

FLAVIUS RENATUS VEGETIUS

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FORTUNA

I. ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

The *Epitoma rei militaris* of Vegetius is the only complete classical treatise on military affairs that is extant. It is divided into four (sometimes five) books, based on secondary sources, Cato the Elder, Cornelius Celsus, Paternus, Frontinus, and the regulations of Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian. It has exerted a great influence: from the late Middle Ages to early modern times, military men have considered it the handbook on war and battle theories, and many armies were trained according to the precepts of this comprehensive military manual. Furthermore, it served as a model for military treatises during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Very little is known about the author of the *Epitoma*, Flavius Vegetius Renatus. He has sometimes been confused with Publius Vegetius Renatus because the work of the latter, *Ars veterinaria sive de mulo-medicina*, was probably written in the last quarter of the fourth cen-

tury A.D., as was the *Epitoma rei militaris*. In many manuscripts of the *Epitoma*, Flavius Vegetius Renatus is referred to as a *comes*, a *vir illustris*, meaning that he was an important man, close to the emperor, very possibly a master of soldiers or an urban or praetorian prefect. The dedications of the *Epitoma* are to Valentinian, Theodosius, and Justinian. It seems without doubt that the dedication to Justinian was not Vegetius', and it remains open whether the *Epitoma* was presented to Valentinian II (375–92) or to Theodosius I (379–95).

It appears certain that the *Epitoma* was written after 383, the year of Gratian's death because Vegetius refers to him as the "divine emperor," a title bestowed only on late emperors; thus the composition of the *Epitoma* probably occurred between 383 and either 392 (death of Valentinian) or 395 (death of Theodosius).

In 450, one Eutropius made a recension of Vegetius' work, the evidence of which is a subscription in a set of manuscripts that reads: "Fl. Eutropius emendavi sine exemplario Cons-

tantinopolim consul. Valentiniano Augusto VII et Avieno."¹ This subscription is found in most of the class ϵ manuscripts examined by Karl Lang in 1869. The oldest extant manuscript of the *Epitoma*, Vatican, Reg. lat. 2077, dating back to the seventh century, includes excerpts from the fourth book only. The oldest extant manuscript of the complete text is the ninth-century manuscript Vatican, Pal. lat. 1572.

In his 1869 edition (revised 1885), Karl Lang examined 24 manuscripts of the *Epitoma* written in the ninth and tenth centuries and 99 written between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries. In 1969, the Institut de Recherches et d'Histoire des Textes noted that there were 135 extant manuscripts of the work of Vegetius. The extant manuscripts described by Lang fall into two classes: the first (class ϵ) is best represented by ms. lat. 7230 (s. IX) at the Bibliothèque Nationale, belonging to the recension of Eutropius; the second (class π) by ms. Pal. lat. 909 (s. X) at the Vatican.

In this second class, ms. Dresdensis Dc 182 (s. X) contains explanatory glosses on the first two books of the *Epitoma*. Maximilian Manitius thought that three contemporary hands had written the glosses, which he often found almost nonsensical. Because of the large mold spots on the manuscript, the comments are in part unreadable.²

Before the thirteenth century, the name of Vegetius was not well known, and the manuscripts of the *Epitoma* were hard to find, as Petrarch himself later discovered. Manuscripts did exist, however. Manitius noted the existence of ninth-century manuscripts of the *Epitoma* in Sankt Gallen, Lorsch, Murbach, and Reichenau and of eleventh-century manuscripts in Metz, Chartres, Lobbes, and Gorze.³ Léopold Delisle catalogued twelfth-century manuscripts of the *Epitoma* in Corbie, St. Aubin in Angers, St. Martial in Limoges, and the library of Richard de Fournival in Amiens.⁴ John Edwin Sandys noted that Poggio Bracciolini and Bartolomeo da Montepulciano found the Vegetius in Sankt

Gallen and that Bartolomeo transcribed it (January 1417).⁵

The first medieval author to refer directly to the *Epitoma* appears to have been Hrabanus Maurus, who, in a letter to Lothar II written ca. 840, promised an edition of the work of Vegetius (copy of the letter in Paris, BN, ms. lat. 7383). At the end of the *De anima*, Hrabanus Maurus offers an abridgment of Books I and II of the *Epitoma* under the title: "Flavii Vegetii Renati opusculum de procinctu militiae romanae."⁶

The first author to give an edition of the complete work seems to have been Frechulph of Lisieux in ca. 850. Frechulph sent his recension to Charles the Bald along with a letter explaining why a king would enjoy and profit from such a book. He also explained why he had to edit the *Epitoma*: he was in possession of a very poor manuscript version of the work. Lang thought that Frechulph's recension was the basis of a large family of manuscripts, although perhaps not all of them. A contemporary of Frechulph, Bishop Hartgarius of Liège, sent a manuscript of the *Epitoma* to the Count Eberhardt of Friul and accompanied the gift with a set of elegiacs written for the occasion by Sedulius Scottus.

When John of Salisbury wrote his *Policraticus* in 1159, he was inspired by the work of Vegetius and presented him as the authority in military matters, thereby sparking an interest in many writers and warriors to read Vegetius and/or put into practice his beliefs in discipline, training, and good strategy. Several chapters of the sixth book of the *Policraticus* are directly taken from the *Epitoma*; in chapter XIX, John praises several ancient authors, and Vegetius in particular: "cujus, eo quod elegantissime et diligentissime rei militaris artem tradidit, licet exempla perstrinxerit, plura inserui: legat, inquam, quae isti posteris praescribenda duxerunt." In the second book of the *Speculum doctrinale* (1250), Vincent of Beauvais gave a condensed version of the *Epitoma*; in 1280, Giles of Rome (Aegidius Colonna) wrote the *De regimine principum*; the only source of its third book was the *Epitoma* of Vegetius, which he used extensively.⁷

1. In David Silhanek, "Vegetius' *Epitoma* Books I and II: A Translation and a Commentary" (dissertation, New York University, 1972), p. 11.

2. "Aus Dresdener Handschriften: Scholien zu Vegetius," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, LXII (1902), 392–97.

3. *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliotheks-Katalogen* (Leipzig, 1935), 201–4.

4. *Anciens catalogues* (Paris, 1891), II, 430, 440, 449, 486, III, 153–54, 186.

5. *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, 1903–8), II, 29.

6. In Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911–31), I, 293–95, 667–68.

7. Josette A. Wisman, "L' *Epitoma rei militaris* de Végèce et sa fortune au Moyen Age," *Le Moyen Age*, LXXXV (1979), 13–31.

Petrarch was also interested in Vegetius, whom he mentioned several times in letters to his friends, but apparently he was never able to find a manuscript of the *Epitoma*. One of his manuscripts, now Vat. lat. 2193, a florilegium, contains excerpts from Vegetius; Petrarch annotated it, but the annotations are very scant.⁸

In the second part of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth century, Vegetius emerged as a very popular author, as the great number of manuscripts demonstrates: there are more than seventy manuscripts from this period. His popularity is also attested by the appearance of translations into vernacular languages.

The translations were paraphrasal rather than literal. In the second half of the thirteenth century in France, there are some anonymous translations and others signed by Jean de Meung, Jean de Vignai, Jean Priorat, and "Maistre Richard." In Italy, Bono Giamboni, the translator of Brunetto Latini, provided an Italian translation. We have a fourteenth-century English translation, and when we turn to the fifteenth century, we find Castilian and German translations. All are anonymous except one in German, which was signed by Ludwig Hohenwang von Tal Elchingen. There is some speculation that there may have been a Portuguese translation by Dom Pedro, duke of Coïmbra.⁹

2. LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY AND SIXTEENTH CENTURY

There is considerable debate as to the *editio princeps* of the *Epitoma*. Curt Bühler examined three editions of ca. 1474–75 and concluded that Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gerardus de Leempt printed the *editio princeps* in Utrecht in 1474 (HC 15910, Ebert, 23433, dated it 1473, Goff, V, 104, ca. 1473–74, and the *Short Title Catalogue of Dutch and Flemish Books* dated it 1475).¹⁰ The editor remains anonymous. Two other editions were made in 1475, one in Paris,

the other in Cologne. Bühler thinks that the Paris printing by Louis Symonel and Socii, "Au Soufflet Vert" (Ebert, 23434, Brunet, 1110), precedes the Cologne printing by Nicolas Gotz (Ebert, 23435, dated it 1474–78, H 15911). Again, the editors are not known.

The first known editor of the printed *Epitoma* is Giovanni Sulpizio da Veroli (Johannes Sulpicius Verulanus), whose work was printed by Eucharius Silber in Rome in 1487. The title of the volume is *Veteres de re militari scriptores*: it contains the text of Vegetius, followed by Frontinus, *Strategematicon*; Modestus, *Libellus de vocabulis rei militaris*; and Aelianus, *De instituendis aciebus* (Ebert, 2346, H 15915). The four texts had been printed separately, then gathered in one volume. They were reprinted in 1494 by E. Silber, in 1496 and 1505 in Bologna by Plato de Benedictiis. The same four texts continued to appear frequently together in one volume under the title *Veteres de re militari scriptores* until the end of the seventeenth century.

Between 1488 and 1767, nine editions of the four books of the *Epitoma* appeared. The editors were as follows:

Sebastiano and Raphael de Orlandis. Pisciae: Sigismondo Rodt de Bitsche, 1488 (H 15914).

Guy Breslay. Parisiis: Johannes Parvus, 1515, and Lugdunum: G. Huyon?, 1523.

Gotfried Hittorp. Coloniae: Johannes Soteris, 1524.

Guillaume Budé. Lutetiae: Chrestien Wechel, 1532.

Josse Bade. In his own press in Paris, 1533.

Godescalculus Stewechius. Antwerpiae: Christophorus Plantinus, 1585.

Joseph Valart. Paris: F. A. Didot, 1762.

Nicholas Schwebel. Nuremberg: G. N. Raspe, 1767.

Vegetius' work also appeared in printed editions in vernacular languages after 1475. The first known translation is in German and was written ca. 1475 by Ludwig Hohenwang von Tall Elchingen. It is not yet resolved whether the printer was Johann Wiener, Günther Zainer, or Hohenwang himself and whether it was printed in Augsburg or Ulm, two neighboring cities (H 15916, C 480, R. Proctor *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum* . . . , 2 vols. [London, 1898], 1729; H. W. Davies, *Catalog of a Collection of Early German Books in the Library of C. Fairfax Murray*, 2 vols. [London, 1913], 678–80). There

8. Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (Paris, 1892), I, 114, 158, II, 99–101; the notes are edited in C. Tristano, "Le postille del Petrarca nel Vat. Lat. 2193 (Apuleio, Frontino, Vegezio, Palladio)," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, XVII (1974), 365–468.

9. Joseph P. Piel, *Livro dos officios* (Coimbra, 1948), xviii.

10. Curt Bühler, "The Earliest Appearances in Print of Vegetius," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, VI (1956), 91–103.

were other German translations in 1529, 1534, 1616, and 1759.

In 1488, Antoine Vérard printed *L'art de chevalerie selon Vegece*, which is not a translation of the *Epitoma* but a new title for the *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* written by Christine de Pisan in 1408–9. The first two books of the *Livre des fais* borrowed heavily from Vegetius, as Christine rendered tribute to the Latin author, “sur lequel sien livre de chevalerie avons fondé en la plus grande partie ceste presente oeuvre.” A more faithful translation was first provided by “Le Polygraphe”—the nom de plume of Nicholas Volcyr—and printed in 1536 by Chrestien Wechel in Paris (A. W. Pollard, *Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in France . . .* [London, 1924], 436, NUC, Ebert, 23436). Other French translations appeared in 1616, 1743, 1772, 1851, and 1859.

Caxton made the same error as Vérard in thinking that Christine de Pisan had faithfully translated Vegetius. In 1489, his translation from the French began in this manner: “Here begynneth the book of fayttes of armes which Christine of Pyse made and drew out of the boke named Vegecius de re militari” (BMC 119). The only early English translation was done by John Sadler in 1572 and printed by Thomas Marsche in London (BMC 118, HC 15918, Graesse, VII, 271). The English *Epitoma* was followed by a translation of Machiavelli's *The Arte of Warre*. *The Arte della guerra* (1521) owed much to Vegetius' text.¹¹

Three authors translated the *Epitoma* into Italian. These three translations were printed five times in Venice between 1524 and 1551. The first translator is not known, the second was Tizzone Gaetano da Posi, and the third was Francesco Ferrosi.¹² The mid-thirteenth-century translation by Bono Giamboni was edited by Francesco Fontani in 1815, by T. Mariotti in 1878 (rpr. 1938), and the last edition to date, by G. Tria, appeared in Naples in 1887.

The following list gives the vernacular editions of the *Epitoma* from the first such edition of ca. 1475 through the sixteenth century with place of publication, printer, language, and translator if known.

11. L. Arthur Burd, “The Literary Sources of Machiavelli's *Arte della Guerra*,” *Atti della Accademia dei Lincei*, 1896, Series V, vol. IV (1896), Pt. I, 187–261.

12. C. R. Somasco, *Bibliotheca de li autori antichi vulgarizzati* (Venezia, 1766), IV, 145–46.

ca. 1475	Augsburg?	Johan Wiener? Günter Ulm?	Zainer? Hohenwang? (German)
1511	Erfurt	Hans Knapp (German)	
1524	Venice	Bernardino di Vitale (Italian)	
1525	Venice	Gregorio di Gregorii (Italian), Tizzone Gaetano da Posi, translator	
1528	Venice	Pietro de Ravini (Italian), Tizzone Gaetano da Posi, translator	
1529	Augsburg	Heinrich Steiner (German)	
1534	Augsburg	Heinrich Steiner (German)	
1536	Paris	Chrestien Wechel (French)	
1540	Venice	Comin de Tridino de Ferrari (Italian), Tizzone Gaetano da Posi, translator	
1551	Venice	Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari (Italian), Francesco Ferrosi, translator	
1572	London	Thomas Marshe (English)	

Several editions of the *Epitoma rei militaris* are abundantly illustrated with woodcuts, the history of which is complex. The oldest illustrated *Epitoma* is the German translation done by Ludwig Hohenwang and printed in 1475. The facsimile at the Huntington Library shows that there are sixty-three woodcuts, all with a one-line inscription over them explaining the weapon, vessel, or other item depicted, for example, “Das ist aries in teutsch genant ain Wider,” “Sambuca ist ain Turen und dienet zu dem Sturmen.” All these woodcuts are reversed copies of the woodcuts illustrating Robertus Valturius' *De re militari* printed in Verona in 1472 and 1483. Both printings bear remarkable similarities. The original woodcuts of the 1472 Valturius have been generally attributed to Matteo de Pastis, an artist who worked for Sigismondo Malatesta. The woodcuts appear not to have been printed simultaneously with the text but stamped on the page after the printing. Richard Muther thought that the Valturius of 1472 and the German *Epitoma* of 1475 were derived from a common source, a German manuscript in

Munich.¹³ Indeed, ms. Monacensis 734 (ca. 1460–70) contains woodcuts very similar to those of the two books. It is not clear whether the original artist was the illustrator of the Munich manuscript or Matteo de Pastis. The Valturius woodcuts of 1472 and 1483, which show the most extraordinary instruments of warfare (massive and grotesque wheeled rams, deep-water diving bells, and the like) are simple outlines, very delicately drawn, and superior to all copies that were subsequently made of these drawings.

The 1511 *Epitoma* (Erfurt: Hans Knapp) contains 195 woodcuts and no text. Robert Proctor suggested that the printer, Hans Knapp, might also have been a wood engraver since some of the cuts in the Vegetius were signed “HK1511.”¹⁴ The woodcuts are inferior to those of the Valturius, the outlines are thick, many minute details have been omitted, and the characters depicted seem lifeless. Nevertheless, it seems that the 1511 edition, and not that of Valturius, served as the source for subsequent copies in the later editions:

Vegetius, *Epitoma* (German) 1529, Augsburg: H. Stainer
 (Latin) 1532, Paris: Chrestien Wechel
 (Latin) 1535, Paris: Chrestien Wechel
 (French) 1536, Paris: Chrestien Wechel
 (Latin) 1553, Paris: Carolus Perier

Robert Brun identified the monogram of the artist, Mercure Jollat, who had drawn the woodcuts in the 1532 Wechel edition of the Valturius.¹⁵ This remarkably rapid migration of designs and woodblocks deserves to be carefully studied.

I found three commentaries on Vegetius; they are those of Franciscus Modius published in 1580, of Godescalcus Stewechius in 1585, and of Petrus Scriverius in 1633. A copy of the 1532 edition of the *Epitoma* by Guillaume Budé printed in Paris by Chrestien Wechel and preserved in the British Library (525b 11(2)) also contains notes written in the margins by the hand

of Isaac Casaubon. These notes are scant, and most of the time Casaubon merely underlined a word in the text that he rewrote in the margin. We know that Casaubon translated and wrote a commentary on the *Poliorceticus* of Aeneas Tacticus, and Polybius' *Commentarius polemicus, sive de militia et castrametatione romanorum*, both texts following the *Epitoma* of Vegetius and the *Strategematicon* of Frontinus in the 1633 edition of Petrus Scriverius. It is thus very plausible that Casaubon was writing notes in the Vegetius for comparison to prepare for his future commentaries on other military works.

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13. Richard Muther, *Die deutsche Bücherillustration der Gothik und Frührenaissance* (Munich, 1922), I, 1071.

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I. EPITOMA REI MILITARIS

COMMENTARIES

1. Franciscus Modius

Modius wrote a commentary in his edition of Vegetius' *Epitoma* (Cologne, 1580) based on the 1532 edition by Guillaume Budé. It also contains his commentary on Frontinus, *Strategemicon*.

Dedication (ed. of Cologne, 1580). [*Inc.*]: Ad generosissimum et nobilissimum Adolphum Scheiffartum a Merade, Bornhemii Dominum, etc. O incredibilem humanitatem tuam, qui me hominem preregrinum, ignotum, invisum, epistola tam erudite, tam familiariter tam denique amanter scripta, ob nescio quas quisquilias carminum, compellandum putaris! . . . Dedi certe operam ut quam possent proxime a pristino suo nitore abessent omnes, in omnibus tamen maxime Vegetius; quem et ideo intentiore cura composui cum manu exaratis libris duobus, quorum alterius copiam fecit ante quoque mihi honoris causa nominatus Dominus Jacobus Campius tuus, aut si pateris noster jam, alterius optimus et eruditissimus Theologus Melchior Hittorpius, ad Divae Mariae Coloniae Canonicus. Nec cum his tantum manu exaratis composui, sed et cum duobus, altero Romano, altero Parisiensi, ita vetuste impressis, ut pro scriptis fere esse possent pluribusque recentioribus editionibus, et in illis quae Hermolai Barbari correctionem quaeque Budaeanorum codicum scripturas praeferunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quos meos labores tibi, generosissime Scheiffarte, lubens merito datos, dedicatos, tantisper velim te boni consulere, donec alia te digniora occurrant quibus animi erga te mei propensam voluntatem testatam posteris consignatamque relinquam. Vale. Hermannoburgo, xii Kalendas Maias, MDLXXX.

Commentary: Francisci Modii in Librum Primum Vegetii De Re Militari Notae. [*Inc.*]: In Prologum. Nisi post Deum faverit Imperator.] Nescio, nobilissime Scheiffarte, nescio inquam, quid sibi velit duorum (tot enim, praeter totidem

antique adeo excusorum ut vicem manu scriptorum esse possint, usus sum) in membrana exaratorum codicum lectio, qui pro istis, quae in hactenus vulgatis libris reperta tanquam saniora retinui, constanter referebant: *nisi praenotum fuerit Imperatori . . . / . . .* [*Expl.*]: In librum V, in caput XIV, *qui acerrimus casus est*: Colonien-sis scriptus: *qui acerbimus*; hinc forte legendum: *qui acerbissimus*. In caput XV, *Perrumpere tautaverint*; alii: *prorumpere*.

Epilogue. Franciscus Modius Materno Cholino, V. C. L. Senatori et Typographo Coloniensi. S. [*Inc.*]: Habes ecce, mi Materne, ut petisti, et ad quem diem petisti, scriptores bellicos . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Sed jam satis exemplorum aut si plura quis desiderat, videat cap. unicum ejusdem xii. lib. Cod. de Comitibus et Archiatris sacri palatii, et tu, Materne, interea vale. In Agrippina Ubiorum Colonia. Id. Jun. MDLXXX. Finis.

Editions:

1580, Coloniae (Cologne): apud Maternum Cholinum. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina*, III, 173; Graesse, LII, 293; Ebert, 23443; NUC. BL; BN; (IU; NNC).

1607. See Composite Editions.

1633. See Composite Editions.

1670. See Composite Editions.

1806. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See CTC, II, 347–48.

2. Godeschalcus Stewechius

In 1585, Stewechius provided a new edition of the *Epitoma* based on an examination of a manuscript owned by Melchior Hittorpius, which had already been used by Modius, and four others belonging to Jacobus Susius. The *Epitoma* is followed by Frontinus, *Strategemicon*; notes on the *Strategemicon* by Franciscus Modius and Stewechius; Aelianus, *De instruendis aciebus*; Modestus, *De vocabulis rei militaris*; and Stewechius' commentary on Vegetius, *Epitoma*. A dedicatory epistle to Charles of Lorraine precedes the edition of the *Epitoma*, and another to John, count of Salmen, precedes the commentary. Both are dated 1584. A portrait of Stewechius, dated 1583, engraved by the Dutch artist and printer Hendrik Goltzius faces the dedicatory epistle to John of Salmen. Stewechius participated in bearing the expenses of that publication by giving Christopher Plantin the sum of

fourteen "double ducats d'Espagne" and "1 escu au soleil," the latter agreeing in turn to providing Stewechius with a certain number of copies of the book (pp. 86–87 and 161–64 of Plantin's correspondence edited by J. Denuce). The commentary is illustrated with small woodcuts, depicting weapons and war machines. The scope of the commentary covers all points requiring explication: proper names (in their historical and geographical contexts), military terms, practices and armament, and a few textual and stylistic problems.

Dedicatory epistle to text (ed. of Antwerp, 1585). Serenissimo, illustrissimo, potentissimo principi Carolo, Calabriae, Lotharingiae, Bari, ac Geldriae duci, etc. [*Inc.*]: Bellum quidam a belluis ideo dictum volunt, Serenissime Princeps, quod belluarum propria sit et ab omni humanitate aliena tam pernicioosa dissensio. . . . Quae una res sufficere mihi poterat, ut tibi, Serenissime Princeps, Fl. Vegetium Renatum, bellicae disciplinae scriptorem, multis a me laboribus emendatum et integritati restitutum, offerre auderem. Et si reliqua sint multa, quibus ad hoc faciendum impelli poteram, aequae in te atque in aula tua suspicienda. . . . Sed redeo ad Vegetium quem ut ego post varias aliorum editiones recognoscendum atque emaculandum sumerem, solus in causa fuit meus et in remp. et in litteras amor . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Faxit Deus O.M. qui te tuis ac toti reipub. Christianae diu servet incolumem, et qua adhuc fructus es felicitate ac pace, in summis totius orbis Christiani tumultibus, eandem ille velit provinciis tuis concedere perpetuam, salutarem. Vale. Ex Academia vestra Mussipontana. Anno redemptionis orbis MDLXXXIV. I.S.T. humillimus cliens Godescalcus Stewechius.

Ad lectorem. [*Inc.*]: Veteres de veterum disciplina militari libros, si alias unquam, hodie certe manibus omnium terendos arbitror. Utinam superessent quotquot scripti a Graecis, quotquot scripti a Romanis, haberent affatim ejus rei studiosi, ubi desiderium levarent, unde sitim restingerent; at longe aliter (nescio quo fato) et his scriptoribus pariter cum aliis quoque accidit. Nempe pro multis puris et Romanis vix aliud nobis reliquum fecit antiquitas praeter unam Fl. Vegetii Renati epitomen. Eam ad nos transmissam vidimus mutilam, corruptam, ut ipsum auctorem Renatum illam pro sua non autumem agniturum fuisse. Laborarunt in ea perpurganda magni aliquot viri ante me; nihilominus tamen mendarum spicilegium tantum mihi relictum, ut

illud messem illorum existumem superaturum. Damus hic Vegetium ope multorum codicum impressorum, manuscriptorum multo quam ante hac emendatiorem. . . . Varias lectiones, seu mavis emendationes in marginem reicere visum fuit, in textu ipso nihil mutare, nisi quod libris omnibus approbaretur, improbaret sententia aut mens ipsius scriptoris. Quisquis de his iudicaturus es, quaeso ne grave sit ad Commentarium nostrum recurrere, quibusque rationibus vel auctoribus singula a me stabiliantur, corroborentur, cum iudicio expendere. Sexti Julii Frontini Strategemata, et Notis Francisci Modii amici nostri, et nostri Conjectaneis juvare tantum conamur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Hoc amplius, Epitomen tantum rei militaris ex diversis scriptoribus illum conflasse nemini incognitum est. Hic vero quis fuerit, adhuc facilius est suspicari, quam adfirmare. Vale, bone lector et fruiere.

Dedicatory epistle to commentary. Illustrissimo, generosissimo heroi Joanni Comiti Salmensi, Lotharingiae Marescalco, atque Supremo Oeconoמו etc. [*Inc.*]: Militaris disciplina, quam non uni populo hodie amissam dolent, qua ratione recuperari potissimum debeat, a diversis, Illustrissime ac Generosissime Comes, quaesitum est. Mihi sic videtur; peti debere primum ex Commentariis, post arte et scientia eorum, qui castra secuti sunt, confirmari, ac tandem ipso usu et experientia perdisci. . . . Pervenissent enim ad nos ipsimet De militari disciplina scriptores antiqui, non jam in Vegetio restituendo post Hermolaum Barbarum, post Guilielmum Budaeum, et alios, tantum operae ponendum mihi fuisset, quinimo (ni opinio me fallit) non fuisset opus in auctore hoc interpretando quantum hic sumendum fuit, tantum laboris impendere . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Illud an Illustrissimo nomini ac vetustissimae familiae vestrae conveniens ac dignum sit, tibi iudicandum relinquo, ego certe id libens merito tibi tuisque totum do dedicoque, quod mihi bonum faustum sit, reipublicae felix ac salutare. Vale. Tullo Leucorum anno redemptionis nostrae. MDLXXXIV I.C.T. addictissimus cliens Godescalcus Stewechius.

Preface to the commentary. Ad lectorem. [*Inc.*]: Suadebat vetus poeta Lucilius, eum laborem sumendum, laudem qui ferret ac simul fructum. . . . Vix biennium est, cum Fl. Vegetium interpretandum in manus cepi; verum ut eundem scriptorem emendatione indigere animadverti, vetera exempla conquisivi, cum iis comparavi . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quid secutus sim,

vides erudite lector, quid adsecutus lubens merito tui facio iudicii. Diligentiam puto meam cognosces et fidem. Illam, qualem mihi res privatae et publicae permiserunt; hanc quidem antiquam et vere Romanam sicubi vero in tantis antiquitatum tenebris incurrisse me videbis, cogitabis et te hominem esse, me autem illum, qui et moneri et doceri paratus sim vel a quolibet. Vale.

Commentary: Ad libri inscriptionem. [Inc.]: Flavi Vegeti Renati. Praenomen Flavii unus liber non agnoscit, ceterum cum id reliquis omnibus videam receptum, censeo retinendum. Quod vero liber collegii trium Coronarum huic auctori *Vedato* pro *Vegetio* nomen indere velit, numquam probabo reclamantibus nempe reliquis exemplaribus, atque adeo ipso Prisciano Grammatico lib. 3. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *De lusoriis, queis in Danubio quotidianis utuntur excubiis, reticendum puto.* Nomen harum navium nimis quam apertum et clarum est. Ammianus libro duodevigesimo: Quos lusoriae naves quadraginta, quae tum aderant, solae exceperunt. Seneca septimo *De beneficiis* cap. vigesimo: Cui triremes et aeratas non mitterem, lusorias et cubiculatas et alia ludibria regum in mari lascivientium. Iterum eodem cap. *Ubi naves luserunt, hauriuntur.* Ut naves lusoriae, similiter et fulmina lusoria Seneca nuncupabat, decretoriis opposita; quo modo et sagittas lusorias noster appellavit, quibus in praelusione ad palum utebantur, libro primo, cap. quinto decimo. Finis.

Editions:

1585, Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud Christophorum Plantinum. Ebert, 23444; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina*, III, 173–79; NUC. BL; BN; (DFo; DLC; NN; NjP).

1592, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium. With Frontinus, Aelianus, Modestus, Polybius, and finally Stewechius' and Modius' notes and conjectures on Frontinus. Ebert, 23444; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina*, III, 174; NUC. BL; BN; (DLC; DFo; PPL, CU; IEN; NCD; InU, OCLW).

1607. See Composite Editions.

1670. See Composite Editions.

1767. See Composite Editions.

1806. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Godeschalcus Stewechius (Godescale Steewech, Steenwech) was born ca. 1556 at Heusden, in northern Brabant, and died ca. 1599 at Trier.

He studied under Simon Helmius van Delft and Victor Giselin before going to Louvain. In Louvain, at the College of the Three Languages, he became one of Cornelius Valerius van Oudewater's best students; later, at the College of Law, he became a disciple of Johannes Wamesius van Luik. He served as tutor to several noble young men, including Maximillianus and Antonius Bernardus of Tournai, Johan Willem of Spangen. Around 1578, he fled his country, which had fallen into the hands of the Calvinists, to go first to Cologne and then to Toul and Langres. He rejected an offer from Giulio Strozzi, the ambassador of the prince of Mantua, to accept a teaching post in Italy. Instead, he took a teaching position at the University of Pont-à-Mousson. Approximately nine years later, he moved to Trier, where he soon thereafter died and was buried.

Works: His notes and conjectures on Frontinus and Aelianus appeared with his commentary on Vegetius in 1585. A revision of Beroaldus' edition of Apuleius, *In L. Apuleii opera omnia quaestiones et conjecturae*, was printed in Antwerp in 1586; it was frequently reprinted. An edition and commentary on Arnobius that Stewechius finished in 1586–87 was published posthumously: *Arnobii disputationum adversus gentes libri VII* (Antverpiae, 1606); it was frequently reprinted.

Bibliography: Biographie Nationale de Belgique, XXIII (1921–24), 762–65; *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, IX (1933), 1067–69; A. J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, VI (1852), 814; R. Dekkers, *Bibliotheca Belgica Juridica* (Brussels, 1951), 13–14; P. Lehmann, *F. Modius* (Munich, 1908), 11, 89, 130, 138.

3. Petrus Scriverius

Petrus Scriverius made himself known as a classicist in 1607, when his edition of several texts dealing primarily with military affairs was published in one volume by Plantin in Leiden. The texts are the following: *Vegetii Epitoma de re militari*, *Catonis aliorumque de re militari fragmenta*, *Aeliani de instruendis aciebus*, *Castrametatio romanorum ex historiis Polybii*, *Hygini de castrametatione liber*, *Anonymi de rebus bellicis*, *Ruffi leges militares*, *Frontini strategematon*, *De aquaeductibus urbis Romae*, *De re agraria*, *De coloniis Italiae*.

In 1633, Johannes Maire, also of Leiden, re-

printed in one volume the same texts, followed by a few others: the *Poliorceticus* of Aeneas Tacticus, Polybius' *Commentarius polemicus, sive de militia et castrametatione romanorum*—both translated by Isaac Casaubon—and “Petri Scriverii correctionum militarium liber, sive animadversiones in Vegetium De re militari, nunc primum ex intervallo XXV annorum recensitae atque auctae et nunc recusae.” This short commentary deals primarily with corrections that Scriverius felt were needed to his 1607 edition of Vegetius' *Epitoma*.

Praefatio. Lectori s. (ed. of Leiden, 1633). [*Inc.*]: Haec maxime versatur Deorum iniquitas, teste Quadrigario, quod deteriores sunt incolumiores neque optimum quemque inter nos sinunt diurnare. Atque ita est profecto. Nam inter alia praeclara et quantivis pretii monumenta, quae temporum infelicitate perierunt, veteres etiam de re militari scriptores praestantissimi, tam Graeci quam Latini, haud semper potuerunt perennare. . . . Nam Vegetius, eodem censore, nihil habet meri, ac sui et superioris aevi instituta aut mores confundit. . . . Equidem fateor, Godeschalcum Stevvechium optime de auctore hoc meritum; et editio ejus quin praestantissima sit, plusquam manifestum est. . . . Praestantissima quidem, ut supra attigi, Stewechii editio, sed non talis quae non melior aliquanto reddi possit: ut nunc certe reddita est, aut ego egregie fallor. Quid autem ei adjiciat haec nova editio, putidum esset et nimis longum singulatim percensere . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quod si in Vegetio Frontinoque excellentissimis auctoribus uberiores explicationem quis desideret, adeat ille (suadeo) Francisci Modii et Godeschalci Stewechii notas sive commentaria, quae in editione Lugd. Bat. typis Raphelengianis impressa anno MDCVII habentur. Vale. Scribebam iisdem Athenis Batavis, vi. Eid. Quintil. MDCXXXII. P. Scriverius.

Commentary: [Inc.]: In titulo, *Ad Valentinianum Augustum*. Palatinorum codicum unus optimae notae agnoscit hic *Theodosium Imperatorem*. Libro primo. In prologo. *nisi post Deum faverit Imperator*.] Sic quidam MSS. alii *nisi praenotum fuerit Imperatori*. Et sic editio vetustissima, jure merito mihi princeps et instar manuscripti. Superestque mihi aliud exemplar MS. in quo legas, *nisi post Deum fuerit Imperator* . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Finis] In Palatino primo legitur, *Expliciunt libri quattuor Flavii Vegetii*

Renati viri illustris comitis ad Theodosium Imp. In alio, quod penes me est, MSS. *Fl. Eutropius emendavi sine exemplario Constantinopolim Conss. Valentiniano Aug. vii. et Avieno feliciter. Quae notanda, et expendenda majore diligentia et otio.*

Editions:

1633, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): ex officina Joannis Maire. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina*, III, 173–79; Ebert, 23446; Graesse, III, 270; John Rylands Library 1866; NUC. BN (CtY; ICU; MH).

1644, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): ex officina Joannis Maire. John Rylands Library 1866; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina*, III, 173–79; NUC (UCL; DfO; PU; PPL, MWi W-C; NjP; CtY; MH).

1670. See Composite Editions.

1767. See Composite Editions

1806. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See CTC, IV, 294. Add to the Bibliography:

A. J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (rpt. Amsterdam, 1969), VI, 182–85; G. Ellinger, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Lyrik in den Niederlanden*, III (Berlin and Leipzig, 1933), 199–200.

C. L. Heesakkers, “Petrus Scriverius as the Publisher of the Poemata of Janus Douza,” *Quaerendo* (Amsterdam), V (1975), fasc. 2, 105–25; A. M. Hulkenberg, “De Gevelsteen van Uitermeer, het huis van de Leidse Scriverius in de Poelpolder te Luisse,” *Jaarboekje voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde van Leiden en Omstreken* (Leiden), LXV (1973), 129–38; P. Moreri, *Leven van Pieter Schrijver* (s.l., 1738); D. Peil, *Zur ‘Angewandten Emblematis’ in Protestantischen Erbauungsbüchern*. Dilherr, Arndt, *Francisci, Scriver* (Heidelberg, 1978); C. S. M. Rademaker, “Scriverius and Grotius,” *Quaerendo* (Amsterdam), VII (1977), 46–57; P. Tuynman, “Petrus Scriverius 12 January 1576–30 April 1660,” *Quaerendo* (Amsterdam), VII (1977), 4–45; E. J. Wolteswinkel, “De Portretten van Petrus Scriverius en Zijn Familie,” *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconografische Bureau* (Den Haag), XXXI (1977), 105–19; M. L. Wurfbain, “‘The Man with the Beard’: A Portrait of Peter Scriverius?” *Quaerendo* (Amsterdam), VII (1977), 11–115.