editionem ad te mitto, ut primo quoque tempore illam tuis librariis describendam tradas, sperans ex officinis tuis ita sinceros, puros, et integros exituros, quemadmodum in fide tua reponendum existimavi, quod literatus sis egregieque intelligas non oportere in alienis libris ingeniosos esse. Quod si alii qui huic negotio praesunt, similes tui essent, libri nulli ex parte minuti a librariis emitterentur. Quod aliter nunc fieri, minime mihi mirum est, quod praestantissima haec ars ab illis (ut dixi) potissimum tractetur, qui illam neque norunt neque ingenii culpa nosse queunt. Vale. Ex Vicentia anno a Christi natali, Mcccc.xcii.

Two editions had been published between the first edition of 1487 and this letter of 1492, both in Venice, by Bernardinus de Benaliis on 9 November 1488 and by Gulielmus Anima Mia, Tridinis, on 12 August 1491. I am indebted to Roger J. Trienens and Marjorie G. Wynne for photocopies of the first few folios of these from, respectively, copies at the Library of Congress and at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University. Neither edition carries an additional dedicatory letter of editor or publisher in explanation of events. The edition of 1488 is no longer sober and chaste like the first edition of 1487; its margins are cluttered with key words or names repeated or adapted from the text of Oliverius to serve as reminders or finding aids to the reader, and it is apparently these which especially offended Oliverius. They should all be carefully examined to ascertain whether his tirade against printers (*pace* Nicolas Jenson) is wholly justified. They were drastically reduced, if we can judge by the first few folios, in the edition of 1491, but they reappeared in later editions.

Moretus preserved the letter of Oliverius which he received in 1492. The action he took on behalf of him is recorded in the letter which he wrote two decades later to Alexander Minutianus and which appears in the edition of 16

and 28 February 1513 on the verso of the title page directly below the letter of Oliverius. 'Cum proxime Mediolani essem,' says Moretus, 'mecumque de re libraria verba faceres, dixisti Leonardum generum tuum a nonnullis bibliopolis efflagitari Valerium cum Oliverii commentariis suis opificibus imprimendum traderet. Ego qui memoria tenebam Oliverium ipsum de nonnullorum temeritate olim coram apud me conquestum, qui suos commentarios contemerassent, egisseque mecum postea per epistolam, eos quales ipse primum edidisset, prima quaque occasione iterum invulgarem, impressionem eam tantisper sustineret, oravi, dum Venetiis ego exemplar transmitterem quo haec generi aeditio iuvaretur, et amici quamvis sero desiderio satisfaceret, quod quidem cum tu mihi benignissime promississes, cum primum Venetias perveni, scedas quas huius generis innumeras habeo, omnes excussi inventosque Oliverii commentarios ad te mitto ut aeditio vestra iuvetur, et amici manibus satisfiat. Vale. Venetiis, M.D.XII. Pridie calendas octobris.' The edition has been cleared of the marginal notes which were so offensive to Oliverius. Instead (but see also the following paragraph) the letters A, B, C, etc. serve as reference aids to blocks of text and the exempla have been numbered.

It remains at the present time to point out that Alexander Minutianus (Cosenza III 2322–2323, V, 1185, VI, 184), whose son-in-law Leonardus Vegius published this 1513 edition in Milan, had been denounced (see above p. 365) in the unsigned, undated dedication of the edition of 24 October 1508 as a printer who had pirated the corrections of Parrhasius on Livy. He was of course first and primarily a scholar. Born about 1450 at San Severo in the province of Foggia, he studied under Georgius Merula in Venice, tutored in Milan for some years, began to print only in 1498, and continued printing until 1521. The Livy matter is discussed by A. M. McDonald in CTC III 448. In our edition of 16 and 28 February 1513, which on ff. II, III, XXX, and XXXI only includes remarks designated in the margins ANT[onius] LEN[as] and ARC[adicus] AS[inus] (where THE[ophilus] had sometimes stood before; THEO., however,

appears elsewhere), Minutianus is mentioned as teacher of Antonius Lenas and the mysterious Arcadicus becomes 'asinus.' See for example f. IIa, 'Quem quidem locum priusquam morum hic corruptor gymnasium nostrum infecisset Minutianus meus et distinxit et exposuit ex Merulae praeceptoris sui exactissima diligentia'; f. IIIa, 'Oliverius, ut ex ipsius archetypo olim amicus Minutiano meo ostendit ex [Dionysii] Alicarnasei [*Antiquitates romanae*, II 64, 2–3] sententia a flameo dictum scripsit licet ostentatores ut noster est Asinus ubi flammea flamma posuerit quod sic corrupte apud Dionysii interpretem legisset. Sicque Minutianus meus dum Valerium proxime enarrat ipsius commentarios emaculavit, Dionysius tamen a flammeo etc. inferius et infularum quas adhuc ferunt flammea vocantes etc. Ubi Arcadicus asinus non magis in litteris constans quam in vita continens arguitur . . .'; f. XXXa, 'Haec a Minutiano reperta sibi iactabunda cornicula vendicavit' and ' . . . Haec Hermolaus [Barbarus]. Priusquam Hermolai annotationes fuissent invulgatae pro freto Eretum Minutianus in suo codice ex Strabonis [*Geographia* V 3, 1] autoritate reposuerat.'

This must end our remarks on the later editions of Oliverius. It would almost appear that, though no Shakespeare or Isaac Newton, he needs a Variorum edition. Certainly all editions of his commentary should be scrupulously compared. The texts which follow are from his first edition.

Dedication (ed. of Venice, 1487). Ad reverendissimum in Christo patrem et dominum Dominum Petrum de Brutis benignitate divina episcopum Catharensem Oliverius Arzignanensis. [*Inc.*]: Quamquam mihi negatum erat otium, Reverendissime Pater, ut inter graves et continentes erudiendae iuventutis aliarumque rerum multarum occupationes, nihil a me promi, nihil edi posse videretur, quod elaboratum ingenio lucubratum industria in litterario senatu digne recitari probarique posset, negare tamen ipse non potui nec fas esse duxi Iacobo Leonicensi, clarissimi viri Omniboni filio et mihi spirituali quadam necessitudine coniuncto, praesertim a me iusta petenti et praeclara cupienti, ut Valerii Maximi monumenta, quae volumine brevi comprehensa mul-

tis interdum obscuriora videri solent quacumque possem ratione explicarem in mediumque proferrem ad humanitatis et disciplinae propagationem ad communem studiosorum hominum utilitatem. Cui quidem hoc a me saepius efflagitanti multum ac diu reluctatum fuisse non negaverim, quoniam suscipere tanti auctoris interpretationem, quam non modo facultate consequi, sed etiam cogitatione complecti difficile foret, quippe ubi omnia ferme omnium rerum exempla ex multis et paene innumerabilibus tam Graecorum quam Latinorum voluminibus essent non minus diligenter inquirenda quam fideliter referenda, non meum esse censebam, qui vererem reprehensionem doctorum hominum atque prudentum, sed eorum qui maiori otio, acriori ingenio, exquisitori doctrina, praestantiori facundia de se talia profiteri et consequi possunt. Sed cum huiuscemodi rei nuper facta esset ab impressoribus editio quaedam temeraria satis ut arbitror, et ea falso quidem Omniboni oratoris eximii titulo adumbrata, ut eius auctoritate venalior fieret ac pretiosior, id mihi necesse quodammodo duxi, quod Iacobum Leoniceum magnopere velle intelligerem, nec aliter boni viri gratique discipuli officium tueri posse videbam nisi praeceptorem optimum de me, de patria, de litteris, de lingua nostra, de Romana dignitate optime meritum quibus possem studio et industria vindicassem, et turpissima qua videbatur inustus nota tersissem. Nam cum boni si quid in nobis est id totum ab uberrimo tanti praeceptoris fonte manarit, haec quoque commentaria nostra si quid valent ad eum referantur necesse est. Et cum eo malignitatis et impudentiae quorundam impressorum accesserit avaritia, ut dum suae utilitati consulant alienae dignitati insidiari non dubitent, quippe qui Pallacini cuiusdam imperiti hominis nugae a doctissimo viro Calphurnio non solum damnatas sed ita reiectas cum eius limatissimae correctioni traderentur, ut diceret se malle nova componere quam tam mendosa corrigere, has inquam nugae tanto viro ascribere iussi [ausi] fuerunt, satius esse duxi periclitari quid possent exiguae ingenii mei vires, quam rei magnitudine deterritum ab officio omnino desistere; nam si minus quantum velis afferas boni, at quantum possis

attulisse laude non careat; neque enim ubi sunt sua praemia debent studia nostra languescere, quod non eo perveniamus quo voluntas ferat, sed multo magis intenti ut officiosi homines aliquo potius numero videamur fuisse quam nullo. Itaque feci eoque propensius, quo rem istam non solum honestam et utilem, sed prope necessariam esse iudicarem, ne praeclara adolescentum ingenia obscuris aliorum ambagibus vel ut verius dicam deliramentis in maximos deducerentur errores turpissimamque rerum ignorantiam, falsas et fictas historias lectitando. . . . Hoc enim opere suo [Valerius] (ut praeceptoris mei verbis utar) complexus est divinarum humanarumque rerum praecipua quaeque ut ab egregiis illa quidem viris edita deligi potuere. . . . Ubi virtutum omnis generis imagines collocatae sint, illae quidem multo expressiores et imitari potius quam intueri iocundae, quas non aere aut marmore Phidias aut Apelles sive Lisippus, sed tantum libris suis scriptor diligentissimus reliquerit incorruptis litterarum monumentis perpetuo duraturas, quas impudentissima quadam temeritate nescio quis attingere ausus dum spectandas hominibus illustriores se reddere posse putat, maxime deformes et obscurissimas reddidit, quare nos multorum et clarissimorum hominum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum hortatu compulsi et eorum ope atque opera adiuti, illas in suum pristinum decorem revocare ac restituere curavimus, quod et feliciter satis nos assecutos esse speramus. Hoc igitur opus nostrum qualecumque est tuae reverendissimae dominationi dedicatum ad te mittimus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quos autem in hoc opere sum auctores imitatus quosque dictorum meorum testes adduco historicos, poetas, oratores, grammaticos, atque philosophos, Graecos Latinos et Hebraeos, numero supra centum et viginti omnes hic breviter collecti oculis tuis subiciuntur. . . . (There follows a list in tabular form of the authors used.)

Reply to Dedication. Petrus Brutus episcopus Catharensis Oliverio suo oratori clarissimo Salutem Plurimam Dat. [Inc.]: Lectis litteris tuis, doctissime Oliveri, mecum coepi animo volutare comici nostri sententiam: bone deus homo homini quid praestat [Terence,

Eunuchus, 232] . . . Non cado tamen animis lectitans in Valerium Maximum commentaria illa tua. Quod litterarum bene olentibus floribus aetate iam ingravescente ipse non exornari queam, quando quidem et Cato ille Censorinus senior iam effectus litteras Graecas discere non erubuerit. In ipsis namque commentariis a maioribus nostris praeclarissime gesta tam Graecis quam Latinis cum quadam dicendi elegantia et venustate ita aperte atque dilucide complexus es ut pro adipiscendis litteris, pro instituendis moribus, pro vita bene agenda unicum et rectum vestigium inde facile sibi excipere quisque possit. Quamobrem omnes si te optimis institutis tuis, si ingenio, si doctrina atque virtute alterum Omnibonum doctorem tuum praedicant et admirantur, non eos quidem fallit opinio, quando his temporibus nihil dignius nihilve conducibilius studiosissimis litterarum afferre potuisses. Nam quae vel longius vel ob nimiam brevitatem obscurius alii conscripserunt, tua haec profecto egregia enarratio clarius in pauca accuratissime redigit et unico ferme argumento singula mirifice complectitur, neque quod ad veritatem historiae atque cognitionem attinet praetermisisti quicquam. Praetulisti sane vim quandam hominis naturae ad se virtutibus omnibus ornandum, ut quem tecum in omni litterarum genere conferre possim habeam neminem. Quid enim praeclarius aut maximarum rerum aut virtutis aut sapientiae actum quod a te viro doctissimo discussum non sit et illustratum quantusque in ipsis splendor sit virtutis atque gloriae quantusque admirabilis fructus rerum omnium ostenditur legentibus accurate. Neque de moribus solum et vita hominum (quod quidem eximium est), sed de virtutum natura et rebus humano sensui paene occultis cum omni disserendi ratione et dignitate monumenta in ipsis tradita cognoscuntur, et ad felicitatem comparandam et ad beatitudinem consequendam nihil magis accedere potuit. Haec tua profecto inter alia quae legerim omnia facundia quadam et dignitate praecipua longe eminent et excellunt, quae si quis praeclare simul et recte domique et foris tam in rebus secundis quam adversis sibi ipsi consulere cupiat, assidua lectione pertractet arbitreturque in primis divinum hoc opus scribi

non ad fidem historiae faciendam solum, sed ad contemplandam effigiem omnis virtutis et humanarum divinarumque rerum exemplum stabile atque firmum. Quam gratum igitur et iocundum id muneris litteratissimis omnibus futurum sit, vel ex hoc maxime cognosci potest quod te oratum voluerint totiens, ut haec editio a te fieret, ne ad bene beateque vivendum mortalibus aliquid deesse videretur. Quapropter, mi Oliveri doctissime, hic tuus labor, haec tua industria haud minus profecto, sed plus multo quam eorum qui ante nos fuerunt viri peritissimi civitatem nostram Vicentinam extulit et decoravit, tam etsi nihil fuit aut ad humanum usum aut ad divinum cultum aut ad immortalem gloriam obtinendam quod Vicentini nostri viri clarissimi non discusserint, non illustraverint. . . . Si de te tantum, mi Oliveri, dixerim quod de viro probissimo dici potest, qui non minus eruditione quam facultate ingenii pollens tantum hac nostra aetate ceteris praestas ut te non inferiori decore atque gloria insignitum veluti firmissimum omnium virtutum fundamentum ratione et vi quadam naturae omnes te inquam observent et quasi venerentur. Quod autem altera editio minus erudita, vel potius arida et inculta ab impressoribus nuper facta Omniboni titulo ascribatur, non est cur quisquam admiretur, cum et deteriora agere non pudeat auri sacra fame [Vergil, *Aen.*, III, 57] (ut ille ait) temerarios impressores et doles ita factum, parce quaeso huic dolori quandoquidem Omnibonus suoapte ingenio singulari eloquentia et admirabili doctrina sese tueatur atque defendat. Non latent (mihi crede) litteratissimos omnes in omni dicendi genere orationes Graecae atque Latinae huiusmodi praeclarissimi viri et illud in primis in Ciceronem de oratore scriptum immortalī laude dignum, et qua ingenii magnitudine, qua via orationis, qua elegantia et maiestate fuerit elucubratum, fugit profecto neminem. Ex quo illius nomen in omni aetate celebrabitur perpetuum et immortale, et immortalī gloria extolletur. Haec est vera hominum laus, haec illustres viros in caelum tollit, haec brevitatem vitae nominis immortalitate compensat. Quod autem enarrationes tuas tuo Bruto episcopo Catharensi dicare censueris, ago tibi gratias et habeo, et

tanti muneris non immemor, spero me tibi quandoque relaturum. Opus quidem mihi peculiare est et gratum et periocundum, suavissimumque erit atque dulcissimum otium mihi. Stude igitur, mi Oliveri, et enitere, si me diligis, si me gratum existimas, ut diligentissime atque rectissime imprimatur ne impressorum incuria et imperitia quod frequentius fieri solet verborum stilum atque orationis seriem, nec non et dignitatem operis pervertant atque contaminent. . . / . . . [Expl.]: Sed mit[t]am haec et id exequar quod officium suadet obsecrans omnes qui litterarum studio delectantur, qui disciplinis, qui virtutibus et vitae bene institutae favent, hoc opus sanctissimum amplectantur, huic omni studio incumbant, hoc legant et perlegant saepius et in gymnasio suo atque bibliotheca sive quocunque se contulerint de manibus nunquam ponant, ut cum praestantissimis ingeniis atque viris illustribus se adaequaverint, glorientur quandoque immortalitate nominis sui. Tu igitur, mi Oliveri, da operam et incumbe ut id operis quamprimum imprimatur ut admirandae doctrinae tuae atque virtutis testimonium omnes valeant perhibere. Tu vale et me ut soles ama clarissimum sidus Vicentini agri. Vicentiae, XI. kalendas Ianuarii.

A Compendiosa Vita follows: [Inc.]: Valerius Maximus civis Romanus patricio genere natus omnem pueritiam et magnam adolescentiae partem litteris percipiendis et honestis artibus dedit. . . / . . . [Expl.]: Genus vero suum paternum a gente Valeria, maternum a Fabia duxisse fertur, unde Valerius Maximus ex utraque familia ei nomen est, de cuius morte certi nihi potest afferri.

Commentary. [Inc.]: *Urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna, quae apud alios latius diffusa sunt* (I Prooemium). In hac praefatione Valerius servat quod proprium est exordii, ut attentionem captet et docilitatem. Proponit enim quibus de rebus dicturus sit et se rem utilem scripturum pollicetur idque quam brevissime facturum. Benivolentiam quoque comparat a persona sui, cum officium suum sine arrogancia laudet, extenuat quoque meritum suum, cum dicat se non tantum ingenio et industria valere, ut omnia complecti possit, neque con-

fidat, ea etiam de quibus tractaturus sit, se vel ornatus, vel copiosius quam ceteros esse scripturum. In reliqua vero parte nihil aliud agit, nisi ut plane aduleatur Tiberio, nam invocatur eius numen, quod proprium est poetarum, idque sine adulationis suspitione fieri non potest. *Urbis Romanae*, eo ordine historiam exequitur, quo nunc proponit, nam ubique primo domestica ponit exempla, deinde externa subiungit. *Exterarumque gentium*, quia omnia ferme omnium rerum exempla ex multis et paene innumerabilibus tam Graecorum quam Latinorum voluminibus in unum congesta proposuit. *Exterarum* dicitur et exterarum, nam et exter invenitur. Statius [*Thebais*, XI 429] exter honos dixit. Virgilius *Aen.* libro iii [350] et nos fas externa quaerere regna, at li. vi [94] externique iterum thalami. Hesternus vero aspiratum cum scilicet aliud est. Nam ab heri deducitur. *Facta simul ac dicta*, ut quisque recte fecerit aut dixerit oculis nostris subiiciatur. *Quae apud alios*, Utilitatem ostendit operis sui, dicit enim apud alios eiusmodi prolixè tractata esse, et ob eam rem non facile comprehendi posse. *Latius diffusa sunt*, latius dispersa sunt, ut non breviter cognosci possint. *Breviter*. Bene hic breviter, quia apud alios siquidem ita percipi oportet, quemadmodum apud eos scripta inveniuntur. *Illustribus auctoribus*. Ab auctoritate etiam comparat fidem scriptis suis. *Documenta*. Hic nititur benivolos reddere auditores, qui profiteretur se illis minuere laborem. *Documenta*, exempla et monumenta virtutis vel vitii, virtutis ad suadendum, vitii ad deterrendum, ut alterum imitemur, alterum fugiamus. *Labor absit*. Nam alioquin necesse foret ut apud multos eiusmodi exempla invenirentur, quod sine maximo labore confici non posset. *Nec mihi cuncta complectendi*, quia non satis est ad benivolentiam contrahendam officium suum laudare, nisi id quoque extenuaveris. Ideo hoc facit et attentionem parat, cum breviter id se facturum polliceatur. Nam cum dicit se nolle cuncta complecti, significat se historiam breviori libro velle comprehendere. *Quis enim omnes aevi*. Non enim inquit ego mihi viribusque meis ita confido ut audeam omnia polliceri, immo vero de multis pauca perscribam, neque enim ita ingenio meo fretus sum,

ut ornatius quam ceteri scriptores scribere audeam. *Voluminum numero*, utpote novem libris. Hoc inter volumen et librum interest, quod volumen significat partes operis, non autem totum librum, liber vero et pro toto codice et pro volumine accipitur, idque Plinii oratoris [*Epistulae*, III 5, 5] testimonio comprobatur, qui dixit libri 'tres in sex volumina propter amplitudinem divisi.' *Aut quis compos mentis*. Bene dixit nisi stultus fuerit, nam qui supra vires aliquid audet, hic prope insaniam accessisse videtur. Unde Flaccus [Horace, *Ars poetica*, 38–40] 'Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, aequam, viribus et versate diu quid ferre recusent, quidque valent humeri.' Quis ergo inquit nisi male sanus audeat ceteros scriptores eloquentia et industria superare? *Seriem*, ordinem a serendo, hoc est ordinando dictam. *Felici*, fecundo et copioso. *Superiori*, maiori et elegantiori. *Conditam*, compositam. *Quis superaverit*, quasi dicat nemo . . . *Maiores stas* (I 1, 1) Aggreditur nunc quod pollicitus est, ut exempla proponat memoratu digna, et primo quidem de religione, quibus facile percipi potest eam praeter ceteris curae fuisse maioribus, ut nihil ne minimum quidem praetermitterent, quod ad religionem pertinere videretur. Primo igitur dicit de institutis maiorum, quae ad religionem spectabant, quam illi omnibus in rebus diligentissime servabant. Est autem religio virtus quae superiori cuidam naturae, id est deo cultum, cerimoniam affert, dicta a relegendo teste Cicerone li. *De natura deorum* [II 28, 72], qui superstitiosos a religiosis ita distinguit, 'Qui totos,' inquit, 'dies precabantur et immolabant, ut sui sibi liberi superstites essent, superstitiosi sunt appellati, quod nomen primo latius patuit; qui autem omnia quae ad cultum deorum pertinerent diligenter retractarent et tanquam relegerent dicti sunt religiosi ex relegendo.' *Maiores*, antiqui et veteres, illi quorum mores fuere meliores, nam ipse (*sic*) deorum cultu prae ceteris rebus procurarunt; maiores et minores, quotiens de priscis et posteris dicimus, numero tantum plurali declinatur (*sic*). *Stas cerimonias*, statae cerimoniae, ut vult Festus Pompeius [*De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome*, ed. Wallace M. Lindsay, Lipsiae,

1913, p. 466, lines 22–26, with omissions and alterations; cf. above s. Pallacinus] dicebantur sacrificia 'quae certis quibusdam diebus et statutis celebrabantur. Unde Cato, "Sacra stata et solemnia sancta deseruisti." Alii stas pro statutas dicunt, quidam etiam Iovis Statoris sacra. Sed Festi melior est sententia et expositio. *Solemnes*, anniversaria sacrificia quae singulis quibusque annis fiebant, nam sollemnis a solo et anno componitur. *Cerimonias*. Cerimoniae apud Latinos generaliter dicuntur omnes ritus sacrificiorum a Cerete oppido ut ipse paulo post dicturus est vel a caritate aliis placet. *Pontificum scientia*, iure canonico, ut nos nunc dicimus sive pontificio, nam pontifices docebant quibus templis, quibus diis, quo tempore, quo ritu quibusque hostiis sacrificia fieri deberent. *Gerendarum rerum*, quia sacrificia quae pro rebus gerendis suscepissent, earum rerum auctoritate confirmata, solemnia habeantur, nisi imperator rem cum hoste commissurus taurum Marti immolasset, et postea victoriam consecutus esset. Id sacrificium ex re bene gesta comprobatum sollemne habebatur, nam ex eo quod rem bene gessissent intelligebant ea sacrificia diis accepta fuisse, et ita confirmata auctoritate solemnia haberi incipiebant. *Augurum observatione*, ut quae captis auspiciis augures diis grata et probata fuisse dixissent ea solemnia haberentur. *Apollinis praedicatione vatum*, ut quae sacrificia Phoebades oracula Apollinis fieri debere dixissent, ac diis placere haberentur solemnia sicut saepe consultus Apollo quomodo sacrificia fieri deberent, vel ad iram deorum placandam vel ad victoriam consequendam vel si quid aliud opus esset respondebant Phoebades vel tauro, vel agno, vel hoc ritu, vel illo, vel Iovi, vel Marti, vel his, vel illis sacrificium esse faciendum. *Vatum* Phoebadum, nam Phoebades Apollinis vates dicuntur, erant autem virgines sic a Phoebos denominatae, quae templum Apollinis ingressae, cum ad ipsius adita hoc est penetralia venissent Apollinis spiritu afflatae futura praedicebant. *Libris portentorum depulsis*, id est superstitiosorum hominum reiectis libris, nam ut Livius [*Ab urbe condita libri*, XXV 1, 6–8] tradit. Sacrificuli quidam externi venerunt Romam qui superstitione potius quam religione animos

hominum astringerent. Aut libris portentorum depulsis, quia Romani numquam magicam artem admittere voluerunt, quod Virgilius [*Aen.* IV 492–493] per Didonem testari videtur cum eam ita loquentem inducit, ‘Testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque dulce caput, magicas in vitam accingier artes,’ ubi Servius [*Servianorum in Vergilii carmina commentaria*, Harvard ed., III, Oxonii, 1965, p. 412] ‘Cum multa,’ inquit, ‘sacra Romani susceperent, magica semper damnarunt.’ Cicero quoque et Plinius magicos et mathematicos impugnant. Augustinus quoque in *Civitate dei* [VIII 19] tradit adversus magicas artes legem xii. tabularum esse. *Libris ergo portentorum*, id est magorum, qui portentis quibusdam denuntiatis in terrorem homines convertunt, ita ut eos sui compotes esse non sinant. *Heirusca disciplina*, secundum morem Etruscorum, quem a Tage in agro Tarquiniensi didicerunt, nam inde sacra et cerimonias omnes Romani sumpserunt. Constat enim Etruscos omnis divini cultus studiosissimos fuisse. Haec autem omnia Cicero in oratione contra P. Clodium [*De haruspicum responsis in P. Clodium* 9, 18; cf. above s. Pallacinus] planissime ostendit, ‘Qui illorum,’ inquit, ‘prudentiam non dicam assequi, sed, quanta fuerit, perspicere possunt, qui stas sollemnesque cerimonias pontificum, rerum bene gerendarum auctoritates auguria, fatorum veteres praedicationes Apollinis vatum libros, portentorum explanationes Etruscorum disciplina contineri putarunt, quae tanta est ut nostra memoria . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *Idem barbarum* (IX 15, ext. 2). Barbarus quidam ob regis Ariaratis similitudinem se regem facile mentitus Cappadociae regnum propemodum occupavit, nam Asiae civitates illum regem vel certe regis filium esse existimantes ipsum ad eum magno favore deferrebant, Augustus vero qui regem Ariaratem Asiatico bello caesum ab Antonio fuisse cognoverat Asiaticos populos a temeraria credulitate repressit, et barbarum tamquam nova molientem affectati regni poenas dare coegit. *Credula suffragatione*, quia cum crederent illum vere Ariaratem esse, summo favore prosequerantur et suffragari omni studio nitebantur ut in pristinum regnum restituerent. *Fultum*, munitum et sustentatum. *Coegit*. Ordo

est, idem Augustus coegit barbarum quendam etc. dependere iusto supplicio, quamquam caput dementer imminens imperio esset fultum credula suffragatione civitatum et gentium totius Orientis.

Editions:

1487, 8 March, Venetiis (Venice): arte et impensis Joannis [de Gregoriis] Forliviensis Gregoriique fratrum. CR 5928; Goff V-36; NUC. BL; BN; (CSmH; CtY; DMS).

(*) 1488, 9 November, Venetiis (Venice): arte et impensis Bernardini de Benaliis. HC 15790; Goff V-38; NUC. BL; BN; (DLC; CSmH).

(*) 1491, 12 August, Venetiis (Venice:) Gulielmus [Anima Mia] Tridiniensis. HC 15791; Goff V-39; NUC. BL; BN; (DLC; CSmH; CtY).

(*) 1493, 30 April, Venetiis (Venice): impressum arte Boneti Locatelli, sumptibus Octaviani Scoti. HC 15792; Goff V-40; NUC. BL; BN; (DLC; CSmH; CtY).

(*) 1494, 16 July, Venetiis (Venice): [Philippus Pincius]. HC (Add) 15793; Goff V-41; NUC. BL; (DLC; CSmH).

(*) 1496, 26 March, Venetiis (Venice): HC 5929. BN.

1497, 22 March, Venetiis (Venice): per Bartolomaeum de Zanis. H 15795; Goff V-42; NUC. BL; (DLC; DMS).

(*) 1500, 5 July, Venetiis (Venice): per Albertinum [Rubeum] Vercellensem, C 5930; Goff V-43; NUC. BL; (CSmH; MnU).

(*) s.d., Milan, Johannes Jacobus et Fratres, de Lignano. See Composite Editions.

(*) 1503, 14 December, Venetiis (Venice): per Albertinum de Lisona Vercellensem. Panzer VIII, 365, no. 211. The edition is listed in Rinaldo Fulin, ‘Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana,’ *Archivio veneto*, XXIII (1882), 151. NUC. BM; BN; (NNC).

(*) 1505, 22 May, Venetiis (Venice): per Albertinum de Lisona, Panzer VIII 377, no. 318. NUC. BL; (MH).

(*) 1505, 31 July, Mediolani (Milan): apud Alexander Minutianum. NUC. BN; (NNC).

1508, 24 October. See Composite Editions.

1508, 31 October. See Composite Editions.

1510, 29 April–5 June. See Composite Edi-

tions.

1510, 31 July. See Composite Editions.

1512. See Composite Editions.

1513, 16 and 28 February. See Composite Editions.

1513, 5 March. See Composite Editions.

1513, 20 August. See Composite Editions.

1513, 30 December. See Composite Editions.

1517, 24 March. See Composite Editions.

1517, 28 March. See Composite Editions.

1518, 6 February. See Composite Editions.

1518, 20 May. See Composite Editions.

1522, Paris. See Composite Editions.

1522, Mediolani. See Composite Editions.

1523. See Composite Editions.

1531. See Composite Editions.

1535. See Composite Editions.

1536. See Composite Editions.

1541. See Composite Editions.

1546. See Composite Editions.

1547. See Composite Editions.

1548. See Composite Editions.

1558. See Composite Editions.

1565. See Composite Editions.

1568. See Composite Editions.

1569. See Composite Editions.

1575. See Composite Editions.

1588. See Composite Editions.

1590. See Composite Editions.

1598. See Composite Editions.

1608, Venetiis. See Composite Editions.

1651. A Variorum edition. See Composite Editions.

1650. A Variorum edition. See Composite Editions.

1660. A Variorum edition. See Composite Editions.

1670. A Variorum edition. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Oliverius Arzignanensis (Oliviero da Arzignano, Olivier d'Arzignano).

Arzignano is a small town in the province of Vicenza, numbering today perhaps eighteen thousand inhabitants. Oliverius clearly had an excellent education there and under the guidance of Omnibonus Leonicensis in Vicenza. Angiolgabriello di Santa Maria quotes a notarial document of 1468 according to which

he was the son of a grammarian Joannes Arzignanensis; his family background therefore may have been a factor in his education and in his choice of a career. A Joannes Arzignanensis was a pupil of Guarinus Veronensis. This document makes Oliverius, like his father, a professor of grammar. His loyalty to the memory of Omnibonus is at once clear from the dedicatory letter of his commentary, as is his acquaintance with Bishop Petrus de Brutis.

Works:

In addition to the commentary on Valerius the cataloguer at the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN CXXVII, col. 11) credits to Oliverius the edition (BN CLXXXV, col. 611) Théodore Prodrome [Prodromus, Theodorus in NUC], Homeri . . . *De murium felisque bello comodia* ab Hieronymo Soncino . . . graecanis latinisque literis impressa et ab Oliverio poeta auxianensi fideliter interpretata . . . [Edidit Aristobulus Apostolius] (Ortonae, 1518). Ancient Auxanum or Ansanum is, however, modern Lanciano, which archbishopric in the Abruzzi was connected with Ortona, and this poet Oliverius would seem to be distinct from Oliverius of Arzignano in the province of Vicenza. To Oliverius Lanzanensis the NUC (CCCCXXIX 624) attributes an *Artis grammaticae perutile opusculum* (Venetiis, 1505).

Bibl.: Chevalier II, 3413; Cosenza III, 2505–2506, V, 1276; Fabricius, BLMA V, 155; Jöcher III, col. 1604, V, col. 1081; Mazzuchelli I, pt. 2, 1147.

Giovanni degli Agostini, *Notizie storico-critiche intorno la vita, e le opere degli scrittori viniziani*, I (Venezia, 1752), 496; Angiolgabriello di Santa Maria, *Biblioteca et storia di . . . scrittori così della città come del territorio di Vicenza* II (Vicenza, 1782), CCLI–CCLVIII; Marjorie Alkins Berlincourt, *The Commentary on Valerius Maximus by Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and Its Influence upon Later Commentaries* (see above s. Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, *Editions*), 66–67.

17. THEOPHILUS CHALCONDYLES

The commentary of Theophilus Chalcondyles

dyles has been mentioned in the article on Oliverius Arzignanensis, into whose published commentary it was rather consistently inserted from the year 1508 on. He accordingly seems to deserve his place to the left of Valerius in the woodcut provided on the title page of the edition of Valerius and Oliverius published at Venice on 24 October 1508 by Bartholomaeus de Zanis. Here he is called only Theophilus, but the edition published at Milan without date by Johannes Jacobus et Fratres, de Lignano, designates him Chalcondyles. It seems probable that this edition, though lacking the twenty-four exempla which were first printed in 1501 and 1503, can be dated [1509–1511]; see Composite Editions.

Like Johannes de Ravenna, who was supposedly commenting on Valerius in Bologna at the age of twenty-one, Theophilus was not quite twenty when his annotations were first published. They occur in distinct blocks and, when shorter, in one or two lines after the corresponding comments of Oliverius. They are duly credited to Theophilus in the margins and only there. Modest in extent as compared with those of Oliverius, they total 188, some of them merely glosses and others much more substantial (Book I has 39; II, 19; III, 30; IV, 25; V, 20; VI, 18; VII, 13; VIII, 10; and IX, 14). The first observation occurs in I 1, 1, the last in IX 14, ext. 2. The comments are mainly historical, but Theophilus often cites variant readings of Valerius from the manuscripts ('Alii codices habent . . .', 'Vetusti codices habent . . .', 'Quidam codices habent . . .'). As the son of the better known Demetrius Chalcondyles, a Byzantine who had been educated in Athens, he was eminently equipped in Greek, and he quotes frequently from Greek authors. Family may have operated in another way; it will be remembered (see above, p. 365) that Theodora, daughter of Demetrius, married Aulus Janus Parrhasius and that Theophilus emended the text of Valerius from a manuscript belonging to Parrhasius.

The title pages of the editions published in Milan on 31 October 1508 and 16 and 28 February 1513 speak of a few annotations by an Arcadicus posing as Theophilus. Are we to consider one hundred and eighty-eight a few?

If the name of Theophilus has been removed on only four folios, as reported in the article on Oliverius, were only the annotations on these four folios those of the Arcadicus, and are all others still correctly assigned to Theophilus in the later editions? It is necessary to add that in the Latin transcribed below, the name of Theophilus was indeed removed in later editions from the portion on I 1, 1; his name occurs for the first time in the 1513 edition, which is posthumous, at the bottom of f. IIIa for the annotation on 'gracco' (I 1, 3), and the note corresponds to the passage on f. 3b in the edition of 24 October 1508: 'Gracco, Graccus et ortus sine aspiratione [add. dici debere, 1508] Varro [*De lingua latina quae supersunt. Accedunt grammaticorum Varronis librorum fragmenta*, edd. Georgius Goetz et Fridericus Schoell (Leipzig, 1910), p. 212, **80 (a fragment from *De sermone latino*)] ait et ortum quidem quod in eo oriantur omnia, Graccum vero a gerendo quod eius mater xii mensibus eum gestavit, vel a gracilitate corporis ut quidam [add. volunt graccus, 1508], sed consuetudo et Gracchos et hortos cum aspiratione usurpavit. Haec [add. olim Ianus (Parrhasius) . . . recitavit, 1508] ex Charisio [*Ars grammatica*, ed. Carolus Barwick (Leipzig, 1964, ed. stereotypa), p. 103 (82K)].

Commentary. (ed. of Venice, 24 October 1508; the reader is referred to the article on Oliverius Arzignanensis for preliminary relevant material). [*Inc.*]: *Maiores statas* (I 1, 1). Non ab re prisci grammatici inter officii sui partes haud ultimam statuerunt positurae rationem, Nicanorque [of Alexandria, 2nd century] in eo genere studi collocavit, ut inde στυγαρίας appellari meruerit. Emendatus enim codex nisi distinctus esse qui potest? Ecce confuso in hoc Valerii capite textu orationis, aut nullus aut certe insulsus extabat sensus. Accepit haec (ut ad rem veniam) Valerius ex Cicerone cuius in ea quam de aruspicum responsis [9.18] inscripsit oratione verba sunt haec. 'Ego vero primum habeo auctores ac magistros religionum colendarum maiores nostros, quorum mihi fuisse tanta sapientia videtur, ut satis superque prudentes sint, qui illorum prudentiam non dicam assequi, sed, quanta fuerit, perspicere possint, qui statas sollenis-

que cerimonias pontificatu, rerum bene gerendarum auctoritates augurio fatorum, veteres praedictiones Apollinis vatum libris, portentorum explanationes Etruscorum disciplina contineri putarunt' etc. Ex iis arbitror apparet aliter esse distinguenda commata quam compitalicii magistri consueverunt hoc ordine atque sensu. Maiores nostri statas et solennes cerimonias pontificum scientia voluerunt explicari, nam tota sacrificandi ratio a collegio pontificum petebatur, ut discimus ex Cicerone Livioque [cf. XXII 9, 11]. Sed auctoritatem rerum bene gerendarum voluerunt explicari observatione augurum, quippe romani publice nisi auspicato nihil incohabant, ut auctor est ipse Tullius. *Praedictiones et Apollinis oracula vatum*, id est Sibyllarum vel Martiorum libris. *Depulsa vero portentorum*, id est procurationes ad avertendas portentorum minas Etrusca disciplina explicari voluerunt. *Prisco etiam instituto*, id est veteri sacrorum consuetudine impartito sacrificio cum solemnibus ritibus. *Rebus divinis opera datur*, quando precatione aliquid est commendandum, quom est exposcendum voto, quom exolvendum gratulatione, quom inquirendum vel extis vel sortibus, repetendum semper est *prisco instituto rebus divinis opera datur* per singula commata, sicut illud, explicari voluerunt in superioribus. Haec est elegans et vera Georgii Merulae expositio, quam Doninus [I have not identified Doninus; Juliana Cotton Hill, *Name-List from 'A Medical Register of the Italian Renaissance, 1350-1550'* (Oxford, 1976), 42 lists a Jacobus de Doninis, of Caneto, Brescia (fl. 1456). Our Doninus is young in 1508, and Antonius Lenas on f. IIa-b of the edition published in Milan by Leonardus Vegius on 16 and 28 February 1513 provides further information: 'Quae ex Donino iuvene vere docto didicisse cum fatetur mentitur audacissime. Coniicimus id ex eo quod Georgius (Merula) ut Minutianus dixit pro impartito impetrato legebat. . . . Neque verum peragendum cancellabat. Sed Minutianus praeceptor meus, tanquam subdititium tollendum censuit, quod sensui prorsus non conveniat. Ubi foedissimus plagiarius induci pro deleri posuit deceptus a (Philippo) Beroaldo. . . . Neque iurisconsulti verba stant pro Beroaldo quem minime intellexisse Minutia-

nus dum illum discipulus locum exposuit luce clarius comprobavit. Tum egregius hic artifex ut nonnullos qui Georgii memoriam adhuc recentem in animis habebant sibi conciliaret non ut talem virum laudaret quem semper vellicat et lacerat'] eruditus admodum iuvenis eius auditor excepit et mecum communicavit. Is affirmabat Merulam iussisse induci verbum peragendum, quia sensum destrueret. Aliqua Codrus Urceus [see above, p. 366] et Raphael Regius [see above p. 366] ad hanc rem prodiderunt sed utroque prior ut accepi Merula iam promulgarat, et si praeventus est editione non propterea sua laude fraudari debet. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Milasium* (IX 14, ext. 2). Vetusti codices habent Mylasenum, gentiliter a Mylasia Asiae civitate, de qua Strabo [*Geographia* XIV 2.22], Tullius in Antonianis [*Philippicae* V 7.20 and VI 5.13] et Stephanus [Byzantinus, s.v. Μύλασσα]. *Cynicorum*. Placet ut legas gymnycorum, nam sequitur 'stramenta gymnasia colligenti.'

Editions:

- s. d., Milan, Johannes Jacobus et Fratres, de Lignano. See Composite Editions.
 1508, 24 October. See Composite Editions.
 1508, 31 October. See Composite Editions.
 1510, 31 July. See Composite Editions.
 1513, 16 and 28 February. See Composite Editions.
 1513, 20 August. See Composite Editions.
 1518, 6 February. See Composite Editions.
 1518, 20 May. See Composite Editions.
 1522, Mediolani. See Composite Editions.
 1523. See Composite Editions.
 1531. See Composite Editions.
 1536. See Composite Editions.
 1541. See Composite Editions.
 1546. See Composite Editions.
 1547. See Composite Editions.
 1558. See Composite Editions.
 1565. See Composite Editions.
 1568. See Composite Editions.
 1569. See Composite Editions.
 1575. See Composite Editions.
 1590. See Composite Editions.
 1608, Venetiis. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Details of the short life of Theophilus are few, especially in contrast to the wealth of

information on his father Demetrius, who as recently as 1976 (New Haven) was the subject of an entire chapter, pages 231–264, in D. J. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures*. Theophilus, according to the 'Actes de naissance' written by his father in Parisinus graecus 2023 and transcribed by Legrand, was born in Florence on 5 November 1486, the second of ten children after his sister Theodora, who married Parrhasius. His education at the hands of his father and of Janus Lascaris was thorough and classical. Parrhasius, in a passage quoted by Legrand, speaks of him with enthusiasm as one who revealed 'tantum probitatis, eruditionis, ingenii, studii, memoriae' that 'brevisimo spatio omnia vitae munera peregrisse videretur.' Legrand quotes also from Paulus Jovius, 'qui ne laisse jamais échapper l'occasion de dénigrer les Grecs' but who did reproduce the verses of sympathy inscribed to the father by an unknown poet probably on the death of Theophilus, 'Vivens corona nobilis juventutis/circundabaris undequaque, Demetri,/dum ostenderes iter per Atticos campos,/ Certe beatus, si obtigisset morienti/doctam videre tibi superstitem prolem,/ oculumque claudi languidum a tuis natis,/ aut hoc sepulcrum lacrima illorum spargi.' Parrhasius, Jovius, and Joannes Pierius Valerianus all comment on his tragic death in 1511, which earned him a place in the *De litteratorum infelicitate libri duo* of Valerianus; in Pavia to prosecute his studies, he was murdered as he returned home after a dinner with friends.

Works:

Theophilus worked on Homer as well as Valerius Maximus.

Bibl.: Cosenza, II 978–979, V, 485; Emile Louis Jean Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, II (Paris, 1885), 304–305, III (Paris, 1903), 129–130, no. 109, IV (Paris, 1906), 197–198, no. 708; Joannes Pierius Valerianus, *De litteratorum infelicitate libri duo* (Genevae, 1821), 45.

18. JOHANNES SULPICIUS VERULANUS

A sixteenth-century manuscript at Oxford

preserves to us, but only as far as Book II 4, 5, the commentary of Johannes Sulpicius Verulanus. Its presence in England is not explained; Sulpicius did have at least one English student in Rome, but the time was close to the last decade of the fifteenth century, and these do not appear to be a student's notes. The commentary may, in fact, have been written even before he transferred to Rome. It is distinctly not the strictly grammatical commentary which might have been expected of a grammarian; beginning with a customary paragraph on famous Romans bearing the nomen Valerius, it echoes Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and other commentators who say that Valerius used the prologue as a device to win the good will of the reader, and it provides frequent references to the texts of ancient authors. It breaks off in the very passage (II 4, 5) which Sulpicius uses in his introductory paragraph.

Introduction (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. A. 117). [*Inc.*]: Valesii qui deinde Valerii sunt appellati semper in urbe Roma clari fuerunt originemque traxerunt quantum conicere possum a Valesio rustico [cf. Val. Max. II 4, 5] qui pro filiis pestilentia laborantibus caput suum laribus obtulit in Tarentumque per Tiberim navigavit, ubi sumpta aqua calida confestim convaluerunt terraque ipse pater effossa reperit aram Diti Proserpinaeque inscriptam quam ludis et lectisterniis trinoctialibus frequentavit. Praeclariores autem inter Valerios fuerunt M. Valerius fétialis qui sub Tullio Hostilio foedus iniit cum Albanis . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: tum ut Tyberio placeret studioisque viris tum ut nomen suum latius propagaret. Stilus est ei sublimis gravis maturus pressus elegans et ornatus longis in verborum implicationibus, in ipsa narrationum brevitate obscurus.

Commentary [*Inc.*]: *Urbis Romae* (I *Prooemium*) In hoc prologo primum attentos dociles et benevolos reddit auditores Valerius, inde confutat quod objici posset, postea Tiberium more poetico invocans laudat et unde sit cepturus ostendit miroque artificio modi [*sic*] proponit ceptique sui consilium aperit. Ac Tiberio assentando suum invocationis officium ab auctoritate confirmat nec minus ora-

torias quam poeticas leges exequitur. *Urbis Romae* quia magna et electa pulcherrimaque pollicetur nos facit attentos, dociles vero quia breviter totius operis summam exponit ac quia in nostrum usum scripsisse se dicit benivolentias captat, ordo autem et sensus hic est . . . De observantia religionis capitulum primum (I 1, 1) Anaxagoras ille qui hominem solis et caeli gratia genitum esse inquit [as first editor of Vitruvius, Sulpicius is perhaps recalling the passage in *De architectura*, VIII praef. I which reads: 'De septem sapientibus Thales Milesius omnium rerum principium aquam est professus, Heraclitus ignem, Magorum sacerdotes aquam et ignem, Euripides auditor Anaxagorae, quem philosophum Athenienses scaenicum appellaverunt, aera et terram eamque e caelestium imbrium conceptionibus inseminatam fetus gentium et omnium animalium in mundo procreavisse . . .'] quamquam ab aliquo reprehenditur tamen mihi videtur id sensisse, quod praecipuum esse deberet officium hominis contemplari divinitatem religionemque colere, sine qua bene institutus nemo quidem esse potest. Nam si nati ad iustitiam sumus ut Cicero et omnes philosophi admonent primum eius munus quod est religio obire debemus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Religiosi quoque dies erant nefasti et infausti dicuntur. Observantia est veneratio et honoris exhibitio observatio animadversio et annotatio. *Maiores* (I 1, 1) Sumpsit hunc locum Valerius ex ea Ciceronis oratione quae est Pro domo sua [the reference is to Cicero's *De haruspicum responsis* in *P. Clodium*, 9, 18] ubi sic inquit, 'Ego vero habeo auctores ac magistros religionum colendarum maiores nostros, quorum mihi tanta fuisse sapientia videtur, ut satis superque prudentes sint, qui illorum prudentiam ne dicam assequi, sed, quanta fuerit, respicere possint, qui statas sollemnesque caerimonias pontificatu, rerum bene gestarum auctoritate, augurio factorum, veteri praedictione Apollinis, portentorum explanatione Etruscorum disciplina contineri putaverunt.' Valerii autem sensus hic est *Constituere maiores nostri* ut sollemnia atque ordinaria sacrificia fierent ob aliquam harum vii causarum vel quia ita pontifices iuberent vel ut res bene ac feliciter propitiatis diis agerentur aut gestae essent vel quia au-

gures ita notassent esse faciendum vel quia Apollo veteri oraculo ita praedixisset vel quod Sibyllinis et vatum libris ita foret compertum vel ut prodigia atque portenta averterentur vel quia Etrusca disciplina quam in sacris maxime sequebantur ita statuisset agendum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (II 4, 5) *Spongia*. Spongas pisces trium esse generum Plinius [*N. H.* IX 45, 69 §148] ait, *hostiae furvae* nigrae, nam furvum nigrum dixere et nigras hostias Diti mactabat [mactabant], *lectisternia* pulvinaria et lecti struerentur in quibus dii tanquam ad sedendum invitarentur. *Empturus aram*, id est marmor pro ara aut arula quae super aram poneretur more Nabataeorum, qui sollemnia celebrantes arulam super aram imponunt. *Solidum* firmum solum hi qui fodiebant fundamenta, *altitudinem* id est profunditatem. *Cuius Exemplum* Valerius Publicola qui fuit Valesii filius *primus consul* re vera.

Manuscript:

(photo.) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. A. 117, s. XVI. Books I-II 4, 5 only. (Madan V [Oxford, 1905], 554, no. 29076).

Biography:

Johannes Sulpicius Verulanus (Johannes Sulpicius of Veroli, Giovanni Sulpizio da Veroli) was a grammarian and teacher at Rome in the second half of the fifteenth century. Cosenza gives the birth date 1475, which is not possible; Parks gives the death date 1491. He taught first in his native city, from 1472 at the University of Perugia, possibly then in Urbino, and finally in Rome. The grammarian William Lily (1468?–1522), later the first high-master of St. Paul's School in London, who registered together with Thomas Linacre (1460?–1524) in November 1490 at the English Hospice in Rome, studied with Sulpicius and Julius Pomponius Laetus (CTC I 238, III 373–383); the *De constructionis figuris* of Sulpicius was sometimes published with Erasmus's revision of Lily's *Libellus de constructione octo partium orationis*. Sulpicius dedicated his commentary on Lucan to Antoniotto Cardinal Pallavicini and his edition of Vitruvius to Raffaele Cardinal Riario. His *Grammaticae* was sometimes published with the *Carminum de figuris* of Antonius Mancinellus (on whose commentary see below). He nurtured

a vivid interest in the ancient theater, worked with Cardinal Riario in reviving it, trained his students in it, and presented its plays in his own house and in Rome's piazzas; Campo dei Fiori, for example, was the setting for a performance of the Younger Seneca's *Phaedra*.

Works:

Sulpicius wrote commentaries on Lucan, Quintilian, and Vegetius, edited Frontinus and Vitruvius, and was the author of *Grammaticae*, *De componendis et ornandis epistolis*, *De versuum scansione*, and *De syllabarum quantitate*. By far his most popular work, which went into numerous editions and translations, was a handbook in verse on table manners for boys; it was entitled *De moribus in mensa servandis libellus* or *De moribus puerorum carmen iuvenile* and is commonly cited as *Stans puer ad mensam*. It was highly praised by Jodocus Badius Ascensius (see below, p. 383).

Bibl.: Chevalier II, 4350; Cosenza IV, 3348–3350, V, 1722, Fabricius, BLMA VI, 510; Tiraboschi (Milano, 1833–1836), XVII, 94.

Giuseppe Ermini, *Storia dell'Università di Perugia* (Firenze, 1971), I, 606; George B. Parks, *The English Traveler to Italy, First Volume, The Middle Ages (to 1525)* (Roma, 1954), 459, 463, 465; Benedetto Pecci, 'Contributo per la storia degli umanisti nel Lazio,' *Deputazione Romana di Storia Patria* (formerly R. Società Romana di Storia Patria), *Archivio*, XIII (1890), 456–465; Francesco Pellati, 'Giovanni Sulpicio da Veroli, primo editore di Vitruvio,' *Atti del IP Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani*, II (1931), 382–386; Alessandro Perosa, 'L'edizione veneta di Quintiliano coi commenti del Valla, di Pomponio Leto e di Sulpizio da Veroli,' *Miscellanea Augusto Campana*, II (Padova, 1981 [Medioevo e umanesimo, 45]), 575–610; Filippo Maria Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università degli Studj di Roma . . .*, I (Roma, 1803), 197, 237–238 (for Sulpicius's salary at the Roman Studium see D. S. Chambers, 'Studium Urbis and *Gabella Studii*: The University of Rome in the Fifteenth Century,' *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, edited by Cecil H. Clough [Manchester, 1976], 89 [the year 1482],

95 [1483], 96 [1483], 100 [1484], 101 [1484]); Vittorio Rossi, *Il quattrocento*, V ristampa riveduta e corretta (Milano, 1953 [Storia letteraria d'Italia, V]), 530, 559; Charles B. Schmitt, 'Thomas Linacre and Italy,' *Essays on the Life and Work of Thomas Linacre, c. 1460–1524*, edd. Francis Maddison, Margaret Pelling, and Charles Webster (Oxford, 1977 [Linacre Studies]), 40, and cf. Cecil H. Clough, 'Thomas Linacre, Cornelio Vitelli, and Humanistic Studies at Oxford' in the same volume, 6.

19. ANTONIUS MANCINELLUS (Not Found)

Rinaldo Fulin in 'Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana,' *Archivio veneto* XXIII (1882), 139, published a document from the Archivio di Stato, Venice, Notatorio del Collegio, according to which on 9 January 1500 Johannes Tacuinus de Tridino was granted a privilege to publish several authors including 'tutte le opere di Antonio Mancinello, con un nuovo commento su Valerio Massimo.' Fulin was unsuccessful in finding this commentary, and to my knowledge it has not been found since. It is not included in Giuseppe Clerico's bibliography of the productions of this printer ('Catalogo delle edizioni di tipografi di Trino nel secolo XV e XVI,' *Giornale delle biblioteche*, III–IV [1869–1870], beginning for Tacuinus in III, 157, in the year 1492, and running in sixteen installments into the next volume and to the year 1539), and the edition of the so-called *Omnia opera* published at Venice in 1502 by this printer is simply a reprint of earlier editions and does not contain it. Mancinellus seems to have mentioned it himself in the 'Sylva' of his life, an autobiography in elegiac verse which was reprinted by Meuschen; see the lines on page 44, 'Lexicon: Emporium: diversa epigrammata: persi/Solini, Aeneidos, glossaque fit Valeri.' His opinion, indeed, of the editions of Tacuinus, whom he termed 'linguae latinae exitium,' was not high; see Apostolo Zeno, *Dissertazioni vossiane*, II (Venezia, 1753), 363, who mentions on the same page the funeral oration which Mancinellus composed in memory of Ermolao Bar-

baro. For Barbaro's relation to the text of Valerius see above s. Oliverius Arzignanensis.

It is of a certain interest that some editions of the *Grammaticae* of Johannes Sulpicius Verulanus contained also the *De figuris opusculum* of Donatus and the *Carmen de figuris* of Mancinellus.

Biography:

See CTC I, 230.

Add to the bibliography Cosenza III, 2099–2106, V, 1070–1071, VI, 170; Marie-José Desmet-Goethals, 'Die Verwendung der Kommentare von Badius-Mancinellus, Erasmus und Corderius in der "Disticha Catonis"—Ausgabe von Livinus Crucius,' pages 73–88 in *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance*, edd. August Buck and Otto Herding (Boppard, 1975); Johann Gerard Meuschen, *Vitae summorum dignitate et eruditione virorum* (Coburgi, 1735–1741, 4 vols.), I, 40–45, 'Antonii Mancinelli vitae suae sylva per se ipsum instructa.'

20. CLAUDIUS MASSIOTUS, PRAEPOSITUS

This selective and incomplete commentary by a monk of Clairvaux is preserved in one manuscript which seems to postdate the edition of Valerius with which it is bound and to belong to the early sixteenth century. For information on it I would express my gratitude to Mlle. Françoise Bibolet of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Troyes, to Jean-Marie Arnoult of the Centre de Conservation du Livre, Bibliothèque Nationale, and to Jean-François Genest of the Section de Codicologie, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

The commentary is without dedication. An introduction, straightforward and orderly, discusses methods (this commentator, like the bee, *selects*), history, the development of historiography, the difference between annals and history. It is followed by the usual jejune Vita of Valerius; the commentator then proceeds, again in straightforward fashion and fluent Latin, to the commentary itself. He knew earlier commentators, and among authors he cites Aesop, Herodotus, Thucydides, M. Porcius

Cato, Q. Fabius Pictor, Polybius, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Livy, Lucan, Tacitus, Suetonius, Eusebius, and, from a period close to his own, Marcus Antonius Coccius, called Sabellicus. The commentary stops abruptly at the end of a folio in Book III 3, ext.3.

Introduction (Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 2592). [*Inc.*]: Prefatio in commentarios super libros Valerii Maximi factorum ac dictorum memorabilium. [M]irari poterunt qui hos meos conscissos truncos ac mutilos in Valerii Maximi cum iucundam tum utilem historiam commentarios lecturi sunt cur in eorundem prosecutione tam multa exempla inexplicata praetervolare decreverim et non magis perpetuam historiae seriem inoffenso cursu sectari, praesertim cum in hoc veluti exemplorum omnium confertissimo promptuario nihil congestum sit (si compilatori creditur) quod non memoratu dignum sit. Quorum ego perplexae dubitationi ut interim satisfaciam, fateor et quidem ingenue nihil superflui retinere divinum hoc opus; nihilominus habendam fuisse rationem personarum quibus praedictum hoc opus interpretari debui. Quia enim religiosis circa divinum officium tam nocturnum quam diurnum legitime occupatis palam est negari otium, ut suis lectionibus (quas rei divinae haud fas est anteponi) diutius vacare possint, facturum me operae pretium arbitratus sum si per singula librorum capita saltuatim discurrens pauca aliqua (quae videbuntur illustriora) exempla de singulis seligerem. . . . Est itaque historia secundum quod communiter diffinitur rerum gestarum expositio vel demonstratio a greco verbo historio quod video significat vel cognosco, quod verbum quia significat etiam inquiri interrogo disputo narro, iccirco generalius diffinitur historia ut dicatur esse quicquid vere et graviter explicatur. Cuius quidem historiae tale extat apud Ciceronem 2.^o De oratore [II 9, 36] eulogium, 'Est,' inquit, 'historia testis temporum, lex veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis.' De inventione historiae certamen est inter scriptores quibusdam dicentibus Cadmum Milesium aliis vero Pherecidem [Pherecydem] inventorem fuisse, ad [at] si Eusebio [*Chronica*, praef.; see Migne,

P. L. XXVII (Parisiis, 1846), 39–41 and P. G. XIX (1857), 103] fides adhibenda est primus historiae scriptorum fuit Moses, quem constat multo tempore ante bellum Troianum fuisse. Quod si de his queras qui primitus historiam in suo ornatu atque artificio erexere puto Thucydidem atque Herodotum inter primos haberi, nam Pherecides et Cadmus magis annalium scriptores dici debent quam historiarum, quoniam monumenta solum rerum et tempora sine ullo ornatu conscripserunt quemadmodum apud Latinos Cato, Pictor et Piso . . . Differtur [differt] historia ab annalibus sicut genus a specie. Nam annales sunt genus, historia ut species. In hoc autem conveniunt quod in utrisque rerum gestarum expositio continetur. Differunt tamen quod historia quo consilio quave ratione res gestae sunt demonstrat exercitationes variosque affectus habens auditoremque commovens. Annales sunt libri id quod factum quoque anno gestumve sit continentes simpliciter et sine ullo ornamento sive fucco [fucio] sive affectibus ex quibus conficiebantur historiae . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Historia ad fidem quadrifariam dividitur, aut enim tractat de locis ut est geographia aut de temporibus ut cronice aut de generationibus ut genealogia aut de gestis ut annales historiae. De Vita Valerii. [Inc.]: Vallerius Maximus a patricio genere originem ducens ineunte adolescentia militavit sub Sexto Pompeio . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quod eius mater a familia Fabiorum qui senatus decreto maximi dicti sunt originem duxit.

Commentary. [Inc.]: Praefatio. *Urbis Rome* (I *Prooemium*) Quamvis non soleant historici benivolentiam captare sed tantummodo auditorem reddere attentum et docilem, in hoc tamen exordio Valerius more oratorio tria facit. Reddit auditorem attentum docilem benivolum. Quae tria ex serie textus sic colligi possunt. Nam cum dicit *Urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta ac dicta* propositio est dicendorum et ordo in propositione quae est ibi facta ac dicta et in ordine qui tangitur. Ibi *Urbis Romae exterarumque gentium* docilem facit auditorem. Quod autem subiicit *memoratu digna* utilitatem ostendit operis in quo reddit attentum. Consequenter ubi profitetur se breviter comprehensurum quod alii diffu-

sus scripserunt, iterum reddit docilem. Nam facilius pauca comprehendimus quam multa iuxta illud Horatianum [*Ars poetica*, 335–6] ‘Quidquid praecipies, esto brevis ut cito dicta percipiant animi dociles teneantque fideles.’ Benivolentiam autem captat ibi *ut documenta sumere volentibus* tamquam diceret ‘Ego laboravi pro omnibus et ut alios omnes a labore et taedio revolutionis librorum redimerem omnia memoratu digna in hoc opus coegi.’ Et quia in omni opere quattuor concurrunt [conveniunt?] causae materialis formalis efficiens et finalis, inquirendae sunt in hoc praesenti opere in cuius initio materialis causa tangitur cum dicit *Urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta dicta*, formalis ibi iterum *Urbis Romae et exterarum gentium* quoniam hoc ordine processurus est ut primo de Romanis deinde de externis exempla adducat . . . *Nec michi.* Iterum captat benivolentiam extenuando se et attentum reddit auditorem a brevitate quam profitetur. *Quis enim.* Meminerint novi recentesque scriptores qui ab aliis dudum scripta ab aliis reponere volunt et imitari oportere eos tria haec praestare ut breviores sint ut facundiores et in veritate historiae servanda accuratiores. Quod nostro aevo fecisse creditur Anthonius Sabellicus quo nemo (quod scimus) historiam brevius tersius veriusque scripsisse creditur. Praestat et hoc Valerius sed ingenuo pudore dissimulat. Huius rei testis est Livius in praefatione [2] ita inquires, ‘Novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius allaturos aliquid se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt.’ *Te igitur.* Haec est secunda pars huius proemii, in qua praeter morem historicorum invocatur. Nam quod non sit mos historicus docet Livius in praefatione [13] . . . *Sideri.* Illud sidus significat de quo Suetonius in vita Iulii Caesaris [88] meminit. Mortuo enim Iulio Caesare stella sive cometes per septem dies continuos in caelo . . . quem [quam?] putarunt esse animam Caesaris. Huic Virgilius [*Ecl.* IX 47] ‘Ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum.’ Solebant Romani devicta aliqua provincia omnes deos omnemque ritum religionis Romam referre quod argumentum est Romam fuisse semper religionis etiam ethnicae alumnam, nostrae autem etiam nunc quasi matrem, adeo ut vulgo dicatur Roma

Sancta.

De cultu deorum Capitulum I. Aggreditur iam institutum Valerius. Et quoniam omnes operationes nostras praecedere debet divinus cultus iuxta illud Vergilii [*Georg.* I. 338] 'In primis venerare deos' iccirco a cultu deorum suum opus auspicatur. Sed dicet aliquis suspitiosum esse nec imitatu dignum quicquid a Valerio de religione memoratur. Non enim religio est ista quam tradit sed superstitio sed error sed insania. Haec ego fateor. Verumtamen quia multa legimus ut contemnamus multa etiam ut imitemur ego lectionem hanc Christianis auribus non indignam puto. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: propterea quod hic habeant quod contemnamus falsam antiquorum superstitutionem, hic etiam quod imitemur eorundem scilicet circa deorum cultu [cultum] diligentiam quia nihil praetermittere voluerunt quod ad suam religionem pertinere creditur. *Maiores* (I 1, 1) Bene maiorum id est antiquorum institutis ac moribus religionis cultum conformari vult quoniam integrioribus semper fuerunt antiquorum mores. Hinc Apollo Pythius ab Atheniensibus consultus quas potissimum religiones tenerent, "eas," inquit, "quae essent in more maiorum." Hoc Cicero in libris de Legibus [II, 16, 40] *Feria* Feriarum quaedam sunt statuae sive stativae quae constitutis diebus fiebant ab universo populo, aliae conceptivae quae quotannis a magistratibus vel sacerdotibus concipiebantur tam certis quam incertis diebus, aliae imperativae quae a consulibus vel praetoribus pro arbitrio imperabantur. Aliae erant solemnes quae singulis annis anniversario sacrificio celebriter agebantur. . . . [*Expl.*]: (III 3, ext. 3) sub Clearcho tyranno Lacedaemoniorum ista omnia tormenta passus. Nam alius Zeno qui senior dicitur Stoicorum princeps integer et incolumis ad usque nonagesimum aetatis annum pervenit qui [text breaks off].

Manuscript:

(photo.) Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 2592 (bound with 'Inc.' 489), 47 ff., s. XVI. It breaks off abruptly in Book III, 3 ext. 3 at the end of f. 47v. The edition of Valerius Maximus with which it is bound carries on its first title page the information 'Prostat in Dionysiana Roce libraria in vico Sancti Jacobi in intersignio divi Martini' and

on a second, 'Prostat in Gormontiana libraria Eregione collegii Coqueretici ad intersignium geminarum Cipparum.' M. Arnould would date the edition between 1510 and 1516; Brigitte Moreau. *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle*, II (Paris, 1977) n° 1499 assigns '[circa 1516].' It is probable that the MS. postdates the edition. The binding of the volume, according to M. Genest's colleague Mme. Denise Gid, is original and was provided by Macé Panthoul, binder at Troyes at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. (*Cat. Gén. Fr. Dept.* Octavo, XLIII [1904] 503).

Biography:

Claudius Massiotus, Praepositus, flourished in France in the first part of the sixteenth century. His interest in Valerius Maximus is demonstrated not only by this commentary but also by the fact that he owned the edition of the text of Valerius with which the commentary is bound. Notations in his hand on the first title page state that he was the third 'Claudius de Parrhisius' and give the surname Prévost. Frequent notes in the same hand appear in the printed text, the front endpaper carries the verses 'Inveniat si quis praesentem forte libellum/ Hunc rursus dominum sinat adire suum/ Et si forte velit proprium cognoscere nomen/ Claudius est dictus nomine Massiotus/ Praepositus,' and the back endpaper the lines 'Liber loquitur./ Claudius est cuius ego nunc sum iure secundus/ Massiot illustri cognomine recte vocatus/ Parrhisi natus in Clara Valle coronam/ Gestat. Bernardi nunc factus servulus almi/ Inspice signa tibi hoc monstrant manalia verum.'

He was accordingly Claudius Massiotus or Praepositus (Prévost), he was born in Paris, and he was a monk of the Cistercian abbey of Clairvaux. Since he was clearly Parisian, and since he was active in the early years of the sixteenth century, it does not seem that he can be equated with either the Claude Prévost of Bourges whose several *carmina* celebrating the role of Charles IX in the civil wars appeared in that city in 1568 and 1569 or the Claude Prévost of Cahors whose *Commentarius de magistratibus populi romani ex variis authoribus collectus* . . . was published

posthumously at Lausanne in 1579.

M. Genest informs me that he was not yet at Clairvaux in 1472, since he does not figure in the inventory of Pierre de Virey (Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 2299), which lists liturgical books at Clairvaux with names of their owners (André Vernet, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XI^e au XVIII^e siècle*, I, *Catalogues et répertoires*, publiés par A. V. avec la collaboration de Jean-François Genest [Paris, 1979]). Four other volumes at Troyes, according to M. Genest, carry his inscription of ownership and bear witness to his liturgical and more general interests. These are: 1) Inc. 278, Nicolaus de Lyra, *Postilla super Psalterium*, n. p., n. pr., 1487; 2) Inc. 494, Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale* (Comm.: Facinus Tibergera) [Paris, Ulric Gering], n.d.; 3) a miscellany containing a) Sciences et Arts 989, Baptista Mantuanus, *De vita beata*, sine nota [Deventer, Richardus Pafraet, about 1495, Goff B-96?], b) Inc. 501, Johannes Trithemius, *Oratio de vera conversione mentis ad Deum*, n. p., n. pr., 30 August 1500, Hain 15638 (Goff T-450 has [Mainz: Peter von Friedberg, after 20 Nov. 1500], HC 15638), c) Inc. 502, Petrus de Osoma, *Commentaria in symbolum Quicumque vult*, Paris, Pierre Levet [about 1490], HC 12120, Goff O-116; 4) a miscellany containing a) Inc. 519, *Liber hymnorum*, sine nota, b) Inc. 520, *Stella clericorum*, sine nota, c) Inc. 521, Hugo de Sancto Caro, *Speculum ecclesiae*, d) Inc. 522, Johannes Gerson, *Opus tripartitum* [French], Paris, Pierre Levet, 26 July 1486, Pellechet 5199. In these the surname Prévost, not Massiotus, appears.

21. JODOCUS BADIUS ASCENSIVS

The commentary of Jodocus Badius Ascensius is dedicated to Germain de Ganay (d. 1520), *conseiller du roy*, bishop of Cahors in 1509, and bishop of Orléans in 1514. In his dedicatory letter dated 5 June 1510 the author gives due credit to Oliverius Arzignanensis, on whose commentary his own is based; that commentary he has abridged for easier reading and wider diffusion. Appearing first from his own press on 29 April–5 June, his commentary accompanies in this and later editions

that of Oliverius and the text of Valerius, and the entire work is preceded, after the title page and the dedicatory letter on its verso, by an alphabetical index of subjects of Valerius, an alphabetical index of chapter headings, and an index in series of chapter headings.

Dedication (ed. of Paris, 1510). Germano de Ganaio amplissimorum honorum decori praecipuo Iodocus Badius Ascensius observantiam. [Inc.]: Valerii Maximi multiugam, et ut in fronte pollicetur, cum primis memoratu dignorum collectaneam historiam, ab Oliverio Arzignanensi non oscitanter praesertim congruentium historiarum citatione declaratam, propterea succincta faciliq[ue] commentatione exposuimus, Germane splendidissime, quod talem intelleximus desideratam ab iis qui altioribus studiis occupati neque prolixiorum legere velint, neque difficiliorem (saltem prima lectione) capere possint, simulque ut in claustris pagisque ac oppidulis ab litterario gymnasio seiuncti habeant quo sitim suam sedent si non expleant. Omnes enim tam rudi quam cultiore litteratura praediti variarum rerum cognitione ne semper pueri maneant capiuntur, quam utrum quispiam uberius commodiusve ac Valerius noster praestet, affirmare non ausim, siquidem omnium fere et temporum et nationum dicta ac facta tam probanda quam improbanda historico filo contexuit. Quorum cognitio Christianae pietatis cultoribus praeter cetera hoc affert boni, quod dum ethnicorum, quibus vanum erat ante lucem surgere, animos tam propensos aut in superstitionem aut in non usquequaque veram religionem videmus, erubescimus tanto et tam altum exorto sole tam oscitanter stertere. Scilicet illi Voconiae vel Aionis voce aut moniti aut moneri visi, templa arasque erexerint, et nos viva Redemptoris nostri quid dicam praedicatione vocati, immo et morte pretiosissima restituti tam torpescentes obsurdescemus, ut nulla religione excitemur? Illi nihil magni non captis prius auspiciis inchoaverint, et nos quid dicam inconsiderati aut temerarii, immo scelestissimi contra apertissima Dei mandata in nefas proruemus? Illi praeterea pro male persuasa religione aut inani gloriola vitam profuderint, et nos animas impendere vero formidabimus? Illi denique omne virtutum genus

vel vitae pretio emerint, et nos ne voluptatibus privemur virtutem omnem flocci pendemus? Quin etiam, integer lector, dum auctorem ipsum saeculi sui errore in devia abductum videbit, ut quando domum Caesaream nimia prosequitur palpitazione, aut sibi necem consciscendi approbat meticulosam (ut vere cum divino Augustino [cf. *De civitate Dei*, XIX 4, 4] dixero) fortitudinem, aut obscenissimam nescio quo pallio tegit turpitudinem, continuo gratias aget lumini per quod eius hallucinationem et interdum caecitatem perspexerit. Hunc igitur auctorem paucis explanavimus, grammaticas nugellas consulto praetergressi, quod in eo veteranorum potius quam tironum iudicavimus palaestram, quippe in qua non verborum velitationem, sed gravem sententiarum (quae animos penetrent) conflictationem perspeximus. Quam lucubratiunculam, Ganaie, praesidium nostrum dulcissimum et decus amplissimum, quoniam tuo faustissimo suffragio regia maiestas sic respexit ut privilegio et gratia in fronte praefixis eam dignata sit, tuae praestantiae ita devovemus, ut quicumque ea sese adiutos noscent, plus tuo se auspicio quam nostro debere fateantur conatui. Vale. Ex officina nostra chalcographa ad Nonas Iunias. M.D.X.

Commentary. [Inc.]: Iodoci Badii Ascensii familiaris Valerii Maximi expositio. *Urbis Romae* (I *Prooemium*). More oratorio quo ordine rem prosecuturus est proponit. Deinde inveterato sui temporis errore invocat non Deum ipsum patrem luminum unde omne datum et omne donum perfectum est descendens, sed Tiberium Caesarem, quem recepto iam tum consensu in divorum numerum asciscit, quem quidem errorem Laurentius Valla [cf. *Elegantiarum Latinae linguae libri sex*, IV 70] ut acri vir est ingenio acerbe satis detestatur. Postremo loco proposita exequitur ut suis locis declarabimus. In propositione reddit lectorem ex ordine rerum quo prius domestica quam externa se scripturum dicit docilem, ex difficultate suscepti negotii attentum, et ex utilitate et brevitate benivolum, simulque brevitatem ne vitio detur purgat, ut cum ordine latius aperiemus quem ab ultima primae periodi parte auspicabimur, quia fere in construendo et resolvendo contrarius est

ordo, ut quae hic ultima fuerint, sint illic fere prima. Ordo igitur est, *constitui*, id est maturo consensu et praevia deliberatione statui, *deligere*, id est de multis legere et decerpere, *facta simul ac dicta urbis Romae et gentium exterarum*, id est aliarum nationum extra civitatem Romanam, *digna memoratu*, id est quae memorentur, hoc est, recitentur et ad memoriam reducantur. Notum est Valla auctore [*Elegantiarum . . . libri sex*, IV 20] omnes urbes oppida posse dici praeter Romam quae tantum urbs dicitur, usque adeo ut si per se ponatur urbs Roma intelligatur, quo circa possit superflua videri appositio, nam satis esset urbis exterarumque gentium, verum quia dignitas quaedam ex nobilitate rerum gestarum accrevit Romae, noluit id nomen praetermittere, unde autem Roma dicta sit an ab Romulo an ab Ruma an ab ρομη in aliis auctoribus ubi plus sermonis quam morum elegantiam venamur disquirendum censeo. Bene autem praeposit *facta* utpote in quibus plus est ponderis, et quae plus ad imitandum invitant quam *dicta*. Et re vera Romani prius praeclare facere quam dicere coeperunt, quae scilicet facta et dicta sunt diffusa. *Apud alios*, scilicet auctores seu scriptores, *latius*, id est extensius et diffusius, *quam ut* (elegant sermo dici posset etiam quam quae in eadem elegantia et sententia) *possint cognosci breviter*, ut modo cognosci poterunt, *constitui* inquit ea *deligere, electa*, id est excerpta cum iudicio, *ab auctoribus illustribus*, id est claris, nihil ergo triviale aut protritum adducetur, ideo autem *constitui ut labor longae inquisitionis absit*. *Volentibus*, id est iis qui volent aut voluerint (credo autem *volentibus* dativum esse communem, nam ablativum termini a quo regit ut absum domo etc.) *sumere*, id est capere per se, *documenta*, id est exempla et monumenta quibus moneantur quid in faciendo aut dicendo et imitari et devitare debeant, qui maximus est legendae historiae fructus, unde Livius in praefatione, 'Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri, unde tibi tuaeque reipublicae quod imitere capias, unde foedum inceptu foedumque exitu quod vites' etc. *Nec* (ne forte prolixitate deterrearis) *cupido*, id est cupiditas, *complec-*

tendi cuncta, scilicet facta et dicta memoratu digna, *incesso*, id est irrepsit mihi. Dicitur etiam incesso te, quasi lacesso. *Quis enim comprehenderit modico numero voluminum gesta omnis aevi*, quasi diceret nemo; in ea tamen re ingentem laudem meruit Antonius Sabellius [perhaps a reference to his *Enneades ab orbe condito usque ad annum 1504*, in two parts only]. *Aut quis* (si videlicet magno voluminum numero omnia complecti tentaverit) *compos mentis*, id est non insanus, *speraverit se traditurum vel attentiore cura vel praestantiori facundia seriem*, id est rhapsodiam et coordinationem, *historiae domesticae*, id est civitatis tuae, *et peregrinae*, id est externae conditam, *felici*, id est fecundo et bene fortunato, *stilo superiorum*, id est priorum scriptorum, quasi diceret etiam nullus. Et est arguta argumentatio sic concludens, qui quae ab aliis scripta sunt reponunt difficillime poterunt omnia complecti, nam paucis voluminibus non poterunt omnia dicere, et prolixis aut eadem similiter dicent, et erunt supervacanei ac ridiculi. *Aut cura attentiore*, scilicet ad veritatem rei servandum, aut *facundia praestantiore*, quod polliceri videtur arrogantis animi aut sibi non satis constantis. Alterutrum tamen polliceri habent qui alios imitari volunt, quia ut inquit in dicta praefatione Livius, 'Dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius allaturos aliquid se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt.' . . . *Maiores statas* (I 1, 1) Quemadmodum promisit de religionis et deorum cultus origine disserit, docens quorum auctoritate diversa eius genera fulciantur ut cum ordine explanabimus. Ordo autem est, *maiores*, supple nostri, id est prisca Romani, voluerunt *cerimonias*, id est operationes aut res divinas aut sacrificatio-nes, *statas*, id est certo die constitutas, et *sollemnes*, id est anniversaria sacra quae sollemniter semel quotannis fiebant, explicari, *scientia pontificum*, id est iure pontificio quod nunc canonicum dicunt, et *voluerunt auctoritatem bene gerendarum rerum*, id est auspicia, *explicari*, id est declarari et denuntiari, *observatione*, id est animadversione augurum, et voluerunt *praedictionem*, id est vaticinia et oracula *Apollinis explicari libris vatum*, praecipue Sibyllinis, et voluerunt *depulsa*, id est depul-

siones et amotiones *portentorum* quae mali quippiam portenderent, *explicari disciplina Etrusca*, quia Etrusci in ea superstitione peritissime habebantur. Haec autem quam in uno dumtaxat exemplo cognovi, vera mihi videtur lectio, qua suos quaeque auctores habet cerimonia. Alii legunt omnia in ablativo, praeter principium, ut sit ordo, *maiores nostri voluerunt ceremonias statas et sollemnes explicari scientia pontificum, auctoritate rerum gerendarum, observatione augurum, praedictione Apollinis, depulsis portentorum, Etrusca disciplina*, quae lectio certe non placet, praecipue in secundo articulo, nam quae esset *auctoritas bene gerendarum rerum* qua ceremoniae explicantur? Sed pergamus suum cuique iudicium relinquentes, id tamen (tacere enim non possum) quod sequitur lectionem nostram cui simile est approbat. *Opera datur rebus divinis*, id est ceremoniis et sacrificiis, etiam quasi diceret non tantum dictis modis, sed etiam aliis, *prisca*, id est ex antiquo, *instituto*, id est more utpote precatione, *cum aliquid*, ut cuius salus aut honor, *est commendandum*, scilicet diis, *voto*, id est re vota cum aliquid est *exposcendum*, id est quasi iuste a deo petendum, *gratulatione*, id est quasi gratiarum actione, *cum aliquid* est exsolvendum, scilicet deo pro suscepto beneficio, et *extis vel sortibus* cum aliquid est *inquirendum*. *Extas* sunt eminentiora intestina e quibus iudicabant. *Sortes* in Etruria inventae dicuntur daemonum nimirum fraude, unde eas latere quam nosci praestet. *Sacrificio impartito*, id est diis non voto sed iam impenso, *cum peragendum* sit *ritu sollemni*, quia prius offerebant et deinde operabantur quo scilicet sacrificio licet non eiusdem rei, *denuntiationes ostentorum ac fulgurum*, id est quae augures aut haruspices denuntiaverunt procuranda, *procurantur*, id est cura praevia ne quid minantur eveniat purgantur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (IX 15, ext. 2) *Idem*, scilicet Augustus (ut eius laude opus claudat) *coegit barbarum quendam affectantem regnum Cappadociae tamquam esset Ariarates, ob eximiam similitudinem*, scilicet eius cum Ariarate, quem scilicet Ariaratem erat *clarius luce interemptum*, supple esse, a Marco Antonio scilicet triumviro; *quamquam suffultum*, id est munitum, *suffragatione credula*, id est

credularum scilicet *gentium et civitatum paene totius Orientis*, coegit dico *impendere iusto supplicio caput*, scilicet illius, *imminens*, id est inhians, *dementer*, id est cum dementia quadam, *imperio*, scilicet quod Ariarates obtinuerat. Et haec in Valerium.

Editions:

1510, 29 April–5 June. See Composite Editions.

1512. See Composite Editions.

1513, 16 and 28 February. See Composite Editions.

1513, 5 March. See Composite Editions.

1513, 20 August. See Composite Editions.

1513, 30 December. See Composite Editions.

1517, 24 March. See Composite Editions.

1517, 28 March. See Composite Editions.

1518, 6 February. See Composite Editions.

1518, 20 May. See Composite Editions.

1522, [Paris]. See Composite Editions.

1522, Mediolani. See Composite Editions.

1523. See Composite Editions.

1531. See Composite Editions.

1535. See Composite Editions.

1536. See Composite Editions.

1541. See Composite Editions.

1546. See Composite Editions.

1547. See Composite Editions.

1548. See Composite Editions.

1558. See Composite Editions.

1565. See Composite Editions.

1568. See Composite Editions.

1569. See Composite Editions.

1575. See Composite Editions.

1588. See Composite Editions.

1590. See Composite Editions.

1598. See Composite Editions.

1608, Venetiis. See Composite Editions.

1651. A Variorum Edition. See Composite Editions.

1655. A Variorum Edition. See Composite Editions.

1660. A Variorum Edition. See Composite Editions.

1670. A Variorum Edition. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See CTC I, 230–231, III, 273–275.

Add to the bibliography: Marjorie Alkins

Berlincourt, *The Commentary on Valerius Maximus by Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri and Its Influence upon Later Commentaries* (see above s. Dionysius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri, *Editions*). 67; Marie-José Desmet-Goethals, 'Die Verwendung der Kommentare von Badius-Mancinellus, Erasmus und Corderius in der 'Disticha Catonis'—Ausgabe von Livinus Crucius,' pp. 73–88 in *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance*, edd. August Buck and Otto Herding (Boppard, 1975); Aloïs Gerlo, 'Badius Ascensius' "Stultiferae Naves" (1501), a Latin addendum to Sebastian Brant's "Narrenschiff" (1494) (Ship of Fools),' *Folie et déraison à la Renaissance*. Colloque international tenu en novembre 1973, sous les auspices de la Fédération Internationale des Instituts et Sociétés pour l'Étude de la Renaissance (Bruxelles, 1976 [Travaux de l'Institut pour l'Étude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme, 5]), 119–127; Maurice Lebel, 'Les préfaces de Josse Bade (1462–1535[?])', *Cahiers des études anciennes* (Montréal), V (1976), 35–43; Eva M. Sanford, 'Renaissance Commentaries on Juvenal,' *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXIX (1948), 108; Paul Gerhard Schmidt, 'Jodocus Badius Ascensius als Kommentator,' *Der Kommentar . . .*, 63–71; David J. Shaw, 'Badius's Octavo Editions of the Classics,' *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1973, 276–281; Bernard Weinberg, 'Badius Ascensius and the Transmission of Medieval Literary Criticism,' *Romance Philology*, IX (1955), 209–216.

22. MICHAEL MACKIUS

The contribution of Michael Mackius has been transferred here from the *Fortuna* in the hope that greater visibility will call forth some information on his life; we know only, from the title, that he was 'doctissimus magister' and that his remarks on Valerius date from October 1535. The manuscript came to the Vaticana from Heidelberg in 1623, and he may have been a native of the Palatinate. It is a miscellany, in parchment and paper and of various dates, mainly of ecclesiastical texts; Mackius, on paper, comes last in the small volume and bears on its title page the nota-

tions C.81/556, 833, 'Ioannes Cron me possidet,' 'Nec facile mutabo dominum' (sad and ironic in the light of subsequent events), and 'Fortuna ubique dominatur.'

The annotations break off in Book II 9, *praef.* But even before then Mackius had faltered. His comments, almost entirely historical and with documentation provided after each, run with regularity through I 1, ext. 4, at which point, in place of the missing *exempla*, he sets down a few scattered *exempla* from Paris and then jumps to II 8, 2, II 8, 7, and II 9, *praef.* The numbering in some cases differs from that in a modern text. His documentation is precise by book and chapter, copious with several references often for one *exemplum*, and of much interest. Among the ancient writers he knew, whether at first hand or not, Diodorus Siculus, Cicero in several works, Vergil, Livy, Ovid, Strabo, Fenestella (!), Pomponius Mela, Lucan, Pliny the Elder, Josephus, Frontinus, Appian, Plutarch, Juvenal, Suetonius, Gellius, Florus, Lucian, Solinus, Diogenes Laertius, Lactantius, Macrobius, and Orosius, and among writers closer to his own day, Boccaccio, Flavio Biondo, Politian, Pomponio Leto, Raffaele Maffei Volterrano, and Guillaume Budé (still living in October 1535). This is a goodly company, and we should like to know more about Mackius himself beyond the facts that he had an excellent education and that he was 'doctissimus magister.'

Commentary. Annotationes in Valerium Maximum adiectae a doctissimo magistro Michaelae Mackio anno MDXXXV mense Octobri. [A brief Vita follows, and then] In prologum annotationes [I transcribe these entire] *Nam si prisci oratores ab Iove optimo maximo* (I *Prooemium*) Iuppiter a veteribus Romanis optimus maximus vocatus est, quod magnitudine et potentia caeteros excedat deos et quod ipse solus summum sit bonum, in cuius tutela omnium salus. Boccaccius libro 2 capitulo 2. Cicero in oratione contra Clodium et libro 3 de finibus bonorum et malorum. *Paterno avitoque sideri par videtur.* Augustus qui fuit pater adoptivus Tiberii, post obitum Iulii Caesaris ludos Veneri instituit, tum sidus per septem dies ad horam XI apparuisse

fertur, unde divinitatem patris colligebat. Post mortem vero Augusti cum in campo Martio crematus esset vir praetorius effigiem cremati Augusti in coelum euntem vidisse iuravit. Plinius libro 2 capitulo 25 et Suetonius in vita Iulii Caesaris et Augusti. In caput primum libri primi. Titulus de cultu deorum id est religione. [*Inc.*]: (I 1, 1) Religio est vis insita, quae deorum metu et ceremoniis hominum ducit. Differt a superstitione quia religio est verus, superstitio, falsus dei cultus. Cicero libro 2 De natura deorum. *Statas solemnesque ceremonias.* Ceremoniae sunt consuetudines quaedam religionis longo usu confirmatae . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Caput quartum de censoria nota. (II 9, *praef.*) De censoria potestate. Vide Livium libro quarto decadis primae, Plinium libro 18 capitulo 3 et 6, Plutarchum in Catone, Gellium libro 4 capitulo 12 et capitulo 20, item libro 7 capitulo 22, Budaeum in Annotationibus [in quattuor viginti] Pandectarum [libros], Blondum libro 3 de triumphante Roma, Fenestella capitulo 17 et Pomponium Laetum de magistratibus Romanis capitulo 21. *Nam ut opes populi romani.* Collatio rei militaris et censurae [text breaks off].

Manuscript:

(photo.) Vaticano, Città del, Palatinus latinus 863, ff. 128r–148r, an. 1535, breaking off in II 9, *praef.* (Stevenson I, 307, Kristeller, Iter, II, 391). I saw this manuscript before I knew that Mackius would be included here as a commentator.

Biography:

See above p. 386.

23. HENRICUS LORITUS GLAREANUS

The polymath Henricus Loritus Glareanus wrote in 1550 at Freiburg im Breisgau the dedicatory letter to his annotations on Valerius, which he refused to term a commentary. It was addressed to Jodocus a Meggen of Lucerne, last of his line, who under Pope Paul III reestablished in 1548 the elite corps of Swiss Guards and continued as its captain under Julius III; he had traveled in Turkey, Palestine, and Persia, was said to be very well versed in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, and Slavic, collected coins and

antiquities, and was possessed of a profound culture in literary matters. In the 1577 edition the text of Valerius is preceded by the 'Sermo de virtute in Valerium Maximum' of Antonius Urceus, surnamed Codrus (see above p. 366) and is followed by 'Exempla christiana multifaria insignium dictorum et factorum in usum christianae iuventutis,' a precursor of the similar work by Balthasar Exner, by the 'Annotationes' of Loritus which are provided with a separate title page and pagination (115 octavo pages), and by a helpful list, with translation, of Greek words occurring in Valerius. The dedicatory letter of and the introduction to what is really a selective commentary speak for themselves. The commentary selects passages from all nine books to the number of 205; of these 55 occur in Book I alone, and the remaining books are shortchanged to totals of only 28, 23, 18, 17, 16, 14, 17, and 17 respectively. The author speaks of using manuscripts, mentions the Aldine codex, and cites the commentaries and work of Oliverius, Aulus Janus Parrhasius, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius. His annotations deal mainly with grammatical points and historical matters and give many references to authors writing before and after Valerius. There was an edition at Leiden, with other commentaries, as late as 1726.

Loritus is frank and honest in maintaining that the 'Annotationes' are not a commentary, 'Non enim commentarium, ut ante diximus, sed difficilium ac corruptorum locorum annotationes scribimus' (no. 143) and 'Multa huiusmodi dissimulo, ne qui annotationes promiserim, me scripturum commentarium prodere videar' (no. 172); in admitting the fact when he cannot help, 'Ego quid addam quod placeat, non habeo' (no. 2) and 'Sed locus est corruptus, quem ego nunc sanare non possum' (no. 69) and in leaving the final decision on a point to the reader, 'Lector quod volet, sequatur' (no. 41), 'Mihi sane hae expositiones non satis faciunt, neque tamen habeo aliam, ideo locum inexplicatum lectori relinquere satius est visum' (no. 56), 'Lector ipse apud autores attendat utrum rectius fuerit. Nam de mea opinione facile concedam in alterius melius sentientis traditionem' (no. 119),

'Quare hoc lectori iudicandum relinquam' (no. 123), 'Iudicium sit penes lectorem' (no. 152), and 'Lector quid sequendum sit, dispiciat' (no. 187); in recognizing textual corruptions and the inability of commentators to correct them, 'Post haec verba in plerisque codicibus sequitur caput de neglecta religione, sed in magis emendatis tria hic desunt exempla observatae religionis, quae ad hoc addentur caput de cultu deorum' (no. 15), 'Hic locus haud dubie corruptus est, nec a commentatoribus intellectus' (no. 41), 'Quid dicam candide Lector? Nam libet tecum nunc loqui; tantus author in tot doctorum virorum manibus hodie versatus, a nullo scriptore non citatus, ita corrupte legitur. Non dubito calumniam quorundam me subitum, quod quaedam liberius cum in authorem ipsum, tum multo magis in codicem depravatum dixerim. Authorem excusat Romanorum scriptorum negligentia . . . Codicum tamen fides magis culpanda videtur. Sed quid prohibet, in omnia errata strenue clamemus? Maiestas illa Romana terreat scilicet hominem Christianum? . . . Quod verum invenio, etiam ab homine ethnico accipio; quod a veritate alienum, nihil ad me attinuerit' (no. 149), 'In calce huius exempli impudens erratum est commentatorum' (no. 163), and 'Talia multa male a commentatoribus exposita, consulto transilimus' (no. 184); in judging adversely Valerius and other Roman historians, 'Valerius hercle ex officio fidi historici dignum operae pretium fecisset, si et locum et tempus et imperatorem, ubi et sub quo pugnatum, vel uno verbo indicasset. Sed ita Romani scriptores Graecorum vincunt diligentiam, scilicet' (no. 88), 'Hic locus arguit non parum Romanorum in scribenda historia negligentiam' (no. 95), 'In tanta igitur Republica in tot milibus exemplorum, Valerius ne unum quidem felicitatis exemplum invenire potuit' (no. 158), 'An non hic liquet, quam nihil pensi habuit Valerius, quid posterius de suis scriptis iudicarent? cum ne hoc quidem loco dignetur addere vel uno verbo de quonam Metello loquatur' (no. 159), 'At nos ea latius persequi noluimus; non enim nos latet, quam saepe rebus variatum sit in Romana historia, ac negligentia Romanorum scriptorum se ipsa ubique prodat' (no. 197); in stat-

ing for whom he is writing, 'Haec ideo adducta, ut discant iuvenes cum iudicio authores legere ac videant non ita anxios fuisse perpetuo, ut quidam existimant' (no. 130), and in giving credit to a mentor, 'Tractat hunc locum Erasmus diligenter in Apophthegmatum lib. 8 [Thrasea, 22]' (no. 145) and 'admonuit nos eius rei dominus Erasmus Roterodamus praeceptor noster (no. 190).

Dedication (ed. of Basel, 1577). Nobili ac strenuo viro, equiti aurato, domino Iodoco a Meggen Lucerino, sanctissimi Domini Nostri papae Iulii III pontificis maximi a sacra custodia celerumque duci, Glareanus salutem dicit plurimam. [*Inc.*]: Si quisquam alius diligenter ac vere de historica ratione disseruit, clarissime domine Iodoce, certe M. Tullius Cicero, Romanae eloquentiae princeps, libro II de Oratore, quanquam obiter ac neutiquam ex proposito, eleganter tamen et docte, ut omnia solet, executus est. Historia, inquit [*De oratore* II 9, 36] est 'testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuncia vetustatis.' Haec ille apposite, diserte, ac copiose. Quid enim homini ad vitae huius miserrimae taedia levanda, ad eiusdem emendanda etiam vitia, denique ad aeternae felicitatis gloriam contingere potest utilius historia? Porro quod Gellius alicubi [*Noctes atticae*, V 18, where Gellius distinguishes between history and annals] etiam innuit, Historiae duplex est modus: alter, qui temporum rationem, magistratum, procerum ac regum recenset nomina, rem ad historiam quidem necessariam, caeterum ad vitae emendationem non multum adferentem utilitatis; alter longe magis ad historiae vim ac energiam pertinens, quo in rebus gestis digna proferuntur exempla. Hic modus historiae conscribendae plurimum prodesse legentibus poterit, est enim is verus historiae scopus. Huius hercle modi principem locum obtinet historia evangelica, qua non est alia vel simplicior, vel verior, vel faciliior, adde augustior, in qua ubique amissim (ut dici solet) verba ac facta respondent. Atqui de hac pauca, et cum verecundia loqui fortassis praestiterit. Ad eam porro proxime accedit veteris instrumenti veritas, quanquam figuris ac typis involutior, ac proinde obscurior. Post divinam vero historiam difficulter

dixeris, quam cui praeferas, quam potissimum vel eligas, vel probes, Romanis suam, Graecis item suam efferentibus, denique alteris alteros de veritatis elogio culpantibus utcunque sunt hominum affectus; mihi quidem nec Graeco, nec Romano, ac proinde huiusmodi affectus haudquaquam obnoxio, Historia profecto a Thucidide ac Herodoto descripta longe eminere videtur, in qua breviter plurima rerum ac eloquentiae mirifica sunt exempla, nullis Livii Salustii cedentia exemplis, quantumvis brevis hic, ille autem copiosus. Romanis satis visum fuit Graecos mendacii insimulare, leves dicere ac rerum imperitos, cum inter Romanos scriptores mira sit variatio ac velut de singulis rebus digladiatio. Quod qui scire cupiat Salustium Liviumque, ut alios omittam, comparet, ac ipse secum consideret quam diversa de Urbis origine, de Romulo, de aboriginibus, Troianis, Albanis multisque aliis scriptis prodiderint. Quam longe circumspectius Dionysius Halicarnasseus in Romana historia homo Graecus omnia digessit. Saepe Livius dimidiatam implet paginam in magistratum nomenclatura, quae nihil sane ad lectorem. Quanquam Livium excusare potest Romanorum ambitio, quorum suos quisque gentileis, qui magistratum gessissent, legere in historia voluit; si quis scriptorum nomina magistratum omisisset, impune non ferebat. Atqui inde Romana historia omnino portentosa facta est, ac ad lectorem nihil utilitatis adferebat, imo ingens taedium. Longe felicius Graeci providentia summa tractarunt historiam. Nam quid dicam geographiae studium? quam negligens ibi Livius, maxime in regionibus, ubi Graecis authoribus destituitur, ut Africis ac occiduis describendis. Nec minus Sallustius, apud quem nullus propemodum locus geographice, quanquam chorographice descriptus est, etiam in Africa, ubi pulchellus ille [P. Clodius Pulcher] raptorem pro praetore se gessit. Contra apud Graecos, quantus geographus Herodotus, qui totum fere terrarum orbem, quantum ei eo tempore innotescere potuit, in illis novem Musis nobis descripsit. Nec minor Thucydidis in locis describendis diligentia comprobatur. Sed ego haec frustra scribo pluribus, qui invidentia fortassis, non iudicio hoc dici a me falso putabant.

Quare nunc desino et tibi et illis hac de re esse molestus. Caeterum cum Valerius Maximus author celeberrimus, qui et in omnium manu habetur et ubique publice legitur, tam mendosus vulgo circumferatur, existimavi operae pretium me facturum, si obiter eum percurrerem, ac loca carptim quaedam pernotarem. Id quod ego sedulo feci, ac nunc sub tuo nomine in ora hominum comptiorem, quam hactenus prodierit, emittimus. Ducentos enim aut plures naevos aut cicatrices illi ademimus. Sed quae ad authorem reliqua perexigua fuerint mox subnectemus, ne diutius, quam aequum est, te obtundamus. Tu optime Iodoce, me (ut assoles) ama. Cui Deus omnipotens dedit, ut sanctissimo domino nostro papae Iulio III pontifici omnibus modis maximo sis nunc tam charus. 'Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est,' ut inquit Flaccus [Horace, *Epist.* I 17, 35]. Id etiam non parvo me afficit gaudio, quod dominus Aegidius Tschudus [the Swiss historian Aegidius Tschudi (1505–1572), who was, like Loritus, a native of Glarus] mihi ut frater colendus, te tam unice deligit, sed similes cum similibus, ut est apud Cicero[nem] [*De senectute* 3, 7, Pares autem, vetere proverbio, cum paribus facillime congregantur] facillime congregetur [*sic*]. Idem Deus tibi, una cum dilecta uxore et familia tua, quae Luceriae in Helvetiis insignis hactenus vixit, meritam det gratiam et incrementum tuis virtutibus dignum, ut honoratum parentem tuum [Wernerus a Meggen, who had participated in the battle of Novara in 1513 and of Marignano in 1515 and served as ambassador to the emperor Charles V] omnium virtutum ornamentis vel aequis, vel etiam superes. Vale felix. Friburgi Brisgoae, anno a Iesu Christi natali D. M. L.

Introduction. Henrichi Loriti Glareani, Caroli V. imperatoris familiaris, in Valerium Maximum Annotationes. [*Inc.*]: Dubitatum apud plerosque video, sitne Valerii hoc opus merito historiae nomine appellandum, cum videatur exemplorum potius quaedam collectio ac velut consarcinatio, ut critici eius dicunt; videlicet, ubi nulla temporum ratio, quae historiae lux est, nec ullus rerum gestarum ordo, sine quo omnis historia manca est apparet. Cui dubitationi responderi potest, verum

quidem esse, Valerium nullam certam historiam scribere, at historici tamen officium abunde his voluminibus praestitisse. Finis enim historiae est, ut 'inde tibi (inquit in praefatione [10] Livius) tuaeque reipublicae quod imitere, capias, unde foedum inceptu, foedumque exitu, quod vites.' Quod in hisce libris non paulo facilius reperiatur, quam in ingenti aliorum historicorum sylva. Nec minus item dubitatum est apud quosdam, quis nam hic fuerit Valerius; nihil enim certi apud alios authores de eo reperitur. Plinius in immensa illa authorum nomenclatura semel duntaxat eum citat, nempe libro 7. Hac autem potissimum de causa hunc collectum librum esse contendunt (quando taedio tot prolixorum historicorum apud Romanos plerique affecti) rationem enim hunc authorem inire voluisse, ut id taedii tolleretur quod ex tanta authorum prolixitate nasceretur. Sunt enim quidam ex his, qui prope hominis aetatem desiderant. Nam praeter Trogum, [Q. Claudium] Quadrigarium, Sallustium, et alios quosdam, qui olim extabant, quot annis lectoris animum occupabant CXL. Livii volumina? ut interim Graecos taceam, et copiosiores et plures, etiam Romanam scribentes historiam. Quales Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Polybius, Appianus, Plutarchus. Consultum igitur, quisquis fuit huius operis author, voluit haud dubie, vel pauperibus, qui grandia volumina habere non poterant, aut tardis occupatisque aliis negotiis ingeniis, quorum numerus et semper fuit maior, et hodie est, et erit quoad hic constiterit mundus.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: 1. *Maiores stas solennesque ceremonias* (I 1, 1). Operae pretium est videre quam statim hic initio ac velut in vestibulo laboriosae huius expositionis, et mirifice impingant commentatores et lector ipse dubius, cuius sit sententiae, haereat. Duplex enim est hic lectio, altera quae quaternis clausulis accusativum cum ablativo connectit hoc ordine: *Maiores* explicari voluerunt *stas solennesque ceremonias, pontificum scientia*; *Maiores* voluerunt explicari *bene gerendarum rerum auctoritatem, augurum observationem*, *Maiores* voluerunt explicari *Apollinis praedictionem, vatum libris*. *Maiores* voluerunt explicari *portentorum depulsa, Hetrusca*

disciplina. Et hanc lectionem Badius sequitur, et placet. Altera est lectio, quae omnes hosce accusativos per ablativos legit, atque ita plerique codices habent: hoc sensu, *Maiores explicari voluerunt statas solennesque ceremonias, pontificum scientia, bene gerendarum rerum autoritate, augurum observatione, Apollinis praedictione, vatum libris, portentorum depulsis Hetrusca disciplina* atque ita legisse Ianus Parrhasius dicitur. Sed quomodo *cerimoniae* explicantur *autoritate bene gerendarum rerum*? Sane meo quidem iudicio Badii lectio augustior est et magnificentior: continet enim longe plura ad religionem pertinentia. Certe Oliverius Arzignanensis, qui in hunc authorem plurimum operae pretium fecit, ac multo labore plurima dignissime congescit, hunc locum neque intellexit neque legit. Connectit enim aut *libris portentorum depulsis*, mox subnectens triplicem expositionem, ut est foecunda ignorantia, quoties recte explicare se nequit. Locus videtur sumptus ex Ciceronis oratione de aruspicum responsis [9, 18], sed et apud Ciceronem navi sunt distinctionum, ut sileam verborum, quae omnia prosequi non est huius instituti. 2. *Prisco etiam instituto rebus divinis*. Secunda haec pars prope difficilior, in qua gerundiis in DUM singulari respondent ablativi. Unde et quinque videntur clausulae hoc ordine. *Prisco instituto rebus divinis opera datur*. Primum, *cum aliquid commendandum est diis*, id fit *precatione* (quidam contextus habent *placatione*). Secundo quando aliquid *exposcendum* a diis, id fit *voto*. Tertio cum aliquid *exolvendum*, id fit *gratulatione*. Quarto, cum quid *inquirendum vel extis vel sortibus*, id fit *impartito*. Quinto, cum quid *solenni ritu peragendum*, id fit *sacrificio*, *quo etiam ostentorum ac fulgurum denunciationes procurantur*. Quamvis ultimae duae clausulae possent etiam in unam ita coerceri. *Cum inquirendum est aliquid vel extis vel sortibus impartito*, id *peragendum est sacrificio cum solenni ritu, quo etiam ostentorum ac fulgurum denunciationes procurantur*. Ut cum sit praepositio ad ablativum *Solenni ritu*. Badius autem ita ultimas duas particulas ordinat. *Cum inquirendum est aliquid*, id fit *vel extis vel sortibus*: sed cum quid *solenni ritu peragendum*, id fit *impartito sacri-*

ficio. Qui ordo placeret si adiectivum *impartito* non nimis longe a suo substantivo, *sacrificio*, semotum in contextu esset. Lector sequatur quod volet, participium hercle *impartito*, utut ordinaverimus, ubique negotium facescit, Oliverius connectit tō *impartito*, cum *solenni ritu*, ac exponit, adhibito: Badius Diis non *voto*, sed iam *impensio*. Quidam, non *diviso*, sine discrimine. Ego quid addam quod placeat, non habeo . . . / . . . [Expl.]: 205. *De Assidonis filio falso dicto* (IX 15, 5). A secundo Syllae consulatu usque ad Augusti imperium 37. sunt anni, nimis longum tempus ad ulciscendum hunc hominem ideoque dubium de utro Caesare loquatur author, cum tamen sequentia omnia sint de Augusto.

Editions:

(*) 1553, Basileae (Basel): per Henrichum Petri. Fabricius, BL (Venice, 1728), II 393; NUC (NV 0016208). (NNC).

(*) 1562, Basileae (Basel), Henricus Petri. Graesse, VI 245.

1577, Basileae (Basel), ex officina Henricopetrina. Fabricius, II 393. BL; (DMS).

1726, A Variorum edition. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See CTC II, 343–344, and cf. III, 105, 127.

Add to the bibliography: (for Wernerus and Jodocus a Meggen), *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse*, IV (Neuchâtel, 1928), 703 and Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, LXXII (Venezia, 1855), 153–154.

24. STEPHANUS VINANDUS PIGHIUS

The edition of Stephanus Pighius published by Christophorus Plantinus at Antwerp in 1567 broke new ground, as the title quite accurately indicates when it presents ‘Valerii Maximi dictorum factorumque memorabilium libri IX. infinitis mendis ex veterum exemplarium fide repurgati, atque in meliorem ordinem restituti per Stephanum Pighium Campensem. Accedunt in fine eiusdem annotationes in loca plusquam DCCC.’ The figure is no idle claim; the notes, of varying length and rather evenly distributed throughout all nine books, are numbered beginning with 1 for

each chapter and run to the eighties and nineties for each of the first seven books and over a hundred each for books VIII and IX, to a grand total indeed of 848. Pighius cites by location five manuscripts at Arras, Gembloux (perhaps our *Bruxellensis* 5336), Kampen, and Köln (2) and four named for the following scholars: Johannes Cauchius (Johannes Kukius, Jan van Cuyck, d. 1566), an antiquarian and philologist of Utrecht who edited 'Aemilius Probus,' i.e., Cornelius Nepos, and Cicero's *De officiis* and whom we have met in the *Fortuna* as an editor of Valerius; Theodorus Pulmannus (Theodor Poelmann, CTC I 234–235, III 293–294), born in 1510 in Kranenburg, who was *corrector* for the Plantin press and worked on several Latin authors; Jacobus Susius (Jacques de Suys, 1520–1592), humanist, philologist, poet, and friend of Justus Lipsius, on whom see below, p. 396; and that important figure of the Reformation, Heinrich Winckel (1493–1551).

In the dedicatory letter of the complete edition, which was addressed from Brussels on 13 August 1566 to Carolus Philippus de Croy (1549–1613), marquis of Havré in Belgium, then aged seventeen, Pighius discourses, as had his predecessors, on the value of history, praises the eminent contribution of Valerius in setting forth as on a stage the tragicomedy of human life, bemoans the mutilated and contaminated state of his text, and shares with the reader some details of the new edition. He had long wanted, he says, to present the text in new dress, and at the urging of Plantin he expedited matters; however, the task to which he had allotted three months(!) actually consumed six, since he had to start from scratch and there was such diversity in his manuscripts (which he numbered imprecisely 'octo vel decem') that he felt himself in a labyrinth where he knew not which turn to take. No one, he is sure, can appreciate his labors who does not compare his edition with those that have preceded it. He presents a Valerius 'purior toga indutum . . . , magisque sanum, integrum ac nitidum. Amplius enim quam octingentos naevos insignes emaculavimus, vastas lacunas supplevimus veterum exemplarium auxilio, cicatrices atque ulcera foeda plura sanavimus,'

and he has emended only sparingly and only when absolutely necessary.

While some modern editors would take these statements with more than one grain of salt, would see fantasy operating, would accuse Pighius of inventing many readings, would credit him with a host of corrections but still charge him with wholesale corruptions, his edition and its annotations, which I treat as a commentary, constitute undeniably a long step toward textual criticism as we know it today. The edition has a special interest for the modern scholar because its reception, distribution, and the influence which it exerted during his lifetime can be traced in his correspondence and in that of Plantin. The series of editions continued through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and even into the eighteenth.

The commentary itself appears in the 1574, Antwerp, edition on signatures A-E⁸F1-6 (91 pages newly numbered) after the text of the nine books of Valerius and the so-called Book X, which will be treated below (p. 401). It reveals not only the manuscripts which Pighius was using but also the scholars of his own century, in addition to the four named above, with whom he was in touch concerning Valerius or whose work in classical philology he knew by some other means. These are the following (I record only one occurrence in each instance): (p. 21) Antonius Augustinus (Antonio Agustín, 1517–1586), theologian, historian, and canonist who was successively bishop of Alife and of Lerida and archbishop of Tarragona and who worked on Festus, Verrius Flaccus, and Varro; (p. 11) Jodocus Badius Ascensius, on whose commentary see above, p. 383; (p. 45) Gulielmus Budaeus (Guillaume Budé, 1467–1540) of Paris, the eminent scholar of Greek whose impact on classical scholarship continues powerful today; (p. 2), Sebastianus Corradus, whom we have met in the *Fortuna* as an editor of Valerius; (p. 53) Sigismundus Gelenius (d. 1554) of Prague, who was *corrector* for the Froben press; (p. 30) 'Gifanius noster,' i.e., Obertus Giphanius (van Giffen, 1534–1604), the jurisconsult, philosopher, and philologist of Geldern whose edition of Lucretius had been published by the Plantin press in 1565;

(p. 88), Nicolaus Gruchius (Nicolas de Grouchy, c. 1520–1572) of Rouen, who taught at Paris and Bordeaux, worked on Aristotle, and published *De comitiis romanorum*; (p. 4), Augustinus Hunnaeus (1521–1577) of Mechelen (Malines), theologian who worked on the Church Fathers, logic, and Aristotle and who furnished the Gembloux manuscript; (p. 3) Henricus Loritus Glareanus, on whose commentary see above, p. 387; (p. 13) Johannes Metellus (Matalis, Jean Matal, 1520–1597) of Poligny, jurisconsult and friend of Antonius Augustinus; (p. 30) Johannes Pierius Valerianus (1477–1558) of Belluno, who was occupied with Vergil, Horace, and Propertius and wrote a famous book on the misfortunes of scholars and another on hieroglyphics; (p. 22) Petrus Pithoeus (Pierre Pithou, 1539–1596) of Troyes, who worked on Juvenal, Persius, Phaedrus, Salvia, and Petronius; (p. 7) Carolus Sigonius (1520–1584, CTC II 344–346) of Modena, historian and critic, who was occupied with Livy, ancient chronology, Roman law, and political institutions; (p. 2). Adrianus Turnebus (Adrien Turnèbe, 1512–1565), who was born in Normandy, taught at Toulouse and Paris, was concerned with Greek and Latin textual criticism, and wrote thirty books of *Adversaria* which explained or emended passages in the ancient authors.

The contributions of Claudius Mitalerius and Justus Lipsius soon became attached to the commentary of Pighius; they are treated separately below. My reader may like to know that just before the index in the 1574 edition the ecclesiastical imprimatur is provided: 'In his Valerii libris et doctissimis annotationibus nihil continetur quod sanctae Catholicae Romanae Ecclesiae religionem offendant, et ut imprimantur studiosis utilissimum est.' It was properly executed and attested by Henricus Dunghen, *canonicus* at Antwerp. Finally, after the index the emperor Maximilian II grants to Christophorus Plantinus a general privilege dated from Vienna 21 February 1565.

Introduction (ed. of Antwerp, 1574; these remarks on the 'Annotationes' are included in the dedicatory letter of the complete edition, which begins 'Illustrissimo principi Caro-

lo Philippo de Croy, domino de Haurech etc., natalium splendore clarissimo adolescenti Stephanus Pighius salutem dicit. Gravis omnino atque perniciose, Carole princeps generosissime, humano generi res est ignorantia, non solum publicis moribus noxia . . .' and ends 'Deum optimum maximum interim precor ut inter huius vitae ambages atque pericula dirigat gressus tuos, teque felicem atque incolumem diu servet. Bruxellae Idibus Augustis, anno M. D. LXVI.') . . . Adieci insuper in calce operis quasdam nostras annotationes, in quibus cum multa ad auctoris huius explicationem potuissem adducere, ne tamen nimis essem prolixus; satis visum fuit emendationum causas reddidisse lectori, non omnium tamen, esset enim fastidiosum ac fere infinitum omnia loca mutata persequi, cum in ordine tam verborum quam periodon, tum etiam in propriis nominibus ubique fere corruptis. Quae etiamsi inter octingentos naevos non numerem, et in annotationibus praetereantur; velim tamen persuasum esse, non nisi ex antiquitatis fide atque veterum codicum auctoritate ea me mutasse. . . .

Commentary [Inc.]: 1 *Urbis Romae exterarum gentium* (I *Prooemium*) Liber manuscriptus, quem nobis praestitit D. Iacobus Susius vir omnifaria eruditione ac virtute conspicuus, ita exorditur praefationem: *Populi Romani exterarumque gentium facta*, Quae quidem lectio placet. Proprie namque magis dicimus facta populi Romani, quam urbis Romae. Sic Livius historiae suae exordio [1] ait, 'Si res populi Romani perscripsero,' non, Si res urbis Romae perscripsero. Et Sallustius in prooemio de coniuratione Catilinae [c. 4] 'Statui res gestas populi Romani perscribere,' non urbis Romae. 2 *Mea parvitas* Utitur vocabulo Tullius de universitate [*De universo*, or *Timaeus* 13, 47] sed in significatione quantitatis. 'Quae cerni non possent propter parvitatem.' Valerius autem pro vilitate seu humilitate ponit. Qua in significatione eius primitivo [primitiva] parvus, saepe veteres sunt usi. . . . Capite primo. 1 *Maiores nostri stas solemnesque caeremonias* (I 1, 1) Exorditur a primis caeremoniarum Romanarum fundamentis, quem locum haud dubio Valerius ex Ciceronis oratione de aruspicum responsis [9, 18] est mutua-

tus. Itaque cum varia et obscura eius lectio reperiatur in exemplaribus, vulgari illa reiecta, quae *statas solemnesque caeremonias pontificum scientia, bene gerendarum rerum auctoritate, augurum observatione, Apollinis praedictione, vatum libris, portentorum depulsis, Etrusca disciplina* explicari dicit, probare hanc malim, quae Ciceronis sententiae et verbis quam maxime convenit, et quemadmodum ipse Cicero quaternis sententiam clausulis finit. . . . 2 *Cum inquirendum vel extis vel sortibus, impertito* Adrianus Turnebus [in his *Adversaria?*] *impetrato* corrigit; quod sane vetustum ac augurale est vocabulum. . . . [Expl.]: 4 *Credula suffragatione suffultum caput* (IX 15, ext. 2) *Fultum* in manuscriptis. Sic 'Fultum gloria imperium' dixit Cicero officiorum tertio [III 22, 88] Item Plinius in epistula [IX 13, 11] 'Praeterea qua gratia, quibus amicitiiis fultum.'

Editions:

(*) 1567, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Christophori Plantini. Charles Louis Ruelens and Augustin De Backer, *Annales plantiniennes* (Paris, 1866 and Burt Franklin reprint, 1967, Bibliography and Reference Series, #127), p. 70, no. 11; *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV; NUC. BL; (CtY; NNC).

1574, 12 June, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Christophori Plantini. Ruelens and De Backer, p. 149, no. 24; *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV; Adams V-116; NUC. BL; BN; (NNNAM; CtY; DMS).

1576. See Composite Editions.

1581. See Composite Editions.

1585. See Composite Editions.

1587. See Composite Editions.

1592, Lugduni. See Composite Editions.

1592, Antverpiae. See Composite Editions.

1594. See Composite Editions.

(*) 1596, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): apud Franciscum Raphelengium. Adams V-123; NUC. BL; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; (ViU; MH).

1600. See Composite Editions.

1601, Lugduni. See Composite Editions.

1601, Francofurti. See Composite Editions.

1601, s.l. [Genevae]. See Composite Editions.

1602, s.l. [Genevae]. See Composite Edi-

tions.

1606. See Composite Editions.

1607, Lugduni, apud Antonium de Harsy. See Composite Editions.

1607, Lugduni, apud J. Pillehotte. See Composite Editions.

1608, Antverpiae. See Composite Editions.

1612, Lugduni. See Composite Editions.

1612, Lugduni Batavorum. See Composite Editions.

1614, Antverpiae. See Composite Editions.

1614, Hanoviae. See Composite Editions.

1618. See Composite Editions.

1620. See Composite Editions.

1621, Antverpiae, apud Ioannem Keerbergium. See Composite Editions.

1621, Antverpiae, apud Henricum Aertisium. See Composite Editions.

1621, Antverpiae, apud Martinum Nutium. See Composite Editions.

1627. See Composite Editions.

1651. A Variorum edition. See Composite Editions.

1655. A Variorum edition. See Composite Editions.

1660. A Variorum edition. See Composite Editions.

1670. A Variorum edition. See Composite Editions.

1726. A Variorum edition. See Composite Editions.

1782. A Variorum edition. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Stephanus Vinandus Pighius (Étienne Winand Pighius, Stephanus Wynants Pigge) was born Wynants at Kampen in 1520 and took the surname by which he is more commonly known from his celebrated uncle, the theologian Albertus Pighius. Educated first at Utrecht, where he probably knew Johannes Cauchius, and Louvain, where he specialized in Latin studies, he went in 1547 to Italy and under the patronage of Marcello Cardinal Cervini, in 1555 Pope Marcellus II, was able to sketch old buildings and monuments and to transcribe their inscriptions. On the sudden death of the Pope on 10 May 1555 he entered in Brussels, as librarian and secretary of Latin letters, the service of Antoine Perre-

not de Granvelle (1517–1586), bishop of Arras, who had had close relations with the emperor Charles V and with Philip II, king of Spain, and later became archbishop of Malines, cardinal, and viceroy of Naples. It was he who introduced Pighius to Plantin. Remuneration, however, was slim, Pighius was unable to secure benefices, and in straitened circumstances he had cause to be grateful to the assistance of friends like Andreas Masius (1514–1573). Through Masius he accompanied Charles Frederick, elder son of William, Duke of Cleve, in 1571 to Vienna and the court of Maximilian II, where he met such scholars as Johannes Sambucus, Rembert Dodoens, Carolus Clusius, and Justus Lipsius. The prince died suddenly in Rome on 9 February 1575; Pighius settled then in Xanten, devoted himself to his catalogues of Roman magistrates, and died there in 1604.

Works: Pighius was the author of *Mythologia εἰς τὰς ὥρας vel in anni partes . . .* (Lovanii, 1559), on a bas-relief found near Arras; *Themis Dea, seu de lege divina* (Antverpiae, 1568), on a marble term; and *Hercules Prodicus, seu principia iuventutis, vita et peregrinatio* (Antverpiae, 1587), on the travels, illness, and death of Charles Frederick. He is better known, however, for his investigations of the annals of ancient Rome in *Annales magistratuum et provinciarum S. P. Q. R. ab urbe condita . . .* (Antverpiae, 1599–1615, 3 vols.), the first volume of which was published during his lifetime, the second and third posthumously under the editorship of Andreas Schottus.

Bibl.: *Biographie nationale de Belgique* XVII (Bruxelles, 1903), 502–509; Hoefer LX, 219; Jöcher III, 1563; Michaud XXXIII, 310; Sandys (New York, 1958), II, 217.

Stephani Vinandi Pighii Epistolarium, published from the Brussels Copy, *Cart. et Man.*, 187, with introductions and notes by Henry de Vocht (Louvain, 1959 [Humanistica Lovaniensia, 15]). Professor Kristeller notes that the transcription is from Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume, Manuscrits divers 187, and that Pighius's large collection of ancient inscriptions survives in Berlin (West), Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. fol.

61, 61a, 61f, and 61h. The editor gives in his 'List of Personages' a cross-reference from Maximus to Valerius Maximus, but there is no entry for Valerius Maximus. Searching establishes, however, that Valerius is the or a subject certainly in letters 54 (the dedicatory letter to the 1567 edition), 55, 58, 60, 62, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 79, 87, 94, 106, 128, 194, 195, 205, 211, 218, 219, 229, 243, 260, 281C, 282, and 287. See also Christoph Plantin, *Correspondance*, publiée par Max Rooses (Nendeln, Liechtenstein, Kraus reprint, 1968), I, 17, 62, 183, II, 14.

25. CLAUDIUS MITALERIUS

The influence of Pighius was almost immediately felt. Antonius Gryphius published at Lyon in 1576 the text of Valerius ostensibly edited by Pighius and by Claudius Mitalerius, judge of Vienne, and carrying the annotations of both. In many instances, in fact, those of Mitalerius involve readings of Pighius. In extent, however, they are far fewer; in the 1581 edition they occupy only sixteen quite small octavo pages. The annotations are printed without any reference whatsoever to the chapters or even the books in which the passages annotated (37, unnumbered) occur. Searching establishes that these are as follows, and in the following order: I 1, 1 (3), I 1, 7, I 1, 19, I 1, 20, I 3, 3, I 4, 1, I 7, 7, II 5, 4, II 6, 8, II 7, 12, V 3 ext.3, III 2, 23, IV 3, 9, V 6, 4, V 3, ext.3 (3), V 4, 3, V 4, 6, V 4, ext.3, V 10, ext.1, VI 4, 1, VI 5, 5, VI 7, 1, VII 2, 5, VII 2, ext.7, VIII 3, 1, VIII 12, ext.1, VIII 14, 2, VIII 14, ext.1, VIII 15, 7, IX 1, 5, IX 2, ext.2, IX 6, 3, IX 14, ext.3. The annotations precede the text of Valerius; they in turn are preceded by three pages devoted to a life of Valerius and constituting a dedicatory letter which Mitalerius ends with a few remarks on his editing. Short lives of Valerius gleaned from the exempla had been carried repeatedly in manuscripts and printed editions; this one, somewhat longer, is no more satisfying and could not be in view of the paucity of facts available then and still. The edition was reprinted at Lyon in 1587 and 1592, and the Vita appeared, without the remarks on editing, in the edition of

Christophorus Colerus at Frankfurt in 1601, in Elzevir editions of the second half of the seventeenth century, and as late as the Leiden edition of 1726. The opinion of Mitalerius on the *De praenominibus* is treated below.

Dedication (ed. of 1581). Valerii Maximi vita, C. Mitalerio Viennensis provinciae iuridico auctore, ad Ioannem Buffevantium in suprema Delphinatium curia praesidem [in Dauphiné]. [*Inc.*]: Valerii Maximi praenomen librorum incuria iam olim amissum vero propius est, quam ab ipso omissum fuisse. Ridiculum est autem quod maternum genus eius quidam a Fabia gente repetunt cognominis argumento. Nam praeterquam quod id aliis quibusdam Romanis gentibus commune fuit, ut Carbiliae, Corneliae, Manliae, constat certe id longe ante in Valeria, quam in Fabia gente fuisse . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Itaque libro IX. inter dictorum improborum factorumque sceleratorum exempla ultio, ceu colophonem, loco Seiani (quod recte subodoratus est Pighius) suppresso tamen singulari quodam adulandi artificio eius nomine supra omnium flagitiorum conditionem perfidiam audaciamque incessit. Capitum seriem atque discretionem Pighianam, quam ille se in veteribus codicibus offendisse scribit, retinuimus. Multas non modo a librariis, verum etiam ab emendatoribus iniurias acceperat, quarum a plerisque cum acerrima cura, plurimorumque atque optimorum exemplarium ope idem Pighius vindicavit. Nos illis praesidiis destituit, si quid forte spe aut potius desiderio nostro minus praestitisse videbimur, temporis angustiiis munerumque ac curarum quibus cum privatim tum etiam publice districti tenemur, multitudini intermissisque his tam olim a nobis longo intervallo studiis imputabis. Tuo vero nomini nostrae hoc quicquid est operae nuncupandum duximus, ut quem arctissimo affinitatis vinculo attingeremus, eiusdem testatum suum illum erga nos nostrumque erga ipsum comparem ac mutuum affectum huic velut impressum monumento posteris traderemus. Vale.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: (I 1, 1) *Majores*, etc. Hic locus valde sive librorum incuria sive emendatorum imperitia depravatus est, mihi quidem sic restituendus videtur. *Maiores statas solemnesque ceremonias pontificum scien-*

tia, bene gerendarum rerum auctoritates, augurum observatione, Apollinis praedictione, vatum libris, portentorum, etc. Apollinis enim praedictiones oracula intelligimus . . . [*Expl.*]: (IX 14, ext.3) Nec est memoria lapsus Suetonius [*Augustus* 3, 2] ut quidam vir eruditus censuit, cum Quintum M. Tullii fratrem proconsulatum Asiae administrasse scripsit, quamvis constet eum praetorio tantum imperio et provinciae praefuisse.

Editions:

1576. See Composite Editions.

1581. See Composite Editions.

1587. See Composite Editions.

1592. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Claudius Mitalerius (Claude Mitalier) was, as stated above, 'Viennensis provinciae iuridicus,' and it is possible that documents on him remain in judicial archives there. His interest in Valerius is clear also from the fact that he owned a fifteenth-century manuscript of Valerius which is now Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis latinus 939.

Works:

Mitalerius wrote also an 'Opusculum de abusu linguae graecae,' an 'Epistola de vocabulis quae Iudaei in Galliam introduxerunt,' which appeared in Henri Estienne's *Hypomneses de gallica lingua* . . . (Genevae, 1582), and an epithalamium, published without indication of place and date and entitled *Joannis Refugaei, in suprema cismarinae Britanniae curia senatoris . . . et Mariae Barptolemaeae, Guilelmi Barptolemaei, supremae parisiensis curiae senatoris . . . filiae epithalamium*.

Bibl.:

Jöcher III (1751), 556.

Élisabeth Pellegrin, *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, II.1 (Paris, 1978 [Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, XXI]), 130–131.

26. JUSTUS LIPSIUS

According to Henry de Vocht in his edition of the *Epistolarium* of Pighius (Louvain 1959 [Humanistica Lovaniensia, 15]), p. 454, Justus Lipsius wrote notes on Valerius in large

part from information received from Ozier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522–1592) and published them in his *Electorum liber secundus*, which was issued by Plantin in 1585; a few months later, as is clear from the letter of Lipsius to Pighius, 5 September 1585, on pages 454–455, the notes were added to Plantin's 1585 edition of Valerius which reprinted the commentary of Pighius. Appended, then, to this Antwerp, 1585, edition of Valerius, after the 'Annotationes' of Pighius on the nine books and on the so-called Book X, we find 24 octavo pages (h4b-i8a, pages [120–143]) of 'Breves notae' by Lipsius. They are identified not only by book and chapter numbers but also by the page number (with some errors) on which the passages occur in the edition. Lipsius was using two manuscripts at Utrecht the readings of which were furnished by the brothers Hadrianus (poet, d. 1606) and Lambertus (*canonicus* and historian, 1542–1617) van der Burchius. The first brother is said to have left notes in manuscript on Valerius. Lipsius used also older editions, and there are references to a manuscript from which Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584) sent excerpts. The single marginal note and an 'Additio' reveal that the juriconsult Theodorus Canterus (1545–1617) was also a member of this informal circle of scholars, already documented by the notes of Pighius, who were occupied with the text of Valerius and communicated with one another in an effort to better it. Canterus, indeed, informed Lipsius by letter that Jacobus Cujacius (Jacques Cujas, 1522–1590) of Toulouse held precedence over him on one reading. It was a circle which trafficked, but not commercially, in scholarship and which conscientiously and unselfishly endeavored, with the means then at hand, to promote it.

The suggestions and corrections of Lipsius, covering spottily all nine books, are couched in friendly terms and constitute a worthy appendage to the work of Pighius. Their whole tone, in fact, is set by the dedicatory letter of Lipsius to Pighius at the very beginning of the edition, which reads 'Iustus Lipsius Stephano Pighio salutem dico. Pauca et leviciae ad Valerium tuum (iure, tuum: qui valetudinem et colorem tibi debet, imo vitam)

paene aliud agens notavi, passus sum adiungi tuis, mi Pighi, accuratissimae censurae notis. Passus ideo, quia Plantinus noster cupiebat, quia aliquid in iis fortasse ad usum iuventutis, quia et cum honore tuo id fiebat, cum ex ipsa comparatione horum pravitas et parvitas, tuorum bonitas et granditas eluceret. Sane copiosam tu et uberem messem ex hoc agro collegisti, nos pauculas spicas contemptas tibi potius quam non visas. Triumphus igitur hic omnis tuus est, mihi abunde satis, si armillis aut hasta donatus sequar hunc candidae Famae tuae currum. Vale. Nonis Septembribus, M.D. LXXXV.' Not surprising, then, are passages like the following in the notes themselves: 'Vir amice Pighi,' '... Ita tu Pighi (ignosce) me abnuente,' 'Tu sedulo velas mi Pighi: sed velim (puto te non nolente) ...,' 'Non ambiges tu optime censor, quin ... scribendum sit,' '... Reiicis ea verba, Pighi, e libris aliquot scriptis: et recte,' 'Acumina et sententiolas Valerii nosti.'

The notes are repeated in editions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the *Opera omnia* of Lipsius, and in the edition published at Leiden by Luchtmans in 1726.

Dedication (ed. Antverpiae, 1585), Breves notae ad Valerium. In his notis, vir amice Pighi, scire te et alios volo quibus auxiliis sim usus. Ab ingenio nostro pleraque esse fateor: quod tamen saepe in viam veri duxerunt libri. Ii mihi bini manuscripti: quos Ultraiecti benigne curarunt viri clarissimi Lambertus et Hadrianus Vander-burchii, eximium par fratrum, docti ipsi et in doctos valde proni. Praeterea veteres editiones inspeximus: quas hic et in aliis scriptoribus nihilo deteriores invenimus manuscriptis. Tu alique e re ipsa iudicabis, 'Opera nobis haec inanis, an in usum impensa sit' [cf. Horace, *Ars poetica*, 443]. Ad illam enim ego transeo.

Commentary [Inc.]: Prologo. *Ab illustribus electa auctoribus deligere constitui* (I *Prooemium*) Displicet geminatio, *Electa deligere*. Scribam omisso verbo altero, *Ab illustribus auctoribus deligere*. *Mea parvitas, eo iustius ad favorem tuum decurrerit*. Servilis sermo et cellarius. Ego sane parvitatem eam ablegem e Valerio scribamque expunctis duabus vocibus: *ego iustius a. f. t. decurrero*. Lib. I. Cap. I.

Pag. 22 [23]. *Decem principum filii* (I 1, 1) Constat Etruriae populos duodecim fuisse, itaque cum pro numero eorum, singulis populis singulos principum filios attributos velit: vide num, *Duodecim principum* corrigi, magis e re et veritate sit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Cap. XIII. Pag. 399 [397] *Ita ut vivam, dabo* (IX 13, 3) Scribe, *Ita vivam*. Iurandi formula, quam insita vocula pervertit. Additio. Pag. 334 (VIII 7, ext.3) Theodorus Canterus amicus meus, et harum artium diligentissimus, per epistolam me monuit, lib. VIII, cap. VII, ubi legimus: *A Timaeo, et Arione, et Caeto Locris praecepta Pythagorae acciperet*: repperisse se in veteri libro, *Arione et Ethecrate*, ex quo apposite facit, *Ethecrate*. Nam Caeti Pythagoraei mentio nusquam, nec in Iamblichi [of Chalcis] quidem Catalogo [in his work *De vita Pythagorica*]. At Etheocratis etiam Cicero meminit V. De Finibus [V 29, 87] ubi paene haec ipsa Valeriana: *Cur ad reliquos Pythagoraeos, Ethecrate, Timaeum, Arionem, Locros*, etc.

Editions:

(*) 1585, in Lipsius, *Electorum liber secundus*, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): ex officina Christophori Plantini. NUC (NL 0398765). (MH).

(*) 1585, in Lipsius, *Electorum liber primus* [secundus], Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud Christophorum Plantinum. NUC (NL 0398764). (MH).

1585. See Composite Editions.

1592, Antverpiae. See Composite Editions.

1594. See Composite Editions.

1600. See Composite Editions.

(*) 1600. In Lipsius, *Opera omnia quae ad criticam proprie spectant*, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Plantiniana, apud I. Moretum. NUC. (ICN; OCU; CtY).

1601. Lugduni. See Composite Editions.

1601. Francofurti. See Composite Editions.

1601, s.l. [Genevae]. See Composite Editions.

1602, s.l. [Genevae]. See Composite Editions.

1606. See Composite Editions.

1607, Lugduni, apud Antonium de Harsy. See Composite Editions.

1607, Lugduni, apud J. Pillehotte. See Composite Editions.

1608, Antverpiae. See Composite Editions.

(*) 1611. In Lipsius, *Opera omnia quae ad criticam proprie spectant*, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Plantiniana, apud viduam et filios Ioannis Moreti. NUC. (CLU; PHN).

1612. Lugduni. See Composite Editions.

1612. Lugduni Batavorum. See Composite Editions.

1614, Antverpiae. See Composite Editions.

1614, Hanoviae. See Composite Editions.

1614, in Lipsius, *Opera omnia, septem tomis distincta*, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Plantiniana, apud viduam et filios Ioannis Moreti. NUC. (DCU; NIC; ICN; ICU).

(*) 1615, Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud Ioannem Keerbergium. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV. BL.

(*) 1615, Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud viduam et haeredes Petri Belleri. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV. Mons, Bibliothèque de la Ville.

(*) 1617, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): apud Petrum Henningium. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

1618. See Composite Editions.

1620. See Composite Editions.

1621, Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud Ioannem Keerbergium. See Composite Editions.

1621. Antverpiae, apud Henricum Aertisium. See Composite Editions.

1621. Antverpiae, apud Martinum Nutium. See Composite Editions.

1627. See Composite Editions.

(*) 1640, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): apud Franciscum Hegerum. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV; NUC. BN; (MH; IEN; NcU).

1647, Amstelodami (Amsterdam): apud Joannem Janssonium. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV. NUC. BL; (MH; CtY; ICU; DMS).

(*) 1655, Parisiis (Paris): ex officina Cramosiana. BN.

(*) 1660, Amstelodami (Amsterdam): apud Joannem Janssonium. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1st series, XXV; NUC. BL; (CU; ICU; ViU).

(*) 1665, Amstelodami (Amsterdam), apud Joannem Janssonium.

1726. A Variorum Edition. See Composite

Editions.

Biography:

See CTC II, 40.

Add to the bibliography: Günther Abel, *Stoizismus und Frühe Neuzeit* (Berlin, New York, 1978), 67–113; Knud Banning, *Justus Lipsius* (København, 1975 [Studier fra sprog- og oldtidsforskning, 287]); Theodore G. Corbett, 'The Cult of Lipsius: A Leading Source of Early Modern Spanish Statecraft,' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXXVI (1975), 139–152; J. A. Cruys, *The Correspondence of Theodorus Canterus (Dirk Canter 1545–1616): An Inventory* (Nieuwkoop, 1978 [Bibliotheca bibliographica Neerlandica, 9]); Ferdinand François Ernest van der Haeghen, *Bibliographie lipsienne* (Gand, 1886–1888), 3 vols.; Justus Lipsius; *La correspondance . . . conservée au Musée Plantin Moretus*. Introduction, correspondance et commentaire, documents, bibliographie par Dr. Aloïs Gerlo et Dr. Hendrik D. L. Vervliet . . . (Anvers, 1967) and *Epistolario de Justo Lipsio y los españoles (1575–1606)* [por] Alejandro Ramírez (Madrid, 1966 [La lupa y el escalpelo, 6]); Jean Jehasse, *La renaissance de la critique: l'essor de l'humanisme érudit de 1560 à 1614* (Saint-Etienne, 1976), 201–226, 246–294, 345–360, 414–436, 449–530, 561–651; Gerhard Oestreich, 'Justus Lipsius als Universalgelehrter zwischen Renaissance und Barock,' *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden, 1975), 176–201; Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford, 1976), 126; F. P. Pickering, 'Justus Lipsius' *De cruce libri tres* (1593), or The Historian's Dilemma,' in his *Essays on Medieval German Literature and Iconography* (Cambridge, 1980 [Anglica Germanica, Series 2]), 59–74, first published in *Festgabe für L. L. Hammerich* (Copenhagen, 1962), 199–214; Peter Rühl, *Lipsius und Gryphius. Ein Vergleich* (Berlin, 1967, Inaug.-Diss); Sylvette Sue, 'Justi Lipsii *Vita illustrata ab Othonio Sperlingio. Une biographie inédite de Juste Lipse, 1547–1606*,' *Lias*, II (1975), 71–108.

27. CHRISTOPHORUS COLERUS

Christophorus Colerus followed worthily upon Pighius, Mitalerius, and Lipsius. His

edition appeared at Frankfurt in 1601, the nine books 'olim a Stephano Pighio emendati, nunc vero post Lipsii et Mitallerii aliorumque spicilegia, ad vetustissimum viri clarissimi Petri Danielis iurisconsulti exemplar collati, adjectis etiam Animadversionibus.' The edition is dedicated from Heidelberg 1 April 1601 to the young nobleman Stanislaus Zelenius Vitellius de Zelanka, with praise of Valerius ('Nam quidquid Graecia quidquid Romana virtus dixit aut fecit egregium, sub unum ad-spectum, veluti tabella explicavit Valerius, nec id vulgari stilo, sed florido, sed arguto, certe flexanimo orationis genere'), with injunctions to the young man to follow the right path ('Ergo studia tua ex nobilitate metire, ex fortuna sapere disce'), but with no word on the principles employed in editing.

Commendatory verses by Martinus Aichman and Paulus Melissus follow, with a letter to the absent Colerus, unsigned but apparently from his patient publisher ('Mensis, et quod excurrit, abierat ex Valeriana editione absoluta, cum nobis redditae sunt optatissimae litterae tuae, iam de praefatione sollicitis; redditae sunt autem, non solum cum praefatione quam desiderabamus, sed cum auctario etiam Animadversionum, quo usuram videris illius missae tardius pendere voluisse. Sed illam, uti iubes, editioni praemisimus; hoc, absoluto iam libro, subiecimus, velut appendicem, iucundam lectori studioso et utilem. Exemplar ipsum autem, quod nobis abiens in Poloniam reliquisti, secuti sumus accurate, nisi quod . . .') and with a short *Vita* 'incerto auctore' and the *Vita* by Mitalerius.

After the text the notes of Pighius are provided on pages 337–462 (followed on pages 462–473 by his notes on the *De praenomini-bus*; see below, p. 401), those of Lipsius on pages 473–496, those of Colerus himself on pages 496–608, and on pages 609–616 some by Sebastianus Corradus (see above, p. 304) from the edition published at Venice in 1564; these are preceded by a letter from the absent Colerus to his patient publisher Claudius Marnius which reads, 'Reperi in Sarmatia apud amicum editionem Valerianam Sebastiani Corradi, hominis doctissimi, anno M.D. LXIV. Venetiis excusam, diu illam quidem a

me desideratam, et frustra quaesitam in Germania. Eam veluti transivi legendo, et inveni sane multa, quibus Animadversiones nostrae locupletiores melioresque fieri potuissent. Notas addiderat ad oram eruditas. Multus ille in notandis locis controversis Livii aut Plutarchi aut talium. Excerpsi potiora tantum, quae ad te mitterem, si ad editionis nostrae formam aliquid conferre possent. Sed spero omnino posse. Tu utere, si videbitur, et vale, typographorum ocelle. Cracoviae Eidibus Iuniis.' Finally a few other notes of Colerus follow as addenda on pages 617–621, 'inserenda Animadversionibus Valerianis.' The edition enjoyed several reprintings in the seventeenth century and was influential also in the eighteenth.

Commentary (ed. of 1601). Christophori Coleri ad Valerium Maximum animadversiones. [*Inc.*]: *De inscriptione*. Placuit eruditis viris *Exemplorum memorabilium* titulo hoc Valerii opus insignire, ductis haud dubie veterum codicum suorum auctoritate. Ego vero cum et capitum distinctiones inscriptionesque et titulum quoque huius libri mirifice pro solo grammaticorum captu et arbitrio variatum satis compertum habeam, nullum potius vindicandum duxi, quam illum, quem Agellius antiquissimus scriptor citat lib. 12 cap. 8 [Chapter 7 in modern editions of Gellius, *Noctes atticae*] *Scripta haec historia est in libro Valerii Maximi Factorum et Dictorum memorabilium* [modern editions add *nono*] . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Hieronymum illum Rhodium ὑπομνημονευμάτων libros scripsisse testatur Laetius [cf. Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis, dogmatis et apophthegmatis clarorum philosophorum*, II 5.10]. *Ad Praefationem*. Pag. 1 [*Inc.*]: *Felici superiorum stilo* (I *Prooemium*) Magna varietas lectionis in libris manuscriptis, quos liberalitati singulari, nobilissimi Bongarsii oratoris regii acceptos refero. Unus Petri Danielis viri clarissimi nomen praescriptum habebat, quo vetustiore alium aut meliorem nullum vidi. In eo legebam . . . [*Expl.*]: Plautus [cf. *Stichus*, 577] apud Servium Danielis: *Vinum precemur, namque hic Deus praesens adest*. Lib. I. Cap. I. Pag. 3. [*Inc.*]: *Bene gerendarum rerum* (I, 1, 1) Tantum non verbis Ciceronis uti solet, Oratio de haruspicum

responsis [9.18] et l. 1 De natura deorum. De ea disciplina exactissime scripserat Varro in libris antiquitatum ut testatur Augustinus [*De civitate Dei* VI 3, 4] . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: [*Firmo Piceno*] (IX 15, 1) Lib. Danielis: *Formo Piceno* . . . Panes Picentinos celebrat Martialis [XIII, 47] peculiari lemmate *Picentina Ceres niveo sic nectare crescit, / ut levis accepta spongia turget aqua*.

Editions:

- 1601. See Composite Editions.
- 1602. Francofurti, Cl. Marnius. Brunet, Suppl. II 833.
- 1614, Hanoviae. See Composite Editions.
- 1627. See Composite Editions.
- 1652, Francofurti. A Variorum edition. See Composite Editions.
- 1726. A Variorum edition. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Christophorus Colerus (Christoph Coler), jurisconsult and philologist, was born in Franconia. Details of his life are sparse and sometimes conflicting. He published in Strassburg, Frankfurt, Nürnberg, Amberg, Paris, Krakow, and Hanau. He was teaching at Altdorf in 1597 and 1598. The dedicatory letter of his edition of Valerius Maximus is dated from Heidelberg 1 April 1601, the letter to his publisher, in the same volume, from Krakow 13 June, apparently in the same year. In 1603 he was in Prague. He died in Austria, in '1651(?)' according to the ADB, in 1604 according to Jöcher; the latter date seems more probable since his publishing activity ranged from 1592 to 1603, and the former may be due to confusion with the Silesian scholar of the same name who lived from 1602 to 1658. It is clear that Colerus had highly placed friends in Germany, Poland, and Bohemia.

Works: Colerus published *Daphnis transalpinus, carmen pastorale* (Argentorati, 1592), an edition and commentary of Alexander ab Alexandro, *Genialium dierum libri sex* (Francofurti 1594), *Sententiae ex utroque iure, denovo collectae et in ordinem alphabeti adfabre dispositae* (Argentorati, 1595), *Parergorum ad varios Pandectarum et Institutionum iuris locos liber singularis* (Noribergae, 1597), *Salustius, sive de historia veteri oratio* (Nor-

bergae, 1598), an edition, with notes, of pseudo-Sallust, *Epistolae duae ad Caesarem de republica ordinanda* (Ambergae, 1599), an edition and commentary of Sallust, *Opera* (Noribergae, 1599), scholia on Martial (Parisiis, 1601), an edition and commentary on Tacitus, *De situ, moribus, et populis Germaniae* (Hanoviae, 1602), *Ad Cornelii Taciti scripta spicilegium* (Hanoviae, 1603). In the same year in which his edition of Valerius appeared he published in Krakow a letter to the same dedicatee, Stanislaus Zelenius Vitellius de Zelanka, entitled *De studio politico recte instituendo*; it enjoyed several later issues.

Bibl.: *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, IV (1876), 400; S. J. Apinus, *Vitae professorum philosophiae qui a condita Academia Altorfina ad hunc usque diem claruerunt* (Nuremberg, 1728) 83–87, with a list of Colerus' writings; Jöcher I (1750), 2005–2006.

SPURIOUS WORK

II. *DE PRAENOMINIBUS*

I approach the *De praenominibus* with something of the feeling J. Wight Duff expressed when he wrote, 'As the summary on names cannot by any stretch of imagination be called literature, there is scant profit in discussing the date of Titius Probus or his relationship to Julius Paris.' Julius Paris is treated above, and we shall say as little as possible about C. Titius Probus. The manuscripts and editions of Valerius Maximus had carried through the centuries, after the nine books, a portion of a tract *De praenominibus* which was supposedly first in a work *De praenominibus, de nominibus, de cognominibus, de agnominibus, de appellationibus, de verbis incerti auctoris liber, in epitomen redactus a Iulio Paride* which is otherwise unknown to us. The portion extant follows as a tenth book, after the epitome of Paris, in Vaticanus latinus 4929 and is said in the subscription to be from an epitome by C. Titius Probus (so far unidentified) entitled 'Epitoma historiarum diversarum exemplorumque Romanorum' and to have been emended probably in the second fourth of the sixth century by Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus of Ravenna. It displays good

sources, including Varro, and some scholars would like to push it back to the Augustan Age. But authorship and date have been hotly disputed for decades and centuries, and the end is not yet; certainly the commentators listed here were not equipped to furnish solutions.

Bibl.: J. Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age* (New York, 1927, repr. 1935) 71; Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 4th ed. (München, 1935, repr. 1967), II, 592, 593.

Jeannine Fohlen, 'Les deux accessus de l'"Epitome" de Iulius Paris,' *Revue d'histoire des textes*, I (1971), 211–213 (Giuseppe Billanovich, *Tra latino e volgare per Carlo Dionisotti* [Padova, 1974 (Medioevo e umanesimo, 17–18)], 76, n. 1, rightly points out that the two *accessus* introduced not the epitome of Paris but the *De praenominibus*); Alfred Kappelmacher, 'Zur Epitome des C. Titius Probus,' *Wiener Studien*, XLIV (1924–25), 237–238; Karl Friedrich Kempf, 'De incerti auctoris fragmento quod inscribitur De praenominibus' (Berlin, 1854, Progr. d. Berl. Gymn. zum grauen Kloster) and his edition of Valerius (Berolini, 1854), 53–67; Joseph Schnetz, *Ein Kritiker des Valerius Maximus im 9. Jahrhundert* (Neuburg a. D., 1901), 47–50, and *Neue Untersuchungen zu Valerius Maximus, seinen Epitomatoren und zum Fragmentum De praenominibus* (Würzburg, 1904), 40–46.

I. STEPHANUS VINANDUS PIGHIUS

The contributions of Pighius to our understanding of Valerius have been outlined above. He recognized fully that the author of the *De praenominibus* was not Valerius, but he included its text in his edition of 1574. The reasons are presented on page 388 in his letter to the reader, which can fittingly be quoted here entire: 'Veteres libri omnes, quos vidimus, tam manuscripti quam impressi nobis repraesentant Valerii Maximi hoc opus ita libris novem distinctum; in aliquibus tamen reperitur cuiusdam epitomes fragmentum in fine annexum pro libro decimo, prorsus tamen remotum et alienum ab argumento scopoque librorum Valerii Maximi. Nil enim aliud docet,

nisi aliquarum appellationum seu nominum Romanorum rationes. Quae quidem epitome ex alio antiquo auctore collecta est a Iulio Paride, sicut nonnulli produnt codices, cuius fragmentum hoc dumtaxat de praenominibus repertum quidam librario priores Valerio Maximo adiunxerunt, tanquam ex eius libro exemplorum decimo contractum, moti, ut apparet, quod in eodem fragmento citetur Valerius, non tamen Maximus. Istud enim non potest affirmari ex simplici isto nomine, sicut in multis exemplaribus reperitur. Sed Antiatem citari unum exemplar manuscriptum doctissimi I. Sambuci liquide declarat, quemadmodum suo loco dicemus in annotationibus. Iam addiderunt alium errorem, qui C. Titium Probum, nescio quem, ut huius epitomes auctorem protulerunt, id quod ex huius fragmenti fine temere deprompsisse videntur. Nam id ipsum praefatiunculae librariorum iudicio diversimode confictae palam faciunt tam ipso stylo, quam quod alterius, ut suo modo loquuntur, abbreviatoris mentionem adferunt. Eas autem duas imprimis discrepantes, mox cum eodem epitomes fragmento subiungemus, quamvis clare liqueat, non esse Valerii Maximi, et eius auctor verus adhuc in obscuro lateat. Attamen quia sapit antiquitatem non ineruditam, et scholiorum loco studiosis servire poterit ad linguae ac historiae Romanae cognitionem ritusque veteres discendos, id ipsum emendatum ex fide exemplarium manuscriptorum, sicut ante Valerio Maximo fuit annexum, nunc visum est Plantino nostro simul cum eodem libro recudere et publicare. Vale. Vienna Austriae Idibus Ianuariis, anno Salutis nostrae M.D. LXXIV.'

The annotations of Pighius appear on the newly numbered pages 91–99 after the text of the nine books of Valerius and the *De praenominibus* and after the annotations on the nine books. The notes are numbered 1 to 29; I give their incipit and explicit here and refer the reader to the earlier treatment for editions, biography of Pighius, works of Pighius, and bibliography. The title pages do not always state which editions carry the *De praenominibus* and the annotations.

Commentary (ed. of Antwerp, 1574). Stephani Pighii Animadversiones in epitomen De

nominum ratione, veterum codicum collatione facta ad exemplar impressum Antvverpiae anno M.D.LXVI. per Philippum Nucium. [*Inc.*]: *In epitomen suam C. Titi Probi praefatio*] Hic titulus in multis veteribus libris non habetur, et in aliquibus, ut dixi, sunt aliae praefatiunculae librariorum arbitratu compositae. At in Campensi codice nulla est praefatio. Quemadmodum enim in aliis novem Valerii Maximi libris, ita et hic solummodo praefiguntur tituli, quos abbreviatorem Iulium Paridem omisisse dicunt librariorum praefatiunculae, et sunt quidem tales. *De nominibus, De praenominibus, De cognominibus, De agnominibus, De appellationibus potestatum, De verbis Romanae historiae.* Ex quibus facile colligi potest, librariorum fragmentum istud epitomes de nominum ratione non solum, sed at alia quaedam collectanea veluti appendices ad declarandum Valerium eius libris adiecisse, ex antiquis quidem auctoribus deprompta, sed quae posteriores pro suo iudicio male consacrinarunt, mutarunt, et detruncarunt. Nam huic fragmento de nominibus, quod continue post titulos istos sequitur, in Campensi codice annexa est alia quaedam epitome de appellationibus potestatum, et de Romanae historiae vocabulis, velut arguunt etiam ex dictis titulis duo postremi. Attamen haec ab alio recentiore videtur esse composita, et vix digna luce, nedum Valerio Maximo. Qualiscunque tamen est, non minus prodesse forsitan posset imperitiis, quam illa, quae ex Pomponio iurisconsulto de origine iuris ac magistratuum non admodum fideliter est compilata . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *Caia esse se dicere*] . . . Caios autem a gaudio, Titos, ac Titios a tutando nuncupatos volunt, ut ante dictum est; quae idcirco nomina habebantur auspicata, ut et cognomen Probus. Atque ista occasione fortassis ita usu vulgata sunt, ut iurisconsulti in suis scriptis quoscunque fere viros, vel Caios vel Titios appellarint, et quascunque mulieres Caias vel Titias, cum de controversiis inter personas ortis disserunt et casus exempli causa proponunt.

Editions:

See above, p. 394.

Biography:

See above, p. 394.

2. CLAUDIUS MITALERIUS

The contributions of Mitalerius to our understanding of Valerius have been outlined above. He followed Pighius in including the text of the *De praenominibus* in his 1576 edition. His letter to the reader appears directly before this text on page 550; I quote it from the edition of 1581: 'Hanc Valerii, sive Probi illius, sive, ut nonnulli autumant, huius Maximi commentariunculam dignam esse duximus, quae, sicut in quibusdam antiquis codicibus reperta est, ita libelli huius calci annexeretur, elutis insignioribus maculis. Reliquas vero, si quae vel industriam vel notitiam nostram effugerant, iis reliquimus, qui magis quam nos et abundarent otio et in promptu ingenium haberent.'

Directly after the text of the *De praenominibus*, on pages 554–555, and before the annotations of Pighius on the nine books (those on the tenth book are not present), Mitalerius publishes five unnumbered notes which (but barely) qualify him for inclusion here. I

give their incipit and explicit and refer the reader to the earlier treatment for editions, biography of Mitalerius, works of Mitalerius, and bibliography. The title pages do not always state which editions carry the *De praenominibus*.

Commentary (ed of Lyon, 1581). [*Inc.*]: *Perplexum usum praenominum et cognominum fuisse dictum.*] desunt nonnulla. *Gentilia nomina Varro fuisse putat numero.*] Hic quoque numerum illum deesse manifestum est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *Quasi epoptae.*] manifestum est σπόριοι legendum esse nam et alioqui vero mihi propior videtur haec quam Plutarchi [*Moralia*, edd. W. Nachstädt, W. Sieveking, J. B. Titchener, II (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 330–331 (*Aetia Romana*, 103 [288 EF])] illa a primoribus ducta literis coniectura. Cum et Sabini a semente humana σπόριον muliebre pudendum appellaverint.

Editions:

See above, p. 396.

Biography:

See above, p. 396.