

# SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS, GAIUS

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## FORTUNA\*

Gaius Sallustius Crispus (86–35 B.C.) was the earliest Roman historian whose works became sufficiently well established in the literary culture to survive in part the fall of the Empire. Of the *quadriga* of authors central to the education of the later Empire, Virgil and Cicero are the great and magisterial figures whose names have never faded from the consciousness of the West; Terence and Sallust, on the other hand, are known to few readers today and in their own lifetimes were not commanding presences. Yet their texts were used continuously in the past to educate the young in the use of the Latin language and their fame lasted virtually intact from antiquity well into the early modern era.<sup>1</sup>

\*The historian's name is variously spelled Sallustius and Salustius in the medieval and Renaissance tradition, and we have not regularized the spelling in the texts transcribed, as the spelling is on occasion debated in the commentaries.

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1. The *quadriga* or four-horse team is mentioned by the grammarian Arusianus Messius (395 A.D.); see G. F. Gianotti, "I testi nella scuola," in G. Cavallo et al., eds., *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica*, 5 vols. (Rome, 1989–91), vol. 2: *La circolazione del testo*, 448 and n. 86.

Antiquity put Sallust on a par with Thucydides, and the Renaissance saw in him a worthy member of another *quadriga*, of Roman historians, with Caesar, Livy, and Tacitus. One reason for this was the extraordinary versatility and adaptability of his thought in ages of varying interests. Another is the distinctive voice and style he established for himself, an historiographical art of immediate appeal and a moral/political passion that both enlivens the narrative and helps to justify inclusion in the canon. "A un'arte simile non poteva mancare fortuna."<sup>2</sup>

We lack an ancient biography, and the many *testimonia* are not always trustworthy, as Sallust's political and literary reputation inspired early polemics which alleged a life at variance with the moral tone of his writings.<sup>3</sup> Born in Sabine Amiternum in 86 B.C.,<sup>4</sup> Sallust is presumed to have been educated at Rome, where he entered political life in the tempestuous 50s as quaestor. He was made tribune of the plebs for 52 and expelled from the Senate in 50 (by the censor Appius Claudius Pulcher), probably in retaliation for actions as tribune in the party strife of that period; by 49 (if not earlier) he is found on the side of Julius Caesar, commanding troops in Illyricum in 49, as praetor-elect in 47 trying to mollify Caesar's mutinous troops in Campania, and achieving some success as leader during the next year as praetor in the African campaign.

During the Civil War, Caesar made Sallust the first governor of Africa Nova, and he returned to Rome reportedly a wealthier man, rich enough to own the Horti Sallustiani between the Quirinal and Pincian hills, among other properties of note.<sup>5</sup> Having reentered the Senate, Sallust seems

2. "Sallustio," *Enciclopedia italiana*, vol. 30 (1949), 539b (G. Funaioli).

3. On the life, see, e.g., R. Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley, 1964), ch. 1; A. La Penna, *Sallustio e la "rivoluzione" romana* (Milan, 1968; 2d ed., 1969; 3d ed., 1973), "Nota biografica," 472ff.; "Sallustius," *Der kleine Pauly*, vol. 4 (Munich, 1972), 1513–14 (P. L. Schmidt).

4. 1 October 86 B.C., according to Jerome, the *Chronicon paschale*, and the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*. These and other *testimonia* are collected in the Teubner edition by A. Kurfess, 3d ed. (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1957 [1991]), xxii–xxxi.

5. Aside from the fact that we have no information on his family, it could be argued that he was always wealthy, which is why he came to Rome and entered so easily into political life; compare the position of his grandnephew and namesake under Augustus and Tiberius.

to have escaped prosecution for extortion, thanks to Caesar's intervention on his behalf. Whatever his aims and ambitions for the ensuing period, they were changed by the assassination of Caesar in 44, and the rest of his life was devoted to the writing of history.<sup>6</sup>

The works accepted as genuine begin with two monographs on particular events, first the *Bellum Catilinae* (BC) or *De coniuratione Catilinae liber* on the events of 63, next the *Bellum Iugurthinum* (BI) on the political and military conflict with Jugurtha in North Africa in 112–105.<sup>7</sup> Sallust then began on a larger scale the annalistic *Historiae*, starting with the year 78 after the death of Sulla, and had brought that narrative down to the year 67 in five books (which survive in excerpts and fragments) by the time of his death.<sup>8</sup>

The order of the works is presumed, and they cannot be dated more precisely than to the period 44–35 B.C. All of these narratives concern in one way or another the revolution that had dominated Rome during the historian's life and brought his political career to an end; clearly Sallust began with strong opinions that developed further in the course of the writing. Other works are attributed to him, two *Epistulae ad Caesarem senem de republica* and an *Oratio (invictiva) in Ciceronem*, all of which, if genuine, would have preceded the historical writing. Their genuineness has been debated since the Renaissance and is not decisively rejected even now, though the latter speech has few supporters.<sup>9</sup> A non-extant poem *Empedoclea*,

6. *Catilina* 4.1–2: “... mihi reliquam aetatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi ... eodem regressus statui res gestas populi Romani carptim ... perscribere”; *Iugurtha* 4.3: “... decrevi procul a re publica aetatem agere...”

7. These monographs, now usually referred to simply as *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*, were probably entitled by their author as *De Catilinae coniuratione liber* (see 4.3) and *De Iugurthino bello liber* (see 5.1). Soon they came to be known as *Bellum Catilinae* (or *Catilinarium*) and *Bellum Iugurthinum*, and it is these titles that we have chosen to use in this article. Compare his imitator Tacitus, who began with two monographs (and perhaps also the *Dialogus de oratoribus*).

8. The starting point may have been chosen to coincide with the endpoint of his predecessor Sisenna. Compare again Tacitus, who proceeded to the writing of *Historiae* and *Annales*, the latter *ab excessu divi Augusti*.

9. For a review of the arguments on the genuineness of the *Epistulae*, see in particular M. Chouet, *Les Lettres de Salluste à César* (Paris, 1950), xiii–xix, and on the *Oratio in Ciceronem* and *Epistulae*, K. Vretska, ed., *Sallust. Invektive und Episteln*, vol. 1 (Heidelberg, 1961), 20–26, 38–51. The

though it would fit with alleged involvement in a neo-Pythagorean group, is regarded as the work of another Sallustius.<sup>10</sup> Nor is the speech extant that he was asked to compose for Ventidius Bassus in 38 to celebrate a victory over the Parthians. Sallust's death came in 35 or 34 B.C.<sup>11</sup>

## ANTIQUITY

Reaction to Sallust's work, some positive but most negative, was immediate. Others besides Ventidius may have commissioned speeches from him, and a statement attributed to the Augustan orator Cassius Severus implies that they were available to be read, even if only because of his distinction as a writer of history.<sup>12</sup> Lucius Arruntius (cos. 22 B.C.) imitated him in writing of the Punic Wars, and Pompeius Trogus, despite his criticism of Sallust's practice of inserting fictive speeches, gives evidence of extensive use of the *Historiae*.<sup>13</sup> Against this are placed the frequent

*Epistulae*, which are sometimes referred to as *Suasoriae*, or fictive exercises in persuasion as practiced in the rhetorical schools, have been thought to be the work of C. Sallustius Crispus, member of the circle of Symmachus and emendator of the text of Apuleius; see L. Canfora, “Crispus Sallustius autore delle Suasoriae ad Caesarem senem?” *Index: Quaderni camerti di studi romanistici* 9 (1980) 25–32 and W. Speyer, *Die literarische Falschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum* (Munich, 1971).

10. Cicero, *Ad Quintum fratrem* 2.9.3 and ps. Cicero, *Oratio invictiva in Sallustium* 5.14; see La Penna, *Sallustio*, 2.

11. Commission from Ventidius reported by Fronto, *Epistulae ad Verum* 2.1.9; the day of death, 13 May 35 B.C., from the *Chronicon paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831); Jerome says “quadriennio ante Actiacum bellum”, but 34 B.C. would be possible (see La Penna, *ibid.*, 473 n. 3).

12. Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae* 3, praef. 8: “Ciceronem eloquentia sua in carminibus destituit, Vergiliū illa felicitas ingenii oratione soluta reliquit, orationes Sallustii in honorem historiarum leguntur ...” (the context appears to exclude that the speeches are those invented for the historical narratives).

13. Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae morales* 114.17f.: “... Sallustio vigente anputatae sententiae et verba ante expectatum cadentia et obscura brevitas fuere pro cultu. L. Arruntius, vir rarae frugalitatis, qui historias belli Punici scripsit, fuit Sallustianus et in illud genus nitens. ... Quae apud Sallustium rara fuerunt apud hunc crebra sunt et paene continua ...”; Justinus, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi* 38.3.11: “(Pompeius Trogus) in Livio et in Sallustio reprehendit, quod contiones directas pro sua oratione operi suo inserendo historiae modum excesserint.” See E. Bolaffi, *Sallustio e la sua fortuna nei secoli* (Rome, 1949), 186–87, where he finds use of Sallust beyond the *Epistula Mithridatis*.

attacks made on Sallust, the focus of which seems to have been consistent: his personal life and his personal literary style based on Thucydides and Cato. The most strongly worded is that of Pompey's freedman Lenaeus, accusing him of low character and literary plagiarism in retaliation for a disparaging comment about his master.<sup>14</sup> More serious, no doubt, is the reaction of other historians: Asinius Pollio, who criticized his archaizing vocabulary,<sup>15</sup> and Livy, who criticized Sallust's *brevitas* but nevertheless was influenced by him.<sup>16</sup> At the end of his life, then, and in the years immediately following his death, he appears to be known as a figure of controversy and read as a stylist.

Sallust's unique style invited imitation among authors both Roman and Greek even before his great imitator Tacitus: Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Curtius Rufus, Asconius Pedianus, Pomponius Mela, Frontinus, Vibius Maximus, and even the poets Virgil and Silius Italicus.<sup>17</sup> Are such writers as these the *docti viri* of Martial's epigram (14.191)?

Hic erit, ut perhibent doctorum corda virorum,  
Primus Romana Crispus in historia.

It seems more likely, however, that Martial is referring to Quintilian and the schools of rhetoric. The Ciceronian Quintilian quotes with approval

14. Suetonius, *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* 15: "Lenaeus Magni Pompei libertus . . . tanto amore erga patrōni memoriam extitit, ut Sallustium historicum, quod eum oris probi, animo inverecundo scripsisset, acerbissima satura laceraverit, lastaurum et lurchonem et nebulonem popinonemque appellans, et vita scriptisque monstrorum, praeterea priscorum Catonis verborum ineruditissimum furem." See R. A. Kaster's commentary (Oxford, 1995) on this work.

The epigram reported by Quintilian may have come from the same source, though the pentameter is rather tame (*Inst. 8.3.29*): "et verba antiqui multum furate Catonis, / Crispus, lugurthinae conditor historiae."

15. Suetonius, *ibid.* 10; the criticism is also voiced by Augustus in Suetonius' *Divus Augustus* 86 and Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae* 10.26.1. See A. La Penna, "Congettura sulla fortuna di Sallustio nell'antichità," in *Studia Florentina Alessandro Ronconi sexagenario oblata* (Rome, 1970), 195–206.

16. Livy is judged by Seneca the Elder (*Contr. 9.1.14*) to have been an unfair critic of Sallust's adaptation of Thucydides (actually Demosthenes); see V. Paladini, *Problemi sallustiani* (Bari, n. d.), 80–81 and, for Sallust's influence on Livy, Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 185–86 and P. G. Walsh, *Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods* (Cambridge, 1961), 43–45.

17. "C. Sallustius Crispus," PW I A,2 (1920), 1947–48 (G. Funaioli); Bolaffi, *ibid.*, 192–96.

the judgment of the historian Servilius Nonianus (cos. 35 A.D.) that Sallust and Livy are on the same level but with different qualities; he thinks Sallust a worthy Roman counterpart to Thucydides, as Livy is to Herodotus; he regards Sallust as the greater historian, while he advises the reading of Livy in early education as being more accessible and requiring less advanced ability; he raises the problem of the relevance of the prefaces to the monographs; and he declares the distinctive quality of Sallust's style to be a *brevitas* perfect for the advanced student, if dangerous for the budding orator to imitate.<sup>18</sup>

One orator, however, of extraordinary gifts and a career as troubled in a different way as Sallust's, read and imitated him as perhaps no one before or since: Cornelius Tacitus.<sup>19</sup> Tacitus refers to his predecessor, with apparent sincerity, as *rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor* (*Ann. 3.30*; the occasion is the obituary of his grandnephew and namesake). He deliberately borrowed both style and substance, repeating on a deeper level the relation that Sallust had established between himself and his model Thucydides.<sup>20</sup> Tacitus not only took over and developed further certain stylistic traits (vocabulary, asyndeton, inconcinnity, brevity),<sup>21</sup> but he adopted and adapted for his own subject the manner and the passion of his model.

18. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 10.1.102 (*dictum* of Nonianus); 2.5.19: "... historiae maior est auctor, ad quem tamen intellegendum iam profectu opus sit"; 3.8.9: "quos (Isocratem et Gorgiam) secutus videlicet C. Sallustius in bello Iugurthino et Catilinae nihil ad historiam pertinentibus principiis orsus est"; 4.2.45: "vitanda est etiam illa Sallustiana (quamquam in ipso virtutis obtinet locum) brevitas et abruptum sermonis genus . . ."; 10.1.32: "illa Sallustiana brevitas, qua nihil apud aures vacuas atque eruditas potest esse perfectius"; 10.1.101: "... nec opponere Thucydidii Sallustium verear". See Bolaffi, *ibid.*, 190–92.

Recent contributions to the reception of Sallust in antiquity, including discussions of his influence in Cassius Dio, Quintilian, Fronto, Augustine et al., may be found in *Présence de Salluste. Actes du Colloque tenu à Tours les 23 et 24 février 1996*, ed. R. Poignault (Tours, 1997).

19. See Bolaffi, *ibid.*, 196–205; Syme, *Sallust*, 292–96; F. R. D. Goodyear, "Tacitus," in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, vol. 2: *Latin Literature*, ed. E. J. Kenney and W. V. Clausen (Cambridge, 1982), 650–51; Tacitus, *Annals: Book IV*, ed. R. M. Martin and A. J. Woodman (Cambridge, 1989), 5–7, 13.

20. E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1958), 328, and F. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischer Form* (Leipzig, 1901), 232, both cited by Funaioli, PW, 1948.

21. Goodyear, "Tacitus," 650–51.

The brilliance with which Tacitus accomplished this creation makes it all the more surprising that he did not displace Sallust as the prime representative of history. An explanation may lie in the literary tastes of the second century, dominated at first by the classicizing trend that had drawn Tacitus to the late-Republican exemplar, then under Hadrian and the Antonines by an archaic trend; this stylistic preference, combined with whatever difficulties of language or politics Tacitus presented, kept Sallust in the forefront during the ensuing crucial period for the survival of the author. He even has an impact on the Greek world, influencing Plutarch and Appian indirectly and translated into Greek by Zenobius in the era of Hadrian; fragments of all his works appear in several papyri (s. II-V) imported to Egypt from Italy.<sup>22</sup>

Fronto and Gellius and the circles around them clearly found enough archaism and elegance of word choice in Sallust to make him a favorite author in their pursuit of brilliant and unusual speech.<sup>23</sup> Their interest in the minute details of language, coupled with the teaching techniques of the schools of the period, gave rise to the first commentaries. In the schools, the *grammaticus* delivered an introductory lecture, followed by a detailed word-by-word *explicatio* of the text; and specialized treatises on words were composed for training in language, treatises in

22. *Suda* s.v. "Zenobius" (zeta 73): ἔγραψεν . . . Μετάφρασιν Ἐλληνικῶς τῶν Ἰστοριῶν Σαλουστίου τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ ἱστορικοῦ καὶ τῶν καλούμενων αὐτοῦ Βελῶν . . ."; Funaioli, PW, 1948–49; Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 205–207, 220–21. On the papyri, see R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Roman Literary Papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2d ed. (Ann Arbor, 1967); L. D. Reynolds, "Sallustius Crispus," in Reynolds, ed., *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), 341–52.

23. Sallust is found in company with some of their favorite archaic writers even in Apuleius, *Apologia* 95.5, praising a letter written to him by Lollianus Avitus:

Quamcumque orationem struxerit Avitus, ita ille erit undique sui perfecte absoluta ut in illa neque Cato gravitatem requirat, neque Laelius lenitatem, nec Gracchus impetum, nec Caesar calorem, nec Hortensius distributionem, nec Calvus argutias, nec parsimoniam Sallustius, nec opulentiam Cicero. . . .

See R. Marache, *La critique littéraire de la langue latine et le développement du goût archaïsant au IIe siècle de notre ère* (Rennes, 1952), 326 and T. D. McCreight, "Apuleius, *lector Sallustii*: Lexicographical, Textual and Intertextual Observations on Sallust and Apuleius," *Mnemosyne* 51 (1998) 41–63.

which prized authors like Sallust were mined for examples.<sup>24</sup> One such treatise, the *De singularibus* of Statilius Maximus, while not a commentary on Sallust, cited him frequently.<sup>25</sup>

The commentary on the *Historiae* by Aemilius Asper (III.i.1 below), of which a few fragments are found in the grammarian Julius Romanus and other sources, is the first of which we have any knowledge. Asper also wrote commentaries on Virgil and Terence. It is usually assumed that his commentary on Sallust covered both the monographs and the *Historiae*, but the meager fragments give evidence only for the latter.<sup>26</sup> The multiplication and correction of texts of Sallust in the schools will have had its effect in this period; however, the hypothesis of a double recension of Sallust's text in antiquity, one from the era of

24. Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 211–15. For the role of the *grammaticus*, see G. F. Gianotti, "I testi," 448–50 and B. A. Marshall, *A Historical Commentary on Asconius* (Columbia, Mo., 1985), 32–38. On the Frontonians, see most recently D. W. T. C. Vessey, "Challenge and Response," and F. R. D. Goodyear, "Rhetoric and Scholarship," in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* 2.497–502 and 676–78; E. Fantham, "Latin Criticism of the Early Empire," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 1: *Classical Literary Criticism*, ed. G. A. Kennedy (Cambridge, 1989), 274–96, especially 293–96; and L. Gamberale, "La riscoperta dell'arcaico," in Cavallo et al., *Lo spazio letterario* 3:547–96.

25. J. E. G. Zetzel, "Statilius Maximus and Ciceronian Studies in the Antonine Age," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 21 (1974) 107–23. The references to Statilius come from Charisius, *Ars grammatica*, where, e.g., at p. 196 (ed. Keil) he quotes Sallust in the *Historiae* and then says "ubi Statilius Maximus 'ordine' inquit 'et sine intermissione'" as though from a commentary on Sallust; but the only certain work of Statilius is *De singularibus apud Ciceronem*. See also P. L. Schmidt, "Statilius Maximus," in K. Sallmann, ed., *Die Literatur des Umbruchs: von der römischen zur christlichen Literatur 117 bis 284 n. Chr.*, vol. 4 (Munich, 1997), 256–58.

26. Asper's commentary is mentioned by Jerome, *Apologia adversus Rufinum* 1.16 along with that on Virgil; the meager fragments of the Sallust commentary do not indicate that it covered the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* in addition to the *Historiae*. For further information on Asper's commentaries, see F. Lammert, "Literatur zu Aemilius Asper," *Bursians Jahresbericht* 231 (1931) 60; Sallmann, ibid., 251–53 (with bibliography). The fragments have been collected by P. Wessner, *Aemilius Asper. Ein Beitrag zur römischen Literaturgeschichte* (Halle, 1905), with an addition in Wessner, "Zu Aemilius Asper," *Philologische Wochenschrift* 26 (1906) 62–63; a detailed commentary on the fragments is provided by M. Franca Buffa, "Emilio Aspro: I Commentari sallustiano e terenziano," *Studi e ricerche dell'Istituto di Latino (Genova)* 1 (1977) 7–49.

Asinius Pollio that removed the archaisms and one from the Frontonian era that restored them, while attractive, has not been accepted.<sup>27</sup>

Beyond the appeal of his style to archaic fashion, Sallust's permanence in the schools was due to the usefulness of his speeches and letters for training in rhetoric at the stage beyond that of the *grammaticus*; the first collection of them seems likely to have been made in this period, and they were a special interest of Fronto. The practice in the schools of debating the genre in which a given author is to be considered seems to lie behind the report of the historian Granius Licinianus of arguments why Sallust should be read as an orator, not as an historian. The arguments show that his oratorical nature is not limited to the speeches, but this apparently did not prevent Granius himself from using Sallust as an historical source.<sup>28</sup> Others obviously read and used him as an historian: Florus, whose *Epitomes* are not only Livian in material, and Suetonius, who begins the line of Roman historians in his *De viris illustribus* with Sallust.<sup>29</sup>

What little evidence we have from the more troubled third century still shows that readers of Sallust represent different interests and milieux: the *Scriptores historiae Augustae*, the historian Cassius Dio, the grammarian Julius Romanus, the commentator Porphyrio, and the emperor Septimius Severus.<sup>30</sup>

The danger was already present that an author might be reduced to excerpts or epitomes if his work was lengthy, or lose in the conflict between paganism and Christianity. Sallust lost the first battle in part, perhaps as early as the second cen-

27. R. Zimmermann, *Der Sallusttext im Altertum* (Munich, 1929), 130–31; Kurfess, preface to Sallust ed. (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1957), x–xii; L. D. Reynolds, ed., *Catilina, Iugurtha, Historiarum fragmenta selecta, Appendix Sallustiana* (Oxford, 1991), xvi and n. 2.

28. Funaioli, PW, 1949; Granius Licinianus (author of a history of Rome of uncertain title, in the era of Antoninus Pius), *Quae supersunt* 36, ed. N. Criniti (Leipzig, 1981): “Sallusti opus nobis occurrit, sed nos, ut instituimus, moras et non urgencia omittemus. Nam Sallustium non ut historicum*a* iunt sed ut oratorem legendum. Nam et tempora reprehendit sua et delicta carpit et conationes inserit et dat in vicem loca montes flumina et hoc genus alia et culpat et comparat disserendo”; Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 216.

29. Funaioli, ibid., 1949; Bolaffi, ibid., 215–20; further bibliography in Cavallo et al., eds., *Lo spazio letterario* 5.325–33.

30. Funaioli, ibid., 1950; Bolaffi, ibid., 221–23.

tury, as his *Historiae* were replaced by the excerpted speeches and letters; but the monographs remained in the schools since they were not only consistent in moral outlook with Christianity but short enough to be handily read. His situation in late antiquity is undoubtedly more complex than this simple statement of loss and survival, but both are seen in the use of Sallust by Augustine in the fifth century. On the one hand, Augustine read deeply into the thought of the Sallust he possessed in his library, and he self-consciously adapted the pagan author to his Christian purpose in *De civitate Dei*; on the other hand, he can be shown to have worked from the *Historiae* as excerpted into preface and speeches and letters.<sup>31</sup>

Pagan and Christian authors alike criticized what they saw as hypocrisy in the personal life of the historian compared to the moral tone of his writings, especially the prefaces, but the use of his works by a wide variety of historians and other writers shows that they accepted him as both eloquent and truthful.

Historians and epitomators, notably Eutropius, Julius Ex(s)uperantius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Paulus Orosius, drew upon Sallust as a source of historical (and often geographical) information, thus preserving summaries of the events related in the monographs and the *Historiae*.<sup>32</sup> The host of grammarians and rhetors who cite Sallust in this period may know him only at

31. L. Canfora, “Per una storia del canone degli storici. Il caso del corpus sallustiano,” in A. Giardina, ed., *Società romana e impero tardantico*, vol. 4 (Rome and Bari, 1986), 3–18. See also H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics* (Göteborg, 1967); R. M. Stein, *Sallust for His Readers* 410–1550 (Diss. Columbia University, 1977); M. Cagnetta, “Il Sallustio di Agostino,” *Quaderni di storia* 11 (1985) 151–60.

32. Lactantius, *Institutiones divinae* 2.12.12: “... quod quidem non fugit hominem nequam Sallustium, qui ait ‘sed nostra omnis vis ... magis utimur’ (*Catilina* 1.2). Recte, si ita vixisset, ut locutus est”; Symmachus, *Epistulae* 5.68.2 (ad Olybrium et Probinum): “... scriptor stilo tantum probandus, nam morum eius damna non sinunt, ut ab illo agundae vitae petatur auctoritas”; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.13.9: “... Sallustius gravissimus alienae luxuriae obiurgator et censor”; Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 1.5: “Sallustius, nobilitatae veritatis historicus”; ibid. 7.3: “vir desertissimus Sallustius”; Orosius, *Adversum paganos* 6.6.5–6: “sed hanc historiam [coniurationem Catilinae adversus patriam] agente Cicerone et describente Sallustio satis omnibus notam nunc a nobis breviter fuisse prescriptam sat est.” (For the historians and other writers, see Funaioli, PW, 1950–51, and Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 237–38).

second hand, but given his place in the school curriculum much of the knowledge is assumed to be direct, and the prominence of quotations from the *Historiae* is notable; many fragments were thus preserved.<sup>33</sup> His fame even has a visual representation in the portraits that appear among the “contorniate” medallions of the late fourth century.<sup>34</sup>

The traditional curriculum of the schools, with its detailed study of a limited number of classical texts, among whom was Sallust, was an element of continuity for the upper class amid the changes of the period. Commentaries either composed at this time or compiled from earlier works formed the basis of knowledge of the classical authors in the Middle Ages.<sup>35</sup> Any commentary on Sallust besides that of Asper, however, has left no traces save what may be gathered from the marginal scholia in the later manuscripts.

The period of late antiquity produced the last known copy (only fragments survive) of the complete *Historiae*, which then perhaps for the last time circulated in their entirety. Jerome presumably read them in school, for he mentions Asper's commentary on them (and Jerome's teacher was Aelius Donatus, who commented on Terence).

33. See in general M. De Nonno, “Le citazioni dei grammatici,” in Cavallo et al., eds., *Lo spazio letterario* 3.597–646. On Nonius Marcellus, Servius, Arusianus Messius, and Aelius Donatus, see P. McGushin, ed. and trans., *Sallust, The Histories*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1992), 7–9; L. di Salvo, “Le citazioni delle monografie di Sallustio in Arusiano Messio,” *Studi e ricerche dell'Istituto di Latino (Genova)* 4 (1981) 73–79; di Salvo, “I frammenti delle *Historiae* di Sallustio tramandati da Arusiano Messio in comune con altre fonti,” *ibid.* 5 (1982) 29–52. On Nonius' citations from Sallust, see the various contributions to *Studi noniani* and, for the question of the fragments from the *Historiae*, see the references to articles by R. P. Oliver and F. Bertini in n. 70 below.

34. See P. J. Osmond, “Princeps *Historiae Romanae*: Sallust in Renaissance Political Thought,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 40 (1995) 123 and n. 84, and especially A. and E. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1976), 28–32 (nos. 106–108), and plates 34–37.11 and 211.8.9; vol. 2 (Berlin, 1990), 49, 51, and 101 (and see Index).

35. R. Browning, “Introductory,” in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* 2.690; J. E. G. Zetzel, “On the History of Latin Scholia,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 79 (1975) 338; Zetzel, “On the History of Latin Scholia II: The *Commentum Cornuti* in the Ninth Century,” *Medievalia et humanistica* 10 (1981) 20–21. For the traditional curriculum, see H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. G. Lamb (New York, 1956; rpt. Madison, Wisc., 1982), 277–78.

Perhaps Augustine also read the *Historiae* in school, even if he may not have had a complete copy in Hippo at the time he was writing the *De civitate Dei*; and they are quoted by Priscian in the early sixth century, perhaps not directly. The fifth-century manuscript of the *Historiae* later perished, apparently at Fleury, in the late sixth or seventh century in providing bindings and parchment for Jerome's commentary on Isaiah.<sup>36</sup> The manuscripts of the monographs themselves have a single hyparchetype, with the missing *Jugurtha* passage later inserted in a class of *suppleti* from a manuscript representing a tradition whose traces can be found in quotations from authors of this period and elsewhere among isolated *recensiones*.<sup>37</sup>

Later, if not darkness, a kind of twilight falls even on Sallust's works. The dedication to him of the Latin version of the *De excidio Troiae* by “Cornelius Nepos” is only at best a mark of respect for a credible name in history, and the evidence from Gregory of Tours (538–594) is slight.<sup>38</sup> Yet Isidore of Seville (d. 636), summing up the late antique inheritance in his encyclopedia, regards Sallust as an exemplary historian, a fixture in the school curriculum, and uses him both in developing a philosophy of history and for information on details of Roman history. The indirect tradition of Sallust's monographs, represented chiefly by the late antique summaries of Eutropius and Orosius, continued through the *Historia Romana* of Paulus Diaconus (ca. 720–799).<sup>39</sup> He is also drawn

36. On Priscian, see McGushin, *The Histories*, 9–10; on Augustine, see Cagnetta, “Il Sallustio di Agostino”; on the manuscript at Fleury, see E. A. Lowe, ed., *Codices latini antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, vol. 8 (Oxford, 1959), 10, no. 809 (including other *membra disiecta*); Reynolds, ed., *Catilina*, xix–xx; McGushin, *ibid.*, 6–7; E. Pellegrin, “La tradition des textes classiques latins à l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire,” *Revue d'histoire des textes* 14–15 (1984–85) 163; H. Bloch, “The Structure of Sallust's *Historiae*: The Evidence of the Fleury Manuscript,” in *Didascaliae: Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda*, ed. S. Prete (New York, 1961), 59–76.

37. Reynolds, ed., *Catilina*, vi–xiii; the same, ed., *Texts and Transmission* (Oxford, 1983), 341–52; the same, “The Lacuna in Sallust's *Jugurtha*,” *Revue d'histoire des textes* 14–15 (1984–85) 59–69.

38. Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 242–43.

39. E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. Trask (New York, 1953 and later reprints), 452; Stein, *Sallust for His Readers*, ch. 2, especially 79–89.

upon by an anonymous rhetorical fragment *De historia* of the eighth century, where the citations of Sallust come from the first ten chapters of *Catilina* and from the *Historiae*.<sup>40</sup>

### THE MIDDLE AGES

For Sallust as for other authors, the Carolingian era marks a new beginning after a period of relative neglect.<sup>41</sup> To the renewed interest in classical authors such as Sallust in the schools is connected the greater circulation of manuscript copies of the text of the monographs, and the growth of a body of commentary on those texts. The influence of the historian as stylist of the Latin language is the primary consequence, but of equal importance is the twofold impact of the content of his works: the historical narrative itself as a source of political and military information about the Roman republic and a model of how to write history, and the moral sententiousness of the proems, digressions, and speeches as a source of maxims freed from their historical context. To this it may be added that the idea of the development of the historical Roman republic, as seen in the narrative and as analyzed in Sallust's political-philosophical passages, played a role in the political ideologies of the late Middle Ages.

In fact, works of Sallust were thought to be a part of the collection associated with Charlemagne, apparently the parent manuscript of the Vatican florilegium (Vatican City, Biblioteca

40. K. Halm, ed., *Rhetores latini minores* (Leipzig, 1863), 585ff. (*Excerpta rhetorica e cod. Parisino 7530 edita*):

De historia. Historia est rerum gestarum et dignarum memoria relatio: ea versatur aut in rebus bellicis aut in negotiis civilibus, id est pacis. Historici officia sunt tria: ut veras res, ut dilucide, ut breviter exponat. . . . Principiorum ad historiam pertinentium species sunt tres: de historia, de persona, de materia. Aut enim historiae bonum generaliter commendamus, ut Cato, aut pro persona scribentis rationem eius quod hoc officium adsumpserit reddimus, ut Sallustius eo loco, ubi dicit: *sed ego adulescentulus initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad rem p. latus sum*, aut eam rem, quam relaturi sumus, dignam quae et scribatur et legatur ostendimus, ut Livius *ab urbe condita*.

See S. Jaffe, "Gottfried von Strassburg and the Rhetoric of History," in J. J. Murphy, ed., *Medieval Eloquence* (Berkeley, 1978), especially 311–14.

41. See F. Vogel, *Acta seminarii Erlangensis*, vol. 2 (Erlangen, 1881), 405–48, summarized by M. Manitius in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 7 (1882) 226; Stein, *Sallust for His Readers*, ch. 3; Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 243–51.

Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3864) which has preserved for us the speeches and letters from the *Historiae*.<sup>42</sup> From this point the extant manuscripts begin to appear, in France and Germany, their spread a reflection of the place of the historian in the *artes* course of the schools of the period; and an ever increasing number of writers begin to quote, mention, and imitate Sallust in their own historical compositions.<sup>43</sup> Hadoard (the Corbie librarian) and Lupus of Ferrières (student of Hraban Maur at Fulda), in the ninth century, still use Sallust as a source of timeless truths, but represent both the old and the new attitude, Hadoard making a collection of excerpts and Lupus in search of texts that he lacks.<sup>44</sup> The evidence from catalogues in this early period leads us to

42. There is now some dispute regarding the question of Charlemagne's "court library". On this issue, see B. L. Ullman, "A List of Classical Manuscripts (in an Eighth-Century Codex) perhaps from Corbie," *Scriptorium* 8 (1954) 24–37; Reynolds, ed., *Catilina*, xvii–xviii and n. 1; B. Bischoff, "The Court Library of Charlemagne," in Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, ed. and trans. M. Gorman (Cambridge, 1994), 73. According to F. Brunhölzl, "Sallust, I (im Mittelalter)," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 7.6 (Munich and Zurich, 1995), 1307, it is only a presumption that the exemplar of Vat. lat. 3864 was the court library copy; see also C. Villa, "La tradizione di Orazio e la 'biblioteca di Carlo Magno': per l'elenco di opere nel codice Berlin, Diez B Sant. 66," in *Formative Stages of Classical Traditions: Latin Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance. Proceedings of a Conference Held at Erice, 16–22 October 1993*, ed. O. Pecere and M. D. Reeve (Spoleto, 1995), 299–322 and plates I–III. On the historians in Carolingian libraries, see now M. Innes and R. McKitterick, "The Writing of History," in R. McKitterick, ed., *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), 193–200.

43. See B. Munk Olsen, *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale*, Quaderni di cultura mediolatina 1 (Spoleto, 1991); Brunhölzl, ibid., 1306–1308; M. Manitius, *HSS. antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* (Leipzig, 1935), 42–47; Manitius, in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 7 (1882) 226; Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 243–51; H. Bloch, "The New Fascination with Ancient Rome," in R. L. Benson and G. Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 634.

44. Stein, *Sallust for His Readers*, ch. 3; Bolaffi, ibid., 244. The *Collectaneum Hadoardi* is found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1762, and contains one excerpt each from *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*; see Reynolds, "Sallust," in *Texts and Transmission*, 347. For Lupus' request of a certain Reginb(ert?) to procure for him the Catilinarians, Verrines, the *Iugurtha* of Sallust, and all the works he can find and knows not to be in Lupus' possession, see E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, vol. 4: *Les livres: "Scriptoria" et bibliothèques du commencement du VIIe à la fin du XIe siècle* (Lille, 1938), 428–29.

manuscripts of Sallust at Corbie, Murbach, Reichenau, Fleury, and an unknown library in Gaul.<sup>45</sup>

The first of the important surviving manuscripts of the monographs are from this century: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 16024 and lat. 16025, both French (Soissons and Auxerre).<sup>46</sup> While from the tenth century there is mention of Sallust only in Corbie, by the eleventh century he is listed in the inventories of some fifteen libraries north of the Alps, and in the twelfth and thirteenth some twenty.<sup>47</sup> The production of manuscript copies reaches a peak in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, then tapers off: of the monographs, 2 copies survive from the ninth, 5 from the tenth, 26 from the eleventh, 79 from the twelfth, and 8 from the thirteenth centuries.<sup>48</sup> Almost all the manuscripts come from the areas of both France and Germany until the twelfth century, when Italy begins to produce an equivalent share and then to dominate in the thirteenth (with at least 5 of the 8). The temporary decline in the spread and use of the Latin text is matched by the rise of vernacular translation and the less rigorous but no less widespread adoption of the historian and his material for local or popular interest.

The manuscripts are not only copied but glossed, in a manner suggesting the teaching of the text in the schools.<sup>49</sup> As a kind of gloss on

45. Lesne, *ibid.*, 616 n. 3, 733–34, 765, 788 n. 2; P. J. G. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1918), 266; Manitius, *HSS. antiker Autoren*, 42–47.

46. Reynolds, ed., *Catilina*, viii–ix.

47. Manitius, *HSS. antiker Autoren*, 42–47; Lehmann, *Bibliothekskataloge*, vols. 1–3 passim; Lesne, *Histoire* 4530–761 passim.

48. This rough statistic for the monographs is made on the basis of the work of B. Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, 3 vols. in 4 (Paris, 1982–89), vols. 2, 307–63 and 3.2, 114–20; he records three florilegia from the ninth century, one from the tenth, five from the twelfth, and two from the thirteenth; see also his “La popularité des textes classiques entre le IXe et le XIIe siècle,” *Revue d'histoire des textes* 14–15 (1984–85) 169–81, and “Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIIIe siècle,” *ibid.* 9 (1979) 47–121; and Brunhölzl (above, n. 42).

49. B. Smalley, “Sallust in the Middle Ages,” in R. R. Bolgar, ed., *Classical Influences on European Culture, A. D. 500–1500* (Cambridge, 1971), 168–70; Munk Olsen, *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale*, 10–11; G. Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter. Entstehung und Wandlung des Lektürekanons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Munich, 1970), 1–4; R. Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation*

*Iugurtha* 17, a map of the world is found along with the text in many copies.<sup>50</sup> A number of the manuscripts are provided with or have written into their margins some type of an *accessus* or introduction to the texts; in fact, the history of this medieval commentary on Sallust is closely tied to the phenomenon of the *accessus*.<sup>51</sup> If we add later examples to those catalogued by Munk Olsen for the ninth to the twelfth centuries, there are forty-eight examples, some of which are found in several manuscripts. While the *accessus* may be found detached from the commentary, added later to a glossed manuscript, or even separated from the text, whether alone or in a collection of *accessus*, it is often an introduction to the commentary and at times integrated with it as an explication of the opening words or of the proem as a whole. For some teachers and readers, the philosophical nature of the proems induced not just the assigning of Sallust to moral philosophy, as often noted for poets like Ovid, but a general introduction to the system of philosophy, especially in a period or milieu in which scholasticism was in the ascendancy.

The following may serve as a sketch of the typology of the *accessus* tradition for Sallust:<sup>52</sup>

in *Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2001), 190. On one of these glossed manuscripts, a Beneventan product of the twelfth/thirteenth century (origin: Bari or Zadar) in Padua in the fifteenth century and then in Rome (the library of Fulvius Ursinus and now Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3327), see F. Carpanelli, “Ricerche filologiche su un codice sallustiano (Vat. lat. 3327) non ancora esplorato,” *Prometheus* 10 (1984) 147–53 (summary in *Scriptorium* 41 [1987] 133\* [B 550]); the numerous explicative glosses are signs of continuous scholastic use.

50. M. Destombes, ed., *Mappemondes A. D. 1200–1500* (Amsterdam, 1964), ix, 37–38, and 65–73; K. Miller, ed., *Die ältesten Weltkarten*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, 1895), 110–15; J. B. Harley and D. Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, vol. 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago, 1987), 334, 342–46, and 355.

51. See M. Spallone, “I percorsi medievali del testo: ‘accessus’, commentari, florilegi,” in Cavallo et al., eds., *Lo spazio letterario* 3.387–472, especially 392–412 (“L’accessus: dalla presentazione alla legittimazione degli ‘auctores’”). For the example provided by Conrad of Hirsau (s. XII), see Glauche, *Schullektüre*, 101–27; the same, “Accessus ad auctores,” *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Munich and Zurich, 1980), 71–72 (with bibliography). See also Munk Olsen, *L'étude* (above, n. 48; a list of *incipits/explicits* is provided in vol. 2, 311–13).

52. The full text and analysis of these *accessus* for Sallust are being prepared by R. W. Ulery, Jr. for publication elsewhere.

I. The traditional requirements of the *accessus* are stated, and each is then briefly answered for Sallust and the particular text (*Catilina* or *Iugurtha*). There are basically two forms: (a) traditional (up to early s. XI) with 6–8 requisites, and (b) “modern” (ca. s. XI) reduced to 3 or 4. Either set may be named in one of three ways: (1) *auctor, titulus, materia, numerus librorum, qualitas* or *genus, intentio, utilitas, cui parti philosophiae*; (2) *quis, quid, ubi, cur, quomodo* etc.; and (3) *causa efficiens, causa materialis, causa formalis* etc.

II. *Catilina accessus* in four parts beginning directly with either (a) *materia*, (b) *intentio*, (c) *vita*, or (d) *ordo*.

III. *Iugurtha accessus* beginning directly with (a) *materia*, (b) *materia* followed by *prologus*, (c) *materia of prologus*, (d) *intentio of prologus*.

IV. *Vita auctoris* alone

V. Historical introduction (perhaps arising from discussion of *ordo*).

The presence of Sallust in the canon of the revived classical curriculum of the arts course is amply documented.<sup>53</sup> It comes to full fruition in the twelfth century, and coincides with fullest use of Sallust by authors (especially of history). But by then a scholastic tendency may be seen in some of the commentaries on *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* (see I.2 and II.3 below, particularly Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14515, s. XII), which may be related to a shift in the content of the curriculum in the later Middle Ages.

Having been read in school as a model of Latin style, Sallust was then a considerable influence on the developing genres of history and ha-

53. C. H. Haskins, “A List of Text-Books from the Close of the Twelfth Century,” in Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924 and later reprints), 356–76; Conrad of Hirsau, *Dialogus super auctores*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 2d ed. (Leiden, 1970), 41–42, and Glauche, *Schullektüre*, 107–17, 73 (Aemeric), 79–80 (Weinrich), 80–81 (*Vita Meinwerci*); Munk Olsen, *L'étude*, vol. 1, especially 5–6; Curtius, *European Literature*, 49, 260–61, 464. Uses of Sallust in late medieval rhetorical manuals are noted in R. G. Witt, “Medieval Italian Culture and the Origins of Humanism as a Stylistic Ideal,” in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, ed. A. Rabil, Jr., 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1988), 1.29–70, and Witt, “Medieval ‘Ars Dictaminis’ and the Beginnings of Humanism: A New Construction of the Problem,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 35 (1982) 1–35. See now Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 74 (Leiden and Boston, 2000).

giography, as not only the particular features of his Latin but his procedures as a particularly rhetorical historian were drawn upon when writers composed histories of new subjects or times.<sup>54</sup> The use of Sallust as an historical source is already evident in the *Chronicon universale* (MGH SS 6 [1844], 1–267) attributed to Ekkehard von Aura (s. XII continuator of the s. X–XI *Chronicon* of Frutolf), and in the imitation of him by Richer of Reims and Widukind of Corvey.<sup>55</sup> In the eleventh century, writers such as Gaufredo Malaterra (*Historia Sicula*), Adam of Bremen (*Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae*), Lambert of Hersfeld (*Opera*), and the author of the *Chronicon sancti Huberti* adopt Sallustian expressions and apply them to the subjects they are narrating, and Alberic of Montecassino (*Breviarium de dictamine*) collects rhetorical examples.<sup>56</sup>

It is in the twelfth century, however, that writers are found seriously taking over from Sallust the idea of the historical monograph, the interest in geography and ethnography, and the pessimistic analysis of human motivation. Yet the imitation of form can seem artificial when the subject matter is quite at variance with the Roman original.<sup>57</sup> Examples are found in William of Poitiers’ (s. XI) account of William the Conqueror (*Gesta Guillelmi ducis Normannorum*, 1073–74), and in the (anon.) *Vita Heinrici IV* (early s. XII) and (anon.) *Gesta Friderici* (late s. XII).<sup>58</sup>

54. See in general Smalley, “Sallust,” 171–73; Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 243–51; Paladini, *Problemi*, 104–107; Stein, *Sallust for His Readers*, ch. 3. For Gaufredo Malaterra (s. XIII), Sallust is *inter historiographos laudabilis rhetor*; see Funaioli, PW, 1952 (with further bibliography).

55. See Bolaffi, ibid., 245–46; Bloch, “The New Fascination” (above, n. 43), 634 and n. 41; Smalley, ibid., 167, 173–74, where she defends Richer to some extent against the charge of childish imitation and falsification.

56. See Bolaffi, ibid., 247–49; Adam and Lambert perhaps read Sallust at the same time in the school at Bamberg.

57. See Smalley, “Sallust,” 170–73; Stein, *Sallust for His Readers*, 136, 150; Bolaffi, ibid., 249–51.

58. On William of Poitiers, see Smalley, ibid., 174–75 and J. Martin, “Classicism and Style in Latin Literature,” in Benson and Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal*, 615–36; on the *Vita* and *Gesta*, see Stein, ibid., 150, and his “Signs and Things: The ‘Vita Heinrici IV. Imperatoris’ and the Crisis of Interpretation in Twelfth-Century History,” *Traditio* 43 (1987) 105–19, and Bolaffi, ibid., 249–50. Martin notes at 548–49 that William’s style may have seemed Sallustian to Orderic because it was un-medieval; but perhaps the statement refers to the manner and procedures

That political questions should be reinforced by moral ones in the mind of the historian and those of his readers was inherent in the nature of Roman (and later Christian) thought and manifested in the Sallustian vision inherited with his text by later generations of writers.<sup>59</sup> The fervor and economy of his moral *sententiae* appealed to all who read and used him, and his general theory of the reasons for the rise and decline of the Republic gave Sallust a status higher than that of a master of eloquence. Augustine himself had seen this quality in Sallust and had helped to secure his survival, though not that of the *Historiae*, the work he had most utilized. Thomas Aquinas at the other end of the period has the same idea and some of the same effect.<sup>60</sup> In this way the writers of moral tractates and essays on government, compilers of collections of *sententiae*, and authors of rhetorical manuals in the later Middle Ages feed into the development of political theory.<sup>61</sup>

We are not surprised, then, to find Sallust among the philosophers in the *Fiori dei filosofi*, even though much is naively taken over from the *Invectivae*. Nor is it startling to find generous portions of his historical narrative incorporated in *Li Fait des Romains* and in the dozens of French and Italian adaptations that spread and multiply from the mid-thirteenth century on, almost in compensation for the reduced circulation of the Latin text of the author until the humanist revival. In the meantime, compilers of ancient or universal histories and Italian chronicles, including the *Ystorie de Troia et de Roma* (twelfth century) and

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of the historian rather than the Latinity (Orderic Vitalis on *Gesta Guillelmi*: “in qua Guillelmi gesta Crispi Salustii stilum imitatus subtiliter et eloquenter enucleavit”). The only manuscript of the *Vita Henrici IV* is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14095, from St. Emmeram, Regensburg (see I.2–3 below).

59. Smalley, *ibid.*, 165, quoting D. C. Earl, *The Political Thought of Sallust* (Cambridge, 1961).

60. Thomas Aquinas, *De regno* 1.4; 6: “sicut refert Salustius [compare *Catilina* 7.3]: *Incredibile est memoratu, quantum adepta libertate, in brevi romana civitas creverit.*”

61. For the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, attributed to Walter of Lille or William of Conches, used as a source by Brunetto Latini and Benedict of St.-Maur, see Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 244, 250–51. On Henry of Huntingdon and John of Salisbury as appreciators above all of the moral Sallust, see Smalley, “Sallust,” 166; she also notes (167) that even before Petrarch, *pace* Hans Baron, the readers of Sallust knew of the moral causes, the *virtutes Romanae*, that had made Rome great.

the *Chronica de origine civitatis* (late twelfth or early thirteenth century), expanded upon the summarized versions of the Jugurthine War or Catilinarian conspiracy in the earlier medieval compendia, adding material from *romans de chevalerie* or local legends of Catiline to fill out their accounts and enhance the origins of their native cities.<sup>62</sup>

The curve of manuscript production rose high again in the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth century. However, there is no corresponding rise in the number of commentaries, although many manuscripts have extensive marginal and interlinear annotation, apparently indicating their use in the schoolroom.<sup>63</sup> There are 7 manuscript commentaries on the *Catilina* from the medieval period, the earliest apparently from the twelfth century, and another 8 from the period of the Renaissance; 2 of these were published in the first decades of printing, and 18 others appeared in print between 1504 and 1607. The number of commentaries on the *Iugurtha* is about the same: 6 medieval and 7 Renaissance manuscript commentaries, and 19 commentaries printed between 1495 and 1607. There is no marked preference for either monograph or difference of approach, except that in many manuscripts (most of which contain both monographs) there is more annotation on the *Catilina* than on the *Iugurtha*, and more at the beginning of each monograph (this may reflect the progress of the schoolroom through the text set for study).

Of those commentaries that are substantially extant, the earliest appear to originate in southern Germany and France in the twelfth century; the Renaissance commentaries come from Italy as well, and as the arbitrary endpoint and summa-

62. On the legend of Catiline, see P. J. Osmond, “Catiline in Fiesole and Florence: The After-Life of a Roman Conspirator,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 7 (2000) 3–38, with bibliography; and n. 80 below. The indirect tradition of the account of Catiline’s conspiracy, originating, it seems, in Eutropius and continued in Paulus Diaconus, survives well into the early fourteenth-century chronicles of Villani and Riccobaldo da Ferrara.

63. See T. Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Oesterreichs*, vol. 1: *Niederoesterreich* (Vienna, 1915), *passim* (Index), for the appearance of Sallust in later inventories of Austrian libraries. The overall total of Sallust manuscripts is said by Reynolds, ed., *Catilina*, vi, to exceed 500; perhaps 400 are Renaissance manuscripts. There is no list.

tion of the commentary tradition we have set the work of the northern European Jan Gruter (Janus Gruterus) in 1607. The *Historiae* did not receive a commentary, apart from the lost work of Aemilius Asper, until the sixteenth century, when there are 13 commentaries on part or all of the fragmentary remains; 9 of those commentators treat also the *Epistulae*, and there are 7 commentaries on the invective against Cicero.

#### THE RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

Throughout the Renaissance, the texts of Sallust—as a commentator of the period would say—were in the hands of nearly everyone. His work appealed to a broad and diversified group of readers, ranging from students and scholars to princes and military captains, political thinkers, and theologians.<sup>64</sup> His reputation as historian and moralist, as well as his place in the arts curriculum, had long been established; but now his writings were also considered more closely and comprehensively. We see a growing concern with textual accuracy, a greater sensitivity to the unique qualities of his language and style, and a deeper appreciation of his political ideas. At the same time, a more unified approach towards his work is reflected in the search for correlations between thought and expression and in the desire to learn more about his life and character.

With the advent of printing, the modern form of the Sallustian corpus itself took shape. Scholars assembled the extant writings into the collected *opera*; later they began gathering the smaller fragments of the *Historiae* from the indirect tradition. Editors and commentators emended and explicated the text. Historians not only borrowed

64. The first section of the *fortuna* documented the survival and transmission of Sallust's text from antiquity through the Middle Ages, and the following sections on the Renaissance and early modern era will focus on the reception of his work in the context of contemporary political and intellectual developments.

On Sallust's Renaissance *fortuna*, see the pertinent sections of the following studies cited in Bibliography IV.C Special Studies: Bolaffi, *Sallustio*; Büchner, *Sallust*; Funaioli, PW and *Enc. ital.*; La Penna, *Lexikon*. See also the fuller discussions of his reception in particular authors or areas by La Penna, *Sallustio* (appendices); McCuaig, "Bernardo Rucellai"; Osmond, "Sallust and Machiavelli"; "Jacopo Corbinelli"; "Princeps Historiae Romanae"; and "Catiline in Fiesole and Florence"; Osmond and Ulery, "Constantius Felicius Durantinus"; Schindel, "Die Rezeption Sallusts"; and Schindler, *Untersuchungen*.

ideas and motifs but imitated the style and structure of his monographs and adapted to their own subjects his scheme of the rise and decline of the Roman Republic. Schoolboys and statesmen alike made collections of Sallustian *sententiae* and *exempla*, while speeches and letters, often extracted from his texts and included in large compendia, served as models for rhetoricians, ambassadors, army commanders, and (as we are told by their political opponents) aspiring rebels.

The preoccupation with the practical relevance of Sallust's history tends to overshadow the efforts that were made during these centuries to understand his writings in their original framework of meaning.<sup>65</sup> Yet, insofar as scholars returned to ancient testimonia for appraisals of his life and work, as they began basing their corrections of the text on a careful examination of Sallust's own usage or the evidence of *veteres codices*, and as they started questioning some of the classical authorities themselves—as they did, for example, on the authorship of the *Inventiva* (or *Oratio*) in *Ciceronem* and the *Epistulae ad Caesarem*—there are clear indications of an increasing historical awareness. At the same time, the rereading of Sallust's texts in different circumstances and with different agendas brought to light ambiguities or new dimensions of his thought and writing that might otherwise have been overlooked.

This adaptability of Sallust's work, its potential for different uses and interpretations, helps explain—even more perhaps than the brevity of his extant writings, unique style, and established place in the curriculum—his remarkable popu-

65. The question of innovations in philological methods along with the persistence of traditional approaches to classical texts is discussed by A. Grafton in "On the Scholarship of Politian and Its Context," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977) 152–62, and in subsequent articles and books, including Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 1: *Textual Criticism and Exegesis* (Oxford, 1983), and Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbor, 1997), with "A Note on Further Reading," 229–31. J. Hankins, in his Introduction to *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1990 and later reprints), 18ff., examines the different exegetical traditions in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance. In reference to the reading of Sallust, Schindel notes the presence of independent critical judgment in the questioning of Quintilian's authority on the authorship of the *Inventivae* (see his comments on Crinito and Corradi in "Die Rezeption Sallusts").

larity in the Renaissance.<sup>66</sup> From the *editio princeps* of 1470 to the first decades of the seventeenth century, he headed the list of most-published ancient historians. In historiography and political thought, his presence can be traced in major authors from exponents of civic humanism to later proponents of Reason of State. As in antiquity, objections were made to certain stylistic traits; renewed attacks were made on his alleged personal vices, or on apparent contradictions between what he preached and what he practiced; in the sixteenth century, accusations of anti-Ciceronian and pro-Caesarian bias were also raised.<sup>67</sup> To the extent that these charges provoked debate, it may be said that they gradually encouraged a more critical approach to his work. During most of the Renaissance, however, they represented only a few dissenting opinions, dissonant voices amid a chorus of admirers.

### *Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions*

In their search for lost works of antiquity, humanist book hunters never turned up a complete text of the *Historiae*, and Sallustian scholarship in the heroic age of the early Renaissance was more a case of cumulative progress than of dramatic rediscoveries.<sup>68</sup> Humanists eagerly collected and

66. See Osmond, articles cited in Bibliography IV.C Special Studies, particularly "Princeps *Historiae Romanae*" with Appendix on the Latin editions and vernacular translations (see n. 71 below).

67. Contrasting judgments of Sallust's prologues and *excursus* and his truthfulness and objectivity as historian are summarized in Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, ch. 1 and *Exkursen* 1–2. On the contradictory image of Sallust in the Renaissance and the antithesis between the alleged vices of his private and political life and the virtues of his work as writer and historian, see especially Schindel, who examines this question in the Renaissance *vitae* and particularly in the discussions of the *Invectivae* and the debate over their authorship and reliability as sources ("Die Rezeption Sallusts" and n. 65 above). On anti-Sallustian criticism in the context of early sixteenth-century Ciceronianism, see Osmond and Ulery, "Constantius Felicius Durantinus".

68. This and the following paragraph draw chiefly upon Reynolds, ed., *Texts and Transmission*, xxvi–xxvii and 341–52 and the preface to his Oxford edition of Sallust (1991); and R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Florence, 1967), especially 1.16–17, 24–27, 87, 121 and 2.3, 56, and his *Storia e critica di testi latini . . .*, ed. E. and M. Billanovich, Medioevo e umanesimo 11 (Padua, 1971), 136–39 and 305–309. La Penna, in *Lexikon*, col. 1308, states that there is no evidence that Guglielmo da Pastrengo actually saw the flori-

transcribed, however, the surviving manuscripts and could occasionally boast of finding a *vetustissimus codex*. Guglielmo da Pastrengo refers to extant portions of the *Historiae*; Petrarch, with whom he corresponded, possessed copies of the monographs and invectives. Other codices belonged to fra Giovanni Colonna in Avignon and to Petrarch's coronation sponsor in Naples, King Robert of Anjou.

In the course of the fifteenth century, we hear of dozens of scholars borrowing, reading, copying, and editing different Sallustian codices. An inventory of Giovanni Aurispa's library shows three manuscripts of Sallust, one of which might be identified with the codex he had requested from Giovanni Toscanelli in a letter of 1425. Another *volumen antiquum* may have belonged to Niccolò Niccoli, while Poggio Bracciolini, who had made Constance the headquarters for his book-hunting expeditions, had the *Invectivae* transcribed there in 1415. In 1439 Angelo Camillo Decembrio copied *manu celeri*, as he said, the texts of Sallust, along with those of Livy, Caesar, and Justinus; later he composed two short *argumenta* on the monographs. Sometime before 1455 his brother, Pier Candido Decembrio, transcribed the orations of Lepidus and Philippus excerpted from the *Historiae*. In the same notebook, he had already copied the *Epistula Pompei ad senatum*, discovered between 1435 and 1439 in "a very ancient codex" belonging to Francesco Pizolpasso, archbishop of Milan, and mistaken for a genuine letter of Pompey the Great to the Senate. A manuscript of the *Iugurtha* and *Catilina*, written at Milan in 1467, was probably made for Ludovico il Moro. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a number of earlier codices, including Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV C 3 (see I.8 and I. 13 below), were purchased by the Calabrian humanist and book collector Aulo Giano Parrasio.<sup>69</sup>

legium (Vat. lat. 3864), believed to be in the Chapter Library of Verona at that time; see also B. L. Ullman, "The Dedication Copy of Pomponio Leto's Edition of Sallust and the 'Vita' of Sallust," in Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 2d ed. (Rome, 1973), 365–72, and "Petrarch's Favorite Books," ibid., 117–35; and A. Franceschini, *Giovanni Aurispa e la sua biblioteca. Notizie e documenti* (Padua, 1976), 145, 148, 156.

69. Sabbadini, *Scoperte dei codici* 1.139 n. 11 cites the manuscript copied by Angelo Decembrio (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. soppr. 263). On the "Argumenta duo super ambabus historiis Sallustianis edita per Angelum Decembrem" and the manuscripts, see

With the spread of the Renaissance, the texts of Sallust—long a staple of the medieval arts curriculum—assumed an important place in the *studia humanitatis*. The commentaries by, or attributed to, Lorenzo Valla (Laurentius Valla, I.13 below), Pomponio Leto (Julius Pomponius Laetus, II.12 below), Pietro Paolo Pompilio (Petrus Paulus Pompilius, I.15, II.10 below), Giovanni Crisostomo Soldi (Johannes Chrysostomus Soldus, II.14 below), Ognibene da Lonigo (Omnibonus Leonicenus, I.1 below), Jacopo della Croce (Jacobus à Cruce, I.17 and II.16 below), and others provide the most direct evidence for the study of the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*. But the large number of glossed manuscripts and printed editions, possessors' notes, citations in contemporary grammatical treatises, public orations, and personal letters also testify to the popularity of his work among humanist teachers. In Florence, Francesco Filelfo delivered an oration on the *Iugurtha* in 1431, a copy of which later belonged to Marsilio Ficino.<sup>70</sup> In Verona, Martino Rizzoni, a student of

Sabbadini, "Angelo Decembrio," *Classici e umanisti da codici ambrosiani* (Florence, 1933), 97–98. Ulery has seen another exemplar at El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo (ms. O.III.22). On the excerpts from the *Historiae* copied by Pier Candido Decembrio (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R 99 sup., fols. 60v and 98r–99v), see Sabbadini, *Scoperte dei codici* 1.16–17 and Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, 348–49. The manuscript apparently written for Ludovico il Moro is described in E. Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti e des Sforza ducs de Milan au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1955), 396; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 18272, s. XV (a. 1467). C. Tristano, *La biblioteca di un umanista calabrese: Aulo Giano Parrasio* (Rome, 1988), 118–19, 129–30, describes the Sallust manuscripts purchased by Parrasio.

70. There are several copies of Filelfo's oration (we thank Arthur M. Field for the references); that glossed by Ficino is found in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, F 20: "Francisci Phylephy Oratio habita in principio extraordinariae lectionis Salustii de bello iugurtino florentiae XII kl. Martias 1431". Rizzoni's copy of Sallust is mentioned in G. Marchi, "Discepoli di Vittorino da Feltre tra Mantova e Verona," in *Vittorino e la sua scuola. Umanesimo, pedagogia, arti*, ed. N. Giannetto (Florence, 1981), 286–87 n. 5. In Rome, Sallust may have been read ca. 1428 at the school of Porcellio Pandone; see C. Bianca, "Dopo Costanza. Classici e umanisti," in *Alle origini della nuova Roma. Martino V (1417–1431). Atti del Convegno. Roma, 2–5 marzo 1992*, ed. M. Chiabò et al. (Rome, 1992), 85–110, at 96. On Perotti see R. P. Oliver, "New Fragments of Latin Authors in Perotti's *Cornucopiae*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 78 (1947) 376–424, at 400–405 and 413–17, and F. Bertini, "Niccolò Perotti e il 'De compendiosa doctrina' di Nonio Marcello," *Res publica litterarum* 4 (1981) 27–41. For the manuscript notes based on lectures by Pomponio Leto, see II.12 below.

Guarino Guarini and later *maestro in retorica*, glossed a copy of the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* that he purchased in 1442; Guarino's son Battista not only cited Sallust in his *De ordine docendi ac studendi* (1459) but reportedly composed a commentary on one or both of the monographs. Citations of passages in Sallust's monographs are common, as might be expected, in the many fifteenth-century Latin grammars and lexicons, such as Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae linguae latinae* and Giovanni Tortelli's *De orthographia* (printed at Rome in 1471). Yet it is interesting that Niccolò Perotti's *Cornucopiae* (Venice, 1489) also cited many Late Antique sources of the fragments of the *Historiae*, including "new fragments" from Nonius Marcellus. Several copies of printed editions, including one of a 1481 Venice incunable and at least three of Pomponio Leto's 1490 Rome edition, contain extensive annotations on the "art of history" and Roman antiquities: important evidence of Leto's courses on Sallust and his own scholarly pursuits.

In the same period, it seems that Sallust was a particular favorite of teachers (and printers) in Venice. A note in a copy of a 1510 edition of the *Iugurtha* alludes to a commentary by Giorgio Valla, who was teaching at the Chancery School of San Marco in the years 1485–1500. In addition, a privilege obtained by a Venetian printer in 1503 refers to a *Commentum super Sallustium* by Benedetto Brognoli, former student of Ognibene da Lonigo, George of Trebizond, and Giampietro Vitali d'Avenza, and from 1465 to 1502 a distinguished teacher of humanities at the San Marco School. A Florence manuscript preserves a Tuscan translation of the *Catilina* made in 1490 by the young Giovanni Vespucci at the urging of his tutor in Pisa, Filippo Beroaldo the Elder, who taught at the University of Bologna, composed an *Oratio in enarratione Iuvenalis atque Salustii*, ex-

R. Fulin reports requests for privileges to print commentaries of Battista Guarino and of Benedetto Brognoli in "Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana," *Archivio veneto* 23 (1882); see nos. 36 (1495, 20 gennaio [1494 m.v.]) and 138 (1504, 25 febbraio [1503 m.v.]), at 118 and 153–54, respectively. No trace of these commentaries has been found, however, and it is doubtful that they were printed. Giovanni Vespucci's translation is preserved in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana-Moreniana, ms. Bigazzi 296. Beroaldo's *Oratio in enarratione Iuvenalis atque Salustii* is found in his *Orationes et carmina* (Bologna, 1502) and later editions of his *opera*. The Leipzig 1510 edition of *Iugurtha* with mention of Giorgio Valla is London, British Library, 9040.h.7.

cerpts from the second part of which were often included among the prefaces to later editions of Sallust's *opera*.

The *editio princeps* of the *Catilina* and the *Iugurtha* was printed at Venice in 1470 by Windelin of Speyer, who produced a new edition the following year that also contained the *Invectiva* or *Oratio in Ciceronem* (and its companion, the *Oratio in Sallustium*). The *orationes et epistulae* excerpted from the *Historiae*, together with the *Epistulae ad Caesarem*, were first printed in 1475 at Rome by Arnold Pannartz. In 1490, all of these works, by or attributed to Sallust, were assembled in the first edition of the *opera*, edited by Pomponio Leto and published at the Rome press of Eucharius Silber.<sup>71</sup> Between 1470 and 1500 a total of approximately seventy editions were printed, mostly in Italy, but a few in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain, including a version in Catalan. Various orations, which rounded off the story of the Catilinarian conspiracy and appealed to the rhetorical tastes of the age, often accompanied the works of Sallust: Cicero's four *Catilinaria*, to which a fifth *Oratio in Catilinam* of (ps.) Cicero was often added; the *Declamatio contra L. Sergium Catilinam* attributed to Porcius Latro; and one or two *orationes responsivae* of (ps.) Catiline.<sup>72</sup> The printed volumes were further enhanced by the inclusion of short biographies of Sallust. An anonymous *vita* of Sallust, based on that by Sicco Polenton (composed before 1437),

71. See the Bibliography below for catalogues of editions, as well as Composite Editions. A comparative analysis of the major Roman historians, based on the publication statistics of the Latin editions and vernacular translations from 1470 to 1650, is in the Appendix to Osmond, "Princeps Historiae Romanae," 132–39.

72. See E. George, "The *Declamationes Sullanae* of Juan Luis Vives: Sources and Departures," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 38 (1989) 124–51, especially 136ff. on Badius' 1513 edition of Sallust and on Porcius Latro. On Constantius Felicius' *De coniuratione Lucii Catilinae liber*, see *ibid.*, and Osmond and Ulery, "Constantius Felicius Durantinus". A critical edition of the texts of the "fifth Catilinarian" of ps. Cicero and the *responsio* of ps. Catilina is found in Cicero, *Opere spurie e dubbie. Orationes*, ed. M. De Marco (Milan, 1991). The oration of ps. Catilina against Cicero ascribed to Buonaccorso da Montemagno was first published in *Prose e rime de' due Buonaccorsi da Montemagno con annotazioni ed alcune rime di Niccolò Tinucci*, ed. G. B. Casotti (Florence, 1718), lxxiv–lxxxii and 98–141. Many Renaissance editions of the *Catilina* also included, as part of the prefatory material, an excerpt from Cicero's *Pro Caelio*, 5.12–6.14, on the *mores* of Catiline.

appeared in Windelin's 1471 edition; in Filippo Petri's Venice edition of 1478 it was printed for the first time under the name of Gerolamo Squarzafico of Alessandria. Giovanni Crisostomo Soldi and Pomponio Leto each composed brief *vitae* to accompany their own commentaries or editions.<sup>73</sup> A fuller biography by Pietro Crinito was published in the first Giunta edition of Sallust in 1503.

Given the abundance of manuscripts in circulation, the widespread contamination, and the causal or inconsistent practices of most printers, it is difficult, or impossible, to speak of distinct stages in the history of Sallust's text during the Renaissance.<sup>74</sup> In the case of the orations and let-

73. These *vitae* are transcribed in the following sections on the commentaries which they accompany. On the appraisals of Sallust's life and work, see Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 3–14 *passim* and 79–80, and Schindel, "Die Rezeption Sallusts," 89–93. On Squarzafico see J. Allesspach and G. Frasso, "Vicende, cultura e scritti di Gerolamo Squarzafico, Alessandrino," *Italia medievale e umanistica* 23 (1980) 233–92, at 277–78. Pomponio Leto's *vita* is discussed in Ullman, "Dedication Copy" (see n. 68 above and I.13 below). Various anonymous versions of a *vita auctoris*, originating in the *accessus* tradition, are found in manuscript commentaries; others were composed for early collections of biographies on illustrious writers. See, for example, Guglielmo da Pastrengo, *De viris illustribus et de originibus*, ed. G. Bottari (Padua, 1991); W. B. Ross, Jr., "Giovanni Colonna, Historian at Avignon," *Speculum* 45 (1970) 533–63 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 2351 contains Colonna's "De Salustio" at fols. 121v–122v); and Sicco Polenton, *Scriptorum illustrium latinae linguae libri XVIII*, ed. B. L. Ullman (Rome, 1928).

74. A. J. Valpy singles out the editions of Pomponius Laetus, Aldus Manutius (the Elder), Henricus Glareanus, and Johannes Rivius et al. as marking successive "ages" in Sallustian scholarship (*Opera omnia* 2.797ff.: *recensu editionum*), but most of these early editions survived, overlapping with new recensions and modified by later editors. The scholars who worked on Sallust claimed, of course, to exercise good judgment in editing their texts and generally recognized the importance of returning to the manuscripts, but they rarely established any criteria, except (occasionally) that of age, for preferring a particular witness.

On the humanists' efforts to improve the editing of classical texts during the early decades of printing and the importance of the *editio princeps* as the basis for collations and the development of standard recensions, see J. Monfasani, "The First Call for Press Censorship: Niccolò Perotti, Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Antonio Moreto, and the Editing of Pliny's *Natural History*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 41 (1988) 1–31, especially 4–14, with further bibliography, including Grafton, Joseph Scaliger (n. 65 above) and E. J. Kenney, *The Classical Text: Aspects of Editing in the Age of*

ters from the *Historiae* and the *Epistulae ad Caesarem*, the Vatican florilegium (Vat. lat. 3864) provided the text for the *editio princeps*, printed by Arnold Pannartz at Rome in 1475.<sup>75</sup> But in the case of the monographs the “open tradition” of the *integri* was further complicated by the practice of borrowing variants or emendations from the latest volumes in print.<sup>76</sup> A number of distinguished humanists collaborated with the major presses to produce what were nonetheless considered the most reliable editions to date. About 1477, while lecturing at the Sorbonne, Filippo Beroaldo the Elder assisted Ulrich Gering in correcting the texts of the *Bella*, and his edition (now rare) was often cited by later Renaissance scholars.<sup>77</sup> Pomponio Leto, who had been reading and teaching Sallust for some time, published his (above-mentioned) edition of the *opera* in 1490 for the Roman printer Eucharius Silber, at the urging, he claims, of the bookseller Giovanni da Reggio. As Leto wrote in the dedicatory epistle:

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*the Printed Book* (Berkeley, 1974); Monfasani’s article has been reprinted as no. XI in his *Language and Learning in Renaissance Italy* (Aldershot, 1994). On the uses and meanings of terms in humanist practices of editing and printing, see S. Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti* (Rome, 1973; rpt. 1984).

75. See Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, 349–50 on the manuscripts that were derived from the 1475 edition, including Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3415, written in 1484 by pupils of Pomponio Leto. Copies made from other printed editions include Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 411, written between 1478 and 1482 for Federico da Montefeltro, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6093, written in 1496 for Robert Gaguin. See also Ullman, “Dedication Copy” (n. 68 above), 366 n. 4 and R. Sabbadini, “Per la storia del codice Vaticano lat. 3864,” *Bollettino di filologia classica* 28 (1922) 172–73.

76. For the main lines in the textual transmission of the monographs, see Reynolds, *ibid.*, 341–47 and especially 344 on the “open tradition” of the *integri*, a term that might also be applied to the textual history of Renaissance printed editions. In fact, it appears that most Renaissance editors were working from the *libri integri* (or *suppleti*). If they were using the *mutili*, they did not recognize these as a distinct class, and it seems that only Gruter, who used the Nazarianus (now Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 889), referred, indirectly, to the lacuna (see II.31 below).

77. The edition, not later than 1478, contains Sallust’s monographs and a dedicatory letter to Gulielmus Francus, with praises of Sallust and quotations from ancient testimonia that are also found in Beroaldo’s *Oratio in enarratione Iuvenalis atque Salustii*. One of the surviving copies is found at the Beinecke Library, Yale University (Zi.7884).

“Emendavimus nihil addendo; detraximus non pauca fide vetustatis admonente.” At Brescia Giovanni Britannico revised Leto’s texts for his brothers’ press in or before 1495. In the first years of the sixteenth century Benedetto Ricciardini (Benedictus Philologus) prepared the Giunta edition of 1503; Josse Bade van Assche (Jodocus Badius Ascensius) corrected the texts of Leto (and ?Britannico) for his own Paris edition of 1504; and fra Giovanni Giocondo of Verona and Janus Lascaris brought two manuscripts from France that Aldo Manuzio used in preparing his Venice edition of 1509.

In the meantime, the first printed commentaries had appeared: the *Commentarii* on the *Catilina* attributed to Lorenzo Valla, published at Venice in 1491 by Filippo Pinzi (Laurentius Valla, I.13 below); the *Commentaria* on the *Iugurtha* by a certain Giovanni Crisostomo Soldi printed at Brescia in 1495 by Bernardino Misinta for Angelo and Iacopo de’ Britannici (Johannes Chrysostomus Soldus, II.14 below); the ps.-Ognibene commentary on the *Catilina* printed at Venice in 1500 by Giovanni Tacuino (Anonymus Bernensis, I.1 below); and the *Explanatio familiaris* by Josse Bade, the first commentary on the Sallustian corpus as a whole, published at Paris in 1504 with Jean Petit (Jodocus Badius Ascensius, I.16, II.15, III.ii.[a].1, IV.1, and V.1 below). Between the *editio princeps* of the Valla commentary in 1491 and the publication of Jan Gruter’s variorum edition in 1607, a total of 20 commentaries were printed on the *Catilina*, 18 on the *Iugurtha*, 6 on the orations and epistles excerpted from the *Historiae*, 8 on the *Historiae* including the smaller fragments, 9 on the *Epistulae ad Caesarem*, and 7 on the *Oratio* and the ps.-Ciceronian answering invective. Most of them were destined for the schools and, at least in their early forms (of the late fifteenth century and first decades of the sixteenth century), combined in a generally eclectic fashion the teaching of grammar and rhetoric with lessons of moral philosophy, explanations of historical personages and events, and occasional emendations of the text.<sup>78</sup> The preface and annotations of the “Omni-

78. As Hankins points out, most humanist reading “was just such a hybrid of doctrinal and imitative reading” (“Introduction,” *Plato* [see n. 65 above], 21ff.). A. Buck observes the unity of *eloquentia* and *sapientia* in the early humanist commentaries in “Einführung,” *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance*, ed. A. Buck and O. Herding (Boppard, 1975), 7–20; see also the articles by J. IJsewijn,

bonus” commentary reveal the persistence of late medieval didactic traditions (see I.1 below), and elements of the medieval *accessus* survive even in later Renaissance prefaces. But by the mid-fifteenth century one notices a closer attention to questions of style and subtleties of language, as humanists turned to Sallust as one of the principal sources not only of practical wisdom but of elegant Latinity.

### *Italian Humanist Traditions*

The importance of Sallust in the emerging currents of civic humanism was already evident in the vernacular literature and historical writing of the late Duecento and early Trecento. The first *volgarizzamenti* were made from French translations or adaptations: the speeches of Caesar and Cato (BC 51–52) in Brunetto Latini’s *Li Livres dou Tresor* (ca. 1260–66), subsequently turned into Italian in the *Tesoro* attributed to Bono Giamboni, or the story of Catiline’s conspiracy in *Li Fait des Romains*, afterwards turned into *I Fatti di Cesare* (ca. 1313). Sometime between 1300 and 1313, the first complete translation of the mono-

graphs was made directly from the Latin by Bartolomeo da San Concordio, a Dominican scholar from Pisa. Later, the various versions became intertwined, when portions of Bartolomeo’s texts were incorporated into the *Fatti di Cesare*, as the latter was modified and elaborated in numerous romances, and as anthologies of letters and speeches were compiled for use in rhetorical manuals. In the words of a modern historian of the period: “It is doubtful whether Sallust ever had so wide and knowledgeable a medieval audience as in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Tuscany.”<sup>79</sup>

At the Convent of S. Maria Novella in Florence, where fra Bartolomeo composed his translation of the monographs in the early 1300s, Dominican priors quoted Sallust in their appeals to civic virtues and the *bene comune* as a means (they hoped) of promoting greater domestic concord. The Paduan humanist Albertino Mussato paraphrased passages from the monographs in his *De lite inter Naturam et Fortunam* (composed after 1325) to illustrate the process of the rise and decline of states, and in his *De traditione Patavii ad Canem Grandem anno 1328* (written after the surrender of Padua to Cangrande della Scala) to warn against the pernicious effects of factionalism.<sup>80</sup> Florentine chroniclers, meanwhile, were at-

<sup>79</sup>Laurentius Vallas ‘Sprachliche Kommentare,’ *ibid.*, 89–97; P. G. Schmidt, ‘Jodocus Badius Ascensius als Kommentar,’ *ibid.*, 63–72; and M. T. Casella, ‘Il metodo dei commentatori umanistici esemplificato sul Beroaldo,’ *Studi medievali*, 3d ser., 16 (1975) 627–701; Grafton (n. 65 above); and the individual contributions to the CTC.

On these and other issues relating to the reading and interpretation of commentaries on classical authors in the Renaissance, see also J. Monfasani, ‘Calfurnio’s Identification of Pseudepigrapha of Ognibene, Fenestella, and Trebizond, and His Attack on Renaissance Commentaries,’ *Renaissance Quarterly* 41 (1988) 32–45 (reprinted as no. XII in Monfasani, *Language and Learning in Renaissance Italy*); P. F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, 1989); F. Lo Monaco, ‘Alcune osservazioni sui commenti umanistici ai classici nel secondo Quattrocento,’ in O. Besomi and C. Caruso, eds., *Il commento ai testi: Atti del Seminario di Ascona, 2–9 ottobre 1989* (Basel, Boston, and Berlin, 1992), 103–54; J. H. Gaisser, *Catullus and His Renaissance Readers* (Oxford, 1993); C. Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice: Books and Readers in the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford and New York, 1999), and previous studies (see his bibliography); and G. W. Most, ed., *Commentaries-Kommentare* (Göttingen, 1999).

Interlinear and marginal annotations in Sallust manuscripts now in Florentine libraries provide evidence of Sallust’s importance in Italian schools during the fifteenth century; see Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, especially 260–64 and 273–74 on Sallust as one of the “curriculum heavyweights”.

<sup>79</sup>C. T. Davis, ‘Ptolemy of Lucca and the Roman Republic,’ *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 118 (1974) 30–50 at 40–41, reprinted in Davis, *Dante’s Italy and Other Essays* (Philadelphia, 1984), 254–89 (at 272). Q. Skinner emphasizes the importance of Sallust in late medieval rhetorical and political writings in ‘Machiavelli’s *Discorsi* and the Pre-Humanist Origins of Republican Ideas,’ in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, ed. G. Bock, Q. Skinner, and M. Viroli (Cambridge, 1990), 121–41 (with further bibliography), and in ‘The Vocabulary of Renaissance Republicanism: A Cultural *longue-durée*?’ in *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy*, ed. A. Brown (Oxford, 1995), 87–110. G. Brugnoli (in *Encyclopedie dantesca* 4 [Rome, 1973], 1077–78) finds Sallustian traces in Dante, and one may compare *Catilina* 9 with the descriptions of ‘il buon tempo antico’ in Dante’s *Paradiso*, Villani’s *Nova cronica*, and Riccobaldo of Ferrara’s *Compendium*, quoted by C. T. Davis, ‘Il Buon Tempo Antico (The Good Old Time),’ in *Florentine Studies. Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence*, ed. N. Rubinstein (London, 1968), 45–69, reprinted in Davis, *Dante’s Italy*, 71–93.

<sup>80</sup>On Sallust’s *fortuna* in the late Duecento and Trecento, see Bolaffi, *Sallustio*; La Penna, *Lexikon*; and Osmond, ‘Sallust and Machiavelli,’ 41off. and ‘Princeps Historiae Romanae,’ 103ff. with bibliography including E. Cesareo and A. Morino on Bartolomeo da San Concordio, E. Panella on Remigio de’ Girolami, and N. Rubinstein on Mussato. Villani’s sources for his account of the

tentive not only to their classical literary heritage but especially to the political implications of their city's origins, proudly contrasting the Roman foundations of Florence with the fate of "anti-Roman" Fiesole, the ancient base of Catiline's operations in Etruria. But they also recognized in Sallust an important authority for denouncing civil strife, and his memorable portrait of Catiline (BC 5) inspired Dino Compagni's sketch of Corso Donati, leader of the Black Guelfs, in his *Cronica delle cose occidentali* (ca. 1312). Giovanni Villani turned to Sallust, whom he called *grande dottore* and one of his *maestri d'istorie*, as a source of information for his account of the origins of Florence in his *Nuova cronica* (begun after his visit to Rome in the Jubilee Year of 1300). In the last quarter of the fourteenth century, Coluccio Salutati, chancellor of Florence, found ammunition in the *Catilina* (especially chapters 7–9) for an epistolary attack on the "tyrants" of Rome and Milan and a justification of his own city's expansionist aims.

Petrarch's interest in Sallust, seen in many of his letters as well as in the *Rerum memorandarum libri* (1343–45), had centered on the historiographical qualities and practical moral lessons of the two monographs.<sup>81</sup> If his own favorites were Livy and Valerius Maximus, he nevertheless shared Sallust's view of history as *memoria rerum gestarum*, inspiring men to fame and glory (BI 4.5), and admired his *brevitas*. Following in the steps of Quintilian, who had compared Livy and Sallust with Herodotus and Thucydides (*Inst. 10.1.101–102*), Petrarch considered the Latin historians worthy of (or indeed superior to) their Greek predecessors; like Augustine (*De civitate Dei* 1.5), he also regarded Sallust as a trustworthy

Catilinarian conspiracy and the revolt of Fiesole in his *Nuova cronica* are considered in Osmond, "Catiline in Fiesole and Florence," a revised and expanded version of the paper by Osmond and Ulery on this topic presented at the Renaissance Society of America conference, Florence, 21–25 March 2000. Echoes of Sallustian themes are found in Salutati's missive of 1376 to Bologna and of 1377 to the Roman people; see R. G. Witt, *Coluccio Salutati and His Public Letters* (Geneva, 1976), 54ff.

81. In addition to general bibliography in nn. 68 and 80, see G. Billanovich, "Il Petrarca e gli storici latini," in *Tra latino e volgare. Per Carlo Dionisotti*, ed. G. Bernardoni Trezzini, O. Besomi et al., vol. 1 (Padua, 1974), 67–145, and the introduction to Billanovich's edition of Petrarch's *Rerum memorandarum libri*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1943). On Giovanni Colonna, see Ross (n. 73 above).

source of historical information.<sup>82</sup> In Avignon, Petrarch's friend fra Giovanni Colonna composed the first humanist *vita* of Sallust, included in his *De viris illustribus* (early 1330s). Another, younger, contemporary, Giovanni Boccaccio, copied the first chapters of the *Catilina* into one of his *zibaldoni* and included a portrait of Sempronia (BC 25) in his *De mulieribus claris* (1362–75).<sup>83</sup>

In fifteenth-century Italy Sallust's work left an important mark on humanist historiography. While Livy remained the chief authority for the annals of a city-state and Caesar for commentaries on military campaigns, Sallust provided the model for the writing of monographs: a genre suited not only to the account of a single event (such as a conspiracy or war) but also to prologues of a philosophical nature, digressions on geography and ethnography, psychological studies of character, dramatic orations, and vivid battle scenes.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, Sallust's theme of *libertas* and *virtus*, introduced in *Catilina* 7.1–3, furnished key elements for a defense of republican government. The Florentine chancellor Leonardo Bruni, in his *Historiarum Florentini populi libri XII* (begun in 1415–16) and *Oratio in funere Johannis Strozze* (1428), developed Sallust's ideas on the competitive environment of liberty into an eloquent explanatory model for

82. See, for example, Billanovich, ed., *Rerum memorandarum libri* 1.17 and 2.17, and *Ep. 6.4* and 24.8 in V. Rossi's edition of the *Epistole familiari*, 4 vols. (Florence, 1933–42), as well as Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 260–63, with references to *Ep. sen. 5.2* (see now the edition by M. Berté [Florence, 1998]) and *Ep. sen. 9.2* (Venetiis [Venice]: per Simonem de Luere, 1501). Petrarch also took his cue from Sallust's prologues to justify the choice of *otium* devoted to literary pursuits. La Penna, *Lexikon*, col. 1308 cites Petrarch's *De vita solitaria*, ed. K. A. E. Snenkel (Leiden, 1990).

83. On Giovanni Colonna's work, see nn. 73 and 81 above. A note on fol. 108v of Boccaccio's *Zibaldone* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. II. 327) singles out the figure of Sempronia (BC 25). For a new English translation of the *De mulieribus claris*, see Boccaccio. *Famous Women*, ed. and trans. V. Brown, The I Tatti Renaissance Library 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 2001) (ch. 79 for Sempronia).

84. On uses of Sallust in Quattrocento humanism, see Osmond, "Sallust and Machiavelli," 415–18 and "Princeps Historiae Romanae," 108–10 with further bibliography, including works by H. Baron, J. H. Bentley, E. Cochrane, F. Gaeta, A. Grafton, P. F. Grendler, H. H. Gray, L. Gualdo Rosa, W. L. Gundersheimer, J. Hankins, P. O. Kristeller, A. La Penna (*Sallustio*), M. Miglio, A. Perosa, and D. J. Wilcox.

the growth and power of his adopted city and the achievements of a “meritocracy”.<sup>85</sup> Buonaccorso da Montemagno borrowed Sallustian themes, especially from Marius’ speech in *Iugurtha* 85, to defend the cause of personal merit in his *disputatio* on “true nobility” (late 1420s), while Poggio Bracciolini cited *Catilina* 7.1–3 to refute the monarchical arguments of Guarino Guarini in their controversy over the superiority of Scipio Africanus vs. Julius Caesar (1435).<sup>86</sup> In the changing political atmosphere of Medici Florence, historians like Poggio, in his *Historia Florentina* (1450s), and Matteo Palmieri, in his *De captivitate Pisarum* (ca. 1448), also turned to Sallust’s prologues and digressions for insights into the decline of states, although by 1478, when Poliziano wrote his *Coniurationis commentarium* in the wake of the Pazzi conspiracy against the Medici, he reproduced character portraits and stylistic features from the *Catilina* but prudently avoided any analysis of contemporary socio-political conditions. Traces of a republican reading of Sallust

85. La Penna, *Sallustio*, “Appendice prima,” 409–31, with additional observations in Osmond, “Sallust and Machiavelli,” 415–18 and “Princeps Historiae Romanae,” 106–109. For other points of view, see N. S. Strüver, *The Language of History in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1970), 133ff. (as well as 171ff. on Poggio). Important for a reevaluation of “civic humanism” is the recent collection of articles in *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections*, ed. J. Hankins (Cambridge and New York, 2000), including essays by J. Hankins (on Bruni), J. M. Blythe, and M. Hörnqvist (with references to Sallust).

86. D. Canfora comments on the uses of Sallust in the dispute between Poggio and Guarino in his *La controversia di Poggio Bracciolini e Guarino Veronese su Cesare e Scipione*, Fondazione Luigi Firpo, Centro di Studi sul Pensiero Politico, Studi e testi 15 (Florence, 2001), 96–101. The role of Sallust in Poggio’s *Historia Florentina* is discussed by D. J. Wilcox, *The Development of Florentine Humanist Historiography in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 130–72 passim, and in Palmieri’s *De captivitate Pisarum* by G. Scaramella in the preface to his edition (*Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, N. S., 19.2 [Città di Castello, 1904]), at x–xii and xvii. La Penna comments on Sallustian influence in Renaissance conspiracy histories in his “Appendice seconda. Brevi note sul tema della congiura nella storiografia moderna” (*Sallustio*, 432–52).

On the *fortuna* of Catiline and Catilinarianism, see N. Criniti, *Bibliografia catilinaria* (Milan, 1971) and subsequent studies cited below in Bibliography IV.C Special Studies, as well as C. Grell (n. 128 below). The role of Catiline in Renaissance rhetoric is discussed by S. J. Milner in “The Rhetoric of Exile in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Italy,” in *At the Margins: Minority Groups in Pre-Modern Italy*, ed. S. J. Milner (Minneapolis, forthcoming).

survived, nevertheless, in Venice, where Sallustian themes of *virtus* and *gloria* can be found in the writings of Lauro Quirini and Bernardo Giustiniani.<sup>87</sup> Despite the “calamities” brought on by Charles VIII’s invasion of Italy, Alessandro Benedetti, at the urging of Giorgio Valla, took the *Iugurtha* as a model for celebrating the triumphs of the Venetian commonwealth in his *De bello Carolino* (Venice, 1496).

In humanist literary and court circles of the Quattrocento, attention focused largely on the rhetorical or moralizing character of Sallust’s work. The *Hiensal tragedia*, composed by Leonardo Dati in late 1441–early 1442 for an anticipated literary contest in Florence on the theme of envy, denounced the evils of *ambitio* and *invidia* and praised the benefits of *concordia*.<sup>88</sup> In his *De coniuratione Porcaria commentarius*, written in 1453, Leon Battista Alberti paraphrased Catiline’s speech (or Porcari’s own version of it), warning his readers of the dangers of revolution and re-

87. The importance of *virtus* in the celebration of Venetian civic values and government is evident in the work of fifteenth-century Venetian humanists. See, e.g., *Lauro Quirini umanista. Studi e testi*, ed. K. Krautter, P. O. Kristeller, A. Pertusi et al., collected and presented by V. Branca (Florence, 1977); F. Gaeta, “Storiografia, coscienza nazionale e politica culturale nella Venezia del rinascimento,” in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3.1: *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento* (Vicenza, 1980), 1–91; and P. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani: A Venetian of the Quattrocento* (Rome, 1969), especially the sections on Venetian *libertas* and *imperium*, “the golden age” of Venice, and nobility and order (279–91). Giorgio Valla’s recommendations to Benedetti are noted by E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1981), 166 and n. 10, where he cites D. M. Schullian, ed. and trans., *Diaria de Bello Carolino* (New York, 1967).

88. On Leonardo Dati and his *Hiensal Tragoedia*, A Critical Edition with Translation,” *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 25 (1976) 85–145. On Porcari, his conspiracy, and its significance, see M. Miglio, “‘Viva la libertà et populo de Roma’. Oratoria e politica a Roma: Stefano Porcari,” in *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, 3d Ser., 18 (1974) 5–37; A. Modigliani, *I Porcari. Storia di una famiglia romana tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Rome, 1994), 52ff., 454ff., 477–98; A. J. Vanderjagt, “Qui sa vertu anoblist.” *The Concepts of noblesse and chose publique in Burgundian Political Thought* (Groningen, 1981), part II, ch. 2, “Stoicism and Augustinianism in ‘Civic Humanism,’” especially 42–43; and Vanderjagt, “Terechtgesteld te Rome en te Gent: Stefano Porcari (+1453) en Guillaume Hugonet (+1477) over volk en recht,” in *Limae labor et mora. Opstellen voor Fokke Akkerman ter gelegenheid van zijn zeventigste verjaardag*, ed. Z. R. W. M. von Martels et al. (Leende, 2000), 32–42.

minding them of the blessings of peace and papal rule. Yet the academies that grew up around the papal and princely courts were also centers of animated philological debates and discussions of *ars historica*. Lorenzo Valla, one of the luminaries at the court of Alfonso of Naples from the mid-1430s to the late 1440s, drew upon Sallust as an authority for language and style, a model of historical writing, and a source for Roman history in a number of works dating to this period: the *Antidotum in Facium* (1447), *De donatione Constantini* (1440), *Elegantiae linguae latinae* (ca. 1435–44), and *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum* (1445–46). In the preface to his translation of Thucydides, made for Nicholas V (1452), he compared Sallust to the Greek author, and he frequently adopted Sallust's Thucydidean style to render the Greek historian in Latin.<sup>89</sup> In his dialogue *Actius* (1499), Giovanni Pontano relied upon Sallust, along with Livy and Caesar, as his principal authorities on the writing of history.<sup>90</sup> At the court of Ferrara, Angelo Camillo Decembrio recommended the reading of Sallust in his *De politia litteraria* (ca. 1445–62), and Ludovico Carbone made translations of the *Catilina* (ca. 1464), and afterwards of the *Iugurtha*, for Alberto d'Este.<sup>91</sup>

89. On Valla, see the bibliography following Valla's commentary on the *Catilina* (I.13 below); and on Pontano and Albino as well, see J. H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, 1987). On Sallust and Thucydides see M. Pade, "Valla's Thucydides. Theory and Practice in a Renaissance Translation," *Classica et mediaevalia* 36 (1985) 275–301, as well as Pade's article on Thucydides in this volume of the CTC.

90. On Sallust in Pontano's *Actius*, see Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 273–77 and especially H. H. Gray, *History and Rhetoric in Quattrocento Humanism* (Diss. Harvard University, 1956) and "Renaissance Humanism. The Pursuit of Eloquence," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24 (1963) 497–514. On Sallust (and other classical authors) in Renaissance *ars historica*, see E. Kessler, "Die Ausbildung der Theorie der Geschichtsschreibung im Humanismus und in der Renaissance unter dem Einfluss der wiederentdeckten Antike," in *Die Antike-Rezeption in den Wissenschaften während der Renaissance*, ed. A. Buck and K. Heitmann (Weinheim, 1983), 29–49, with bibliography including works by G. Cottoneo et al.; and R. Black, "The New Laws of History," *Renaissance Studies* 1 (1987) 126–56.

91. Angelo Camillo Decembrio's *De politia litteraria* was first published at Augsburg in 1540. See W. L. Gundesheimer, *Ferrara: The Style of a Renaissance Despotism* (Princeton, 1973), 104–20 and, on Carbone, 166–67 and Appendix II, 297–300 for his preface to the "traductione" of the *Catilina* (London, British Library, Add. ms. 22337). A late fifteenth/early sixteenth-century codex (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Nuovi acquisti 472) con-

As the political realities of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries induced a more reflective, analytical mood, other meanings and aspects of Sallust's writing came to light. Giovanni Pontano, author of *De bello Neapolitano* (1499), and the Florentine Bernardo Rucellai, author of *De bello Italico commentarius* (1506–1509), both felt the influence of Sallust's disillusioned and cynical views, particularly on the unpredictability of Fortune, the hypocrisy of party leaders, and the contrasts between speech and actions.<sup>92</sup> Sensing the correlation between attitude and style, these historians also imitated Sallust's *brevitas*, *inconciinitas*, and use of antithesis. Machiavelli, writing his *Discorsi* in the years following the collapse of the Florentine Republic (ca. 1513–17), could still turn to Sallust for the notions of *virtù* and *gloria*, the theme of liberty as a stimulus to greatness, and the denunciations of personal ambition and avarice as the sources of factional strife.<sup>93</sup> Yet Machiavelli's emphasis on the lessons of success and failure, especially in his account of the Catilinarian conspiracy (*Discorsi* 3.6), suggests that Sallust's work could likewise lend support to a utilitarian ethic. The presence of Sallust in the work of Francesco Guicciardini is less noticeable, but occasional allusions to Sallustian themes and imitation of his style can be found in the prologue and in certain character studies and orations in his *Storia d'Italia* (ca. 1534–40), as well as in his *Considerazioni sui "Discorsi" del Machiavelli* (begun in 1530).

### *The Northern Renaissance*

While the humanist movement was entering a period of crisis in Italy, in northern Europe it was gaining momentum.<sup>94</sup> The interest of English

tains Carbone's translation of the *Iugurtha* as well as that of the *Catilina*.

92. On Pontano, see Bolaffi, *Sallustio* (cited in n. 90 above), Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, Gray, *History and Rhetoric*, and Black, "New Laws"; on Rucellai, see McCuaig, "Bernardo Rucellai and Sallust". Erasmus referred to Rucellai as "alter Sallustius", as reported in the *Vita* of Rucellai prefixed to the edition of his *De bello Italico commentarius* (London, 1733).

93. Osmond, "Sallust and Machiavelli," 420–30 and the partially revised and expanded version in *Machiavelli, Great Political Thinkers* 5, ed. J. M. Dunn and I. Harris, vol. 2 (Cheltenham, 1997), 587–618, and "Princeps Historiae Romanae," 113–17.

94. On Sallust in the context of classical studies in the

readers in Sallust had already been evident from the middle of the fifteenth century, as attested by Richard Bole's commentaries on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* (I.11 and II.8 below) and the copying of manuscripts for William Grey and John Tiptoft. Even in the first decades of the century, Sallust's work had been popular with the early French humanists, Jean de Montreuil, Jean Gerson, and especially Jean Lebègue, who appealed to Sallustian arguments to defend his own claims of personal merit and who also prepared the iconographical program for a richly illuminated Sallustian codex.<sup>95</sup> The older vernacular adaptations like *Li Fait des Romains* did not go out of fashion; indeed its publication by Antoine Vérard, under the title *Lucain, Suetoine et Saluste en françois*, at Paris in 1490 reflected not only the survival of *romans de chevalerie* but also the appropriation of classical traditions on behalf of the French monarchy.<sup>96</sup> But it was above all in the last quarter of the century that teachers and historians like Robert Gaguin, associated with the new humanist circles at the Sorbonne, were instrumental in propagating Sallust's work, thus paving the way for the

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Northern Renaissance, see Osmond, "Jacopo Corbinelli," 98ff. and "Princeps Historiae Romanae," 118ff., with bibliography including studies by S. Dresden, W. L. Gunderheimer, D. R. Kelley, G. Procacci, J. H. M. Salmon, A. Stegmann, and (regarding Sallust in particular) P. Archambault, D. Byrne, J.-C. Margolin, and J. Chocheyras (France); J. H. Overfield and L. Spitz (Germany); and J. Chomarat, J. Hexter, J. B. Lathrop, F. J. Levy, J. M. Levine, J. H. M. Salmon, and R. Weiss (England). On aspects of classical studies in Germany, see also the contributions to *Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung*, especially vol. 9 (Wiesbaden, 1991). Sallust's reception in Spain merits a full investigation, for his popularity is evident from the diffusion of Latin editions and translations. See, for instance, J. N. Hillgarth, *Readers and Books in Majorca 1229–1550*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1991), and bibliographies in J. Costas Rodríguez and L. Carrasco Reija, eds., *Boletín bibliográfico de estudios humanísticos* (Madrid, UNED) 1 (1992) and 2 (1994).

95. See D. Byrne, "An Early French Humanist and Sallust," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986) 227–57, on Lebègue's keen personal interest in Sallust and the iconographical program for the ca. 1420 codex, Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, lat. 54 (and references to earlier bibliography).

96. This appropriation of classical history for nationalistic purposes was also evident in the publication of Sallust's monographs by the Sorbonne press ca. 1471. The edition contained distichs meant to inspire French support of Louis XI's war against Charles of Burgundy. See Osmond, "Jacopo Corbinelli," 86 and "Princeps Historiae Romanae," 118.

rapid diffusion of his texts. At Paris, and in other cities as well, including Heidelberg, Erfurt, and Vienna, public lectures were given on Sallust, and printed editions of the *opera* were not only imported from Italy but produced in France, Germany, Poland, the Netherlands, and Spain.

During the first half of the sixteenth century, more than ninety new Latin editions of Sallust were printed, followed by more than forty-five in the second half of the century, most of which contained the full corpus of his writings. New commentaries or brief notes (*annotationes, notae, or scholia*, as they were generally called) also appeared, usually the product of or preparation for class lectures. Josse Bade published not only his own *Explanatio familiaris* with his edition of the *opera* (Paris, 1504 [I.16 below])<sup>97</sup> but also the *Annotationes* of Jacopo della Croce of Bologna on the monographs in 1511 (I.17, II.16 below). The *Scholia* of Philipp Melanchthon on the collected works (I.18, II.17, III.ii.[a].2, and IV.2 below) were published in Haguenau in 1529; in successive editions they were often accompanied by the *Flores* or *Flosculi* printed under the name of Ulrich von Hutten.<sup>98</sup> While Badius' *Explanatio* belonged to

97. In 1513 Badius published a new edition prepared by Girolamo Aleandro based upon the 1509 Aldine edition collated with a manuscript supplied by Paolo Emilio. Badius' editions and commentaries are described by P. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste, 1462–1535*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1908; rpt. New York, [1967]), 1.173–75, 140–55, and 3.227–43. On the linguistically oriented nature of his commentaries, see Schmidt, "Jodocus Badius Ascensius" (n. 78 above). For his observations on Sallust and essay on history, see also Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 2–4, 8–10, 79–80; Schindel, "Die Rezeption Sallusts," 93; and Stein, *Sallust for His Readers*, 195–97.

98. The *Flores selecti*, a collection of Sallustian phrases, were probably compiled between 1510 and 1518 and intended for personal use; they were first published, it seems, in a 1528 Strassburg edition (cited by Schweiger 2.892). The *Flosculi* or word index appeared in a Paris edition of Sallust's works in 1530 and, like the *Flores*, were frequently reprinted in the following decades, often in editions with Melanchthon's *Scholia*. See "C. Salustii et Q. Curtii Flores per Hulderichum Huttentum Equitem eiusdemque scholiis non indoctis illustrati" and "Flosculi ab Huldericho Huteno (ut putatur) collecti in Salustii Historiis, Orationum Appendix, Fragmentis Historiarum alphabeticò ordine redacti una cum praetermissis lectionibus variis de quibus Glareanus collectorem Flosculorum arguit," in E. Böcking, *Ulrichi Huttenti Equitis Germani opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1859–69; rpt. Aalen, 1963), 5.499–505.

the genre of line-by-line pedagogical commentaries, most scholars by now took a selective approach, concentrating on individual texts or particular passages of interest. To judge from a series of commentaries published at Paris in 1532 by François Dubois (Franciscus Sylvius Ambianus, V.2 below) and in 1535 by F. Jammetius (F. Jammetius Textor, V.3 below) on the invectives, and in 1563 by Jean Pescheur (Johannes Pescheur, I.25 below) on the orations and epistles from the *Bella*, French teachers seem to have had a predilection for rhetorical analysis. In Germany, Heinrich Loriti (Henricus Glareanus, I.19, II.18, and V.4 below), whose notes on the monographs and *Invectivae* appeared at Basel in 1538, evinced a special interest in historical and geographical topics.

By this time, we also see a growing concern with textual questions, largely in reaction to the proliferation of printed editions. Aldo Manuzio's text of 1509 had tended to supplant earlier versions, but it soon underwent further revisions: by Joachim von Watts (Vadianus, at Vienna in 1511); by Girolamo Aleandro (Hieronymus Aleander), who collated it with a manuscript supplied by Paolo Emilio (Paulus Aemilius) for the press of Josse Bade (Paris, 1513); and at the Aldine press itself under Gian Francesco d'Asola (Venice, 1521). In Germany Johann Gymnich brought out a new edition (Cologne, 1532; reprinted and perhaps revised in 1536), which Johann Rivius considered the best to date, but Glareanus and Rivius undertook what they considered more thorough revisions, and Rivius' *Castigationes* on the *Bella*, excerpts from the *Historiarum libri* and *Epistulae* (I.20, II.19, III.ii.[a].3, and IV.3 below), published at Leipzig in 1539, set the standards for the following generations. Here too, however, it seems more appropriate to speak of several authoritative editions rather than of any vulgate texts, as editors and commentators continuously made corrections or substituted variants in an ongoing dialogue with the manuscripts and earlier printed editions and in frequently acrimonious disputes with each other. As a later scholar remarked: "Omnino nullius alias scriptoris veteris tot codices exstant quam Sallustii et auctoris librorum ad Herennium . . . sed ea frequentia exemplarium peperit multitudinem mendarum, glossarum, interpolationum, quae et in editionibus primis reperiuntur."<sup>99</sup> At the same time, com-

mentators were continuously amplifying their notes with examples of similar locutions and parallel passages in Sallust and other ancient authors.

Like their Italian mentors, the northern humanists turned to Sallust's *opera*, along with the works of Livy and Caesar, Cicero and Valerius Maximus, as a means of reforming the study of grammar and rhetoric and promoting the ideals of an active life or participatory ethic. With the spread of Christian humanism and the Protestant reform movement, there was a special effort to link *bonae litterae* with *boni mores*. Erasmus included Sallust in the canon of approved classical authors in his *De ratione studii* (Paris, 1511) and recommended him in a number of letters to friends and students.<sup>100</sup> The *praeceptor Germaniae* Philipp Melanchthon cited *Iugurtha* 4.5 in his *Encomium eloquentiae* (Haguenau, 1523) on the importance of history as *memoria rerum gestarum*, recommended the study of Sallust in his humanist curriculum for the German schools, and singled out examples of Latin style and precepts of moral philosophy in his *Scholia* on Sallust's monographs (Haguenau, 1529). As Johann Rivius stated in the dedicatory letter of his commentary (Leipzig, 1539), Sallust's writing promoted the *honestae disciplinae* and prepared young men for positions of leadership in both church and civil government. In his commentary on the *Iugurtha* (Basel, 1571), Celio Secondo Curione (Caelius Secundus Curio, II.24 below) stressed the importance of the *sententiae*, as well as the *verba*. In fact, to judge from the prolegomenon that Nathan Kochhafé (Nathanael Chytraeus) later composed on the *Iugurtha* (Rostock, 1586), in which he summarized the virtues and vices of the

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cipal editions and commentaries, see also the catalogues by Schweiger, Brunet, and Graesse; the prefaces in the editions of J. Wasse (reprinted in S. Havercamp, 1742), G. Cortius (1727), A. J. Valpy (1820), and C. H. Frotscher (1825); and the observations in n. 74 above.

100. On Erasmus, see especially J. Chomarat, "More, Erasme et les historiens latins," *Moreana* 86 (1985) 71–107 and M. M. Phillips, "Erasmus and the Classics," in *Erasmus*, ed. T. A. Dorey (Albuquerque, 1970), 1–30. Sallust was studied at different levels of the arts curriculum, but it was often said that he was particularly suitable for more mature students. See, e.g., the recommendations of Juan Luis Vives in his *De ratione studii puerilis* (Antwerp, 1561), in which he describes Sallust as "florentissimus scriptor, ut inquit Tacitus, frequens est in manibus puerorum sed mihi aptior videtur provectioribus." A similar judgment was expressed by Justus Lipsius in his *Epistolica institutio* 11 (see p. 211 below).

99. J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina*, rev. J. A. Ernesti, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1773), 237. For brief comments on the prin-

protagonists and emphasized the contemporary relevance of the *res et sententiae prudentiae ethicae et politicae*, such ethical concerns continued to dominate the teaching of Sallust in northern countries well beyond the initial impetus of the Reform movement.<sup>101</sup>

In the meantime, the first German translations of Sallust had appeared: Dietrich von Plieningen's version of the monographs (Landshut, 1515), with a preface to Emperor Maximilian exalting the moral lessons of the histories; a partial rendering of the prologue to the *Catilina* by Willibald Pirckheimer in 1517 (London, British Library, ms. Arundel 503), whose own prefatory words in the *Bellum Suitense sive Helveticum* (ca. 1500) borrowed motifs from Sallust's proems; and the translation of the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* by a certain Georg Schrayer (Strassburg, 1534). Luther himself quoted maxims from the *Iugurtha* and *Catilina* in his lectures and notes on the Old Testament books of Deuteronomy, Ecclesiastes (ca. 1523–26), and Genesis (1536–39).

In England, humanists recognized the social and political utility of Sallust's history for the education of future statesmen. Thomas Elyot, author of *The Boke named the Gouernour* (London, 1531), noted its importance for political and military training. Thomas More, who may have delivered public lectures on Sallust at Oxford and saw to it that his daughters read him as well, found in the monographs and *Epistulae* a diagnosis of social and economic ills that could reinforce his arguments in the *Utopia* (Louvain, 1516). In his *History of King Richard III* (London, 1543) More also borrowed dramatic and rhetorical features from

101. On Melanchthon, see in particular K. Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae* (Berlin, 1889; rpt. Nieuwkoop, 1964), with references to his reading of Sallust and other ancient historians. For the notes on Sallust by Melanchthon and Rivius, see respectively I.18 and I.20 below.

Chytraeus' *In Sallustii Iugurtham Prolegomena in quibus praeter doctrinas ethicas et politicas rerum quoque quae hodie in mundo geruntur veluti imago quaedam dilucide repraesentatur* was addressed to the *studiosi* of the Academia Rhodopolitana at Rostock, as an introduction to his explication of Sallust's *Iugurtha* (and sequel to a similar *explicatio* he had previously presented on the *Catilina*). The *Prolegomena* is found in a rare edition of 1586, Rostochii (Rostock): typis Stephani Myliandri. We thank Julia Haig Gaisser for reexamining it on our behalf at the Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (Rare books G C55 C4795 586i).

the monographs; but he was drawn even more to Sallust's analysis of human psychology and power politics. The authors of sixteenth-century English translations tended to consider their work as a means of bolstering patriotic sentiment and loyalty to the crown. Alexander Barclay's *Warre agaynst Jugurth* (ca. 1520, s. l. et t.), dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk, a "new Marius", was intended especially for gentlemen aspiring to "clere fame and honour by glorious dedes of chyalry." (It was later reported that Queen Elizabeth herself attempted an English version of the *Iugurtha*). Thomas Paynell's *The Conspiracie of Lucius Catiline* (London, 1541) was a translation, however, not of Sallust's monograph but of Costanzo Felici's *De coniuratione L. Catilinae liber* (see below), a revised version of Sallust's account that made Cicero the real protagonist of events. The recent dissolution of the monasteries had occasioned outbreaks of resistance in northern England, and Paynell hastened to warn his readers that God (and Henry VIII) "would not suffer riotous rebelles to overunne rulers and distroye commonweales."<sup>102</sup>

In France, the didactic use of Sallust's work was coupled with a particular interest in language and style. This was already apparent in Josse Bade's *Viginti praecepta pro historica lege ac stilo* and in the above-mentioned commentaries on Sallustian orations and epistles. It was evident too in the efforts of French translators. Jean Parmenier's *Hystoire Catilinaire* (Paris, 1518) was not only an important vehicle for propagating the "fruct de grande utilité et dexemple bon et saluaire à la chose publique"; it was also a means of enriching the French language—and demonstrating, or testing, one's own linguistic skills. In fact, in the following years a whole succession of new versions appeared: the renderings of the *Iugurtha* and *Catilina* by Michel de Tours (Paris, 1532); Pierre Saliat's version of the *Oraisons*, that is, the *Invectiva* and *Epistulae* (Paris, 1537), and another

102. On Costanzo Felici, see Osmond and Ulery, "Constantius Felicius Durantinus," 37–39. His work seems to have been especially popular in England, probably because of the clear-cut distinction that he made between the "good" and the "bad" and the prominent role he accorded to Cicero in saving the state. It was used as a "source" for accounts of the conspiracy of Catiline by Ben Jonson and others and was reprinted in Latin or in Paynell's English version well into, and beyond, the eighteenth century.

translation of the monographs by the grammarian Louis Meigret (Paris, 1547).

### *The Late Italian Renaissance and Catholic Reformation*

The Sack of Rome in 1527 may have prompted a *translatio litterarum* or *litteratorum*, but “good letters” did not emigrate permanently or entirely across the Alps. New commentaries on the monographs were published at Venice in 1538 by Bartolomeo Marliani (*Bartholomaeus Marlianus*, I.21 and II.20 below) and at Bologna in 1554 by Vincenzo Castellano (*Vincentius Castellanus*, I.22 and II.21 below). In the same year, in Venice, Bartolomeo Zanchi (*Bartholomaeus Zanchus*, I.23 below) brought out his commentary on the *Catilina*, supplementing textual emendations with digressions on historical and antiquarian topics. In 1563 the younger Aldo Manuzio (*Aldus Manutius Junior*, I.24, II.22, III.ii.[a].4 and iii.1, IV.4, and V.5 below) published his *Scholia* on the opera in an edition containing the first collection of *iudicia et testimonia* drawn from ancient and modern authors and the first substantial collection of the *Historiarum fragmenta*.

The publication of Aldo’s collection of *reliquiae* formally inaugurated the long and still ongoing process of identifying, analyzing, and arranging the smaller, scattered fragments of the *Historiae*, preserved for the most part in quotations and citations of Sallust’s text in the ancient grammarians and commentators (the indirect transmission).<sup>103</sup> Robert Estienne (Stephanus) had already published a brief list of fragments in an appendix to his edition of Sallust (Paris, 1544), and Antonio Riccoboni of Padua (*Antonius Riccobonus*, III.iii.2 below) claimed that he had begun putting together a collection long before Aldo published his own. But it was Aldo’s edition, revised and augmented in the course of the following years, that opened up this new branch of Sallustian studies, paving the way for the even more ambitious work of Louis Carrion (*Ludovicus Carrio*, III.iii.3 below). Two other scholars

103. A recent contribution to the subject of Renaissance collections of classical fragments is *Collecting Fragments. Fragmente sammeln*, ed. G. W. Most (Göttingen, 1997), which includes A. C. Dionisotti, “On Fragments in Classical Scholarship,” 1–33 (with references to Sallust, 28–29).

from the Veneto, Antonio Zeno (*Antonius Zenus*, III.ii.[b].1 below) and Federico Ceruti (*Federicus Cerutus*, III.ii.[b].2 below), published commentaries on the *Oratio Lepidi (Historiarum libri I.55)* at Venice in 1569 and at Verona in 1589, respectively.

At Florence in 1576 Pier Vettori (*Petrus Victorius*) brought out a new recension of the monographs, basing his text on Medicean manuscripts. Two years later, Marc-Antoine Muret (*Marcus Antonius Muretus*, I.27 below), who owned and annotated a copy of Vettori’s edition, began his lectures on the *Catilina* at the University of Rome (although only a few notes were published posthumously in 1604).<sup>104</sup> In Rome, too, Pedro Chacon (*Petrus Ciacconius*, I.29, II.27, III.iii.5, IV.7 below) and Fulvio Orsini (*Fulvius Ursinus*, I.30, II.28, III.iii.6, IV.8 below) compared readings in old manuscripts and incunables, many of which belonged to members of the Farnese family or were in Orsini’s personal collection, including some that had formerly belonged to Pomponio Leto. Chacon’s annotations were published posthumously at Leiden in 1594, while Orsini’s were printed at Antwerp the following year. In the meantime, Muret published a commentary on Tacitus’ *Annales* (see CTC 6, “Tacitus,” I.10), and both Orsini and Chacon had worked on this text. For some years, Renaissance scholars had been pointing out Sallustian influences in Tacitus (as well as Sallust’s indebtedness to Cato the Elder), but the increasing popularity of Tacitus now encouraged more detailed comparative studies. With the progress of Greek scholarship, there was also a growing interest in tracing Thucydidean influences in Sallust.

While philologists were probing more deeply

104. Vettori’s variant readings and emendations of selected passages in the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*, based upon (unidentified) Medicean codices, appeared at the end of his edition of Sallust’s monographs (Florence, 1576). A copy owned and annotated by Muret (Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 9.13.A.13) was kindly brought to our attention by Alda Spotti. Another copy annotated by Jacopo Corbinelli (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, J. 13457) is described in Osmond, “Jacopo Corbinelli”. Vettori’s own library included an incunable printed by Giovanni Leonardo Longo in Vicenza after 22.VI.1478 and annotated by Poliziano (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2° Inc. c.a. 467), described by Hunt, “Three New Incunables”. See also the bibliographies on Aldo Manuzio, Marc-Antoine Muret, and Fulvio Orsini (I.24, I.27, and I.30 below).

into the linguistic and textual aspects of Sallust's work, school texts, political treatises, and historiography reflected the generally conservative attitudes of the period.<sup>105</sup> The teaching of Sallust in Jesuit colleges and most treatises on *ars historica* focused on conventional rhetorical and moral aspects of his writing. Italian *volgarizzamenti*, from the first printed translation of his monographs (Venice, 1518) by Agostino Ortica della Porta to that of Paolo Spinola (Venice, 1563), generally highlighted the speeches, customs, and character portraits—although Lelio Carani's version (Florence, 1550) also appealed to contemporary anti-quarian interests. Historians of conspiracies like Camillo Porzio, Iacopo Bonfadio, Uberto Foglietta, and Iacopo Maria Campanacci, writing after the conspiracy of Gian Luigi de' Fieschi in Genoa (1548), reproduced character portraits and speeches from the *Catilina*, the better to magnify the danger of plots and the moral depravity of the conspirators. But, aside from using Sallust's monograph to condemn rebellion, they showed little interest in drawing upon his work as a source of political thought. Iacopo Bonfadio, author of *Annales genuenses* (1548–50), and Agostino Mascardi, in *La congiura del conte Gio. Luigi de' Fieschi* (Antwerp, 1629), even suggested that the reading of Sallust, like that of Machiavelli and Tacitus, might put wrong ideas into impressionable young minds.

A certain diffidence towards Sallust was also spreading through Ciceronian circles, where he was criticized for omitting the honors voted to Cicero after suppressing Catiline's plot, and also for partiality towards Caesar in his account of the conspiracy. The origin of the charges can be traced to Costanzo Felici's *De coniurazione L. Catilinae liber*, a 'revised version' of Sallust's monograph, dedicated to Pope Leo X in 1518 (following Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci's conspiracy).<sup>106</sup> Although Felici's criticisms were probably motivated as much by personal sympathies and pro-

<sup>105</sup>. The following remarks draw upon the discussion in Osmond, "Princeps Historiae Romanae," 127–29 with bibliography. On Italian translations, see Cesareo, *Traduzioni* and Coletti Strangi, "Ortica della Porta". Sallustian influence in Renaissance (and later) conspiracy histories is examined in La Penna, *Sallustio*, "Appendice seconda. Brevi note sul tema della congiura nella storiografia moderna," 432–52.

<sup>106</sup>. Osmond and Ulery, "Constantius Felicius Duran-tinus".

fessional interests as by any concern for historical accuracy, they were taken up by Ciceronians in the later Cinquecento and especially in the first decades of the Seicento. Both Famiano Strada and Agostino Mascardi still recommended Sallust as historiographical model, but Strada, Mascardi, and, above all, Paolo Beni, in his commentary on the *Catilina* (Venice, 1622), denounced Sallust's lack of objectivity and even questioned the moral propriety of his writing.<sup>107</sup> According to Beni, who has been called the forerunner (*Vorläufer*) of the Mommsen-Schwartz thesis, Sallust had not only attempted to discredit Cicero and denigrate the senatorial nobility; he had also sought to defend Caesar from the charge of complicity in Catiline's plot.

#### *The Late Renaissance and Reformation in Northern Europe*

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, it was the private study or library, rather than the classroom, that became the chief locus of Sallustian scholarship, as attention turned increasingly to philological studies and textual criticism. But scholars did not work in isolation; they corresponded with colleagues, exchanged notes and *scripturae*, and travelled considerable distances in search of better witnesses. A number of codices were in fact owned by, or in the hands of, some of the most prominent classical and legal scholars of the period: Jacques Cujas, Claude Dupuy, Nicolas Lefèvre, François Pithou, Adrien Turnèbe, Franz Modius, Konrad Rittershausen, Jacques Bongars, and Pierre Daniel. Armed with the authority of such manuscripts, with fresh hopes of restoring the text and, not least, with a spirit of rivalry, philologists like Cyprianus Popma (I.26, II.25, and V.6 below), Janus Meller (Janus Mellerus Palmerius, I.28, II.26 below), and Christoph Coler (Christophorus Colerus, I.31, II.29, III.iii.7, and IV.9 below) compiled notes on selected passages, comparing the claims of variant readings and arguing the merits of their proposed emendations. The most significant progress on the *Historiarum fragmenta*, however, was the work of the Flemish

<sup>107</sup>. Ibid., 39–43, with bibliography. Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 14–23 and 73f. reviews Paolo Beni's criticisms and describes him as a precursor of the Mommsen-Schwartz thesis. See also P. B. Diffley, *Paolo Beni* (Oxford, 1988), 207–19 and 244–66.

scholar Louis Carrion (Ludovicus Carrio, III.iii.3 below). In 1573 he published his first annotated collection for the Plantin Press; in 1579 he brought out a slightly revised and expanded collection, along with a new edition of the monographs and *Epistulae*. A year later, Jan van der Does (Janus Dousa, III.iii.4 below) also published at Leiden the three *fragmenta Serviana*, namely, fragments of the *Historiae* preserved in a bifolium of the Codex Floriacensis (recently acquired by Pierre Daniel), which had been copied and transmitted by Andreas Schott to Justus Lipsius, and in turn to Dousa himself. In the following years, other scholars, including Helias van Putschen (Helias Putschius, III.iii.8 below) and, later, Ausonius Popma, in an edition published at Franeker in 1619, identified additional sources and emended, annotated, and reassigned the individual fragments. But Carrio's work remained authoritative well into and beyond the following century.

In the last years of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, more attention was devoted to the *Epistulae ad Caesarem*, largely in response, it seems, to changing rhetorical tastes and political concerns. In 1599, the German jurist and philologist Christoph Coler (IV.9 below) published at Hamburg his *Notae politicae* on the letters, adding textual notes to his moral and political observations. In 1637, at the height of the Thirty Years War, the German-born Johann Loccenius wrote a commentary for his Swedish students, accompanied by a discourse on the causes of a state's decline and the means to preserve its unity. Hugo Grotius remarked on the valuable political lessons of the letters in his *Epistola de studio politico*, and maxims drawn from these texts, as from other works in the Sallustian corpus, were featured in a collection of *Praecepta et monita politica, militaria aliaque* published at Amsterdam in 1627.

In the meantime, scholars had begun debating Sallust's authorship of the *Epistulae*. Carrio, observing that ancient grammarians had never quoted passages from these particular writings, considered them the work of a later author. Dousa, on the other hand, basing his arguments on language and style as well as the manuscript tradition, accepted them as genuine. Lipsius harbored doubts but avoided any definitive pronouncement. The Dutch polymath Gerard Johann Voss (Vossius), while reporting arguments on both sides, favored their acceptance (as *epistu-*

*lae, not orationes*).<sup>108</sup> The authorship of the *Invectiva* or *Oratio in Ciceronem* was considered even more suspect, despite the authority of Quintilian (*Inst.* 4.1.68 and 9.3.89). It had already been questioned in the early decades of the sixteenth century by Pietro Crinito, in his life of Sallust (1503), and by Glareanus, who touched upon the issue in the preface to his commentary of 1538 (see V.4 below). Afterwards, Sebastiano Corradi, author of *Quaestura vel Egnatius* (Bologna, 1555) and the first person to challenge Quintilian's authority on solid philological and historical grounds, had assigned both this and the ps.-Ciceronian rejoinder to the rhetorical schools of Quintilian's own age. Further arguments against Sallust's authorship were now advanced by Vettori and especially Lipsius.<sup>109</sup>

Between 1599 and 1607, new annotated editions of the Sallustian corpus were produced by Coler, van Putschen, and Jan van Gruytere (Janus Gruterus). In the following decades, commentaries on the *Catilina* were published by the Italian Paolo Beni (Venice, 1622) and the Dutch statesman and scholar Dirk Graswinckel (Leiden, 1642), and on the *opera* by Daniel Wängler (Daniel Pareus) (Frankfurt, 1649), following the earlier editions by his father Johann Philipp Wängler (Johannes Philippus Pareus). But the large variorum edition published by Gruter (I.33 and II.31 below), head of the Palatine Library and *princeps lectionis Sallustiana*, may be said to mark the culmination of Renaissance scholarship on Sallust. It incorporated the most important contributions from the previous two centuries and the results of Gruter's own collation of some thirteen manuscripts, including the tenth-century Nazarianus (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostoli-

108. Grotius' *Epistola* is found in Gabriel Naudé, *Bibliographia politica. Accessit Hugonis Grotii Epistola de studio politico* (Leiden, 1642), 263–64. The prefaces of Ludovicus Carrio and Janus Dousa to the *Epistulae* are transcribed in III.iii.3 and IV.6 below. Lipsius mentions the problem in his *Variarum lectionum libri tres* 1.8 (*Opera omnia* [Antwerp, 1637], vol. 1), as does G. J. Vossius in his life of "C. Sallustius Crispus," *De historicis latinis libri tres* (Leiden, 1627), reprinted in Valpy 1.14–15. Some of the early scholarship is cited in H. Last, "On the Sallustian Suasoriae," *Classical Quarterly* 17 (1923) 87–88; see also n. 9 above.

109. Schindel, "Die Rezeption Sallusts," especially 93ff. on Sebastiano Corradi's *Quaestura vel Egnatius* (Bologna, 1555), Pier Vettori's *Variae lectiones* 15.3 (Florence, 1553), and Justus Lipsius' seventh Jena oration and preface to his critical edition of Tacitus of 1574. For the text of the latter, see Ulery (n. 115 below).

ca Vaticana, Pal. lat. 889), and what he considered the better printed editions.

At a time when many of the leading philologists were thus intent upon establishing the text, it was Sallust's style and (generally) good reputation as historian that made him an important authority, along with Tacitus, in late Renaissance movements of pragmatic historiography, prudential ethics, and neo-Attic prose.<sup>110</sup> In the recurring debate over the prologues and digressions, Julius Caesar Scaliger argued in his *Poeticae libri septem* (Lyons, 1561) that the first *excursus* in the *Catilina* (chs. 6–13) on the early history of Rome was an integral part of the account, essential to explaining the background and causes of the conspiracy.<sup>111</sup> Jean Bodin, who viewed the investigation of causes as the foundation of sound history, commended Sallust's honesty, careful research, and political experience in his *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (Paris, 1566). For both the pleasure and profit of his readers, François de Belleforest included Sallustian speeches and letters in his *Harangues militaires et concions de princes, capitaines, etc.* (Paris, 1572). Jérôme de Chomedey, the translator of Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia*, produced new French versions of the *Catilina* (Paris, 1575)—to which he attached a version of Machiavelli's chapter on conspiracies in *Discorsi* 3.6—and then of the *Iugurtha* (Paris, 1581) and *Epistulae* (Paris, 1582), all dedicated to Henry III with the aim of bolstering royal authority. Montaigne and La Popelinière admired Sallust's *sermo atticus*, not just as an antidote to Ciceronian “Asianism” or Livy's “milky richness” but as a style better suited to critical analysis and written eloquence. Jacopo Corbinelli, *lecteur du roi* at the court of Henry III, read Machiavelli and Guicciardini with Sallust in mind, and compared and contrasted his style with that of Tacitus.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>110</sup>. Ulery reviews Tacitus' *fortuna in “Tacitus,”* CTC 6.89–99. See also Osmond, “Sallust and Machiavelli,” 432ff. and “Princeps Historiae Romanae,” 120ff., on changes in rhetorical fashions and classical models, with references to studies by P. Burke, M. W. Croll, M. Fumaroli, J. H. M. Salmon, and K. Schellhase.

<sup>111</sup>. The passage in Scaliger's *Poeticae libri septem* 3.96 is often cited in Renaissance collections of testimonia. Schindler remarks in *Untersuchungen*, ch. 1(a) that Scaliger's judgment reflected a profound and (for this period) rare understanding of the essence of Sallustian historiography. On the question of Sallust's prologue and digressions and their significance in evaluating his historical writing, see also *ibid.*, ch. 4(a) and *Exkursen* 7–9.

<sup>112</sup>. Osmond, “Jacopo Corbinelli”.

Further testimony to Sallust's importance for the French monarchy comes from Henry IV, who wrote in a personal copy of the 1509 Aldine edition: “No book in my library is dearer to me than this.”<sup>113</sup>

In the Low Countries, authors of political pamphlets of the early 1580s that aimed at supporting, or in other cases denouncing, Calvinist reform and opposition to the Spanish, turned to the *Catilina* for examples from Roman history and practical advice, whether this came from the introductory words of the prologue or the speeches of Caesar and Cato.<sup>114</sup> Justus Lipsius attempted to avoid direct political involvement himself but, in his *Notae* of 1574, he introduced his own favorite Tacitus as the *imitator Sallustii* and praised Sallust for the qualities of *delectatio, fides, and (instruction) ad vitam*. In his *Politico-rum sive Civilis doctrinae libri sex* (ed. Plantin, 1589), he borrowed Sallustian phrases to reinforce the precepts of *civilis prudentia*, and, in his treatise *Epistolica institutio* (Leiden, 1591), he recommended Sallust, along with Seneca, Tacitus, and other “brief and subtle writers”, for advanced students of epistolography. Although Lipsius never produced a commentary on any of Sallust's texts, he followed the progress of Carrio and Dousa and occasionally explicated individual passages or proposed emendations.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>113</sup>. These words are cited by T. F. Dibdin, *An Introduction to the Knowledge of Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics* (London, 1804), 378–91 at 383.

<sup>114</sup>. P. A. M. Geurts, “Sallustius' Catilinae Coniuratio in politieke pamfletten,” *Hermeneus* 32 (1961) 113–17. The later commentary on the *Catilina* by Dir(c)k Graswinckel (1642) may testify to the surviving republican reading of Sallust. On the latter, see D. P. M. Graswinckel, *Graswinkel. Geschiedenis van een Delfts brouwers- en regentengeslacht* (The Hague, 1901) and E. O. G. Haitsma Mulier, *The Myth of Venice and Dutch Republican Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (Assen, 1980). We thank Jan Gadeyne, Christiane Geurts-Krauss, and H.-J. van Dam for kindly providing translations of or references to a number of Flemish and Dutch editions and studies from this period.

<sup>115</sup>. Lipsius' preface to his *Notae* of 1574 on Tacitus is transcribed in Ulery, “Tacitus,” CTC 6.113–14. On his use of Sallust, see Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 26 and 81; Schindel, “Die Rezeption Sallusts,” 95–96; and Osmond, “Sallust and Machiavelli,” 432–34 and “Princeps Historiae Romanae,” 123–24 with bibliographies. The passage on *breves subtileisque scriptores* is found in *Epistolica institutio*, ch. 11 (*Opera omnia*, vol. 2, 539). Examples of his interest in textual questions may be seen in his letter to G. Laurinus in *Epistolicarum quaestionum libri quinque* 4.14, and in *Variae lectiones* and *Antiquae lectiones*, *passim* (*Opera omnia*, vol. 1).

In the first decades of the seventeenth century, Sallust was frequently cited in support of utilitarian ethics and absolute monarchy by French writers such as Pierre Charron, Gabriel Chappuys, and Gabriel Naudé. But the rhetorical interest was still paramount in the new translations of the monographs, together with “harangues” and “lettres” (i.e., the *Epistulae*, *Invectivae*, and set of speeches and letters from the *Historiae*) by Jean Baudoïn (Paris, 1616) and in Mlle Marie de Jars de Gournay’s version of the “Harangue de Marius” from chapter 85 of the *Iugurtha* (Paris, 1619). In Jacobean England, where Sallust was hailed as a “faithful patriot”, the preface to Thomas Heywood’s translation of the monographs (London, 1608) described him in the words of Jean Bodin as a “deep statist”; the first stage production of the *Catiline* by Ben Jonson (London, 1611) dramatized the lessons of “politic history”; and Robert Dallington drew upon his maxims to illustrate Lipsius’ *prudentia mixta* in his *Aphorismes Civill and Militarie* (London, 1613). The first English translation of all writings in the Sallustian corpus was published by William Crosse at London in 1629.

In the same years, Sallust was being read in the company of Seneca as well as of Tacitus, and Sir William Cornwallis quoted him on Stoic fortitude and moderation in his *Essays* (London, 1632).<sup>116</sup> The association of Sallust and Seneca is apparent too from a later school text, the *Electa Senecae et Sallustii* (Amsterdam, 1646). In fact, one might say that the issues of Sallust’s life and work were gradually being treated with more ‘Stoic’ detachment. Vossius, in a full-length *vita* of Sallust composed for his *De historicis latinis* (Leiden, 1627), separated considerations of his personal morals from any appraisal of his historical writing and defended his reputation for accuracy and objectivity. In England, John Milton shared the widespread admiration for Sallust, whom he preferred, he says, to any other Latin historian. But, reading his monographs in the new political and religious climate of the mid-1600s, he enlisted Sallust on the side of the Commonwealth and as the enemy of tyrants (*Defensio prima* [London, 1651]). Reading him in conjunction with Cicero’s orations and Ben Jonson’s tragedy, Milton also

<sup>116</sup>. Osmond, “Princeps Historiae Romanae,” 124–27, on Sallust in Jacobean England, with bibliography including studies by B. De Luna and J. S. Lawry on Ben Jonson.

turned the demonic figure of Catiline into a model for the Satan of his *Paradise Lost* (London, 1667).<sup>117</sup>

The vogue for Sallust, which had begun with Lipsius in the last decades of the 1500s, found a major proponent at the end of the century in Christoph Coler, a German jurist and philologist who probably did more than any other scholar to propagate Sallust’s writings. His *Sallustius sive De historia veteri oratio* (Nuremberg, 1598) praised not only what he called Sallust’s Attic prose but especially his lessons in political prudence. In the dedicatory letter prefacing his commentary on the *Bella* and *Historiarum fragmenta* (Nuremberg, 1599), he stressed the relevance of Sallust’s work to all types of government, elaborated on his merits as both writer and historian, and (reversing Lipsius’ order of Roman historians) ranked him even ahead of Tacitus. In fact, if Sallust’s political wisdom could aid the *res publica aristocratica* of Nuremberg, it could also benefit princely governments, as Coler suggested in his commentary on the *Epistulae* (Hamburg, 1599). In the *De studio politico ordinando epistola* (Hanover, 1602), he described Sallust as the Latin successor to Thucydides and first among Roman historians, recommending him to statesmen, along with such modern writers as Machiavelli, Patrizi, Bodin, and Lipsius, as a source of *prudentia, severitas, and gravitas*.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>117</sup>. Vossius *apud Valpy* (n. 108 above), 1.12–16 (at 14). See Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 24–25, 33, 84–88. Vossius commends Sallust as an historian in *Ars historica* (1624) and discusses his *dictio Attica* in his *Commentariorum rhetoriconum sive Oratoriuarum institutionum libri sex* (Leiden, 1630). Milton praised Sallust as “the chief of the Latins” in his letter to Mr. Henry de Brass (*Epistolae familiares*, 1, ep. 23 [1657]), in *The Works of John Milton*, vol. 12 (New York, 1933), at 92–95. The *Defensio prima* is published in *ibid.*, vol. 7 (1932), 84ff. On the uses of Sallust in John Milton, see H. Jacobson, “Milton’s Second Defense and Sallust,” *Notes and Queries* 31.229 (1984) 327ff., and R. Wiltenburg, “Damnation in a Roman Dress: Catiline, Catiline, and *Paradise Lost*,” *Milton Studies* 25 (1989) 89–108.

<sup>118</sup>. See Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 26–27, 81–82, and Osmond, “Princeps Historiae Romanae,” 101–102 and 129, where the quotation from Coler’s dedicatory letter to the Nuremberg Senate should read: “Principi Civitati Germaniae principem historicum Romanum commendo”. The epistle to Stanislaus Zelenius Vitellius, also known as “De studio politico recte instituendo epistola”, was written in 1601 and published at Hanover in 1602 (D. M. Schullian, “Valerius Maximus,” CTC 5.401).

Not everyone, of course, shared Coler's enthusiasm, but it may have inspired some of the subsequent work on Sallust in the seventeenth century, from anthologies of Sallustian *sententiae*, to new editions and translations, including a German version by Wilhelm von Calchum or Lohausen accompanied by *Kriegsdiscoursen* for his soldiers (Bremen, 1629).<sup>119</sup> It certainly impressed the English professor Degory Wheare. In his Oxford lectures, published in 1623, Wheare quoted passages from Coler's *De studio politico* and from Lipsius' preface to the *Notae* of his 1574 edition of Tacitus: "You can repeat the *Catilinarian Conspiracy* by heart, but to no purpose, if you do not well consider that man's profound knowledge in public affairs, which he hath discovered even in that very small book; and he wrote the *Jugurthine War* with no less art, and his two *Epistles to Caesar*, concerning the settling the public Affairs; do they not even seem to have fallen from Heaven? And Justus Lipsius saith thus of him, If it were left to me, I should in this Catalogue not doubt to chuse Sallustius for president of the Senate of Historians."<sup>120</sup>

### THE EARLY MODERN ERA

Only a very few aspects of Sallust's *fortuna* in the period from the mid-seventeenth century onwards can be singled out in the limited scope of this survey, yet it is evident that his work continued to be widely read, debated, and imitated in Europe and, from the late eighteenth century on, in the United States as well.<sup>121</sup> Among the princi-

119. A very popular work was the *Anthologicum Sallustianum* (1628), later attached to Ludovicus Liebhard's commentary on the first chapters of the *Catilina* (Bayreuth, 1662). The *Observationes morales, civiles, grammaticae et philologicae* by Christophorus Adam Rupertus, excerpted by Albertus Richter, are found in a 1639 manuscript (Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 729), although the work was evidently not published until 1671. See Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, ch. 2, on these authors and Lohausen. On the latter, see also N. Holzberg, "Sallust im Dreissigjährigen Krieg," in *Φιλοφρόνητα: Festschrift für Martin Sicherl zum 75. Geburtstag: von Textkritik bis Humanismusforschung*, ed. D. Harlfinger (Paderborn, 1990), 347–57.

120. Degory Wheare, *The Method and Order of Reading both Civil and Ecclesiastical Histories*, trans. E. Bohun (London, 1710), 95.

121. Only brief sketches exist in Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 281–92 and Büchner, *Sallust*, 365–67. For fuller studies of Sallust influence on particular aspects of literature and

pal editions of the *opera*, often accompanied by excerpts from the older Renaissance commentaries, as well as by more recent notes, are those of Johann Friedrich Gronov (Gronovius) (Leiden, 1665), Daniel Crespin (Crispinus) in *usum Delphini* (Paris, 1674), Joseph Wasse (Cambridge, 1710), Gottlieb Kortte or Corte (Cortius) (Leipzig, 1724), Syvert Haverkamp (Sigebertus Havercampus) (Amsterdam, 1742), Abraham John Valpy (Delphin edition, London, 1820), Franz Dorotheus Gerlach (Basel, 1823–31), and Karl Heinrich Frotscher (Leipzig, 1825). Many of these editions contain prefaces reviewing the scholarship to date, and for this purpose it is also useful to consult the chapter on Sallust in Johann Albert Fabricius' *Bibliotheca latina* in the revised and expanded edition of Johann August Ernesti (Leipzig, 1773–74).

Translations of one or more works in the Sallustian corpus, often accompanied by notes, glossaries, or political commentaries, included the following: an English account of Catiline's conspiracy "for assisting the Interests of Peace and Virtue" (London, 1683) and Thomas Gordon's *The Works of Sallust with Political Discourses* (London, 1744), accompanied by Cicero's four *Catilinaria*; Italian translations by Carlo Corsini (Florence, 1644) and Vittorio Alfieri (London, 1804);<sup>122</sup> German translations by Balthasar Kindermann (Wittenberg, 1662), Daniel Albinus (Hamburg, 1662 and 1663), Johann Franz Wagner (Lemgo, 1772), August Gottlieb Meissner (Leipzig, 1790), and Johann Christoph Schlüter (Münster,

historiography, see L. de Nardis, "Cesare, Sallustio e Tacio" (n. 126 below); La Penna, *Sallustio*, appendices 2–5; A. Mazza, "Sallustio tra Alfieri, Manzoni e Leopardi," in *Vestigia. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Billanovich*, ed. R. Avesani et al., vol. 2 (Rome, 1984), 443–50; H. B. Speck, *Katilina im Drama der Weltliteratur* (Leipzig, 1906); and other studies cited in n. 128 below. Later views of Sallust's historical writing and thought, as well as editions, commentaries, and translations, are cited in Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, chs. 3–4 and *Exkursen*. References to a number of unpublished manuscript commentaries from this later period are found in F. E. Cranz, *A Microfilm Corpus of Unpublished Inventories of Latin Manuscripts through 1600 A.D.*, 2d ed. (New London, Conn., 1988).

122. La Penna, *Sallustio*, "Appendice quinta. Sallustio tradotto dall'Alfieri," 467–71, and Mazza, "Sallustio," 444–46. Alfieri completed the translation between 1775 and 1777, but he continued to work on it intermittently up to 1793. A. Fabrizi points out echoes of Sallust in Alfieri's own writings in his *Destino dell'antico. Da Dante a Saba* (Cassino, 1997), 119–47.

1795, 1796)<sup>123</sup>; a Spanish translation by Prince Gabriel de Bourbon (Madrid, 1772); and French versions by M. Odet-Philippe, sieur Desmarests (Paris, 1644), l'Abbé de Cassagne (Paris, 1675), l'Abbé Thyvon (Paris, 1730), Jean-Henri Dotteville (Paris, 1749, 1763), and Nicolas Beauzée (Paris, 1770). The *Histoire de la République romaine dans le cours du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Dijon, 1777) by the French jurist and scholar Charles de Brosses was a reconstruction of the history of the late Republic, as translated from Sallust's monographs and the surviving fragments of the *Historiae*, supplemented with the *Epistulae* and *Invectivae* and material from other ancient sources.<sup>124</sup> Several new translations of Sallust also appeared in the wake of the French Revolution, including a version of the *Catilina* by J. B. L. J. Billecocq, "Citoyen Français" with a preliminary discourse and literary and political notes appealing to the universal ideals of liberty and reason (Paris, 1795); the *Discours de Marius*, followed by an edition in "modern French" of Etienne de la Boétie's *De la servitude volontaire* (Paris, 1798) by a soldier in the regiment of Navarre; and Eusèbe Salverte's *Epîtres à César* (Paris, 1798), aimed at explaining "scientifically" the causes of the Revolution and

123. See Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, ch. 2 (cf. n. 119 above) and index on these and other German versions. On Daniel Albinus, Schindler writes (p. 31): "In letzterem [Albinus] begegnen wir einem wahren Sallustenthüsten. Alle Kennzeichen eines grossen Geschichtsschreibers findet er bei Sallust."

124. De Brosses' contributions are noted by B. Maurenbrecher, *C. Sallusti Crispī Historiarum reliquiae*, fasc. 1: *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, 1891), 6–7; McGushin, *The Histories*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1992), 10; Schindler, *ibid.*, 37–42, 78–79, 90, 94; and P. G. Schmidt, "Charles de Brosses: Sallust's Historien," in Schmidt, *Supplemente lateinischer Prosa in der Neuzeit. Rekonstruktionen zu lateinischen Autoren von der Renaissance bis zur Aufklärung* (Göttingen, 1964), 92–95. On de Brosses' work, see also M. Raskolnikoff, *Histoire romaine et critique historique dans l'Europe des Lumières* (Rome, 1992), 325–51. De Brosses had intended to add to his *Histoire* a fourth volume containing the Latin text of Sallust's monographs with a critical apparatus and the Latin fragments of the *Historiae* integrated with texts of "historiens contemporains". After the author's death, the printer decided to publish only a portion of this material (in an appendix to the third volume), that is: (1) the *Historiarum fragmenta*, printed in the same sequence in which de Brosses had given them in his French translation in vols. 1 and 2, and (2) a list of the fragments, numbered from 1 to 685, arranged by source, starting with the Vatican codex (Vat. lat. 3864) and proceeding, according to (assumed) chronological order, up to John of Salisbury.

recommending the study of political science in French schools.

The apparent contrast between Sallust's personal reputation and his fame as historian (an antimony sharpened by the moralizing tone of his own writing) continued to provoke criticism and debate, whether in biographies like Jean le Clerc's *vita*, published in Joseph Wasse's 1710 edition of the *opera*, Gibbon's youthful "Remarques sur les ouvrages et sur le caractère de Salluste" (composed in 1756), or in Leopardi's "Dialogo d'un lettore di umanità e di Sallustio" (Milan, 1827). In the generations following Vossius, however, many scholars tended simply to dissociate the issues of Sallust's *mores* and political career from evaluations of his merits as historian, as is apparent in François La Mothe le Vayer's *Jugement de Saluste* (Mons, 1670) and, still later, in Charles de Brosses' *Vie de Salluste* (*Histoire*, 1777). Others, rejecting the idea of a fundamental opposition between his life and work, attempted to rehabilitate the figure of Sallust, not only by relying on philological arguments that undermined the purported value of the *Invectivae* as sources, but also by appealing to reason and historical evidence. In the preface to his edition of the *Opera omnia* of 1724, Gottlieb Kortte (Cortius) exposed the internal contradictions in the (various) ancient sources. Christoph Martin Wieland analyzed (in notes to a work of 1786) the historical and social conditions of the period in which Sallust and his critics had been writing, attributing the accusations against him to the personal and political intrigues of the times.<sup>125</sup>

125. Schindel, "Die Rezeption Sallusts," 96–100. Another example of what the author describes as "die Antinomie zwischen Sallusts Leben und Werk" is found in the contrasting judgments of Samuel Grosser's *vita Sallustii* and *Chrestomathia philologico-ethico-politico-oratoria* in his Dresden/Leipzig edition of 1699 (*ibid.*, 96–97). Schindel links the developments in the image of Sallust to successive approaches to the ancient sources, from the philological method of S. Corradi to the historical analysis of Christoph Martin Wieland in his note on Sallust in his *Horazens Satyren* (Leipzig, 1786). See also Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, ch. 3(b) and *Exkursen* 4,6. Edward Gibbon's views are found in his "Remarques" of 1756, in *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esq.*, vol. 4 (London, 1814), 399–407, "Index Expurgatorius"; *ibid.*, vol. 5, 552–53; and in a note to his account of the Gothic invasion and destruction of Sallust's "palace" in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, vol. 3 (London, 1897), 325. The habit of attributing to Sallust the embellishment

In the new genres of cultural and social history that became popular during the Enlightenment, Sallust's work encouraged closer study of what was called the "mind and manners" of men. Saint-Evremond, author of *Observations sur Salluste et Tacite*, considered him a model for analyzing the conflicting *humeurs* of his seventeenth-century heroes and for penetrating the essence of a nation's spirit or *génie*.<sup>126</sup> The concept of *metus punicus* or "fear of Carthage", which Sallust had popularized, appears (along with related Sallustian themes) in his *Réflexions sur les divers génies du peuple romain dans les différents temps de la République* (Paris, 1663). Traces of Sallustian influence are also found in Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* (Paris, 1734) and *L'esprit des lois* (Paris, 1748), chs. 9–11 and in the political thought of l'Abbé de Mably, his contemporary. In the nineteenth century, Prosper Mérimée turned to Sallust as one of his principal sources for the study of the psychological and social forces underlying the political turmoil of the Late Republic in his *Essai sur la Guerre Sociale* (Paris, 1841) and *Conjuration de Catilina* (Paris, 1844).<sup>127</sup>

In the meantime, the figure of Catiline, as well as Sallust's speeches and dramatic motifs, continued to leave their mark, in varying degrees, on popular accounts of conspiracies and revolutions, including *La conjuration du comte Jean-Louis de Fiesque* (written by the future Cardinal de Retz in the late 1630s; published in 1665), Jean-François Sarrazin's *La conspiration du comte de Valstein* (Paris, 1634), l'Abbé de Saint-Réal's *La conjuration des Espagnols contre la République de Venise l'an 1618* (Paris, 1674), and Giambattista Vico's *Principum Neapolitanorum coniurationis anni mdcci historia*, probably written in 1703.<sup>128</sup> Salvator Rosa

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of the Horti Sallustiani persists even in modern scholarship, although there is no evidence to support this. On Leopardi and Sallust, see Mazza, "Sallustio," 447–50.

126. L. de Nardis, "Cesare, Sallustio e Tacito nella storiografia aristocratica di Saint-Evremond," *Studi romani* 37 (1989) 1–13.

127. La Penna, *Sallustio*, "Appendice quarta. Mérimée storico della congiura di Catilina," 459–66. (We thank Prof. La Penna for the reference to l'Abbé de Mably).

128. Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 286–92; La Penna, ibid., "Appendice seconda. Brevi note sul tema della congiura," 432–52 (446–52 on Vico); and Criniti, *Bibliografia catilinaria* and his "Contributo alla storia degli studi e delle tradizioni classiche nell'età moderna e contemporanea," *Aevum* 40 (1966) 500–18, in which he discusses the treatment of

represented the dramatic moment of the conspirators' oath in his painting "La Congiura di Catilina", exhibited at Rome in 1663, and on stage the protagonist of Sallust's monograph enjoyed an even greater success, whether at the public recitations and moralizing plays of German and English schools, the French tragedies of Claude-Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon (Paris, 1748) and Voltaire (Paris, 1752), or the later nineteenth- and early twentieth-century dramas of Alexandre Dumas (père), Auguste Maguet, Parmenio Bettoli, Adolf Bartels, and Henrik Ibsen. In 1791 Giambattista Casti wrote a libretto for an opera on the *Catilina* with music by Antonio Salieri. Although the *Iugurtha* had a smaller audience, a libretto entitled *Giugurta* was written by Matteo Noris (Venice, 1686) and a drama by François Joseph de Chancel (Lagrange-Chancel), entitled *Adherbal, roy de Numidie*, was performed at Paris in 1694.<sup>129</sup>

On the other side of the Atlantic, Sallust's writings were popular as school texts and, like Tacitus' *opera*, appealed to American republicans, thanks especially to the influence of Thomas Gordon's translations and *Political Discourses*, a vehicle for "radical Whiggery". In the early 1780s John Adams urged his son, John Quincy Adams, to read Sallust, whom he called "one of the most

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Catiline and the conspiracy in the mid-eighteenth-century writings of Séran de La Tour and others. On the early modern period, see also C. Grell, "Le modèle antique dans l'imaginaire du complot," in *Complots et conjurations dans l'Europe moderne: actes du colloque international organisé par l'École française de Rome ... 30 septembre–2 octobre 1993*, ed. Y.-M. Bercé and E. Fasano Guarini (Rome, 1996), 163–76; and the contributions in *Présence de Salluste*, ed. Poignault, 131–89, on Sallust in the Jesuit curriculum (E. Flammarion) and in the work of French writers and dramatists of the eighteenth century, including Molière (J. Hellegouarc'h), Crébillon (E. Aubrion), and Voltaire (R. Chevallier).

129. On Salvator Rosa and the two copies of this painting (Florence, Galleria Palatina [Palazzo Pitti] and Casa Martelli), see L. Salerno, *L'opera completa di Salvator Rosa* (Milan, 1975), 99. On Sallust in the drama of these centuries, see Bolaffi, ibid., 289–92 and Speck, *Katilina*; on Voltaire, see La Penna, ibid., "Appendice terza. Voltaire in difesa di Cicerone," 453–58, and *Présence de Salluste* (R. Chevallier). We thank Robert Ketterer for the reference to the libretto by Matteo Noris (Venice, 1686) at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice. An anonymous undated and unpublished libretto, entitled *La congiura di Catilina. Dramma per musica*, is preserved in Orvieto, Biblioteca Civica, 3, no. 259–e.

For other operas, see F. Stieger, *Opernlexikon*, part I: *Titelkatalog* (Tutzing, 1975), vols. 1–2, s.v. "Catilina" and

polished and perfect of the Roman historians".<sup>130</sup> An 1805 edition of the monographs, printed in Salem, Massachusetts, was the first American edition of a classical author published in the United States.

### THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

In the modern period, work on Sallust has concentrated on his historical text from two perspectives: on the one hand, as history, whether as source or as literature; on the other hand, as text, whether as a text to be scientifically established or a text to be helpfully explicated. Over the course of the nineteenth century, philologists developed essentially new skills to improve the editing of the text and its explanation (e.g., Rudolph Dietsch, Leipzig, 1859; Henri Jordan, 3d ed., Berlin, 1887; Friedrich Kritz, Leipzig, 1828–53; Rudolph Jacobs, Hans Wirz, and Alfons Kurfess, Berlin, 1922), and to establish a complete and reliable collection of the fragments of the *Historiae* (Berthold Maurenbrecher, Leipzig, 1891–93). School texts were created and developed in each European country, since the reading of Sallust was until the mid-twentieth century a fixture in the classical curriculum. Work on the manuscript tradition was given a considerable impetus in the new century by Axel Wilhelm Ahlberg, who with his successor Alfons Kurfess established the Teubner text; a new

"Jugurtha", and *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 vols., ed. S. Sadie (London and New York, 1992), 1.775.

The continuing popularity of the figure of Catiline in modern political literature, historical novels, and drama is documented in Criniti, *Bibliografia catilinaria*. A review of modern scholarship was presented by L. de Blois in his paper "The Image of Catiline in Scholarly Publications of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries: Revolutionary Hero or Irresponsible Desperado" at the International Society for the Classical Tradition, Fourth Meeting, Tübingen, 29 July–2 August 1998. In *Présence de Salluste*, J. Chomarat (191–201) discusses Bertold Brecht's view of the Catilinarian conspiracy and P. M. Martin (203–22) discusses Yves Guéna's *Catilina*. Recent literature also includes M. Blondet, *Elogio di Catilina e Berlusconi* (Rimini, 1995) and M. Fini, *Catilina: ritratto di un uomo malinteso* (Milan, 1996).

130. M. Reinhold, *The Classick Pages: Classical Reading of Eighteenth-Century Americans* (University Park, Penn., 1975), 99–100; see also *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, ed. W. Haase and M. Reinhold (Berlin and New York, 1994). On the Salem edition, see Reinhold, *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States* (Detroit, 1984), 187.

Oxford text by Leighton Durham Reynolds appeared in 1991 to take full benefit of modern advances in the study of manuscript traditions. The same editors also sought to make available the best possible text of the *Invictivae* and the *Epistulae ad Caesarem* while debate continued on their authenticity, a question that often involved matters more historical than philological.

On the historical side, the most prominent subject of discussion in regard to Sallust arose from the "Mommsen-Schwartz thesis", namely, that Sallust was not really a historian, but a kind of political pamphleteer promoting the image of Caesar in a biased account of first-century B.C. history (the *Catilina* being the primary focus).<sup>131</sup> Although this argument had its roots in Renaissance Italy, as has been recently demonstrated, and its exponents in eighteenth-century England, it achieved now an academic prominence due to the eminence of Theodor Mommsen and the scholarly passion of Eduard Schwartz; the question became a part of the reevaluation of the classical historians in the light of modern historical scholarship. When others began to defend Sallust, the discussion turned to the relationship between the ideas in the proems and digressions and the historical narrative and its characterization of the heroes and villains, along with the relation of Sallust to the larger currents in Roman thought. A heightened sense of the literary art of the historian was not long in following, undergirded by a philological scholarship of increasing sophistication. Yet the need for concerted work by historians and philologists was noted. At mid-century, just when the forces of change were on the point of removing Sallust from his perennial position at the heart of the curriculum in Latin prose, a set of new general studies, including those by Karl

131. Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, chs. 3–4 and *Exkursen* 4ff.; C. Becker, "Sallust," ANRW I.3 (1973), 720–54, especially 720–31 ("Die neuere Forschung"); A. H. McDonald, in *Fifty Years (and Twelve) of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1968), 465ff.; G. Funaioli, "Nuovi orientamenti della critica Sallustiana," in *Studi di letteratura antica* 2.1 (Bologna, 1948), 45–70; E. Malcovati, "Rassegna di studi sallustiani," *Athenaeum*, N.S., 33 (1955) 365–73. See below, Bibliography III. General Studies for the works of K. Büchner, D. C. Earl, W. Steidle, R. Syme, and especially A. La Penna, who provides a critical review of the trends and issues in Sallustian scholarship from the nineteenth century to the early 1960s in his *Sallustio e la "rivoluzione" romana* ("I proemi," 15–21; *Bellum Catilinae*, 68–83; *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 159–74; and *Historiae*, 247–52).

Büchner, Donald Earl, Antonio La Penna, Wolf Steidle, and Ronald Syme, reaped the harvest of a century and more of scholarly labor and opened up important new lines of inquiry.

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*L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI<sup>e</sup> e XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 3 vols. in 4 (Paris, 1982–89); Munk Olsen, *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale* (Spoleto, 1991); A. Nitzschner, *De locis Sallustianis qui apud scriptores et grammaticos veteres leguntur* (Diss. Göttingen, 1884); P. J. Osmond, “Sallust and Machiavelli: from Civic Humanism to Political Prudence,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23 (1993) 407–38; Osmond, “Jacopo Corbinelli and the Reading of Sallust in Late Renaissance France,” *Medievalia et humanistica*, N. S., 21 (1994) 85–110; Osmond, “Princeps Historiae Romanae: Sallust in Renaissance Political Thought,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 40 (1995) 101–43; Osmond and R. W. Ulery, Jr., “Constantius Felicius Durantinus and the Renaissance Origins of Anti-Sallustian Criticism,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 1 (1995) 29–56; Osmond, “Catiline in Fiesole and Florence: The After-Life of a Roman Conspirator,” *ibid.* 7 (2000) 3–38; G. Ouy, “Le songe et les ambitions d’un jeune humaniste parisien vers 1395 (une épître latine inconnue de Jean Lebègue à Pierre Lorfèvre, chancelier de Louis d’Orléans, lui demandant la main de sa fille Catherine. Ms. Paris, B.N. lat.10400 f.30–35),” in *Miscellanea di studi e ricerche sul Quattrocento francese*, ed. F. Simone (Turin, 1967), 355–407; R. Poignault, ed., *Présence de Salluste. Actes du Colloque tenu à Tours les 23 et 24 février 1996* (Tours, 1997); J. Porcher, *Jean Lebègue, les histoires que l’on peut raisonnablement faire sur les livres de Salluste* (Paris, 1962); Porcher, “Un amateur de peinture sous Charles VI: Jean Lebègue,” in *Mélanges d’histoire du livre et des bibliothèques offerts à monsieur Frantz Calot* (Paris, 1960), 35–41; U. Schindel, “Die Rezeption Sallusts in Deutschland in Humanismus und Aufklärung,” *Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung* 6 (1980) 89–106; F. Schindler, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Sallustbildes* (Diss. Breslau, 1939); J. Schneider, “Die Vita Heinrici IV. und Sallust. Studien zu Stil und Imitatio in der mittellateinischen Prosa,” *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft* 49 (Berlin, 1965); B. Smalley, “Sallust in the Middle Ages,” in R. R. Bolgar, ed., *Classical Influences on European Culture, A. D. 500–1500* (Cambridge, 1971), 165–75; H. B. Speck, *Katilina im Drama der Weltliteratur* (Leipzig, 1906); R. M. Stein, *Sallust for His Readers 410–1550* (Diss. Columbia University, 1977); Stein, “Signs and

Things: The ‘Vita Heinrici IV. Imperatoris’ and the Crisis of Interpretation in Twelfth-Century France,” *Traditio* 43 (1987) 105–19; R. Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley, 1964), 275–301; H. Vester, “Widukind von Korvei—ein Beispiel zur Wirkungsgeschichte Sallusts,” *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 21 (1978) 5–22; R. Wiltenburg, “Damnation in a Roman Dress: Catiline, *Catiline*, and *Paradise Lost*,” *Milton Studies* 25 (1989) 89–108.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

*BC* = *Bellum Catilinae; De coniuratione Catilinae liber; Catilina*

*BI* = *Bellum Iugurthinum; Iugurtha*

#### COMPOSITE EDITIONS

*Note:* The texts in the Sallustian corpus were continually emended by editors and correctors at the time of printing; thus it has not been possible in all cases to identify the specific editor(s) or to distinguish between second (or later) impressions and new or revised editions. Moreover, although every effort has been made to ascertain the contents of each imprint, either directly or by consulting the principal catalogues and bibliographical works, the present list of composite editions (to 1650) remains a partial and provisional guide, subject to additions and corrections.

1491.5, Venetiis (Venice): arte et ingenio Philippi Pincii de Caneto. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Pomponius Laetus) with the *Commentarii* of Laurentius Valla on the *Catilina*. (This edition also contains ps. Cicero, *In Sallustium* and ps. Latro, *Declamatio in Catilinam*). Flodr S 36; HC 14222; IGIBI 8551; NUC. BNF; BAV; Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana; (ICN; NNC).

(\*) 1492.6, Venetiis (Venice): per Nicolaum de Ferraris de Pralermo. Contents as in 1491.5. HC 14224.

1492.7, Venetiis (Venice): per magistrum Theodorum de Regazonibus de Asula. Contents as in 1491.5. HC(+Add)R 14223; NUC. BAV; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense and Biblioteca Corsiniana; (CtY).

1493.1, Mediolani (Milan): arte et ingenio Ulderici Scinzenzeler. Contents as in 1491.5. HC 14225. BNF; BAV.

1493.8, Venetiis (Venice): per Ioannem de Cereto de Tridino. Contents as in 1491.5. HC 14226; NUC. BAV; (MH).

[1493], Venetiis (Venice): per Bernardinum Beinalium. Contents as in 1491.5. HC 14221; NUC. BAV; (CU; DLC).

(\*) 1494.11, Taurini (Turin): per Nicolaum de Benedictis et Iacobinum Suigum. Contents as in 1491.5. HC 14218; IGIBI 8556. Turin, Biblioteca Reale.

[Later imprints similar to 1491.5: 1495 Lyons (Copinger 5223), (\*) 1496 Lyons (HC 14227), ?(\*) 1496 Venice (HC 14231), [ca. 1497 Lyons] (BNF).]

1495.1, Brixiae (Brescia): opera et diligentia Bernardini Misinti Ticinensis, impensa vero Angeli et Jacobi Britan[n]icorum. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Pomponius Laetus, rev. Johannes Britan[n]icus), with the *Commentarii* of Laurentius Valla on the *Catilina* and the *Expositio* of Johannes Chrysostomus Soldus on the *Iugurtha*. (This edition also contains ps. Cicero, *In Sallustium*; ps. Latro, *Declamatio*, and ps. *Catilina*, *Oratio responsiva in Ciceronem*.) Flodr S 45; HC 14230; IGIBI 8557; NUC. BL; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale and Biblioteca Corsiniana; (CSmH; MH; NNC).

[ca. 1496, Venice: Christophorus de Pensis.] Contents as in 1495.1. HC 14229. BNF; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale; (MH).

[ca. 1497–99, Venice: Christophorus de Pensis.] Contents as in 1495.1. HC 14228; NUC. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale; (CtY; MH).

1497.1 [or 1498.1], Parisiis (Paris): opera et diligentia magistri Andree Bocard. Impensa vero Iohannis Alexandri et Iohannis Petit. Contents as in 1495.1. HC 14232. BNF; (CtY).

[Later imprint similar to 1495.1: (\*) 1510 Milan (Schweiger 2.869; Valpy 2.809).]

1500.7, Venetiis (Venice): opera et impensa . . . Ioannis Tacuini de Tridino. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Pomponius Laetus, rev. Johannes Britannicus?) with the *Commentarii* of L. Valla and of Omobonus Leonicenus on the *Catilina* and the *Expositio* of Soldus on the *Iugurtha*. (Other contents as in 1495.1 above.) Flodr S 52; HC 14233; IGIBI 8560; NUC. BAV; (DLC).

1502.7, Venetiis (Venice): opera et impensa . . . Ioannis Tacuini de Tridino. Contents as in 1500.7. Schweiger 2.867; NUC. Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana; (CtY; MH).

[Later imprint similar to 1500.7: 1506 Venice (NUC).]

1504, Parrhisii (Paris): Iehan Petit [title page]; Finis reliquiarum C. Crispi Salustii et plusculo-rum fragmentorum . . . corrasorum et ab Ascensio . . . explicatorum et ab eodem diligenti accura-tione coimpressorum [colophon]. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Pomponius Laetus and rev. Johannes Britannicus?; further rev. Jodocus Badius Ascensis-us) with the *Familiaris explanatio* (or *interpretatio*) of Badius. (Other contents as in 1500.7 above, together with Cicero's four *Orationes in Catilinam*; ps. Cicero, *Oratio in Catilinam*; ps. Catiline, *Orationes responsivae duae in Ciceronem*, and Philippus Beroaldus the Elder's *Invectivarum Ci-ceronis Commendatio* and *Praefatio Sallustiana*, with notes by Badius.); Ph. Renouard, *Josse Badius Ascensius* 3.227–28; Schweiger 2.867–68; NUC. BNF; (CtT Watkinson; CSmH; IU).

1506, Lugduni (Lyons): a Johanne de Vingle. Contents as in 1504. Schweiger 2.868; Ph. Renouard, *Badius* 3.229–30; NUC. BNF; (MH).

(\*) 1508, Parrhisii (Paris): per Joannem Barbier pro Joanne Parvo. Contents as in 1504. Schweiger 2.868; Ph. Renouard, *Badius* 3.230; NUC. BL; (NNC; OCU).

1509, Lugduni (Lyons): per Claudium d'Avost alias de Troys. Contents as in 1504. Schweiger 2.868; Ph. Renouard, *Badius* 3.231–32; NUC. (IU; MH).

1511, [Lugduni (Lyons)]: per Jacobum Mareschal. Contents as in 1504. Schweiger 2.869; Ph. Renouard, *Badius* 3.232–33; NUC. (MH).

[Later imprints similar to 1504: 1513 Venice (Schweiger 2.869; Ph. Renouard, *Badius* 3.234), 1513 Lyons (Schweiger 2.869; Ph. Renouard, *Badius* 3.233–34; NUC), (\*) 1514 Lyons (Schweiger 2.869; Ph. Renouard, *Badius* 3.235–36; NUC).]

(\*) 1513, Venetiis (Venice): per Bernardinum de Vianis de Lexona. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Pomponius Laetus, rev. Jodocus Badius Ascensis-us?) with the *Familiaris explanatio* of Badius on all texts, the *Commentarii* of L. Valla and of Omobonus Leonicenus on the *Catilina*, and the *Expositio* of Joh. Chrys. Soldus on the *Iugurtha*. (Other contents reportedly as in 1504.) Schweiger 2.869–70; Ph. Renouard, *Josse Badius Ascensius* 3.235.

1514, Venetiis (Venice): opera et impensa . . . Ioannis Tacuini de Tridino. Contents as in 1513.

Schweiger 2.870. BAV; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale

[Later imprints similar to (\*) 1513: 1521 Venice (Schweiger 2.871; Ph. Renouard, *Badius* 3.237–38), 1534 Venice, 1539 Venice (Schweiger 2.872), (\*) 1541 Venice (NUC).]

(\*) 1517, Lugduni (Lyons): per Joannem de Jonvelle. The *opera* of Sallust with the *Familiaris explanatio* of Jodocus Badius Ascensius and the *Annotationes* of Jacobus Crucius Bononiensis on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*. (Other contents as in 1513 above.) Ph. Renouard, *Josse Badius Ascensius* 3.236; NUC. BL; (DFo; NN).

1519, Lugduni (Lyons): per Joannem Marion. Contents as in 1517. Schweiger 2.870; Ph. Renouard, *Badius* 3.237. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale; (CtT Watkinson; CtY).

1523, Lugduni (Lyons): per Antonium Blanchard. Contents as in 1517. Schweiger 2.871; Ph. Renouard, *Badius* 3.238–39; NUC. BL; (DFo; MH).

1526, Lugduni (Lyons): per Jacobum Myt. Contents as in 1517. Schweiger 2.872; Ph. Renouard, *Badius* 3.239–40; NUC. BNF; (ICU; ViU).

(\*) 1528, Lugduni (Lyons): impressus per Joannem Cleyn. Contents as in 1517. Ph. Renouard, *Badius* 3.240. BL; BNF.

1529, Haganoae (Haguenau): per Joannem Sererium. The *opera* of Sallust with the *Scholia* of Philippus Melanchthon and the *Flosculi* of Huldericus Huttenus. Later imprints sometimes print the *Scholia* without attribution, or include the *Annotationes* of Jacobus Crucius on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*. (The edition also includes ps. Cicero, *In Sall.*, Cicero's four *Orationes in Catilinam*, and ps. Latro, with the *Scholia* of Melanchthon.) Schweiger 2.872; NUC. BNF; (CtY).

1530, Parisiis (Paris): apud Simonem Colinaeum. Texts as in 1529, with Melanchthon's *Scholia* (anon.) and the *Flosculi*. Schweiger 2.872. Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana.

[Later imprints similar to 1529: 1536 Paris, 1543 Paris (NUC).]

(\*) 1532, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): apud I. Gymnicum. Texts as in 1529, with the *Scholia* of Melanchthon. Schweiger 2.872.

[Later imprints similar to (\*) 1532: 1536 Cologne (NUC), (\*) 1539 Cologne.]

1533, Lugduni (Lyons): apud Seb. Gryphium. Contents as in (\*) 1532. NUC. (CtY).

[Later imprints similar to 1533: 1535 Lyons (Schweiger 2.872; NUC), 1536 Lyons (Schweiger 2.872), 1538 Lyons, (\*) 1540 Lyons, (\*) 1542 Lyons, 1545 Lyons, 1546 Lyons, (\*) 1547 Lyons, (\*) 1549 Lyons (Schweiger 2.872–73).]

(\*) 1534, Basileae (Basel): apud Ioh. Heravigum. Contents as in 1530. Schweiger 2.872.

[Later imprints similar to (\*) 1534: 1541 Venice (NUC), (\*) 1543 Antwerp (Schweiger 2.873; *Belgica typographica* 1541–1600 1.347; (NUC), (\*) 1544 Mainz (Schweiger 2.873), [(\*) 1569 [London] (NUC), (\*) 1581 Venice (NUC), 1588 Lyons.]

1538, Basileae (Basel): apud And. Cratandrum. The *Annotationes* of Henricus Glareanus on the *Catilina*, *Iugurtha*, and *Oratio in Ciceronem* (without texts). (This edition also contains Glareanus' annotations on ps. Cicero, *In Sall*; there are no texts.) Schweiger 2.872; NUC. BAV; (CU-B).

(micro.) 1539, Lipsiae (Leipzig): Nicolaus Wolrab excudebat. The *Catilina*, *Iugurtha*, *Excerpta ex libris Historiarum*, and *Epistulae*, with the *Castigationes* of Johannes Rivius. (There are apparently no texts). Valpy 2.815. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek.

[Later imprints similar to (micro.) 1539 Leipzig: (\*) 1539 Lyons, (\*) 1542 Lyons (Valpy 2.815–16), (\*) 1542 Leipzig (Schweiger 2.872; Valpy 2.815).]

(\*) 1544, Coloniae (Cologne): apud Jo. Gymnicum. The *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* (rev. Johannes Rivius [and/or with the *Castigationes* of Rivius]), with the *Annotationes* of Jacobus Crucius, *Scholia* of Philippus Melanchthon, and *Annotationes* of Henricus Glareanus. Schweiger 2.873.

[Later imprints similar to (\*) 1544: (\*) 1550 Cologne (Schweiger 2.873), (\*) 1556 Cologne (Schweiger 2.873; NUC), (\*) 1561 Cologne (NUC), (\*) 1567 Cologne (Schweiger 2.875), (\*) 1578 [–1584] Cologne (Schweiger 2.876), (\*) 1586 [–1591] Cologne (Schweiger 2.876).]

1546, Venetiis (Venice): apud Hieronymum Scotum. The *opera* of Sallust with the *Commentarii* of Laurentius Valla on the *Catilina*, the *Annotationes* of Jacobus Crucius, *Scholia* of Philippus Melanchthon, *Annotationes* of Henricus Glareanus, *Castigationes* of Johannes Rivius, and *Commentaria* of Bartholomaeus Marlianus on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*; the *Expositio* of Jo-

hannes Chrysostomus Soldus on the *Iugurtha*; the *Castigationes* of Rivius on the *Excerpta ex libris Historiarum*, and *Epistulae*; the *Commentarius* of Sylvius Ambianus and *Annotationes* of Glareanus on the *Oratio in Ciceronem*. (This edition also contains the texts of ps. Cicero, *In Sall.*, with notes by Sylvius and Glareanus, ps. Latro, and Cicero's four *Orationes in Catilinam*.) Schweiger 2.873; NUC. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale; (MiU).

1547, Venetiis (Venice): in aedibus Venturini Roffinelli. The *opera* of Sallust with the same commentaries and notes included in the 1546 Venice edition, together with the *Familiaris explanatio* of Jodocus Badius Ascensius on all texts. (This edition contains the same texts by Cicero, ps. Cicero, *In Sall.*, ps. Latro, and ps. Catilina included in the 1513 edition by B. de Vianis, with the notes of Badius.) Schweiger 2.873; Ph. Renouard, *Josse Badius Ascensius* 3.240–41; NUC. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale; (CtY; ICU).

[Later imprints similar to 1547: 1556 Venice (Schweiger 2.874), 1565 Venice (Schweiger 2.875; NUC), 1573 Venice (NUC), 1590 Venice (Schweiger 2.876; NUC).]

(\*) 1553, Parisiis (Paris): David. The *Oratio in Ciceronem* (and ps. Cicero, *In Sall.*) with the *Commentarii* of Franciscus Sylvius Ambianus and of Andreas Helmontanus. NUC. (CU-B).

1554, Bononiae (Bologna): apud Achillem Barbironi. The *Catilina* with the *Commentarium* of Vincentius Castellanus [Castiloneus] and the *Iugurtha* with his *Scholia*. Schweiger 2.873. BNF; Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana.

1563, Venetiis (Venice): apud Paulum Manutium. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Aldus Pius Manutius; rev. Paulus Manutius) together with the *Historiarum reliquiae* (collected and edited by Aldus Manutius Junior), and the *Scholia* of Aldus on the *Catilina*, *Iugurtha*, and *Excerpta ex libris Historiarum*. (This edition also contains ps. Cicero, *In Sall.*, ps. Latro's *Declamatio*, with Aldus' *Scholia*, and the first published collection of *Veterum scriptorum de Sallustio testimonia*, compiled by Aldus.) Schweiger 2.874; A.-A. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde*, 3d ed., 189; NUC. Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana and Biblioteca Nazionale; (CtY; NNC).

1563 (colophon: 1564), Romae (Rome): apud Paulum Manutium. Contents as in 1563 Venice, but with additional *fragmenta* and revised notes, including a few *Scholia* on *Epistula I* and the *Oratio in Ciceronem*. Schweiger 2.874; NUC. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale; (CU-S; MH).

[Later imprints similar to 1563 Venice: 1564 Rome, 1567 Venice (Schweiger 2.875), (\*) 1573 Venice?, (\*) 1577 Venice (Schweiger 2.875–76); later imprints sometimes with *Scholia* of Melanchthon and *Flosculi* of Huldericus Huttenus: 1564 Antwerp (Schweiger 2.875; L. Voet, *The Plantin Press* 5.2019–21; NUC), ?(\*) 1564 Antwerp (Schweiger 2.874; *Belgica typographica 1541–1600* 1.347), 1570 Lyons (Schweiger 2.875; NUC), ?(\*) 1573 London (Schweiger 2.875; NUC), 1588 Venice (Schweiger 2.876), (\*) 1610 Toro? (NUC); see also A.-A. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde*, 3d ed., for individual imprints containing Aldus' *Scholia*.]

1563, Parisiis (Paris): ex typographia Thomae Richardi. Speeches and letters excerpted from the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*, with the notes of Johannes Pescheur. BNF.

1564, Basileae (Basel): per Henricum Petri. The *opera* of Sallust with the *Familiaris explanatio* of Jodocus Badius Ascensius, and with the following commentaries and notes: the *Commentarii* of Laurentius Valla and of Omnibonus Leonicenus on the *Catilina*; the *Expositio* of Johannes Chrysostomus Soldus on the *Iugurtha*; the *Annotationes* of Jacobus Crucius, the *Annotationes* of Henricus Glareanus, the *Castigationes* of Johannes Rivius, the *Commentaria* of Bartholomaeus Zanchus, and the *Commentarium* of Vincentius Castellanus on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*; the *Castigationes* of Rivius on the *Excerpta ex libris Historiarum* and *Epistulae*; and the *Annotationes* of Glareanus on the *Oratio in Ciceronem*. Anonymous notes printed in the margins of the monographs may be identified with Philippus Melanchthon's *Scholia*. (This edition also contains the other texts and notes in the 1547 edition above, as well as Constantius Felicius Durantinus' *De coniuratione Catilinae liber*.) Schweiger 2.874; Ph. Renouard, *Josse Badius Ascensius* 3.241–42; NUC. BNF; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale; (NNC; DFo; MH).

[Later imprint similar to 1564: (\*) 1573 Basel (Ph. Renouard, *Badius* 3.242).]

(micro.) 1571, Basileae (Basel): ex off. Henricpetrina. The *opera* of Sallust with the *Annotationes* of Coelius Secundus Curio on the *Iugurtha*, the *Annotationes* of Jacobus Crucius on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*, and the *Annotationes* of Henricus Glareanus on the *Catilina*, *Iugurtha*, and *Oratio in Ciceronem*. (This edition also contains ps. Cicero, *In Sall.*, with the *Annotationes* of Glareanus, and Huldericus Huttenus' *flosculi*.) Schweiger 2.875. Bern, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek.

[Later imprints similar to (micro.) 1571: (\*) 1590 Basel, 1606 Basel (Schweiger 2.876–77).]

1572, Lovanii (Louvain): apud Hieronymum Wellaeum. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Cyprianus Popma) with the *Emendationes* of Cyprianus Popma on the *Catilina*, *Iugurtha*, and *Oratio in Ciceronem*. (The edition also contains ps. Cicero, *In Sall.*, with Popma's notes, and anonymous marginal *scholia*, identified as those of Melanchthon, on the *opera*). Schweiger 2.875. BNF.

1573, Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud Ioannem Bellerum. The *Historiarum fragmenta* [and the *Epistulae*] (collected and edited by Ludovicus Carrio) with Carrio's *Scholia*. L. Voet, *The Plantin Press* 5.2021. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale.

(\*) 1574, s. l.: apud Petrum Santandream. The *opera* of Sallust, including the *Historiarum fragmenta* (collected and edited by Ludovicus Carrio), with *Scholia* (by Carrio?). Schweiger 2.875. BNF; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek.

1574, s. l. et t. The *opera* of Sallust, including the *Historiarum fragmenta*, with the *Scholia* of Aldus Manutius Junior and the *Emendationes* of Cyprianus Popma on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*; the *Scholia* of Aldus and Ludovicus Carrio on the *Historiarum fragmenta* and *Epistulae*; and the *Emendationes* of Popma and the *Scholia* of Aldus on the *Oratio in Ciceronem*. (The edition also includes ps. Cicero, *In Sall.*, with the *Emendationes* of Popma, and ps. Latro, *Declamatio*.) Schweiger 2.875. BNF.

(\*) 1576, Lugduni (Lyons): apud Ant. Gryphium. Contents as in 1574. Schweiger 2.875.

[Later imprints similar to 1574: 1584 Lyons (Schweiger 2.876), (\*) 1586 Lyons, (\*) 1589 Lyons,

(\*) 1596 [Geneva] (NUC), (\*) 1601 Lyons, (\*) 1604 Lyons (Schweiger 2.877), (\*) 1608 Antwerp, (\*) 1614 Lyons, (\*) 1618 Lyons (NUC).]

1579, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Christophori Plantini. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Ludovicus Carrio), including the *Historiarum fragmenta*, with the *Castigationes* of Johannes Rivius, the *Scholia* of Aldus Manutius Junior, and the *Emendationes* of Cyprianus Popma on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*; the *Castigationes* of Rivius on the *Excerpta ex libris Historiarum* and *Epistulae*, the *Scholia* of Aldus and Carrio on these and the *Historiarum fragmenta*, and the *Emendationes* of Popma and *Scholia* of Aldus and Carrio on the *Oratio in Ciceronem*. (The texts and notes are printed as separate volumes, usually bound together.) Schweiger 2.876; L. Voet, *The Plantin Press* 5.2021–22; NUC. BL; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale; (CtY; MH; PU).

1580, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Christophori Plantini. The *Historiarum fragmenta* and *Epistulae* with *Notae* by Janus Dousa. (This edition is often bound with the above 1579 volumes of the text and commentaries.) Schweiger 2.876; L. Voet, *The Plantin Press* 5.2022. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale.

1580, Francofurti ad Moenum (Frankfurt): apud Georgium Corvinum. *Spicilegiorum commentarius primus*, containing notes on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* by Janus Mellerus Palmerius. (This edition also contains notes on Lucretius, Plautus, Terence, Propertius, Petronius, Tacitus [?], Catullus et al.) BAV.

1594, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): ex officina Plantiniana apud Franciscum Raphelengium. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Andreas Schottus, with the texts from Ludovicus Carrio's 1579 edition of Sallust), with the *Notae* of Petrus Ciacconius on the *Catilina*, *Iugurtha*, *Historiarum fragmenta*, and *Epistulae*. Schweiger 2.876; NUC. BL; BNF; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale; (CtY; DLC).

[Later imprints similar to 1594: (\*) 1597 Leiden (Schweiger 2.876), 1613 Leiden or Antwerp (NUC), (\*) 1601 London (Schweiger 2.877; NUC), 1615 London (Schweiger 2.877; NUC).]

1595, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Plantiniana apud viduam & I. Moretum. The *Notae* of Fulvius Ursinus on the *Catilina*, *Iugurtha*, *Historiarum fragmenta*, and *Epistulae*. (This edition also contains the *Fragmata Historicorum* from Fabius Pictor, Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, L. Cornelius Sisenna, et al., collected by Antonius Augustinus, and the notes of Ursinus on Caesar, Livy, Velleius, Tacitus, Suetonius, Spartianus, et al.) Schweiger 2.903; NUC. BAV; (CtY).

1599, Noribergae (Nuremberg): excudebat Paulus Kauffmann. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Christophorus Colerus) with the *Notae* of Colerus on the *opera* (excluding the *Epistulae*, published separately in Hamburg by M. Forsterus in 1599). (This edition also contains ps. Cicero, *In Sall.*, with notes.) Schweiger 2.876–77. BL; BNF; BAV.

1602, [Leiden]: ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Ludovicus Carrio, rev. Helias Putschius) with the *Notae* of Putschius on the *Catilina*, *Iugurtha*, and *Historiarum fragmenta* and of Petrus Ciacconius on the same and on the *Epistulae*. Schweiger 2.877; NUC. BL; BNF; BAV; (NjP; OCIW).

1607, Francofurti (Frankfurt): sumptibus Joanne Rhodii. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Janus Gruterus) with the *Notae* of Gruterus, as well as the *Annotationes* of Henricus Glareanus, the *Castigationes* of Johannes Rivius, the *Scholia* of Aldus Manutius Junior, the *Emendationes* of Cyprianus Popma, the *Spicilegia* of Janus Mellerus Palmerius, and the *Notae* of Petrus Ciacconius, Fulvius Ursinus, and Helias Putschius on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*; the *Castigationes* of Rivius on the *Excerpta ex libris Historiarum* and *Epistulae*; the *Scholia* of Aldus and of Ludovicus Carrio, and the *Notae* of Janus Dousa, Ciacconius, and Ursinus on the *Historiarum fragmenta* (including the *Excerpta*) and *Epistulae*; and the *Emendationes* of Popma and *Scholia* of Aldus and Carrio on the *Oratio in Ciceronem*. (The notes by Christophorus Colerus, listed in the table of contents, are not included. This edition also contains ps. Cicero, *In Sall.*, with notes.) Schweiger 2.877; NUC. BNF; BAV; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense; (CtY; MBPL; WaU).

(\*) 1619, Franekeræ (Franeker): Excudebat Ioannes Lamrinck. The *opera* of Sallust, including the *Historiarum fragmenta* (ed. Ausonius Popma), with the *Scholia* of Ausonius Popma and notes (*Emendationes?*) by Cyprianus Popma. (The edition also contains the *Historiarum fragmenta* of L. Cornelius Sisenna.) Schweiger 2.877. BL.

1622, Venetiis (Venice): apud Io. Guerilium. The *Catilina* with the *Commentarii* of Paulus Benius Eugubinus and the *Iugurtha* with notes [by Philippus Melanchthon]. Schweiger 2.890. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense.

(micro.) 1649, Francofurti (Frankfurt): impensis Joh. Hüttneri. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Johannes Philippus Pareus) with the *Animadversiones et Notae* of Daniel Pareus on the *Catilina*, *Iugurtha*, *Historiarum fragmenta*, *Epistulae*, and *Oratio in Ciceronem*. (This edition also contains ps. Cicero, *In Sallustium*.) Schweiger 2.878; NUC. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek; (NNUT).

1649, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): apud Franciscum Hackium. The *opera* of Sallust (ed. Antonius Thysius) with *Observationes et Notae* drawn from numerous ancient and more recent authors. Schweiger 2.878; NUC. BL; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale; (MH; MiU; NjP).

## I. BELLUM CATILINAE\*

### COMMENTARIES

#### 1. Anonymus Bernensis (later attribution: Omnibonus Leonicenus)

This commentary, for reasons unstated and not yet clear, was attributed to Omnibonus Leonicenus when first printed (Venice, 1500), and the attribution has never been questioned. The text is found in continuous form in a manuscript (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 411) dated s. XII–XIII as well as in several manuscripts s. XIV–XV, and as

\* In transcribing the many quotations from Sallust in what follows, we have indicated where the text differs from that of modern editions only in cases where the sense of the passage or the comment might otherwise be unintelligible. Differences will be found in individual words and phrases and especially in word order.

marginal annotation in at least one other s. XV manuscript. The commentary is introduced by an *accessus* beginning with a discussion of the *ordo librorum* (in this case of the two monographs) and proceeding with the full list of topics save for *cui parti philosophiae supponitur*, although the discussion of *intendio* and *utilitas* clearly puts moral concerns in the forefront. This *accessus* then leads into a discussion of the prologue of the *BC* and from there to the explication of the first words of the narrative.

The annotations cover the entire text of the *BC*, paraphrasing words and phrases and explaining simple points of grammar, rhetoric, and ancient history. The comment on the first word is the same as or similar to that in a number of manuscripts, but this appears to indicate a common source for that note rather than a relationship to other commentaries; generally the *explicit* is more distinctive.

*Accessus* (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 411; variants from the edition of Venice, 1500, are given in square brackets). [Inc.]: (fol. 156ra) Salustius Crispus diversas diversorum temporum historias tractaturus, Iugurtinam videlicet cuius memoriam antiquitatis diuturnitate vix retinebat [antiquitate diuturnitas iusta retinebat], sed et Catilinariam cuius saevitia suo tempore exarserat. . . . [Expl.]: Contra [Circa] quos prologum confutationis praemittit in quo vim animi vi [viribus] corporis esse praferenda [-dam] dicit, sic incipiens.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 156ra) *Omnis homines* (1.1) quasi dicat sententiam animi mei de quo (*sic*) me vituperant mutavi, quia nolebam vitam sub silentio transire, ad quod decet omnes niti et elabor[ar]e; et ab hoc punto incipit: *Omnis homines*. Accusativus pluralis est *omnis*; dicit enim Servius quod omnia nomina quorum genitivus pluralis [terminatur] in *-ium* tam in *-is* quam in *-es* accusativos plurales terminant [cf. *In Aen. 1.108*] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 159v) *Laetitia* (61.9) in vultum [-tu] pro hostibus inuentis, *et gaudium* in corde, iterum pro hostibus; *maeror* in corde pro amicis [interfectis], *luctus* in vultu iterum pro amicis [etc. Amen. Sallustii Crispi de Catilinario bello scriptum feliciter explicit].

#### Manuscripts:

Assisi, Biblioteca e Centro di Documentazione Francescana (Sacro Convento), fondo antico 303 (miscellany), s. XIV–XV, fols. 108r–120r. Com-

mentaries on Valerius Maximus, Pomponius Mela, Persius, all of *BC* and *BI*, written continuously, Horace, Virgil, Horace. (C. Cenci, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad Sacram Conventum Assisiensem*, vol. 2 [Assisi, 1981], 520–21, no. 1728; CTC 3.228; Kristeller, *Iter* 1.5a).

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 411 (miscellany), s. XII–XIII, fols. 156r–159v; French. “Glosulae” on all of *BC* and *BI* written continuously without the text, as with commentaries on other authors (Lucan, Virgil, Terence) in this miscellany. (Munk Olsen, s.v. Lucan Cc.4 and Sallust Cc.1; Kristeller, *Iter* 5.91b).

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7612 (miscellany), s. XV, fols. 73r–86v; German, from the monastery at Indersdorf. *Repertorium iuris*, collection of orations, letters, various poems in Italian, and commentaries on *BC* (one complete and another on *BC* 1–5) and two on *BI*, written continuously. (A. Sottili, “I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale, IV,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 13 [1970] 281–467, especially 376–82; reprinted as Sottili, *I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale*, 2 vols. [Padua, 1971]).

Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, 142 (miscellany), s. XV, fols. 75r–106r. Commentaries on Valerius Maximus (by Guarino), all of *BC* and *BI*, written continuously, Terence, Virgil’s *Georgics*, Cicero, Aesop, Avienus (a. 1464), and Ovid (a. 1456). (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.9a).

Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Cors. 1836 (43 F 11), s. XV, fols. 1r–17r (formerly part of ms. Rossi 76, as was ms. Cors. 1835 [43 F 3], dated 1428). Commentary on all of *BC* and a fragment of a commentary on *BI*. (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.107a and 6.166b).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 3291 (miscellany), s. XIV, fols. 57v–67v. Commentaries on the *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf (by Guicciardo da Bologna?), on Martianus Capella, and on *BC* and *BI*. Written continuously, the text of this copy is closer to that printed in 1500 than is the text of the Bern manuscript. (E. Narducci, “Intorno ad un commento inedito di Remigio d’Auxerre al «Satyricon» di Marziano Capella ed altri commenti al medesimo «Satyricon»,” *Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche* 15 [1882] 505–65 at 558; G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio e di altra biblioteca ignota del secolo XVI esistenti nell’Ottoboniana e i codici greci Pio di Modena*,

Studi e testi 75 [Vatican City, 1938], 251; Kristeller, *Iter 2.423a*.

Other witnesses containing in their margins traces of this commentary are:

Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Cod. 305 (miscellany), s. XV (given to the monastery of St. Ulrich in 1496); contents as in the *editio principis*, Venice, 1470). (*Handschriftenkataloge der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, vol. 4: W. Gehrt, *Die Handschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg. 2° Cod. 251–400e* [Wiesbaden, 1989], 89–92).

New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 358, s. XV. See I.9 below.

*Editions:*

1500.7, 1502, (\*) 1513, 1514, 1564. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography* (Omnibonus Leonicenus):

See CTC 1.208–209 (Biography, 209) and addendum in 3.444 (Juvenalis); 3.257–58 (Biography, 258) (Persius); 5.360–64 (Valerius Maximus); and 7.113–14 (Biography, 114) (Xenophon). Omnibonus was in close contact throughout his life with many of the leading humanists and patrons of humanist learning, including (in addition to his own teachers, Vittorino da Feltre and Manuel Chrysoloras) Lorenzo Valla and Valla's pupil Francesco Diana, Cardinal Bessarion, John Tiptoft (earl of Worcester), and members of the Gonzaga family of Mantua and of the Barbaro and Foscari families of Venice. His pupils in Mantua, where he succeeded Vittorino as head of the Giocosa, included the young Federico Gonzaga, to whom he later dedicated his *De octo partibus orationis*. In Vicenza, his students included Oliviero d'Arzignano, Benedetto Brognoli, Giovanni Calfurnio, Barnaba da Celsano, Francesco Maturanzio, Leonardo Nogarola, Bartolomeo Pagello (who later wrote a eulogy of his teacher), Ludovico de Saracinis, Francesco Schio, and Bartolomeo Serpe.

Add to Works: orations on Greek and Latin authors (see in particular the unpublished manuscript, San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Civica Guarneriana, Guarner. 107, containing Omnibonus' *De laudibus Titi Livi*, *Prohemium in Justinum*, and *Prohemium in Xenophontem*, and K. Müllner's edition, *Reden und Briefe italieni-*

*scher Humanisten* [Vienna, 1899; rpt. Munich, 1970], containing the *Oratio in Valerium Maximum* and *Omnibonus Leonicenus Federico de Gonzaga* on 142–44 and 259–69 respectively).

Add to *Bibliography*: P. F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy. Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore and London, 1989) (see Index); M. Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 1991) (see Index); J. Monfasani, "Calfurnio's Identification of Pseudepigrapha of Ognibene, Fenestella and Trebizond, and His Attack on Renaissance Commentaries," *Renaissance Quarterly* 61 (1988) 32–43. Brief summaries of Omnibonus' work as teacher and classical scholar are also found in *Storia di Vicenza* 3.1–2 and *L'età della Repubblica Veneta (1404–1797)*, ed. F. Barbieri and P. Preto (Vicenza, 1990) (see index in 3.3, including references to F. Fiorese, "Cultura preumanistica e umanistica," 3.2, 34–36 and G. Pellizzari, "Continuità e trasformazioni di un sistema scolastico cittadino," 3.2, 72–80). See also the references to Ognibene in *Storia della cultura veneta. Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento* 3.1–3 (Vicenza, 1980), ed. G. Arnaldi and M. Pastore Stocchi (Index, 3.3, s.v. Bonisoli); B. Marx, *Bartolomeo Pagello: Epistolae familiares (1464–1525)* (Padua, 1978); and A. M. Dalla Pozza, *La cultura vicentina nel primo cinquantennio della dominazione veneziana* (Vicenza, 1970), 104–109 and passim.

## 2. Anonymus Ratisbonensis A

This unpublished commentary, found written continuously in a single manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14515) of the twelfth century (and perhaps in fragments of another), is a true paraphrase commentary, providing a reading of the text sentence by sentence and showing an argumentation of a decidedly scholastic bent. The *accessus* begins with *materia* (which it distinguishes from *intentio*) and *intentio* (which it distinguishes from *causa*), then *cui parti philosophiae* and the *prologus* and its *intento*.

*Accessus* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14515). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 79r) Nota hoc distare inter intentionem et negotium et materiam, quod materia uniuscuiusque scriptoris est illud unde scribit. Et est materia Salustii in hoc primo libro scribere coniurationem Catilinae, quod quidam

vocant intentionem; quam tamen sententiam non respuimus. . . . [Expl.]: Et quia si nudis verbis proferret negotium suum quasi vilipenderetur, ideo ipsas sententias induit ornatu verborum.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 79r) *Omnis homines* etc. (1.1). Et nota in hoc versu duo. Et quidem gradatim descendit ad hoc, ut preeferat vim animi vi corporis. Et possumus etiam notare quod hic quodammodo extollatur negotium suum, preeferendo vim animi vi inrationabilium animalium . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 99r) Ipse (*sic*) sunt omnes paene mortui *tamen neque exercitus populi Romani laetam* (61.7) habuit victoriam et hoc dicit: *Nam strenuissimus* (*sic*) *quisque* etc., et ad illud confirmandum quod non tantum Catilinani (*sic*) mortui fuerunt sed etiam fere omnes Romani, subiungit *Multi autem qui ex castris* etc. (61.8).

#### Manuscripts:

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14515, s. XII, fols. 79r–99r. *BC* and *BI*, with an extract from Isidore, *Etymologiae*, and two complete commentaries on each monograph of Sallust (see I.3, II.2, and II.3 below), written continuously; from St. Emmeram, Regensburg. (Munk Olsen C.72 and Cc.3; E. Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, part 1: *Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg* [Wiesbaden, 1980], 17, no. 4 and Abb. 5 [detail of fol. 30r], citing Bischoff for the dating of the *accessus*-hands).

—, Clm 29226(2), s. XII, fols. 1r–4r; removed from Clm 7736 (provenance: Augustinerstift, Indersdorf). Two bifolia containing a fragment of continuously written commentary on *BC* 49.2–58.8, identical in part to and contemporary with Clm 14515 (compare fol. 1r with fol. 92r of Clm 14515, fol. 4v with fol. 98r); Munk Olsen regards it as a separate commentary (fol. 1r in his description should read “Caesarem. Nam quod uterque cum illo etc.” [49.2]; fol. 4v reads “alia de causa quia”). (Munk Olsen Cc.5).

—, Clm 29226(3), s. XII, fols. 1r–3v; removed from a Tegernsee manuscript. Two bifolia containing a fragment of a commentary on *BC* 1–36, written continuously, very similar at the end to Clm 14515, but not at the beginning (compare fol. 3v with fols. 90r–91r of Clm 14515). (Munk Olsen Cc.6; again he regards it as a separate commentary).

#### 3. Anonymus Ratisbonensis B

This unpublished commentary has essentially the same nature as I.2 above and is found in the same manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14515), with a second copy in a contemporary manuscript (Clm 14748). It is less prolix in its argumentation, less “scholastic”, but appears to come from the same milieu as the other commentary. The abbreviated *accessus* covers only *intentio* (= *materia*), *causa intentionis* (= *intentio*), and the prologue, after which it passes directly to grammatical explanation of the opening words.

For a later commentary drawn from this source, see I.11 below.

*Accessus* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14515). [Inc.]: (fol. 125r) In hoc opere intentio est Salustii describere bellum quod fuit inter Catilinam et Romanum populum. Causa autem intentionis est hortari bonos ad defensionem patriae per exemplum Ciceronis et aliorum, malos vero deterrere ab impugnatione patriae per exemplum Catilinae. Et quia quidam imposuerant pigritiae quod maluit dicendo quam faciendo vitam parare, facit hunc prologum, in quo contra tales dilaceratores excusat se, et extollendo omnibus modis ingenium, ostendit callide suum otium hortando ad virtutem rei publicae plus profuisse quam aliorum negotium.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 125r) *Sese* (1.1). Me te se sunt pronomina ipsam substantiam significantia. Et quia velocitate quadam pronuntiantur, ideo geminantur ut eorum significantia impensius intendatur. *Praestare* vel *praeesse* vel accommodare exemplum bene operandi. *Ne vitam silentio transeant*, hoc est, ne sic sileant in vita ut post mortem eorum de factis nullus sit strepitus. Et merito *pecora quae* i.e. *quae* [?] *natura* i.e. creator eorum *fixit* i.e. creavit *prona inclina* atque ideo *ventri oboedientia*. *Natura* aut creator aut creatura, sed hic pro *creatore* ponitur. *Sed omnis nostra vis* (1.2). Pecora sunt ventri oboedientia et ideo simplicem vim habentia. In nobis non est ita. Nam omnis vis nostra non tantum in corpore sita est, sed in anima et in corpore . . . / . . . [Expl., with variants from Clm 14748 in square brackets]: (fol. 135r) *Sed confecto proelio* (61.1). Dum pugnantes stant, magna virtus in eis notari poterat, et [quia] non solum tunc, sed etiam ut [quia postquam] ceciderunt. *Nec tamen e(xercitus)* (61.7). Sic se undique [ex utraque parte] habuerunt et Romani tandem victoriam

habuerunt, tamen non laetam. *Multi [autem]* (61.8) diu dimicaverunt et tamen [tandem] peractum proelium est. *Multi vero [multi autem illorum]* qui e castris pro aliis [p(rocesserant) alii] laetabantur, quidam tristabantur. *Per omnem exercitum* (61.9) tam civium quam hostium.

*Manuscripts:*

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14515, s. XII, fols. 125r–135r. See I.2 above.

—, Clm 14748 (miscellany), s. XII, fols. 30r–31v. Priscian, with commentaries on Ovid, Persius, and a fragment of the commentary on BC (from 51.5); as this manuscript in its surviving portion offers a better text of the commentary, it may be the source of the other manuscript. (Munk Olsen Cc.4).

Other witnesses containing in their margins traces of this commentary (hands not dated but later than the text hand) are:

New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 358, s. XV. See I.9 below.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 889, s. X (Munk Olsen C.140).

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Car. C. 143a, s. XI (Munk Olsen C.170).

Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 371, s. XII (Munk Olsen C.172).

4. *Anonymous Monacensis A*

While in other respects similar to I.2 and I.3 above, this unpublished commentary, whose earliest witness appears to be Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19480 (s. XIII), has the distinctive feature of an *accessus* that begins with an historical summary (the source as yet unidentified) covering both monographs and the period between them, and continues with a type II.a discussion beginning with *materia* (Munk Olsen #82\*\*); the *accessus* is found in later (s. XV) manuscripts, one of which has traces of the commentary as well. The commentary may be an abbreviated version of that found in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14732 (I.5 below).

*Accessus* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19480). [Inc.]: (fol. 1v) Ad expediendos terminos rei publicae miserunt Romani tres suos consules succederent, Bestiam, Albinum et Metellum, contra Iugurtham regem Africæ, qui confederatos eis Adherbalem et Hiempalem pariter vita et regno privaverat. . . . Intentio eius est

dehortari nos a civili bello et civili discordia ad civilem pacem et concordiam, dupli modo, scilicet ostendendo turpem eventum Catilinae et complicum eius, rem publicam inpugnantium, ponendo in egregia laude et Tullium et Catonem, rem publicam defendantes . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 2r) Et sic accedit ad litteram: O Romani, imponitis mihi quod causa inertiae transtulerim me ad hoc negotium, non ideo sed propter gloriam quaerendam, ad quam non solum ego nitor, sed *omnes homines qui student praestantiores esse ceteris animalibus* (1.1) i.e. hominibus more brutorum animalium viventibus.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 2r) *Omnis homines* (1.1). Nota quod nomina quorum masculinum et femininum desinunt in -is et neutrum in -e . . . teste Prisciano. Sese. Monosyllaba haec geminatur propter intensionem vocabuli, ut diutius haereant (*sic*) in animo et aure auditoris. *Studeant.* Studium est vehemens applicatio animi ad aliquid agendum. *Animalibus.* Innuit hic duas vires quae sunt in homine, quarum una est superior, alia inferior . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 11v) *Cohortem p(ra)e(toriam)* (60.5) in qua consul fuit. Et est proxima lege potestas post consulem. *Iustum* (*sic*) *p(epicerant)* (61.6) i.e. neque sibi neque hostibus. In pugna unus (*sic, pro vis sive virtus*) exercitus cat(ilinae) non poterat notari. *Laetitiam* (61.9) in vultu, *gaudium* in mente, *maerorem* in corde, *luctum* in mente agitant.

*Manuscripts:*

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19480 (miscellany), s. XIII, fols. 1v–11v (pp. 2–21 in another numeration). (*Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, vol. 2.3 [Munich, 1878], 249; Mollweide 15–17; Munk Olsen Cc.4.5\*\*, and s.v. Ovidius Cc.18.5\*\*.) Commentaries on all of BC and BI, and on Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*.

The following manuscripts have the *accessus* ending at *Tullium et Catonem defendantes rem publicam* added to a text of BC, and some of their marginal and interlinear notes are identical with or resemble this commentary:

Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, II. 1. 2° 102 (miscellany), s. XV, fols. 138r–161v. BC and BI, with marginal and interlinear notes.

Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Clmae 255, s. XV, fols. 2r–20r. BC, with marginal and interlinear notes.

Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Lunèb. 2, s. XV, fols. 146v–180r. *BC*, with marginal and interlinear notes.

Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. ms. 544 (miscellany), s. XV, fols. 190v–192r. Contains, in addition to *BC* and *BI*, only the *accessus*, which continues with additional *accessus* material from other sources, partly identical with Yale ms. 358 immediately below. (Kristeller, *Iter* 3.643b).

New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 358, s. XV, fols. 1r–54v. The *accessus* is preceded by the following note: “*Impeditum est quod ab hostibus est possedium. Expeditur autem permissione alicuius aut potestate. Unde expeditio vocatur exercitus profectio. Dictatura maior est et diuturnior consulatu. Nam consulatus uno anno completur; dictatura quinque continuatur. Ad expediendos . . .*”; it is followed by additional *accessus* material from other sources. See I.9 below.

New York, Columbia University, Butler Library, Plimpton 96 (miscellany), s. XV (a. 1478), fols. 1r–54r. *BC* with marginal and interlinear notes and a version of the same *accessus*, to *invasit Catilinam*, inserted in a different *accessus* under the topic *Ordo librorum* (see II.6 below); also *BI* with *accessus*. (Kristeller, *Iter* 5.304b).

The following manuscript has a different *accessus* consisting of a summary of the events of *BC*, ending with a similar statement of *intentio auctoris*; and some of the interlinear and marginal notes appear to be drawn from this commentary:

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1707 (miscellany), s. XV, fols. 280v–303r. *BC* with marginal and interlinear notes; also Juvenal, Horace (*Ars poetica*), Appendix *Vergiliana*, Persius, Ovid (*Ars amatoria*, *Heroides*), Tibullus, Virgil (*Eclogues*), and Cicero (*Epistulae*, *Cato maior*). The copyist identifies himself (fols. 157v and 346r) as Georgius Schreckseissen (Georg Schrigkisseisen or Schreckeyssen of Pfarrkirchen, matric. Leipzig 1488). (E. Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 2.2 [Paris, 1982], 372).

*Accessus*. [Inc.]: (fol. 280v) Summa huius historiae est: Lucius Catilina Romanus, civis nobili genere natus, amplum patrimonium libidine et turpiter dilapidans magnis debitibus se obligavit. . . Intentio auctoris est portari nos a civili bello et discordia et ad civilem pacem in-

ducere [a marginal note quotes Laurentius de Valle]. Incipit historia Crispi Salustii Romani senatorum (*sic*) de Catilinae coniuratione feliciter. Praesens autem liber in duas partes dividitur, in prooemium scilicet et tractatum (secundam [i.e. partem] ibi *Lucius Catilina*); prooemium binas in partes resolvitur . . . / . . . [Expl.] (fol. 281r) Ad famam militarem acquirendam dubitationem movet ibi *sed diu magnum inter mortales* (1.5), dicens primo sic *Omnis homines* (1.1).

##### 5. *Anonymous Monacensis B*

This unpublished commentary, whose earliest complete witness is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14732 (s. XIII), is perhaps contemporary with I.4 and is similar though fuller; which is derived from the other is not yet established. The *accessus* (of type II.a; Munk Olsen C.71) discusses *materia*, *intentio*, and *prologus*. This text and some of the commentary appear as marginal notes in two manuscripts s. XI–XII; several other manuscripts of the same period have just the marginal notes, with a different *accessus*.

*Accessus* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14732). [Inc.]: (fol. 27r) *Materia Salustii est Catilina et sui contemporanei facientes civile bellum, vel Romani impugnantes rem publicam et defendantes. . . .* [Expl.] Et quia vult se excusare proponit: O vos R(omani), vos imponitis mihi quod causa inertiae discesserim a re publica, quod ita non est, sed potius causa adquirendae gloriae, quam debo quaerere.

*Commentary*. [Inc.]: (fol. 27r) *Nam omnis homines* (1.1) i.e. omnis condicionis homines *qui student ad hoc ut stent p[ro]ae ceteris animalibus*, vel qui student ut praestent ceteris hominibus. Illi (*sic*) omnibus dico animalibus existentibus, i.e. more brutorum viventibus, et hunc ex sese i.e. ex propria virtute *decet niti* i.e. decens est . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 40r) In pugna vis exercitus C(atilinae) notari non potuit. *Sed confecto proelio* (61.1). Bene dicit *fere* (61.2), quia non omnes eum tegebant. *Pauci omnes*. Omnes fere tegebant locum corpore quem vivendo ceperant, sed C(atilina) non texit. Nam *longe a suis* (61.4). Multa de eis dicere possem, sed postremo hoc dicam. *Ex omni copia* (61.5) C(atilinae) *iuxta* – i.e. equaliter *pepercerant suae vitae et vitae hostium* (61.6) i.e. sicut hostibus non parcebat, sic nec sibi. Romani triumphabant. *Neque tamen* (61.7). Non solum illi

tristabantur qui in bello erant, sed etiam alii. Nam *multi qui* quia quidam inimicos invenerunt, *laetitia* in vultu, *gaudium* in corde agitabatur. Quia vero quidam amicum et cognatum, *maerorem* in corde, *luctum* in mente agitabant.

*Manuscripts:*

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4559 (miscellany), s. XI, fols. 1v–15v. *BC* and *BI*, with Martianus Capella. Some of the commentary is written in the margins of the first few folios. (Munk Olsen C.67; E. Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, part 2: *Die Bistümer Freising und Augsburg. Verschiedene deutsche Provenienzen* [Wiesbaden, 1988], 132–33, no. 184 [“Entstehung des ersten Teils auf Grund der Initialen in Süddeutschland, vielleicht in Benediktbeuern. Gegen oder um 1100”] and Abb. 407–408 [details of fols. 16r and 28r]).

\_\_\_\_\_, Clm 14477, s. XI–XII, fols. 1v–23r. *BC* and *BI*, s. XI, of German origin (Hersfeld); on fol. 1v a hand of uncertain date has written a brief *vita* (Munk Olsen #130): “Mos erat Romanorum ut unusquisque nobilis apponere filium suum studiis per XV annos. Quibus finitis interroga- bantur utrum vellet manere in studiis an morari in re publica. Similiter iste Salustius fuit nobilissimus et tali modo a studiis retractus est et consul effectus. Qui cum diu mansisset in dignitate vidit maiorem laudem acquirere (*sic*) scribendo quam consulatum regendo. Qua de re verum retraxit se ad studium et complures historias composuit, de quibus tamen non utimur ulla nisi Catilinaria et Iugurthina.” Then a s. XII hand has added the *accessus* and commentary down to 3.1 (*inc.* “Materia Sallustii est Catilina et sui contemporanei . . . expl. absurdum est [3.1] i.e. non penitus contemptibile est. Surdus est qui auditu caret exteriori, absurdus qui interiori i.e. intellectu”). Then the text of *BC* has some of the commentary written into the margins and between the lines. (Munk Olsen C.71; H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, vol. 1 [Stuttgart, 1986], 198–99).

\_\_\_\_\_, Clm 14732 (miscellany), s. XIII, fols. 27r–40r. Commentaries on Martianus Capella, Terence, the Bible, and *BC* and *BI*. This is the earliest complete witness. (*Catalogus codicum latino- rum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* 2.2 [Munich, 1876], 224).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,

Pal. lat. 889, s. X, fols. 1r–102v. Provenance Lorsch, monastery of St. Nazarius. *BC* and *BI*. The s. XII hand that entered a different, composite *accessus* (*inc.* [fol. Iv] “Intentio Sallustii est in hoc opere describere bellum. . . . expl. captare benevolentiam auditorum secundum rhetorem: a persona propria, a persona adversarii, ab persona auditorum, ab ipsa re”) at the beginning has written a few similar notes in the margins. (E. Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 2.2 [Paris, 1982], 67–68; Munk Olsen C.140; Kristeller, *Iter* 6.355b).

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Car. C. 143a, s. XI, fols. 1r–26r. *BC* and *BI*, with a similar marginal and interlinear commentary preceded by a different *accessus* (*inc.* “Iste scriptor duplum habet intentionem, ut memoriam sui quam maxime longam efficiat. . . . expl. Argumentum a toto quaere: quia omnes haec agere decet, et sic incipit”) and similar marginal and interlinear commentary. (Munk Olsen C.170).

\_\_\_\_\_, Rheinau 86, s. XII, fols. 1r–25r. *BC* and a fragment of *BI*, with *accessus* as in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Car. C. 143a, and similar marginal and interlinear commentary. (Munk Olsen C.171).

## 6. *Anonymous Amandensis*

This unpublished commentary is found written at the beginnings and in the margins of two s. XII manuscripts (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 549 [503], and Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 749) and includes an *accessus* of type II.a covering *materia*, *modus*, *intentio*, and *prologus* (Munk Olsen ## 81 and 76). The commentary consists of grammatical explanations and simple paraphrases of individual expressions.

*Accessus* (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 549 [503]). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1r) Totus iste liber versatur in duobus contrariis, in defensore patriae et hoste, et hi duo sunt eius materia . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. iv) Et ita incipit: Non est mihi adscribendum inertiae si ego scribo, quia nitor ne ego transeam vitam silentio, quia omnis homines debent hoc facere.

*Commentary.* [*Inc.*]: (fol. iv) Et hoc est *Omnis homines qui sese* (1.1). Ita solet nomen duplicari causa significantiae, teste Prisciano [GL 2.592]. *Ceteris animalibus* i.e. hominibus. *Praestare* i.e. pre aliis stare virtutibus vel exemplo vitae. *Veluti pecora quae natura finxit prona atque* i.e. immo-

*ventri oboedientia* quia tantum pecora intendunt ventri, non animo. . . . *Omnis*. Omnia nomina tertiae declinationis quae ablativum singularem faciunt in *-i* et genetivum pluralem in *-ium* accusativum pluralem faciunt in *-is*, ut hic. Collectivum *omnis homines* corrigit per divisionem *qui sese student praestare*. Differentiam facit inter homines et animalia quod hi praestent, illa sint prona . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 16r) *Laetitia maeror* (61.9). *Laetitia* et *gaudium* propter defunctos hostes, *maeror* et *luctus* agebantur propter amicos et hospites.

*Manuscripts:*

Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 749, s. XII. Provenance Marchiennes (Ste-Rictrude). A florilegium containing (fols. 46v–47r) extracts from *BC* and *BI*, and (fols. 70r–79v) an incomplete *BC* (to 45.1), with *accessus* and marginal commentary (last note is on 44.6). (A. Boutemy, “Notice sur le manuscrit 749 de la Bibl. municipale de Douai,” *Latomus* 3 [1939] 183–206 and 264–98, especially 195–200; Munk Olsen C.25 and C.25.5 [p. 321: for *accessus* #76 read fol. 70r]; C. Jeudy and Y.-F. Riou, *Les manuscrits classiques latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 1, [Paris, 1989], 578).

Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 549 (503), s. XII, fols. 1r–16r. Provenance Saint-Amand-en-Pévèle. *BC* and *BI*. (Boutemy, “Notice sur le manuscrit 749 de la Bibl. municipale de Douai,” 198–99, 297; Munk Olsen C.133).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1843, s. XII, fols. 1r–19v. *BC* and *BI*. A contemporary hand has written in the margin of fol. 1v (not 1r [Munk Olsen]) the *accessus* to the end of the first note *teste Prisciano*; what appears to be a continuation of the *accessus* is written by the same hand at the top of fol. 1r; other marginal notes are not identical with those of the manuscripts listed above. Continuation of *accessus* (?): [Inc.]: (fol. 1r) *Neu sibi tantum sed proximis suis tam verbo doctrinae quam virtutum exemplo proficiant. Sicut ipsos in C(antico) C(anticorum) [5:2] admonet dominus. . . .* [Expl.]: *Alii vero corpus* (2.1) i.e. *quod reges dicebant animum praestare corpori, alii corpus animo, hanc vero dubitationem magis attribuit regibus quia in eis amplius apparebant (sic). Postea vero* (2.2). *Hoc [Hic?] notatur tmesis; debuisse enim dixisse posteaquam vero.* (E. Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1975], 688; Munk Olsen C.135).

7. *Anonymous Erlangensis*

The unpublished marginal and interlinear notes in several twelfth-century manuscripts of the *BC* show similarity at the end, and the type II.b *accessus* in the margin of one of them (Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 390) is found (more legibly) in slightly different versions in two fifteenth-century manuscripts. This tradition, to judge from material in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. X 103 (3364), may have included introductory notes on the *intentio* of the speaker at the beginnings of speeches and letters.

*Accessus* (Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 390). [Inc.]: (fol. 1r) *Communis intentio est omnium auctorum acquirere famam* [thereafter faint and illegible]. . . . [Expl.]: *Intentio sua est reprehendere desides; causa intentionis est ipsa fama.* [another hand in marg.] *Qui Catilinae bella Iugurthae discere quaeris, //Ista legendo quaeque tenendo cuncta doceris.*

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 1r) *Omnis homines* (1.1) vel ac si dico bene facio quod in scribendo labore. *Student sese praestare* vel propter se i.e. suam utilitatem. *Ceteris* i.e. conversis [universis?]. *Summa ope* i.e. animi ingenio . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 17v) *Ita varie* (61.9) *quia cognovere quidam amicos et quidam inimicos. Ita laetitia in animo, maeror in corde, luctus atque gaudium exterius in vocibus verberando palmas in facie.*

*Manuscripts:*

Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 390, s. XII, fols. 1r–17v. Origin Italy; provenance Heilsbronn. *BC* and *BI*, with full marginal and interlinear commentary. (H. Fischer, *Die lateinischen Pergamenthandschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen* [Erlangen, 1928], 463; Munk Olsen C.28).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6088, s. XII, fols. 1r–25v. *BC* and *BI*, with marginal and interlinear notes; last notes similar. (Munk Olsen C.110).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1648, s. XII, fols. 1r–23r. Origin northern Italy or southern France. *BC* and *BI*, with marginal and interlinear commentary on *BC* and part of *BI*; some notes at the beginning effaced, similar notes only at the end of *BC*. (E. Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1975], 636–37: “NOMBREUSES GLOSES MARGINALES PRENNANT PAR ENDROITS L’ASPECT D’UN COMMENTAIRE ET GLOSES INTER-

linéaires contemporaines et d'une main du s15"; Munk Olsen C.134).

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. X 103 (3364), s. XI–XII, fols. 1r–21r. *BC* and *BI*, with glosses illegible at the beginning, apparently no *accessus*; last notes similar; notes at beginnings of letters and speeches. (Munk Olsen C.161).

Two fifteenth-century manuscripts have a similar *accessus*:

Berkeley, University of California, Bancroft Library, UCB85 [f2MS/AC13/C5] (miscellany), s. XIV–XV. Origin Italy. *Accessus*: [Inc.]: (fol. 35r, not 34r as in the edition by C. M. Monti, "Il codice Berkeley, Bancroft Library, f 2 Ms AC 13 c 5," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 22 [1979] 396–412) Communis intentio omnium auctorum est acquirere gloriam et famam. Istius autem specialis intentio est duabus de causis coniurationis causam describere. . . . [Expl.]: Unde magis reprehensibilis est cum haberet exemplum corruptorum et incorruptorum imitatus est corruptos, qui Catilina quamvis esset nobilis, sapiens et prudens, quae deberent eum iuvare, tamen inde ad malum finem devenit; et similiter quicumque coniurationem faciet ad malum finem deveniet. (Kristeller, *Iter* 5.217b).

Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V. 34, s. XV (a. 1461), fols. 1r–19v. *BC* and *BI*, and Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, annotated throughout; the Sallust notes do not constitute a full commentary, and they are not similar to the above commentary. *Accessus*. [Inc.]: (fol. 1r, marg.) Salustius Crispus de utilitate rei publicae. Catilinarius. Qui Catilinae bella Iugurthae discere quaeris, //Ista legendo quoque [quaeque?] tenendo cuncta doceris. Communis intentio est omnium auctorum acquirere famam et gloriam. Salustii autem specialis intentio est duabus de causis Catilinae describere vitam. . . . [Expl.]: Intentio commendare virtutem animi supra vires corporis. Et introducitur: brevis est ista vita qua fruimur et ideo decet nos niti ad gloriam. Nam *Omnis homines* etc. (1.1) niti decet non infima ope scilicet auro vel argento, non media ope scilicet pulchritudine et fortitudine, sed *summa ope* scilicet ingenio animi, *ne transeant vitam silentio* ita scilicet vivendo ut de eis post mortem sileatur.

#### 8. Anonymus Italus (M. Ambrosius?)

This unpublished, very prolix and discursive "scholastic" paraphrase and analysis is found

complete and written continuously in three manuscripts s. XIV–XV, the *accessus* (type I.a) alone in a fourth. The earliest witness may be Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 170 sup., in which the *BC* commentary is attributed by a note at the end to a certain M. Ambrosius (de Gaforiis?). The various subscriptions apparently point to a school milieu, as does the nature of the commentary.

*Accessus* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 170 sup.). [Inc.]: (fol. 1r) Circa istum librum sex requiruntur, scilicet causa efficiens, causa materialis, causa formalis, causa finalis, quis titulus libri et cui parti philosophiae supponatur. Causa efficiens fuit Salustius. Causa materialis sive subiectum est coniuratio Catilinae. Causa formalis est duplex, scilicet forma tractatus et forma tractandi . . . [continues with discussion of *causa finalis*, *titulus*, *divisio libri*] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 2r) Civitas fulta sapientibus quam fulta fortibus prudenter parentibus. Dicit ergo sic:

*Commentary*. [Inc.]: (fol. 2r) *Omnis homines* etc. (1.1). Istud paeambulum dividi potest in duas partes, quia primo respondet aemulis qui sibi nomen inertiae ponebant, secundo ostendit de quo tractare vult. Secunda pars ibi: *statui res gestas populi Romani* (4.2) . . . [continues subdivision of argument] . . . descensus ad litteram talis est. Multi sunt qui non curant agere in hac vita ut post mortem habeantur in memoria . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 41v) Ita *laetitia* (61.9) in animo de inimicis, *maeror* in corde de amicis, *luctus externa* [*sic; al. extra*] in verberando palmas. *Atque pro et gaudium agitabatur* (*sic*) *varie per omnem* i.e. per totum exercitum. Talis igitur fuit finis coniuratio Catilinae et hoc modo res publica fuit liberata a coniuratione (fol. 42r) praedicta sensu Ciceronis et consilio, et quia Antonius et Petreius et Quintus Metellus institerunt Catilinae tam viriliter quod ipse et sui fuerunt omnes interfici.

#### Manuscripts:

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 170 sup., s. XIV–XV, fols. 1r–42r. Commentaries on *BC* and *BI*. Fol. 42r: "Explicit Bellum Catilinae constructum et compilatum per M. Ambrosium, non se ipso sed a pluribus atrahendo (*sic*) de gaforiis, quem Deus conservet in saecula saeculorum. Amen." (Kristeller, *Iter* 1.296b and 6.38a).

\_\_\_\_\_, Trott 161 (miscellany), s. XV (a. 1464), fols. 5r–44r. Contains *BC* in Latin and Italian, and a commentary on Aesop. Fol. 43r: "Istud commentum Salustii est mei presbyteri Nicholini filii

quondam Lafranchoni de Bertolio de Crepacorio Vercellensis diocesis. Finitum sub anno domini MCCCCLXIII die XV Septembris, regendo scolas in loco Morani” [probably Morano Po, south of Vercelli]. There follow two *accessus*: (fol. 43v) “Haec historia quae in hoc libro Salustii qui dicitur Catilinarius tractatur . . . [summary of narrative] . . . et confossus iustis vulneribus expiravit; (fol. 44r) Circa Salustum querendum est exterius quis auctor fuerit . . . dicitur autem prooemium a pro et aemulis quasi factum pro aemulis sicut est prius quod legimus. Amen.” Fol. 67r (end of BC in Italian): “Per me Johannem filium condam Ganduli de Nolasco (?) finitum fuit hoc opus. Iste liber Sallustii est mei presbiteri Nicholini filii condam Lafranchonii de Bertolio de Crepacorio quem scribi feci regendo scolas in loco Morani.” Fol. 81r (end of BC): “Explicit per me Guidetum de Sucio de Crepacorio 1464 nono Kalendas Octobrias, hora duodecima.” Fol. 97r (end of Aesop commentary): “140III (sic) die XII Decembris in Morano.” (Kristeller, *Iter* 1.349b).

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV C 3, s. XV, fols. 1r–37v. BC and fragment of BI. Only the beginning of the *accessus* is written on fol. 1r, followed by several *vitae*, which along with the marginal notes are from another source. Fol. 5v: “A. Iani Parrhasii et amicorum Veicetiae emptus argenteis duobus et semis.” The earlier of two or three s. XV hands has entered this *accessus* and the opening of the commentary on fol. 1r–v, to “movet unam dubitationem secundo ibi Sed diu inter mortales (1.5)”, the remaining few lines differing; then a second *accessus* follows (see I.13 below), and a *vita* (attributed to Gerolamo Squarzafico; see *Fortuna*, p. 000 above, and I.18 below). Extensive notes, apparently from no single source, are entered in the margins of the text, which begins on fol. 6r. On the manuscript, see C. Tristano, *La biblioteca di un umanista calabrese: Aulo Giano Parrasio* (Rome, 1988), 130 (N. 142). We thank Lucia Gualdo Rosa for reexamining this manuscript.

Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, 5-5-33 (miscellany), s. XV, fols. 2r–35v. Commentaries on Sallust, Cicero, Jerome; the Sallust commentary appears to be more discursive in this manuscript. Fol. 37v: “Iste liber est mei Magistri Johanis de madio”; fol. 36v: “Milesimo quatrogentesimo vigesimo quarto secundo die mensis Januarii A magistro Johane nec non a Antonio fratre de

madiis emti fuerunt isti libri”; (fol. 77v) note of purchase of book in Padua, 1521 (the book was given to the library by the will of don Fernando Colón, son of Christopher Columbus). (Kristeller, *Iter* 4.619b).

#### 9. *Anonymous Yalensis*

The unpublished commentary found in New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 358, appears to be original in part and in part drawn from several medieval sources, especially I.1 and I.4 above. With the latter it shares most of the historical *accessus* (*inc.* “Ad expediendos terminos rei publicae . . . expl. ponendo in egregia laude Tullium et Catonem defendantes rem publicam”), but continues with discussion of *materia*, *utilitas*, and *prologus* drawn from the *accessus* of I.1; in addition it has the introductory paraphrase of the proem given below. This latter discussion and the commentary are entered in the margins of a rather deluxe early s. XV manuscript.

*Prooemium* (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 358). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 3r) Intendit siquidem in hoc prooemio multis rationibus persuadere virtutem animi viribus corporis praestare, et hoc adversarios confutando, negotium suum extollendo, tum materiam sequentis operis praelibando. Sallustius enim militari officio spreto ad negotium poeticae professionis se transtulerat. Unde quidam malivoli occasionem reprehensionis in eum excogitaverunt, ignaviam esse confirmantes ut equestri ordine neglecto poeticae professioni quasi ignaviae servire destinarerit. Quod statim improbat auctor ostendendo virtutem animi praeesse viribus corporis officio excentur [excentibus?] quibus etiam recte habitis res militaris administratur.

*Commentary.* [*Inc.*]: (fol. 3r) Student ceteris animalibus (1.1) i.e. ceteris hominibus ad modum brutorum viventibus. Studere enim est animum circa aliquam rem assidue cum magna voluntate applicare. *Praestare* i.e. praeesse . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 54v) *Per omnem exercitum* (61.9) tam civium quam hostium. *Laeti* in vultu pro hostibus interemptis. *Gaudium* in corde iterum pro inimicis. *Maeror* in corde pro amicis. *Luctus* in vultu iterum pro amicis agitabatur. Explicit.

#### *Manuscript:*

New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 358, s. XV, fols. 1r–54v, 57r–162v. BC and BI. The

last four notes are similar to those of I.1, but the note immediately preceding is identical with the last note in I.3. (B. A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, vol. 2 [Binghamton, N. Y., 1987], 201–202).

#### 10. Anonymus Estensis

This rather spare unpublished commentary, found in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Campori 65 (gamma F.6.7), is preceded by a version of the type I.a *accessus*, apparently in a more humanist or modern guise. The notes do not extend beyond the speech of Caesar in BC 52.

*Accessus* (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Campori 65 [gamma F.6.7]). [Inc.]: (fol. 3r, originally 1r) *Omnis homines qui sese student praestare* (1.1). Cum non solum apud poetas sed etiam apud Romanos scriptores rerum sex illa quae ab omnibus requirenda videantur quarum sane cognitio maxime est necessaria: Crispus igitur Sallustius Romae natus ex Amiterno oppido Sabinorum originem traxit. Cum plurimum ingenio valeret (a teneris annis nam bonis artibus incubuit *in marg.*) sed multis voluptatibus illecebris pellectus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Cum autem philosophia plures in partes dividatur, hae referuntur ad philosophiam modalem non quantum adespotam sed ad politicam et oeconomicam.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 4r) *Omnis homines qui sese* (1.1). Consueverunt poetae in tres partes opus suum dividere, scilicet in propositionem, invoca(tionem) et narra(tionem): oratores, quibus latior est campus, in sex partes distribuere soliti sunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 59v) *Non est ita* (51.10) i.e. profecto ille non movebitur oratione qui non moverit ipsa re (sic). Neque cuiquam mortalium suaे iniuriae videntur parvae. Multi mortales existimaverunt illam multo pluris. *Sed alia aliis* (51.12).

#### Manuscript:

Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Campori 65 (gamma F.6.7), s. XV–XVI, fols. 3r–59v. (Kri-steller, Iter 1.386b).

#### 11. Ricardus Bole

Found in Oxford, Balliol College, 123 (auto-graph), this unpublished double commentary of brief explanations of words and phrases was written by Ricardus Bole (Richard Bole), fellow of

Balliol College, Oxford, between 1426 and 1454. It is introduced by a double *accessus* of type I.b, each part containing a *divisio scientiae* after the discussion of *intentio*, *materia*, and *causa*. The explanations appear to be drawn from a commentary resembling I.3 above (see below, Commentary A, Expl.; Commentary B, Inc.).

*Accessus* (Oxford, Balliol College, 123). [Inc.]: (fol. 108r) Cum simus lecturi Salustum scire debemus quid [quod?] quattuor in eo sunt (sic) inquirenda, ut in unoquoque auctore. Sunt igitur inquirenda materia et intentio cum causa, et ad quam partem philosophiae tendat. Sed quid [quod?] materia et intentio fuit (sic) acquirenda cum causa, habemus auctoritatem ab Aristotele, qui dicit in prioribus analeticis (sic) suis [An. pr. 24a10]: Videndum est . . . [discusses *intentio*, *materia*, *causa*, *pars philosophiae*, and *titulus* in traditional terms, then begins again]. . . . In capite uniuscumque operis, hoc est in principio uniuscuiusque libri, tria sunt requirenda principaliter, scilicet materia, intentio, causa intentionis i.e. utilitas. Ista tria habes ex auctoritate Aristotelis ubi dicit in prioribus analeticis suis [An. pr. 24a10]: Primum oportet considerare circa quid et de quo et unde . . . [same topics discussed in different wording] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 109r) Tripartita est omnis philosophia: prima physica i.e. naturalis, secunda ethica i.e. moralis, tertia lo(g)ica i.e. sermocinalis. His declaratis ad libri inceptionem hoc modo accedamus.

*Commentary A.* [Inc.]: (fol. 109v) Incipit liber Salustii Crispi de civili coniuratione i.e. interius (sic) nostrum capit sua dulcedine. i.e. ab omnibus curis privat ut ipsi tantummodo vacet. . . . Expositio libri Salustii. Expositio. Notantur verba ista sequentia, eo quod ponant lectorem extra dubitationem et faciant eum intelligere quid velint propria libri verba. Prologus Salustii purgationem tantummodo socordiae et ignaviae tenet, quam sibi Romani equites imponebant diligentes potius scribere quam militari. Tria sunt genera scribendi. Unum scribere verisimilia quae fuerunt vel quae fieri possunt, ut Terentius; aliud fabulas quae omnino sunt falsae, ut Ovidius in methamorphosion (sic); tertium scribere res gestas i.e. militaria facta alicuius, ut Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus. Sic et idem Salustius facit, qui de rebus militaribus Catilinae scripsit. Prius vero prologum scribens purgavit se desidiae et socordiae . . . [continues with paraphrase of the

prologue]. . . Si quis scriptor vult aliquem laudare vel vituperare, praemittat causam qua creditur ei. Finit Prologus. Bellum inter Catilinam et populum Romanum eo fine describit ut bonos incendat ad patriae defensionem exemplo defensorum: malos deterreat ab impugnatione exemplo impugnatorum . . . ut inde contulisse sese melius rei publicae scribendo pervincat. *Niti ope summa* (1.1) ratione et consilio. *Pronaque* [sc. *Prona atque?*] vi animi carentia ventri oboedientia. Per hoc corporis eius robur relinquit. Ventri enim obedire semper pastui vacare, quod eorum est, illa facit robusta. Pronomen ibi geminatur significantiae causa. *Praestare* vel *praeesse* vel aliis exemplum bene operandi accommodare . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 126v) *Neque tamen* (61.7). . . Sic se ex utraque parte habuerunt et Romani victoriam obtinuerunt, non tamen laetam. Diu pugnatur et tandem est proelium peractum. *Multi* (61.8) enim illorum *processerant*, alii qui in inimicos laetabantur, alii qui [in?] amicos tristabantur, tam civium quam hostium. Finit Expositio super Salustio in Catilinario.

*Commentary B.* [Inc.]: (fol. 137v) Materia operis est coniuratio Catiline. Intentio mentis Salustii est in hoc opere describere bellum quod fuit inter Catilinam et Romanum populum. Et causa intentionis est hortari bonos ad defensionem patriae . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 147v) *Neque tamen* (61.7). Tandem obtinuerunt victoriam Romani, non tamen laetam etc. (sic).

#### *Manuscript:*

Oxford, Balliol College, 123 (miscellany), s. XV, fols. 108r–126v, 137v–147v. Commentaries on BC and BI; also Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum*, and Gasparino Barzizza, *De elocutione libellus*. Written at Fulham and Olantigh in Kent, according to a note on fol. 159r: “Pars otii Fullm., reliquum superaddit Olente.” (R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford* [Oxford, 1963], 100–101).

#### *Biography:*

Ricardus Bole (Richard Bole) was a fellow of Balliol College Oxford in 1429, ordained in that year by the uncle of William Gray, and went to Cologne with the latter, where he matriculated in 1442; he was in the service of Archbishop John Kempe (archbishop of York 1426–52, and of Canterbury from 1452 to his death in 1454) when he wrote the manuscript, and in 1461, while serving

as secretary to Gray, then bishop of Ely, he copied a manuscript of Sallust, now Oxford, Balliol College, 258. He became archdeacon of Ely in 1467 and died in 1477.

#### *Bibliography:*

R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1941), 96–97; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1957), 213–14 (with list of ecclesiastical appointments, and a list of books given by him to Balliol); R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), 100–101.

#### 12. *Anonymous Guelferbytanus*

This unpublished commentary is found in the form of long marginal (and some interlinear) notes, not always legible, in a s. XV manuscript, now Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 756 Nov. 4°.

*Accessus* (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 756 Nov. 4°). [Inc.]: (fol. iv) Post dominationem Lucii Sullae similis cupidus capessendae rei publicae invasit Catilinam, sed quia virtute ingenii gloria actorum eo fuit inferens (sic) et apertius non patuit (sic) [drawn from the *accessus* of 1.4 above, where Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19480 reads (fol. iv): “gloria actuum ac divitiarum eo fuit inferior, quod aperte non potuit”]. . . . [Expl.]: repetens quibus gloria cuique acquaeraiti (sic) quae vi animi curandi ut immortalitatem assequantur.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 2r) *Omnis homines* (1.1). Prohemium suum Salustius seiunctum a materia fecit vanitus [sic pro imitatus] ut Quintilianus scribit [*Inst. 3.8.9*] lepanthinum (sic) Gorgiani et Isocrateni quorum principia nihil ad materiam attinebant. . . . Ignaviam et luxum ibi sed multi mortales. Student (1.1) cupiunt. *Praestare* (1.1) digniores esse; *praestare* erat loco antecellere . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 35v) *Veterani* (60.3). Veteranus dicitur qui quoad viam [?] militaris militiae officio absolutus est . . . (fol. 36r) [last interlinear glosses] *Item* (61.8) alii. *Varie* (61.9) alias et alias.

#### *Manuscript:*

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 756 Nov. 4°, s. XV, fols. 1r–36r. BC with glosses.

## 13. Laurentius Valla (?)

The commentary on the *Catilina* published under the name of Laurentius Valla was printed at Venice in 1491 by Philippus Pincius. It accompanied Pomponius Laetus' edition of the text (first published in Rome the preceding year) and may have been prepared for the press by Antonius Morettus. The commentary, covering the entire monograph, concentrates on individual words and locutions, and on grammatical and rhetorical constructions, but also includes observations on aspects of Roman government, law, and custom, sometimes providing analogies from contemporary history.

Whether or not the commentary was the work of Valla (or *recollectae* transmitted by his students) remains uncertain; in fact, even in the first part of the sixteenth century scholars like Badius and Glareanus began to express their doubts. No mention of a commentary on Sallust is found in Valla's extant works or letters; nor has any autograph manuscript come to light. Moreover, the content and method of the notes show little affinity with the examples of historical and philological criticism found in Valla's *Emendationes in T. Livium XXI–XXVI* (1446–47; published at Lyons, 1532), his *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio* (1440; published at Mainz, 1517), or his annotations on Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (ca. 1444–52; published at Venice, 1494). There are also few correspondences between these annotations and Valla's observations in the *Elegantiae* on the same passages from the *Catilina*. Certain notes have a Venetian air, as phrases are explained by translation into an apparently Venetian vernacular or reference is made to Venice and its institutions. On the other hand, the sensitivity to what is called Sallust's *vocabulorum proprietas* and the interest in the rhetorical features of his writing are consistent with Valla's appreciation of language and style. There are also analogies between the themes of the preface and his views on the civilizing mission of the Latin language and uses of history.

There exists in some manuscripts a second version ("B", below) of the preface and commentary, which may be either a first draft by the author or a reworking by someone else. The nature of the manuscript variants suggests the latter, that the Version B witnesses derive from Version A, but the first note (preface) gives the opposite im-

pression, that Version A is a revision of Version B. Only one witness, i.e., Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV C 3, containing (some of the) notes of the commentary and the first part of the preface (Version B) in a hand that may be dated to a period earlier than the *editio princeps*, explicitly links Valla's name with the commentary.

## a. Version A

*Praefatio* (ed. of Venice, 1491). Laurentii Vallensis in C. Crispi Salustii Catilinarium Commentarii. [Inc.]: *Omnis homines* (1.1). Patricia gente Crispus Salustius Romae natus, post rem publicam civili discordia concussam, cum nulla illius administrandae ratio bonis superesset amplius, se ad scribendi otium contulit. In quo genere, Quintiliani iudicio, qui eum Thucydidi in historia eminentissimo opposuit [*Inst. 10.1.101*], praecipuam inter eos qui res Romanas litterarum monumentis tradidere est laudem adeptus. Etenim quo Thucydides est Herodoto maior, cui secundae tribuuntur partes, eo certe hic noster Livio praestantior, quem Herodoto ille comparat. Accedit et Martialis urbanissimi poetae carmen: Hic erit, ut perhibent doctorum corda virorum // Primus Romana Crispus in historia [14.191], quo haud dubie appetet doctorum hominum iudicio Crispum ceteris Romanarum rerum scriptoribus praelatum. Quod si tantorum virorum testimonio primum in historia locum obtinet, summa nos ope nisi decet [BC 1.1] ut praeclera eius monumenta, si qua adhuc restant, non tantum ipsi studio condiscamus sed, si fieri etiam possit, quam plurimis nostra industria omni sint ex parte conspicua. Atque id ipsum hoc enixius praestandum, quod post tantam nostratium litterarum iacturam, quantam Gothicis temporibus factam fuisse constat, paucissima quaedam vestigia, ne fragmenta dicam, ac illa ipsa paene evanescientia ex locupletissima Crispi ornatissima historiā ad haec tempora pervenere et, quod iniquius ferat aliquis, fuerunt haec progymnasmata quaedam, ut graeco utar verbo, castissimae illius Minervae, quae nobis reliqua cum temporis tamen (tum ed. 1500) hominum fecit iniuria. Nam quod plenissimam Crispus scripserit historiam, quae non res Romanas solum sed externarum etiam gentium sit complexa, abunde constat, verum a Catilinae coniuratione, quasi ingenii experientiam daturus, eam videri potest auspicatus, quod et ipsum operis prooemium haud dubie demonstrat, cui ad stili consumma-

tionem credibile est Iugurthae bellum subieccisse. Sed quanti illa momenti fuerint, quae prorsus interiere, ex iis quae hodie exstant facilis est conjectura, quippe cum nulla possit virtus in historia elucere, cum non in hac vel illa meditatione facile recognoscas, sed quo eius sunt virtutes altiores minusque vulgo proximae, eo maiore nobis studio, ut dixi, est nitendum, ne illae nostra vel inertia vel negligentia diutius in obscuro sint. Etenim quam cognitu sint difficiles, vel ex eo potest intelligi, quod non pauci, ut video in prooemii fronte, allucinati dant illi vitio quod nefarium Catilinae scelus scripturus inde potissimum sit exorsus, ut dixerit animum corpori et ingenium viribus praestare, velut nihil magis ab eo quod dicturus erat alienum dici potuisset, sed accurate omnia ac magis erudite quam verbis explicari possit. Rediditur namque sui consilii rationem quod a re publica digressus se ad historiam scribendam contulisset, nulla potuit honestior causa demonstrari quam eo se consilio id fecisse ostenderet, ut ea parte corporis uteretur quae potissima in homine esset, nec ita multo post non magis se ratione quam necessitate, ut id consilii caperet, aduci oportuisse demonstrat, quoniam ambitione malisque artibus civitate corrupta nullus videtur innocentiae locus huic qui ad eam capiendam accederet relictus. Verum qua (quia *ed.* 1500) praeclera ingenia aut domi consulendo suorumque facta illustrando aut foris rem publicam administrando patriae videri possunt utilia, sublata optimatum administratione omnique recte vivendi ratione mutata, merito unum hoc scribendi officium quod reliquum erat, quia et potuit et debuit, non minori ingenio quam pietate patriae civibusque suis, optime de ea benemeritis, praestitit Crispus.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: *Praestare* (1.1) dativo et accusativo iungitur, ut praesto illi et praesto illum. *Praestare excellere.* *Ceteris animantibus* scilicet brutis animalibus. *Summa ope summa possibilitate et viribus summis.* Nam opis significat possibilitatem; Virgilii *Aeneidos* libro primo: *Grates persolvere dignas // Non opis est nostrae, Dido* [*Aen.* 1.600–601], id est possibilis. . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Vis* (61.1) conatos (*sic*). *Amissa anima* (61.2) id est vita. *Diversus a suis Catilina vero longe* (61.4). Catilina non modo contentus fuit non fugere, verum etiam in Romanos irrumperem voluit ne inultus moriretur. *Ingenuus* (61.5) libere natus esset. *Iuxta* (61.6) similiter.

*Tamen* (61.7) quamvis caesus esset exercitus Catilinae. *Volventes* (61.8) ut spoliarent. *Laetitia* (61.9) eorum qui inimicos reperiebant. *Maeror luctus* (61.9) eorum qui amicos, cognatos aut hospites invenerant.

#### *Manuscripts:*

Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. ms. 548, s. XV, fols. 1r–35v. BC (to 48.4) with glosses. Includes some of the *Praefatio* (to “ceteris Romanarum rerum scriptoribus prolatum” (*sic*) and some of the notes (to 33.3).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1709, s. XV (a. 1494, signed on fol. 100v), fols. 133v–149r. Origin Germany (Nuremberg or Naumberg). Persius with commentary; BC and BI. Fol. 133v has the *Praefatio*, ending . . . “de ea bene meritis constitut Crispus. Haec Laurentius Valla”; and some of the marginal and interlinear notes are the same, though not those at the end: “Varie (61.9) aliter et aliter. Maeror tristitia. Luctus fletus. Agitabantur habebantur.” (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.394b–395a and 591a, 6.368a; P. Scarcia Piacentini, *Saggio di un censimento dei manoscritti contenenti il testo di Persio* [Rome, 1973], 102, no. 504; E. Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 2.2 (Paris, 1982), 374–79; M. Cortesi, “Per il Commento a Sallustio di Lorenzo Valla,” *Res publica litterarum* 14 [1991] 56).

\_\_\_\_\_, Reg. lat. 1397 (miscellany), s. XVI ex. (see fols. 73r, 149v), fols. 205r–248v. The first sentences of the *Praefatio* (to the end of the Martial quotation “Crispus in historia”), and a collection of notes from various commentaries, including I.1 (“Omnibonus”) and I.13 (“Valla”). (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.598b; Cortesi, *ibid.*).

#### *Editions:*

1491.5. See above, Composite Editions.

This edition also contains the dedicatory letter by Pomponius Laetus to Augustinus Maphaeus (Agostino Maffei), first published in Pomponius’ edition of the *opera* printed in Rome the previous year. The 1491 edition substitutes the name of Antonius Morettus (Antonio Moretto or Moreto) for that of Joannes Rheiensis; see Cortesi, *ibid.*, 50 and J. Monfasani, “The First Call for Press Censorship: Niccolò Perotti, Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Antonio Moreto, and the Editing of Pliny’s *Natural History*,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 41 (1988) 1–31, especially 16–17 and Appendix II.

*Augustino Mafaeo Rerum Ro. Thesauro Pomponius Laetus.* M. Valerius Probus unicae vetustatis amator, cum animadvertisset veteres negligi et gloria fraudari contracta multa exemplaria emendare, distinguere et annotare curavit, in eoque se plurimum exercendo laudem non exiguum est assecutus. Ego tanti viri exemplo, impar licet doctrina et ingenii dotibus, id ipsum aliqua ex parte facere conatus sum. Eademque via ingressus et tanta undique asperitate confusus vix tuto pedem figere et e silva egredi potui. Nam cum omnia volumina corrupta sint, quae ad nostram venere aetatem, nemo (qui se novit) attingere audet. Probatus ille dicendi character, quia iam multis saeculis materia defuit, et dicendi exercitatio forensis in quandam epidictici generis effigiem vel potius umbram abiit, non amplius (ut credimus) redditura interierit. Unde fit ut magistrum eloquentiae stilum ignoremus, quo ita depravati sunt codices iam pluribus annis, ut non ex sententia invenias nisi fuerint nimium amantes sui, et ex falsa scientiae persuasione molesti, qui se intelligere profiteri velint. Ea de causa si quid hoc rudi saeculo elaboravi, quod minime legentibus satisfiet, non me sed tempora lectores accusent, in quibus non emendor modo sed ne interpres quidem bonus in minimis priscorum sententiis vulgo inveniri potest, quamquam nihil ea re difficilis est. Quis enim nisi mentis inops se omnia tenere confirmet? Ideo si glossulas in Virgilium legeris sub titulo meo, oro ne fidem praestes, neque temerarius sum, neque audax, neque eam expositionem umquam tentavi. Ille quisquis est qui falsum epigramma posuit, sentiet quid profuerit me tanto mendacio provocasse; semper eius opinionis fui, quod minime ignoras, parum his fore laudis, qui in aliorum dictis sententias aucupantur. Est enim periculosa interpretatio nisi cognitio rerum praecesserit. Non tamen infitior esse qui possunt, sed ipse de me loquor, qui conscientiae imbecillitatis rem arduam et nullius honoris non aggredior. Est et perniciosa quorundam labes et macula, ut plus in fronte ostendant quam in recessu valeant. Praeterea multos precipitat inanis gloriae spes et libros imprimendi facultas multis saeculis intermissa paulo ante revocata. Depravantur incuria quadam codices lucroque potius cuius mortales avidissimi sunt quam emendationi consuluntur, adeoque in ea parte peccatur, ut quod existimabatur omnibus esse commodo, id praecipue ad linguae Romanae

iacturam (nisi adhibeatur diligentia) excogitatum esse videatur. Etenim abhinc annos tris, cum libros Sallusti de coniuratione Catilinae et de bello Iugurthino et contiones quasdam eiusdem librorum qui desiderantur saepius repeterem, contracritis antiquis exemplaribus, invenimus multa esse addita, multa praepostere commutata. Scripsit ille plus quam requirebat historia numerose, ut ea observatione velut carminis lege seriem verborum posteritas tueretur. Sed quis de futuris vitiis aut virtutibus testari potest? Maiores nostri propter rerum Romanarum magnitudinem nunquam existimarunt imperium ita ruiturum, ut ex toto lingua vitiaretur. Fallimur certe nisi putemus aetas omnis velut hominem consenescere. Emendavimus nihil addendo; detraximus non pauca fide vetustatis admonente. Plerique petierunt a me et prope quotidianis conviciis efflagitarunt; repugnavi semper et contra meos mores quibusdam sum visus nimis austerus; perveit tandem iure contubernialitatis unius communitas. Itaque Antonio Moretto Brixiano bonarum litterarum studioso (nam is saepius instituit) permisi ut impressoribus suis traderet et sub certa conditione pepigimus, ut interesset qui cognosceret. Homo negotiosus et officiosus ita faciendum recepit. Scio, Augustine, pro tua humanitate et eruditione hoc te probaturum. Nam cum soleas diligentiam praesertim in litteris laudare, consilium et institutum meum (nosti enim, sum vel unus e tuis domesticis qui pro tua ingenita liberalitate et officio erga litteratos tuis facultatibus aeque ac meis utor) facile ab omni offensiuncula vindicabis. Vale felicissime.

*Vita Sallustii.* C. Crispi Salustii vita [by Pomponius Laetus; printed between the second *Epistula ad Caesarem* and the *Invectiva in M. T. Ciceronem*. [Inc]: Crispus Salustius genus ex Amiterno Sabinorum dicit, C. Salustio patre genitus. Ex liberalibus artibus, in quibus educatus erat, praeter eruditionem nihil accepit: omnibus voluptatibus turpissime indulxit; paternam domum vendidit ut crimine adulterii se redimeret. Ex quaestura et tribunatu nullam laudem est assecutus [*In Sall. 5.13–15*]. Favente C. Caesare praetor Africam sortitus; provinciam expilavit et exhausit tantumque inde pecuniarum reportavit ut amoenissimos hortos sub Quirinale extra pomerium ad Collinam Portam titulo sui nominis empto loco habuerit [*ibid. 7.19–20*] atque adornaverit non vulgares illius saeculi et postero-

rum aetatibus delicias atque secessum, usque ad exactam aetatem libidinis avidus et potens. In amicitia varius et inconstans, saepius tamen livo dente momordit. Habitus est ore improbo et animo inverecundo. Manis Pompei Magni (existimans hac via se Caesari gratiorem fore) lacerare ausus est, unde in Salustum Lenaeus Pompei libertus scripsit morsque (moresque *ed. Rome 1490*) eius sigillatim paucis vocabulis expressit: nebulonem, lurconem, popinionem, et lastaurum appellans [Suet., *Gramm.* 15]. Vox postrema indicat fuisse hominem validae libidinis. Scripsit stilo non abhorrente a veteribus. Extat (extant *ed. Rome 1490*) coniuratio Catilinae et bellum Iugurthinum et quaedam contiones e libris bellorum civilium. Ut secreta inimici fidelius inteligeret, Terentiam a Cicerone repudiata duxit uxorem et quae tertio nupsit Messalae Corvino.

This *vita* appeared with Pomponius Laetus' edition of the *opera*, first printed at Rome in 1490, and in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 2989, identified by B. L. Ullman as the dedication copy presented by Laetus to Cardinal Augustinus Maphaeus (see "The Dedication Copy of Pomponio Leto's Edition of Sallust and the 'Vita' of Sallust," in Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 2d ed. [Rome, 1973], 365–72; Ullman's edition of the *vita*, based on the Vatican manuscript, is found on pp. 367–68). In later editions the *vita* usually appears anonymously under the title "C. Crispi Salustii vita", often followed by "incerto auctore". Only occasionally is Pomponius Laetus acknowledged as the author.

*Editions:*

(\*) 1492.6, 1492.7, 1493.1, 1493.8, [1493], (\*) 1494.11, 1495.1, [ca. 1496–97], [ca. 1497–99], 1497.1, (\*) [1497], 1500.7, 1502, (\*) 1513, 1514, 1546, 1547, 1564. See above, Composite Editions.

*Doubtful edition:*

A document of 1495 refers to Philippus Pinchus' wish, after a fire that had destroyed his home and possessions, to republish his edition of Sallust with the commentary of Valla and, in addition, a commentary by Battista Guarini (see R. Fulin, "Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana," *Archivio Veneto* 23 [1882] 84–212, no. 36 at p. 118). No such edition has been found, and the reference in Hain (no. 14231) cited by Fulin is probably to be identified with the ca.

1496–97 edition of Sallust with commentaries of Valla on the *Catilina* and of Soldus on the *Iugurtha* printed in Venice by Christophorus de Pensis.

*b. Version B*

*Praefatio* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. XIV 179 [4488]). [Inc.]: (fol. 149r) Crispus Salustius civis Romanus genere patricius fuit. Sed cum seditiones civiles in urbe Romana flagrare coepissent, ab rei publicae administratione remotus otio se dedere constituit et istud hoc ipso prohemio declarat, scilicet (?) quod Salustius inter praestantissimos historiae scriptores praestantissimus habetur. Id autem cum aliorum iudicio tum Quintilianus testimonio comprobatur. Qui hunc Thucydidae opponit [*Inst. 10.1.101*]. Livium autem Herodoto comparat. Sed Herodoto praeposuerat Thucydidem. Sequitur ergo maximam gloriam et laudem a Quintiliano traditam fuisse Salustio. Nam quia Salustum opponit Thucydidae, Livium autem comparat Herodoto, stat Crispum praferendum esse Livio, et quanto maius est opponi quam comparari praestantissimus in dicendo esse videtur. Quamobrem cum tanta eloquentia fuerit Salustius ut tantis scriptoribus tam graecis quam latinis non modo possit comparari sed et praferendus esse videatur, magna incitatione ad hunc librum perdiscendum commoveri debemur. Sed animadvertendum est quod cum ambitione deterritus aliquisque malis se ab rei publicae administratione removisset et se otio scribendi dedisset, primo quaedam quasi praeludia dicendi aggressus est, Catilinae scilicet seditiones et Iugurthae bellum, deinde perpetuam scripsit historiam latinam, graecam atque barbaricam. Sed maximum linguae Romanae detrimentum est quod libros perpetuae historiae amisimus. Qui multum a Nonio Marcello et ceteris qui aliquid egregium scribunt commemorantur. Hoc tamen quod nobis relictum est perdiscere debemus, ut cum tanta Salustii eloquentia negligentia nostra amissa sit, persistamus ut in hoc quod nobis datur negligentes esse non videamur. Illud animadvertendum est quod nonnulli dicunt hoc prooemium non videri accommodatum historiae quam scripturus est: propterea quod cum scripturus sit seditionem Catilinae ipse dicat praestare animum corpori, et ingenium viribus. Sed si quis diligenter inspexerit animum Salustii desinet vituperare et hoc prooemium negotio maxime con-

venire fatebitur. Nam cum Salustius vir patricius esset et ingenio plurimum valeret, affirmat sese scribendi otio dedere maluisse quam in rei publicae administratione versari, et dicit se nil incongruum fecisse: primo ingenium praestari viribus, deinde mala ambitione malisque artibus corruptam esse civitatem, ut qui in re publica versari voluerit, ei vivendum (*sic*) primo quia a re publica officium suum amoverit accusandus non erit. Primo igitur probat ingenium praestare viribus, deinde probat ingenium prodesse civibus duplíciter, scilicet vel bene consulendo vel bene dicendo: bene consulendo rei publicae si, cum bene constituta fuerit res publica, animi consilio et corporis viribus iuverimus, bene dicendo autem rem (*sic*) cum laudatissimorum virorum et probatissimorum res gestas tradiderimus. Sed cum res publica non bene constituta sit nemo ei bene consulere poterit. Relinquitur ergo ut res gestas clarissimorum virorum scribere sit laudatissimum. Et haec est intentio Salustii, quam si diligenter considereritis videtis esse optima ratione corroboratam.

*Commentary* (variants from Version A are placed in square brackets). [Inc.]: (fol. 149v) *Praestare* (1.1) duobus modis construitur, cum dative et accusativo, ut praesto illi praesto illum. *Praestare* excellere. *Cunctis animalibus* i.e. animalibus brutis. *Summa ope* summa possibilitate et viribus summis. Nam opis significat possibilitatem; Virgilius libro primo: grates persolvere dignas // non opis est nostrae [*Aen.* 1.600–601] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Est. lat. 306 [alpha W.4.13], fol. 252v): *Catilina vero longe* (61.4). Non modo commotus [contentus A] fuit non fugere verum etiam in Romanos irrumperem constituunt [*sic*; voluit A] ne inultus moreetur [moriretur A]. *Ingenuus* (61.5) (end of folio).

#### *Manuscripts:*

Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Est. lat. 306 (alpha W.4.13), s. XV, fols. 228r–252v. Contains the same preface and commentary to *Ingenuus* (61.5), with probable loss of a single leaf. The manuscript also contains commentaries on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Cicero's *Epistulae*, and the commentary of Servius on the *opera* of Virgil. It is signed in several places by Johannes Franciscus Picenardi of Cremona, but not in the Sallust portion, which is apparently in a slightly different hand; see B. M. Peebles, "The *Ad Maronis Mausoleum*: Petrarch's

Virgil and Two Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts," in *Classical, Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of B. L. Ullman*, ed. C. Henderson, Jr., vol. 2 (Rome, 1964), especially 177, 186–90, and also F. T. Coulson, "Giovanni Francesco Picenardi and the Ovidian Commentary on the *Metamorphoses* in Modena," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 26 (1996) 251–52. This and the next manuscript appear to be derived from a common ancestor not identical with the Venice manuscript. (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.542a).

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7612, s. XV, fols. 101r, 127v–131r (see I.1 above). Contains (fol. 101r) the same preface as the foregoing, and the commentary as far as "Vastus (5.5) immoderatus", and (fols. 127v–131r) a later copy of the same.

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV C 3, s. XV, fols. 1r–37v. See I.8 above. Contains the preface to "non videamur" (fol. 1v), the *Crispi Salustii Oratoris clarissimi vita* (fol. 2r) later attributed to Gerolamo Squarzafico (see *Fortuna*, p. 199 above, and I.18 below), and various marginal and interlinear notes belonging to this commentary, combined with other annotations (fols. 6r–37v); a few of the notes (e.g., fols. 27v and 29v) mention "Laurentius Vallensis". On this manuscript, see C. Tristano, *La biblioteca di un umanista calabrese: Aulo Giano Parrasio* (Rome, 1988), 130 (N. 142). We thank Lucia Gualdo Rosa for reexamining the manuscript and identifying these references to Valla. See the forthcoming studies by Gualdo Rosa, Osmond, and Ulery on the transmission and *fortuna* of the Valla commentary.

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. XIV 179 (4488) (miscellany), s. XV, fols. 149r–158v. This version of the *Praefatio*, in the tentative hypothesis of Cortesi (cited below, *Bibliography*, A) an earlier draft by Valla, is followed by a portion of the commentary, with minor differences, breaking off at the end of a folio and of the quinion with which the commentary began. This and the Modena and Munich manuscripts listed above appear to be derived from a common ancestor not identical with the 1491 edition, but the text of this manuscript is closer to that of the edition. The revision of the first note (*Praefatio*) could have occurred in the common ancestor.

#### *Biography:*

See CTC 7.116–18 (Xenophon).

Add to Works: Modern editions of single works: *Adnotationes in Novum Testamentum*, ed. A. Perosa (forthcoming?); *Lorenzo Valla. L'arte della grammatica*, ed. P. Casciano (Milan, 1990); *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione*, ed. W. Setz (Weimar, 1976); *De vero falsoque bono*, ed. M. de Panizza Lorch (Bari, 1970); "In sex libros *Elegantiarum praefationes*" [with facing Italian translation], in E. Garin, ed. and trans., *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento* (Milan and Naples, 1952); *Orazione per l'inaugurazione dell'anno accademico 1455–56. Lorenzo Valla. Atti di un seminario di filologia umanistica*, ed. S. Rizzo (Rome, 1994); *Le postille all'“Institutio Oratoria” di Quintiliano*, ed. L. Cesarini Martinelli and A. Perosa, *Medioevo e umanesimo* 91 (Padua, 1996). See also the bibliography in "Valla, Lorenzo," in *Letteratura italiana. Gli autori*, ed. A. Asor Rosa, vol. 2 (Turin, 1991), 1775–77 (P. G.) and, for critical editions, J. IJsewijn, "Le edizioni critiche delle opere di Lorenzo Valla," *RR. Roma nel Rinascimento* (1992) 38–52.

#### Add to Bibliography:

##### A. On the commentary on Sallust

M. Cortesi, "Per il *Commento a Sallustio* di Lorenzo Valla," *Res publica litterarum* 14 (1991) 49–59. Earlier references are found in F. Adorno, "Di alcune orazioni e prefazioni di Lorenzo Valla," *Rinascimento* 2 (1954) 191–225; Bolaffi, *Sallustio*, 267–71; Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 8–10; and G. Zippel, "Lorenzo Valla e le origini della storiografia umanistica a Venezia," *Rinascimento* 7 (1956) 93–133. See also Mancini (below).

##### B. General works and biographies

L. Barozzi and R. Sabbadini, *Studi sul Panorama e sul Valla* (Florence, 1891); studies on Valla by S. I. Camporeale, G. di Napoli, M. Fois, and H. B. Gerl cited in CTC 7.117; and G. Mancini, *Lorenzo Valla* (Florence, 1891).

##### C. Selected books and articles on aspects of Valla's historiographical and philological work

G. Billanovich and M. Ferraris, "Le 'Emendationes in T. Livium' del Valla e il Codex Regius di Livio," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 1 (1958) 245–64; Billanovich, "Un altro Livio corretto dal Valla (Valenza, Biblioteca della Cattedrale, 173)," *ibid.*, 265–75; S. I. Camporeale, "Lorenzo Valla e il 'De Falso Credita Donatione'. Retorica, libertà ed ecclesiologia nel '400," *Memorie domenicane*, N. S., 19 (1988) 191–293 (see 281 and n. 147), reprinted

in Camporeale, *Scritti su Lorenzo Valla. Umanesimo, Riforma e Controriforma* (Florence and Rome, forthcoming); P. Casciano, "Ancora sul 'Ars grammatica' di Lorenzo Valla," in C. Bianca, P. Farenga et al., eds., *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento: aspetti e problemi. Atti del seminario 1–2 giugno 1979*, vol. 1 (Vatican City, 1980), 57–70; C. S. Celenza, "Renaissance Humanism and the New Testament: Lorenzo Valla's Annotations to the Vulgate," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24 (1994) 33–52; J. Chomarat, "Les Annotations de Valla, celles d'Erasme et la grammaire," in *Histoire de l'exégèse au XVIe siècle*, ed. O. Fatio and P. Fraenkel (Geneva, 1978), 202–28; Chomarat, "Valla et les grammairiens humanistes," in *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Erasme*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1981), 225–65; V. De Caprio, "Appunti sul classicismo delle *Eleganze* di L. Valla," *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Istituto di Filologia Moderna, Università di Roma* 1.2 (1981) 59–80; De Caprio, "La rinascita della cultura di Roma: la tradizione latina nelle *Eleganze* di Lorenzo Valla," in *Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento. Atti del Convegno su "Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento"*. New York 1–4 dicembre 1981, ed. P. Brezzi and M. de Panizza Lorch (Rome and New York, 1984), 163–90; De Caprio, "Tendenze attuali della critica valliana," *RR. Roma nel Rinascimento* (1990) 49–66; De Caprio, "Elegantiae di Lorenzo Valla," in *Letteratura italiana. Le opere*, ed. A. Asor Rosa, vol. 2 (Turin, 1992), 647–79; A. Fisher, "The Project of Humanism and Valla's Imperial Metaphor," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23 (1993) 301–22; R. Fubini, "Due contributi su Lorenzo Valla," *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 8 (N. S. 5) (1994) 101–16 (bibliography, p. 116); L. Gardiner Janik, "Lorenzo Valla: The Primacy of Rhetoric and the Demoralization of History," *History and Theory* 12 (1973) 389–404; S. Gavinelli, "Le *Elegantie* di Lorenzo Valla. Fonti grammaticali latine e stratificazione compositiva," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 31 (1988) 205–57; Gavinelli, "Teorie grammaticali nelle 'Elegantie' e la tradizione scolastica del tardo Umanesimo," *Rinascimento*, 2d Ser., 31 (1991) 155–81; J. IJsewijn, "Laurentius Vallas 'Sprachliche Kommentare,'" in *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance*, ed. A. Buck and O. Herding (Boppard, 1975), 89–97; IJsewijn, "Le edizioni critiche delle opere di Lorenzo Valla," *RR. Roma nel Rinascimento* (1992) 38–52; "Lorenzo Valla: A Symposium

sium,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57 (1996) 1–86, including articles by W. J. Connell, S. I. Camporeale, C. Trinkaus, R. K. Delph, and R. Fubini; F. Lo Monaco, “La traduzione valliana della ‘Pro Ctesiphonte’ di Demosthene,” in *Lorenzo Valla e l’umanesimo italiano. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi umanistici, Parma, 18–19 ottobre, 1984*, ed. O. Besomi and M. Regoliosi, *Medioevo e umanesimo* 59 (Padua, 1986), 141–64; M. Lorch, “Lorenzo Valla,” in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, ed. A. Rabil, Jr., vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1988), 332–49; A. Manfredi, “Nuove postille autografe di Lorenzo Valla alle epistole di S. Girolamo (Vaticano Lat. 355–356),” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 35 (1992) 105–21; D. Marsh, “Lorenzo Valla in Naples: The Translation from Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 46 (1984) 407–20; J. Monfasani, “Bessarion, Valla, Agricola and Erasmus,” *Rinascimento*, 2d Ser., 28 (1988) 319–20; Monfasani, *Language and Learning in Renaissance Italy* (reprint of selected articles and reviews on Valla et al.) (Aldershot, 1994); A. Morisi, “La filologia neotestamentaria di Lorenzo Valla,” *Nuova rivista storica* 48 (1964) 35–49; M. Pade, “Valla’s Thucydides. Theory and Practice in a Renaissance Translation,” *Classica et mediaevalia* 36 (1985) 275–301; Pade, “The Manuscript Diffusion of Valla’s Translation of Thucydides,” *Studi umanistici piceni* 12 (1992) 171–84; A. Perosa, “L’edizione veneta di Quintiliano coi commenti del Valla, di Pomponio Leto e di Sulpizio da Veroli,” in *Miscellanea Augusto Campana*, vol. 2, *Medioevo e umanesimo* 45 (Padua, 1981), 575–610; G. Radetti, “La politica di Lorenzo Valla,” *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* 29 (1950) 326–34; M. Regoliosi, “Lorenzo Valla, Antonio Panormita, Giacomo Curlo e Le emendazioni a Livio,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 24 (1981) 287–316; Regoliosi, “Le congetturali a Livio del Valla: metodo e problemi,” in *Lorenzo Valla e l’umanesimo italiano*, ed. Besomi and Regoliosi, 51–71; Regoliosi, “Lorenzo Valla e la concezione della storia,” in *La storiografia umanistica. Convegno internazionale di studi. Messina 22–25 ottobre 1987*, 3 vols. (Messina, 1992), 1.2, pp. 549–71; Regoliosi, “La concezione del latino di Lorenzo Valla,” *Atti della Accademia Peloritana* (Messina, 1991), 129–40; Regoliosi, “Riflessioni umanistiche sullo ‘scrivere storia’,” *Rinascimento*, 2d Ser., 31 (1991) 3–37; Regoliosi, *Nel cantiere del Valla. Elaborazione e montaggio delle “Elegantie”* (Rome, 1993); C. Trinkaus, “Lorenzo Valla’s Anti-Aristotelian Natural Philosophy,” *I Tatti Studies* 5 (1993) 279–325; R. Valentini, “Le ‘Emendationes in T. Livium’ di L. Valla,” *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 15 (1907) 262–302; R. I. W. Westgate, “The Text of Valla’s Translation of Thucydides,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 67 (1936) 240–51.

See also the references and discussions in G. Billanovich, “Petrarch and the Textual Tradition of Livy,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14 (1951) 137–208; E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, 1981), 147–49, 256–58, and passim; J. F. D’Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome* (Baltimore, 1983) passim; E. B. Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London, 1988), 28ff.; A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 1: *Textual Criticism and Exegesis* (Oxford, 1983), 9–13; N. Struever, “Lorenzo Valla: Humanist Rhetoric and the Critique of the Classical Languages of Morality,” in *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. J. J. Murphy (Berkeley, 1983), 191–206; and B. L. Ullman, “The Dedication Copy of Pomponio Leto’s Edition of Sallust and the ‘Vita’ of Sallust,” in Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 2d ed. (Rome, 1973), 365–72.

#### 14. Anonymus Ambrosianus

This unpublished commentary consists of straightforward and plain but not foolish explanatory notes in the margins and between the lines of a text of the BC, found in a single manuscript (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 113 sup.). A subscription dates the codex to the year 1464; the scribe is Philippus Falco, about whom nothing certain is known. Four folios preceding the text contain notes on Roman *dignitates*, a grammatical note from Servius relative to *est in carcere locus* (BC 55.3), and the passage from Quintilian (*Inst. 3.8.9*) on the relevance of the proem to the work. The first folio of text, numbered 1, is actually fol. 5 in the manuscript.

*Commentary* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 113 sup.). [Inc.]: (fol. 1r) *Cai Crispi Salustii viri illustrissimi De Catilina liber incipit feliciter. Tria sunt nomina quae scribemus per C. et proferuntur per G. videlicet Cnaeus, Caius et Amuren.[?].*

*Praestare* (1.1) antecellere virtutibus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 29v) *Ingenuus* (61.6). *Ingenuus* dicitur intus genitus, non advena; *ingenuus* i.e. valde genitus. *Laetitia* etc. (61.9). Laetitia et gaudium propter defunctos hostes; maeror et luctus propter amicos et hospites (see I.6 above).

*Manuscript:*

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 113 sup., s. XV (a. 1464), fols. 1r–29v. BC and BI. Fol. 87r: “Finis. Laus deo: expletum per me philippum falconem die 28 octobris 1464. Audi quod dicit liber de vita et moribus philosophorum [Walter Burley, ch. 99]: ‘Salustius philosophus et poeta romanus claruit tempore Julii cuius inimicus et aemulus extitit. Hic scripsit de Bello Numantino (*sic*) librum unum. Item de Iugurthino librum unum.’” A certain Falco (Mantuanus) is mentioned in a letter of 1465 by Iacopo Ammannati (Cosenza 1.1347). (Kristeller, *Iter* 1.296a).

15. Petrus Paulus Pompilius

Pompilius wrote his *Dictata* at the age of twenty-six, according to the title folio of the unpublished manuscript (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 1351, fol. 1r), when teaching Sallust in Rome ca. 1481. He gives a thorough and generally new explanation of individual words and phrases in the entire text, and as preface (fols. 2r–3r) an account of Sallust’s life and works and some of the ancient testimonia concerning the author, followed by a brief argumentum of the proem.

*Praefatio* (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 1351). [Inc.]: (fol. 2r) Sallustius Crispus, natus Amiterni in Sabinis quo tempore in Iugurtam bellatum est, vixit annum circiter sexagesimum secundum; moritur septimo anno post obitum Caesaris. Tarentiam quam Cicero repudiauit uxorem duxit, quae etiam ad tertium virum Messalam Corvinum, clarissimum sui temporis oratorem, Sallustio mortuo transiit. Prius quaestor, deinde tribunus plebis, tum praetor ulterioris Africae; Caesar proconsulem mortui Iubae regno praefecit. Atque ita primus Sallustius regno illi in formam prouinciae redacto tum primum praefuit. Obicit Cicero bis fuisse senatorem, ergo quandoque Senatu per ignominia (*sic*) amotus est. Item bis quaestorem, sic etiam quaestor longo post intervallo iterum fuit; hoc fieri potuit cum bis ad subsellia iudicium adulterii reus protractus est. Praeterea in Faustae filiae Cornelii Sullae adulterio a Tito Annio Milone domi deprensus,

prius bene caesus est, deinde magna pecunia multatus. Cicero in Sallustium: Sumus diligentes in tuenda pudicitia uxorum nostrarum, sed ita experrecti non sumus ut a te cauere possimus. Sallustio censores in senatu obiecerunt quod moecharetur, dum ille non se matronarum sed libertinarum sectatorem esse testatus est et ideo senatu motus est. Ad historiam alludere uidetur Horatius cum inquit: Ille flagellis ad mortem caesus, in primo Sermonum. Demum cum tribunus plebis fuisse dicitur, patricii generis non fuit; nam aliud est esse patricium, aliud esse senatorem; patricii enim fieri tribuni plebis non poterant nisi se in optionem plebei hominis traderent. Quod de Sallustio nusquam comperi. Scripsit libros aliquot qui perpetuae historiae dicti sunt; de coniuratione Catiliniana librum unum, bellum contra Iugurtham. Perpetua historia uitio temporum amissa est. Distichon in hunc legitur apud Quintilianum tale: Et uerba antiqui multum furate Catonis, // Crispae (*sic*) Iugurthinae conditor historiae. Ex quo intelligi potest Sallustium nimis imitatum fuisse Catonem Censorinum. Augustus ad M. Antonium in epistola haec: Tu quoque dubitas Cimber ne Annaeus an Veranius Flaccus imitandi sint tibi ut verbis quae Crispus Sallustius excerpit ex originibus Catonis utaris. Lenaeus item Pompei Sallustium appellare solitum est furem eruditissimum. Quintilianus Sallustium Thucydidi parem non ueretur. Martialis historiorum principem facit cum inquit: Crispus Romana primus in historia. Cicero et Sallustius diuersum dicendi genus secuti sunt atque ita ut merito illud uulgatum sit bonis rationibus utrimque placere. Cum Sallustiana breuitati nihil addi concinne possit, Ciceronis uero diuitiis si quid demas statim aliquid desiderari. Ideoque immortalem illam Sallustius uelocitatem diuersis rationibus consecutus est, nec minus egregiae eiusmodi differentiae, cum dixisse uidetur Seruilius Nouianus Titum Liuum et Sallustium pares esse magis quam similes. Haec nos dictauimus quia Asconii Pediani scripta de uita Sallustii quod sci-am non extant; hic enim de hac re ut in monimentis est litterarum diligentissime scripsit. Gorgias Isocratis magister, et cuius nomini dialogum in quattuor Tyrannos non ueros oratores Plato consecrauit, laudat in Olympico eos qui primi conuentus tales in sacris Olympii Iouis instituerunt; Isocrates etiam in Panegyrico uel in Laude Helenes conqueritur plus honoris corpo-

rum quam animorum uirtutibus dari; Caius Sallustius et in Bello Iugurthino et in Catiliniana coniuratione utrimque (*sic*) secutus est, nam principiis ex aliqua rei uincia sed nihil ad historiam pertinentibus orsus est maximeque etiam argumento in Catiliniana Isocratem imitatus est. Agitur peculiariter in hac praefatione de ingenii et corporis uiribus utrae praestantiores, et quod qui fecere et qui facta aliorum scripsere laudantur, paulo tamen plus benefacere quam benedicere decoris promerere uidetur; denique in calce de rei publicae fluctibus et aerumnis suis paulum conquestus, cur hanc potius quam aliam quampiam historiam aggrediatur aperit.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 3r) *Omnis homines* (1.1). *Omnis* et *omnes* in accusandi [sc. casu] dicimus; utrum plus placere possit loco, ut in aliis de compositione agitur quodque Quintilianus [*Inst. 9.4.93*] in primis monet, aures consulendae sunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 57r) *Varia* (61.9) variae res; varii affectus. *Exercitum* Cai Antonii. *Laetitia* ex occisis inimicis. *Maeror* ex occisis amicis. *Ferebantur* [sic pro *agitabantur*] excitabantur. Particulam historiae praetermittit Sallustius . . . [adds historical details, quoting from Valerius Maximus, Pliny the Elder, ending with Cicero, *Pro Plancio* 90 “in aliorum vigiliam consulum recidissent”].

#### *Manuscript:*

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 1351, s. XV, fols. 1r–57v. Commentaries on BC and BI. Fol. 1r: “Lecture publica Romae anno aetatis suae XXVI”. (E. Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica*, vol. 1 [Rome, 1893], 568–69).

#### *Biography:*

Petrus Paulus Pompilius (Romanus) (Pietro Paolo Pompilio, da Roma), who was born at Rome ca. 1455 and died at Rome in 1491, was a grammarian, member of the Sodalitas Litteratorum Sancti Victoris et sociorum in Quirinali, and professor at the Studium Urbis (documented for 1482–84). He appears to have had strong ties to the Spanish community in Rome and was perhaps a rival of Giovanni Sulpizio da Veroli and an admirer of Pomponio Leto, to whom he dedicated a *Dialogus de amore*.

#### *Works:*

*De syllabis et de accentibus* (Rome, 1488); *De triumpho Granatensi* (in praise of Ferdinand and

Isabella) (Rome, 1490); *Vita Senecae* (Rome, 1490); *De orthographia; Dialogus de amore; Historia Balearica* (lost); epigrams in Greek, orations and poems. He commented on Suetonius (*Augustus, Tiberius*) and Sallust.

#### *Bibliography:*

Cosenza 4.2909 and 5.1456; W. Bracke, “Pietro Paolo Pompilio grammatico e poeta” (Tesi di Dottorato, Università di Messina, 1994); M. Chiabò, “Paolo Pompilio, professore dello Studium Urbis,” in *Un pontificato ed una città: Sisto IV (1471–84)* (Atti del Convegno, Roma, 3–7 dicembre 1984), ed. M. Miglio et al. (Vatican City, 1986), 503ff.; E. Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome, 1978), 185 and 253; G. Mercati, “Paolo Pompilio e la scoperta del cadavere intatto sull’Appia nel 1485,” in Mercati, *Opere minori*, vol. 4, Studi e testi 79 (Vatican City, 1938), 268–86; M. Tavoni, *Latino, grammatica, volgare* (Padua, 1984), 182–93 and 299–301.

#### 16. Jodocus Badius Ascensius

The *Familiaris explanatio* or *Interpretatio* on Sallust’s *opera* was published by Badius at Paris in 1504 together with his revised version of Pomponius Laetus’ text. The commentary was dedicated to François de Rohan, archbishop of Lyons, and probably originated in notes compiled by Badius in the 1490s while teaching Latin at the school of Henri Valluphin in Lyons and working as *corrector* for Jean Trechsel. Like his other *commentaires familiers*, it was designed primarily for young students and aimed at explicating the texts in a simple, straightforward manner—paraphrasing words, explaining rules of grammar, citing variant readings, pointing out moral lessons, and summarizing events of ancient history. An introductory essay on the meanings and varieties of history and its uses was accompanied by twenty precepts on the writing of history (drawn from classical treatises and the practice of Sallust himself). Like the commentary, it enjoyed a wide circulation and was reprinted throughout the century.

During his lifetime, Badius published numerous reprints and editions of Sallust, including an edition of ca. 1509 dedicated to Egidius Quernolignus of Ghent and a 1513 edition prepared by Hieronymus Aleander. The latter (as he tells us in the preface of 1510) had collated Aldus Pius Manutius’ 1509 edition with a copy of a very old

manuscript made available to him by Paulus Aemilius.

*Praefatio* (ed. of 1504, Paris). Nobilissimo nec minus diserto et cum primis observando atque reverendo Domino Francisco de Rouhan, Lugdunensium archipraesuli et Galliarum primati Iodocus Badius Ascensius cum omni veneratione salutem dicit. [Inc.]: Caius Crispus Salustius, egregius ille nobilitate (*sic*) veritatis (ut inquit Augustinus) historicus [*De civ. Dei* 1.5], ab A. Gellio [*Noct. att.* 1.15.18] concinnus verborum novator merito nuncupatus, Thucydidi graeco ab Fabio nostro Quintiliano collatus [*Inst.* 10.1.101] et ab Annaeo Seneca citra iniuriam praelatus [*Ep.* 114.17–19], et ab lepidissimo epigrammatico Martiale romana primus in historia iudicatus [14.191]—is, inquam, cui sine detimento sententiae ne apex quidem unus detrahi posset, visus est mihi, multa de temporis edacitate mortaliisque negligientia conquestus, tot videlicet lucubrations quae Thucydidicam redolerent lucernam totque tam sacri laboris monumenta quibus vel invitis fatis nominis aeternitatem meruerit, temporum calamitate ita periisse ut ne reliquiae quidem (quae quota tantorum operum pars) salvae atque integrae legi valeant; multam tamen Pomponio Laeto, homini nimirum doctissimo, agere gratiam, quod eas ex invidiae oblivionis et inulta barbarie faucibus receperit. Mihi quoque earum recognoscendi atque elucidandi partes concredere, multa quidem, ut quod oneri impar forem, quod historiae unde ipsis lumen de promerem interciderint, quod aliis curis distinserer, quod iam interpretem sortitae essent, atque id genus alia, nequicquam excusanti; nam quanto ego me difficiliorem reddere, tanto ille acrius instare, orare demum egregium sibi vindicem ne totus intereat deligerem; atque quod tunc oranti visus sum recepisse modo utcunque prosecutus. Tuam, domine Francisce, eximiam praestantiam his Salustianis reliquiis nostrisque familiarissimis commentationibus praesidem imploro, oroque supplex patiare hanc opellam tuo faustissimo nomini dicatam per Gallias tuas diffundi. Tantum est. Vale, dulce litterarum litterarorumque et decus et praesidium. Ex officina nostra Calchographa Parrhisiis pridie calendas Novemb. anni huius MDIV.

[There follow the prefaces by Pomponius Laetus (see I.13 above) and by Philippus Beroaldus (the Elder) to the edition he prepared for Ulrich Gering in Paris ca. 1477.]

Philippus Beroaldus in praefatione Salustiana de eius laude dicit sic: Crispus Salustius ob elegantiam inimitabilemque in scribendo brevitatem assecutus est primas inter historicos partes, quod epigrammaticus poeta illo disticho expressit: Hic erit, ut perhibent doctorum corda viorum, // Crispus Romana primus in historia [Mart. 14.191]. Etenim ita creber rerum frequentia est, ut verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero sequatur; ita verbis, quorum novator dictus est, concinnus, ita elegans, ita pressus, ut nescias utrum res verbis an verba rebus illustrentur. [Gives the testimonia of Seneca the Elder (*Suas.* 9.1.13, 14) and Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.1.7) on Salust's *brevitas* and deplores the loss of the *Historiae*.] Salustius ab Augustino ita laudatur ut eum appelle nobilitate (*sic*) veritatis historicum [*De civ. Dei* 1.5]. Cuius orationes, ut inquit Seneca [*Contr.* 3, *praef.* 8], leguntur in honore historiarum, quae haud dubie volumina indicant quanta in scribendo maiestate quamque divino fuerit decoratus ingenio. Haec Beroaldus.

*Vita Sallustii*. Io. Badii Ascensii vitae Salustii declaratio.\* [Inc.]: *Caius*. Ut volunt a gaudio, unde et Gaius profertur, inditum est quibusdam praenomen, quod et nepotibus mansit. *Crispus*. Agnomen a crispis capillis cum quibus nascuntur impositum. *Salustius*. Proprium est nomen a patre huic datum. . . / . . [Expl.]: *Lastaurus* largi stupri. *Inimici* scilicet Ciceronis, cuius inimicitiam postea contraxit, quia in historia eum laudat, aut ob privatum odium ab lege historiae quae veritatem ante omnia postulat discedere [discedere ed.] noluit, unde ab Augustino nostro de nobilitate veritatis laudari meruit [*De civ. Dei* 1.5].

\* Badius' vita is a commentary on the adjoining text of Laetus' *vita Salustii* [see I.13 above]; the lemmata are given here in italics. The next item is the *Salustii vita per Iohannem Chrisostomum Solidum* [see II.14 below].

*De historia et eam concernentibus collecta per Ascensium*. [Inc.]: Ceterum, quoniam vitam auctoris iam satis elucidatam reor, persequamur cetera quae in initiis auctorum disquiri solent. Titulus itaque operis quia duo sunt duplex est. In altero talis: Caii Crispi Salustii historici coniuratio ac bellum Catilinarium. In altero talis: Caii Crispi Salustii Bellum Iugurthinum. Quae quidem opera non invenimus in libros distincta. Sunt ergo singulis singuli. Stilus scribendi est historicus. Qualitas est succincta, pressa, fecunda et

ultra legem numerata. Intentio esse videtur historiam Romanam cum nominis sui memoria semperna posteris legendam praebere et simul tempore ac veternum ingratae cessationis abigere. Sed quia historiam exponendam recepimus, placet tria de eadem novitiis lectoribus praemittere. Quorum primum erit eius definitio et divisione. Secundum eius utilitas. Tertium historiographorum et potissimum Salustii in scribenda historia observatio per viginti praecepta explicanda.

Historiam (ut legitur apud A. Gellium, lib. v, cap. xviii) ab annalibus quidem differre eo putant quod, cum utrumque sit rerum factarum narratio, earum tamen proprie rerum sit historia, quibus rebus gerendis fuerit is qui narret. . . .

*De utilitate historiae.* Utilitas autem historiae ex hac eiusdem descriptione haberi potest: Historia testis est temporum, lux veritatis, vitae magistra, memoriae praeses, et vetustatis nuntia [Cic., *De orat.* 2.9.36]. Ceterum ut Livius in praefatione prima dicit [*Ab urbe condita* 1, praef. 10–11]: Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri, unde tibi tuae (*sic*) rei publicae quod imitere capias, unde foedum inceptu foedumque exitu quod vites. [Quotes Cicero et al. on the advantages of studying history.] Nam ut Quintilianus ait [*Inst.* 10.1.31], historia alere potest orationem molli quodam ac iucundo succo. Sed haec hactenus. Nunc ad tertium.

*Viginti praecepta pro historica lege ac stilo pueris animadvertisenda.* Prima historiae lex est: ne quid aut falsi dicere aut veri (quod quidem scitu dignum sit) supprimere in alicuius odium aut gratiam audeat. Debet enim esse vera et sincera. In qua re, cum omnes Latini laudem meruerint, Salustius noster palmarium obtinuit qui usque adeo veritatis fuit amator ut ne summmum quidem adversarium falsa narratione laederet nihilque quod exploratum non haberet palam asserere ausus sit, ut in indicio Tarquinii luce clarius patebit. *Secundum praeceptum.* Secunda est: ne ordine perverso aut praepostero quid recitet, ut enim quicque primum gestum est, ita primum narrabitur. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Vigesimum praeceptum.* Vigesima lex est: quaecumque venustatis praecepta oratori dantur, historiographo servanda sunt.

*Commentary.* Iodoci Badii Ascensii in C. Crispi Salustii Bellum Catilinarium Familiaris Explanatio. [Inc.]: *Omnis homines* [qui sese stu-

dent praestare ceteris animantibus] (1.1). Quoniam auctoris huius vitam et in historia scribenda peritiam ceteraque in initiis operum discuti solita pro ingenio nostro iam discussimus, reliqua est dumtaxat dilucida operis ipsius explanatio, quam (sit modo spiritus sanctus auspex) ita succinctam aut (ut Flaccus ait [Hor., *Ars* 50]) cinctutam ferri velim ut in medio curriculi tardiores non praetereat, atque ita laxo sinu demissoque verborum contextu inambulare ut ingenio quantumvis acri non protinus praetereunda fastidiendaque occurrat. [Continues on the author's aims and his decision to write history, as set forth in the prologue]. . . . Quantum vero ad verborum elegantiam et sermonis leporem in quo iuvenibus plurimum immorandum est: sciant primum *omneis* accusativum esse latinum qui a priscis Latinis per *ei* diphthongon scribi consuevit ne in -es finitus cum nominativo et accusativo pluralibus et in -is cum eisdem singularibus consonet; simulque quod concinnius sonet accusativus in -is, licet -eis scribatur, sequente praesertim -es ut hoc loco *Omnis homines . . . / . . .* [Expl.]: [Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut incruentam victoram adeptus est (61.7).] Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani erat adeptus victoram laetam aut incruentam. Nam strenuissimus quisque (61.7). Nam strenuus aut strenuissimus quisque (dubitabat enim Valla utrum legendum sit [Eleg. 1.14]) [aut occiderat in proelio aut graviter vulneratus discesserat (61.7).] Aut occiderat in proelio aut discesserat vulneratus graviter. [Multi autem qui de castris visendi aut spoliandi gratia processerant volentes hostilia cadavera amicum alii pars hospitum aut cognatum reperiebant (61.7–8).] Multi autem qui processerant e castris gratia visendi aut spoliandi volentes hostilia reperiebant alii amicum, pars id est alii. Hospitem aut cognatum. Supple occisum. [Fuere item qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum laetitia moeror luctus atque gaudia agitabantur. Finis (61.8–9).] Fuere item qui cognoscerent inter occisos suos inimicos. Ita id est et sic laetitia maeror luctus atque gaudia agitabantur varie per exercitum. Finis Catilinarii belli. (The lemmata in square brackets are taken from the text of Badius' 1504 Paris edition of Sallust's *opera*).

#### *Editions:*

1504, 1506, (\*) 1508, 1509, 1511, (\*) 1513, 1514, (\*) 1517, 1519, 1523, 1526, (\*) 1528, 1547, 1564. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC 1.230–31 (Biography, 231) (Juvenalis); 3.273–75 (Persius); and 5.383–86 (Valerius Maximus).

Add to *Bibliography*: “Josse Bade,” *Contemporaries of Erasmus* 1.79–81 (G. Guilleminot); *L’Europe des humanistes*, 47–48; Ph. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste, 1462–1535*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1908; rpt. New York, [1967]), see index; Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 2–4, 8–10, 79–80; and Schindel, “Die Rezeption Sallusts,” 93.

## 17. Jacobus à Cruce Bononiensis

The *Annotatiunculae* on selected passages of the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* were written for the benefit of *studiosi iuvenes* while the author was teaching in Bologna and were collected for publication, along with his notes on other ancient authors, after 1498 (to judge from references to events in the life of Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio, to whom the dedicatory letter was addressed). In 1511 this collection, *Annotationes centum in varios authores*, was printed by Johannes Parvus and Jodocus Badius Ascensius at Paris. From 1517 on Cruciis’ notes on Sallust frequently appeared in editions of Sallust’s *opera*, often at the beginning of the volume. In contrast with the line-by-line commentaries of most of his predecessors and contemporaries, these annotations were confined to a few *loci selecti* or *cruces* (about fourteen in the *Catilina* and six in the *Iugurtha*). Although limited in scope, they are included here because of the frequency with which they were printed and cited in the sixteenth century.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Paris, 1511 of the *Annotationes centum*). Ad augustum et illustrissimum Protonotarium Bentivolum Antonium Galeaz patronum valde observandum, Iacobi à Cruce Bononiensis epistola. [Inc.]: Athenienses a Lacedaemoniis frequenter bello subacti et profligati Ammonis oraculum consuluisse feruntur, princeps Auguste, quid causae esset, quod cum ipsi lectas bidentes et boves eximios auratis cornibus diis immortalibus offerrent nihilque huiusmodi facerent Lacedaemonii in sacrificiis etiam parcissimi, victoria tamen saepius ad Lacedaemonios verteretur, responsum tulere orationem Lacedaemoniorum magis diis probari quam reliquorum Graecorum pompam inanem. . . . Quibus exemplis commo-

tus non dubitavi, singularis mi patrone, munusculum hoc qualemque tibi porrigeret ac nomini tuo dicare libellum hunc tumultuariis opellis a me nuperrime exaratum his diebus unctis et licentiosis, quippe qui libellus foetus menstruus dici poterit, mensis enim est quo a calce ad metam pervenimus, quod verum esse vereor ne nimium exilis et iejuna res ipsa prodat. Hunc ergo tibi mittimus non emerendi favoris gratia nec ostentationis neque etiam lucelli, sed potius testimonium nostrae erga te observantiae. . . . Harum igitur lucubratiuncularum primus tu libamina carpes a quibus criticos et Aristarchos propellimus. Nam, ut Lucilius dicere solebat ea quae scribebat neque se ab indoctissimis neque ab doctissimis legi velle, quod alteri nihil intelligerent, alteri plus fortasse quam ipse [Cic., *De orat.* 2.6.25], ego nolim quidem rusticos nostra legere, sed nec eruditissimos et, ut ille, malo orationem meam non intelligi quam reprehendi. Haec ergo sterilia et pusilla his scripsimus qui et candidi sunt quique nondum litterarum fastigium sunt assecuti. Habebit igitur lector annotatiunculas et observations quasdam studiosis iuvenibus non inutiles, ut spero, neque iniucundas. Explicamus enim quaedam, ni fallor, nisi paucissimis et his doctissimis, perpensa et cognita in Ovidio, Virgilio, Persio, Lucano, Papinio, Martiale, Donato et Servio. Ad hoc in Cicerone, Sallustio, Livio, Valeario Maximo et Tranquillo, Gellio nonnulla partim declaramus, partim emendamus et ex antiquis codicibus et receptissimorum auctoritate. Sed et historias quasdam in transcursu per allusiones poetarum insertas miscuimus quibus scimus Genius tuum delectari, utque volumini iusta Magnitudo accederet ac pariter varietate (quaе omnium iucundissima est) lector permulceretur, adiecimus praelectiones quasdam in varios auctores quibus praefari quotannis ferme noster mos fuit, cum publice profiteremur cumque ad Beroaldum nostrum et Codrum, viros undecimque eruditissimos et ad nos qualescumque audiendos, tum officii tum genii tui causa ventitaires, aliquam forte audire potuisti eoque libentius has etiam praelectiones adiunximus, quod in una mentio est tuae sacrae peregrinationis, qua Hierosolimam petisti, immo adorasti, quodque interdum Illustris principis nostri patris tui Augustissimi meminimus. . . . [Expl.]: Cum ergo sacris occupationibus paulisper fueris levatus, poteris delectu meliorum habito . . . tibi

praelegere tamquam Anagnostes fidus Petrus Borgolochus, tuus epistolarum magister ornatus et amanuensis politus in amicos clientesque tuos apprime officiosus. Quod si (quae tua in omnes benignitas, mansuetudo, liberalitas et clementia est) nostra haec tirocinia et has primitiolas unus tu mihi semper honoratus semperque maximus probaveris, ita me in posterum confirmabis, ut propediem Panegyricon ad te sim missurus, quo multa sed quidem merita Domus tuae Bentivolae libenter agnosces. Et alia meliora mox accipies, quibus haec qualiacumque nunc praeludunt. Ex quo hoc etiam fiet, ut adversus malevolos et obtrectatores hac tua probatione ac patrocino (*sic*) suffultus tutissime ambulare possim. Vale decus meum.

Eiusdem hendecasyllabi ad libellum. Festinas nimium, libelle, lucem ... Exis cum duce cui perire vita est.

*Commentary.* In Catilinam Sallustii. [Inc.]: In Catilina Iugurthaque Crispi Sallustii quaedam velociter transcurrentes annotamus, in primis illud ex Gellio [Noct. att. 4.15] exponentes, quod in praefatione ita legitur: *At mihi, tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem et auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere* (3.2). *Arduum*, hic positum est non pro difficulti tantum, sed pro eo quoque quod Graeci δυσχερές aut χαλεπόν vocant: quod est tum difficile tum molestum, quoque incommode et intractabile. . . / . . . [Expl.]: Illud etiam in fine Catilinae ita legendum arbitramur: *Pauci quos medios cohors praetoria disiecerat, paulo diversi alis alibi stantes, omnes tamen adversis vulneribus ceciderunt* (61.3). *Alis enim antiquitus dicebatur, quod nunc alius, auctoribus eodem Diomede* [p. 333K] ac Prisciano [GL 3.8].

#### *Editions:*

1511, ex officina nostra chalcographa [Paris] (colophon); Venundantur ab Ioanne Parvo & Io. Badio Ascensio (frontispiece). The *Annotationes* and *Praelectiones* of Crucius, in *Annotationes doctorum virorum*, ed. Jodocus Badius Ascensius, fols. [CXCIVv–CXCIV(r sic)]. NUC. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense; BL; BNF; (MH; MiU; NjP).

(\*) 1517, 1519, 1523, 1526, (\*) 1528, (\*) 1544, 1546, 1547, 1564, (micro.) 1571. See above, Composite Editions.

1602, Francofurti (Frankfurt). Sumptibus Ioanae Rhodii Bibliopolae. The *Annotationes* of Crucius, in *Lampas sive Fax artium liberalium, hoc est*

*Thesaurus criticus*, ed. Janus Gruterus, 1.684–87. NUC. BL; BNF; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense; (CtY; ICU).

#### *Biography:*

Jacobus à Cruce Bononiensis or Crucius, Cruceus, etc. (Iacopo or Giacomo Croci da Bologna, or Croce, Dalla Croce, Cristiani, etc.) (ca. 1460–1526) was considered one of the most learned men of Bologna in his time. After obtaining a degree in philosophy in 1480, he taught grammar in the neighborhood schools. In 1495/96 he was also appointed professor of rhetoric and poetry at the *Studio* and, except for brief absences from the city in 1503–1504 and again between 1511 and ca. 1514, he continued teaching at the University until his death. Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio, to whom he dedicated his collection of *Annotationes*, was appointed protonotary apostolic in 1483 by Pope Sixtus IV and archdeacon of Bologna in 1491 by Pope Innocent VIII; he was also the patron of Crucius' friends and colleagues, Johannes Baptista Pius and Antonius Urceus 'Codrus'.

#### *Works:*

*Annotationes centum in varios auctores* (notes on Ovid, Virgil, Persius, Lucan, Papinius [Statius], Seneca, Horace, Martial, Silius Italicus, Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Suetonius, Pliny the Elder, Gellius, Donatus, et al.); *Praelectiones* on Livy, Silius Italicus, Boethius, Juvenal, and Valerius Maximus. (See *Editions* above.)

A Latin verse translation of Callimachus' *Hymni*; panegyric of the Bentivoglio family (reported by Cosenza, below).

#### *Bibliography:*

CTC 2.337 (Livy) and 3.354–55 (Silius Italicus); Cosenza 2.1796; *L'Europe des humanistes*, 137; Ferrari 243; G. Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, vol. 3 (Bologna, 1783), 232–37; S. Mazzetti, *Repertorio di tutti i professori antichi e moderni della famosa università e del celebre istituto delle scienze di Bologna* (Bologna, 1847), 106 (see also the Bologna, 1848 edition of this work *con in fine alcune aggiunte e correzioni alle opere dell'Alidosi, del Cavazza, del Sarti, del Fantuzzi e del Tiraboschi per quella parte soltanto che tratta de' Professori dell'Università di Bologna*, 58); Fr. P. A. Orlandi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi* (Bologna, 1714), 132; Ph. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des oeuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et*

*humaniste*, 1462–1535, 3 vols. (Paris, 1908; rpt. New York, [1967]), 3.236, 241–42 (Sallust), and *passim*; B. L. Ullman, “The Manuscripts of Propertius,” *Classical Philology* 6 (1911) 289.

#### 18. Philippus Melanchthon

Melanchthon’s *Scholia* on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*, first published at Haguenau in 1529, appear as brief marginal notes on selected passages or parts of the text. The study of Sallust was important in the humanistic curriculum that Melanchthon had been promoting for some years in German schools and universities, and the notes point out *sententiae* and *exempla*, ancient sources or parallel passages, and elements of rhetorical constructions. The number (though not the character) of the *Scholia* varied in succeeding editions, whether it was Melanchthon himself or the printers who were responsible for these additions and omissions. Most editions also include occasional textual corrections or variants placed in the margin and marked by an asterisk. As was the case for Jacobus Crucius Bononiensis (I.17 above), these *scholia* do not constitute a full commentary, but are included here because of their popularity during the sixteenth century in northern Europe.

Printed at the end of the volume are the *Flores selecti per Hulderichum Huttenum Equitem eiusdemque scholiis non indoctis illustrati*, a list of Salustian *sententiae* reportedly compiled by Huldericus Huttenus and published posthumously at Strassburg in 1528 (Schweiger 2.892); they were often reprinted in later editions containing Melanchthon’s notes. The 1529 edition also includes two *vitae Sallustii* (given below): (1) the *vita Sallustii* by Petrus Crinitus, which first appeared in the Giunta edition of Florence, 1503 and was reprinted by Aldus Pius Manutius in 1509, as well as in most later Aldine editions of Sallust; (2) an anonymous biography, which appeared for the first time in the 1471 Venice edition of Sallust by Vindelinus de Spira, and was attributed to Hieronymus Squarzaficus Alexandrinus in the 1478 Venice edition by Philippus Petrus (“Et hec vita magna cum diligentia compilata fuit a Hieronymo Squarzafico Alexandrino”).

*Vita Sallustii* (ed. of Haguenau, 1529). Ex libris Petri Criniti de historicis ac oratoribus latinis. C. Crispus Salustius Amiterni natus traditur in agro Sabino, quo anno Atheniensium urbs a L. Sylla devicta atque vastata est, ut Romani annales

referunt. Ex nobili Salustiorum familia ortus est, quae diu in secundo ordine dignitatem servavit. Idem in urbe educatus creditur et a teneris annis operam ac studium impendisse optimis disciplinis. Sed cum in ea tempora incidisset, quibus corrupti civium mores variis partibus atque factionibus forent, neque virtuti praemia aut bonis ingenii adessent in tam depravata civitate, quod idem Salustius fatetur [BI 3.1], victum eius ingenium voluptatibus facile succubuit. Itaque cum ad rem publicam pro aetate foret delatus propter civium improbatatem et factiones multa adversa pertulit [BC 3.3]. Nam tum praecipue Sullanis partibus infecta civitas aestuabat. Constat ex veterum commentariis Salustum ipsum ingenio fuisse acri et in studiis litterarum accurato, tum maxime in scribenda historia. Praeceptorem habuit inter alios Atteum Praetextatum, qui Philogum se appellavit et ab eo edocitus est de ratione recte scribendi, ut a Suetonio Tranquillo traditur qui et Asinium quoque Pollionem sribit ab eodem Praetextato eruditum atque instructum [Suet., *Gramm.* 10]. Maxime autem M. Catonis studiosus fuit, ex cuius commentariis verba excerpit et velut breviarium ad usum proprium habuit, quod Octavius quoque Augustus in epistola ad Marcum Antonium refert [Suet., *Aug.* 86.2–3], in qua ipsum Antonium ceu insanientem increpat, quod ea scribere vellet quae mirentur potius homines quam quae intelligent. Sed interim ad Salustii commentarios. Historiam composuit de Lucii Catilinae coniuratione contra Romanum Senatum et item de bello Iugurthae, qui Numidiae rex factus diu contra Romanos strenue rem gessit. Historiam praeterea de Romanorum gestis, ut de Mario et Sylla necnon de Pompeio contra regem Mithridatem, quod opus libris aliquot a Salustio absolutum traditur. Et adhuc supersunt quaedam, veluti absolutissimi operis reliquiae, in quibus Salustii diligentia in historia describenda atque gravitas appareat. In parte operis de rebus Punicis tanto animi studio incubuit ut a quibusdam scriptum sit eum regionem adiisse ac maxima solertia perlustrasse quo maiore fide atque officio veritatem exploraret. Avienus certe Rufus plurimum Salustii diligentiam atque studium commendavit [*Or. mar.* 36ff.], sed et Gellius, vir Romanus, qui veterum eruditionis Aristarchus habetur, ita de Salustii oratione disserit: Elegantia, inquit, Salustii verborumque facundia et novandi studium, cum multa

prorsus invidia fuit, plures non mediocri ingenio viri conati sunt reprehendere pleraque et obtructare, in quibus plura inscite aut maligne vellificant [*Noct. att.* 4.15.1]. Quin et hunc proprietatis servantissimum vocat [*Noct. att.* 10.20.10]. Titus autem Livius tam iniquus Salustio fuit, sicuti ab Annaeo Seneca scribitur, ut quaedam ex Historia Thucydidis translata et eleganter assumpta velut depravata et corrupta illi obiecit (obiecerit *ed.* 1503). Idque ipsum non in Thucydidis gratiam effecit, ut Arellius Fuscus dicebat, verum putavit se facilius Salustum vincere si prius Thucydidem ipsum praeferret [Sen., *Contr.* 9.1.14]. Asinius quoque Pollio librum scripsit, quo Salustii scripta reprehenderet quod in iis nimia quidem (quadam *ed.* 1503) affectatione antiquitatem sequeretur [Suet., *Gramm.* 10]. Fabius vero Quintilianus, vir maturo et gravi iudicio, asseruit oratione Salustii atque brevitate nihil fieri posse perfectius praesertim apud vacuas et eruditas aures [*Inst.* 10.1.32]. Neque veritus est idem Fabius auctori Thucydidi, in scribenda historia apud Graecos principi, Salustum ipsum opponere, sicuti Titum Livium Herodoto [*Inst.* 10.1.101]; factum est ut, cum plures voluerint dicendi genus Salustianum sequi, minime sint assecuti. Est enim eius oratio tam absoluta, tam casta et innocens, ut merito ab eruditis divina brevitas censeatur. Nam et Aruntius, qui belli Punici historiam scripsit, Salustio tantum concessit ut eius orationem maximo studio sequeretur, quod alibi diximus [Sen., *Ep.* 114.17–19]. Nec illud ignoratur consueuisse Salustum magno labore ac studio scribere, ut nihil non absolutum atque perfectum videri posset, quod ex ipsa lectione facile colligitur. Amicos in primis habuit doctrina et ingenio nobiles, ut Cornelium Nepotem, Messalam, et Nigidium Figulum, qui periisse in exilio traditur. Iulium praeterea Caesarem magno studio dilexit a quo etiam, ut creditur, dignitate praefecture honestatus est. Illud item a Suetonio refertur [*Gramm.* 15] Lenaeum grammaticum, Pompei libertum, saturas contra Salustum composuisse eumque mordaci et virulento carmine lacerasse, ut qui lurconem illum popinionemque et nebulonem ac lastaurum appellari, tum vita scriptisque monstrorum ac M. Catonis (verborum *add. ed.* 1503) furem ineruditissimum, quod ipsum non alia ratione a Lenaeo factum creditur quam ut studium suum atque officium erga patronum Pompeium probaret, quem virum Crispus Salustius ore

probo animo autem inverecundo esse scripserat. Itaque mirandum non est si tam acerce atque satyrice libertus Lenaeus contra Salustum aciem stili exacuit. Quantum odii atque inimicitiae inter hunc et M. Ciceronem extiterit notissimum est, quod utriusque violentae atque acerrimae orationes ita demonstrant ut neuter videri possit satis sui rationem habuisse dum alteri male diceret. Qua in re non sunt multa referenda, cum ex Hieronymi [?Adv. *Iov.* 1.148] ac Fabii [Quint., *Inst.* 4.1.68, 9.3.89] auctoritate constet eos homines longe aberrasse qui confictas magis ratione (orationes *ed.* 1503) ab aliis quam a Salustio et Cicerone habitas crediderint. Et sane tam corruptis moribus Salustius, ingenio tam proclivi ad luxum fuit ut paternam domum, vivente adhuc patre, turpissima ratione venalem haberet, quod illi inter alia vitia a Marco Cicerone exprobatur [*In Sall.* 5.14]. Sed a Varrone etiam et Gellio [*Noct. att.* 17.18] traditum est eundem fuisse in adulterio deprehensum ab Annio Milone lorisque caesum ac data pecunia dimissum. Qua ratione factum est ut Marcus Cicero appellare illum non dubitaverit mensarum asseculam, cubiculorum pellicem et adulterum [*In Sall.* 8.21]. Dignitates publicas gessit et quaesturae et tribunatus honorem assecutus est, sed nulla quidem laude aut commendatione, adeo libidine magis quam ratione et publice et privatum vixisse, nam et bis vocatus est in iudicium et ad iudicium subsellia abstractus, fortuna extrema (ut inquit Cicero [*ibid.* 5.14]) stetit. Scribunt autem grammatici ea causa de senatu electum fuisse a censoribus, quod ingenti libidine matronas consecaretur [ps. Acron., *In Hor. Serm.* 1.2.49]. Illud quoque de Salustio relatum est [*In Sall.* 7.19–20], patrocinio et favore C. Caesaris consecutum fuisse praeturam Africæ interioris, ex qua dives factus, cum in urbem rediret, pretiosissimos atque amoenissimos hortos in regione ad Malum Punicum comparavit ac Tiburti villam quae a Cicerone itidem illi obiciuntur. Neque desunt qui scribant Terentiam Marci Ciceronis uxorem ab eo repudiatam Salustio nupsisse ac deinceps Messalae Corvino, viro in eloquentia clarissimo [cf. Hier., *Adv. Iovin.* 1.49], quod etiam suo loco scripsimus. Sciendum est fuisse plures Salustios. Nam et Gneus a Marco Tullio celebratur, in Salustiorum familia insignis et M. Ciceroni ac Gn. Pompeio maxime familiaris, quod ex his epistolis colligitur quas Cicero ad Pomponium Atticum scribit. Qua in re impru-

denter quidam decepti sunt, cum Salustii Empedoclea ignorarent, ut alibi demonstravi. Sunt qui tradant ad annum secundum et LX eum vixisse et in patria annis aliquot post obitum C. Caesaris diem extremum obiisse, quod ex veterum commentariis colligitur. Illud praeterea de hoc ipso Crispus Romae circumlatum est, ut multi testantur: Hic erit, ut perhibent doctorum corda virorum // Crispus Romana primus in historia [Mart. 14.191].

*Crispi Salustii oratoris clarissimi vita* [Hieronymus Squarzaficus Alexandrinus (ed. of Haguebau, 1529)]. Crispus Salustius, vir patricius ab in-eunte aetate bonis artibus imbutus, ad rem publicam gerendam animum applicuit, in qua non pauca adversa passus prudentia sua superavit. Et res publica, iam Carthagine atque Numantia eversa Asiaque domita, (*sic*) ut nec nobilitati nec virtuti sua redderentur praemia [BI 3.1] atque impudenti atque audacissimo cuique plebs obsequerentur. Hinc dominatus L. Sullae et proscriptionis tabula Romanis civibus prius ignota proleta est; hinc flagitiosa Catilinae coniuratio. Hinc bellum civile inter Caesarem et Pompeium exortum libertatem civitati ademit. His igitur hominum moribus conflictatum Crispi ingenium, suapte natura integrum, iuvenili ac flagranti aetate proclivem (*sic*) ad adulteria libido rapuit atque corrupit [cf. BC 3.3–4] neque id impune diu admisit. Nam, ut Varro tradit [Gellius, *Noct. att.* 17.18], ab Annio Milone domi deprehensus et grandi pecunia multatus est, bis ad subsellia accusatus atque absolutus a iudicibus non sine pecunia, ut fertur, discessit; domum avitam tanto patris dolore iam aetate confecti vendidit ut vita decidere cogeretur [*In Sall.* 5.14]. Consumptis igitur opibus patriis et quaestura prius functus, deinde tribunus plebis creatus est. Ac postremo praetorem ulterioris Africae designatum eum proconsulem cum exercitu regno Iubae, rege necato, Caesar praefecit atque in provinciam rededit [Bell. Afr. 97.1; App., Bell. civ. 2.14.100]. Quae sane Crispus mutatis moribus iam gravescente aetate per libidinem atque flagitia prodegisset, non modo recuperavit sed pretiosissimos in urbe hortos Tiburtinamque villam ab ipso Iulio emit [*In Sall.* 7.19]. Cuius nutu bello civili iam peracto omnia regebantur, nec leges maiorum amplius in re publica administranda servabantur. Si externo atque barbaro cuique, si Caesari iubebat (*sic*), in senatum aditus patebat ac sententiam non con-

sularis sed Gallus aut ignobilis ac sordidus quisque dicebat. Quibus rebus indignatus Salustius rem publicam deseruit atque ad intermissa studia rediens quaeque a populo Romano praeclare gesta fuissent scribere decrevit, ne id ipsum otii quod elegerat ignavia atque desidia tereret, aut illiberalibus officiis intentus minus utilis rei publicae foret quam antehac extitisset [BI 4.4]. Aggressus igitur bellum contra Catilinae coniurationem atque Iugurtham Numidarum potentissimum ac prudentissimum gestum, tanta cura atque diligentia perscripsit <ut> non annales Romanos modo sed Punicos et Afros ac peritos illius linguae Romanorum gesta diligenter evolveret atque in Africam traiecit ne quae legerat tantum sed visu certiora etiam facta posteris narraret. In hoc autem genere scribendi tantum laudis assecutus ut Quintilianus gravis atque severus iudex Thucydidi graeco historiarum scriptori adaequet [*Inst.* 10.1.101], quem Cicero tantopere laudat atque sententiis crebrum autumat ut paene verborum copiam sententiarum frequentia consequatur [*De orat.* 2.13.56]. Amicos habuit Cornelium Nepotem eodem scribendae historiae studio delectatum ac P. Nigidium Figulum omnium doctrinarum genere non inferiorem Varroni. Cicero vero ex familiari inimicus factus nescio qua de causa. Terentiam uxorem ab eodem Cicerone repudiatam in uxorem duxit, ut ab ea quamdiu summa benevolentia cum Cicerone vixerit atque suorum consiliorum non ignara aliquid turpe eliceret, quo acrius atque turpius in eum inverheretur, cuius in Ciceronem extat invectiva quam frequenti senatu habuisse fertur. Natus Amiterni in Sabinis bello Iugurthino Romae educatus, Crispus habitavit iuxta Minervam, ubi nunc templum Divae Mariae veneratur, atque in hunc usque diem Sallustiana domus vocatur. Vixit usque ad sexagesimum secundum annum septimum post Caesaris obitum. Cuius Terentia uxor postea Messalae Corvino praestantissimo sua aetate oratori nupsit.

[There follow excerpts from ‘Pliny’ (“*De viris illustribus*”) and Aulus Gellius (*Noct. att.* 24).]

*Commentary* (ed. of Haguebau, 1529). C. Crispi Salustii liber de coniuratione Catilinae. [Inc.]: *Omneis homines* (1.1). *Propositio ab officio hominis. Virtus clara aeternaque habetur* (1.4). Amplificat ab exemplis. *Nam et priusquam incipias consulto . . .* (1.6). Haec sententia Demosthenis est [*Prooemia* 21.3 (?)] . . . Ubi de magna virtute

(3.2). Haec sententia ex Thucydide est accepta e lib. 2 funebri Periclis oratione [2.35.2]. *Eo magis, quod mihi . . .* (4.2). Nam in historico potissimum requiri solet fides, et Marcus Cicero lumen veritatis appellat historiam [*De orat.* 2.9.36] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus conciderant* (61.3). Nemo habebat fugientis iudicium. *Nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in proelio . . .* (61.7). Ut nemo caperetur civis [cives ed.] ingenuus. (We thank Maia W. Gahtan for kindly checking the transcription of these texts at the Beinecke Library, Yale University).

*Editions:*

1529, 1530, (\*) 1532, 1533, (\*) 1534, (\*) 1544, 1546, 1547, 1564. See above, Composite Editions.

The notes on the monographs and epistles are printed separately in *Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae extant*, ed. C. G. Bretschneider and H. E. Bindseil, *Corpus Reformatorum* 1–28 (Halle and Braunschweig, 1834–60; rpt. Frankfurt, 1963), vol. 17 (1851), 583–610.

*Biography:*

See CTC 2.149–51 (Biography, 150–51) (Gregorius Nazianzenus); 4.372–73 (Biography, 373) (Plinius Secundus); 6.149–50 (Biography, 150) (Tacitus); 7.146–47 (Xenophon).

Add to *Bibliography*: *Centuria latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, ed. C. Nativel, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 314 (Geneva, 1997), 537–49 (K. Meerhoff); “*Philippus Melanchthon*,” *Contemporaries of Erasmus* 2.424–29 (H. Scheible); “*Melanchthon, Philipp*,” DBE 7.49–51 (H. Scheible); *L'Europe des humanistes*, 300–301; Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 12–13, 80; and R. Stupperich, “*Melanchthons Proverbien-Kommentare*,” in A. Buck and O. Herding, eds., *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance* (Boppard, 1975), 21–34.

A copy of a rare Aldine dated 1510 (reprint of the edition of 1509) in the Houghton Library, Harvard University (Ls 5.115.4\*) contains marginal notes and interlinear glosses ascribed to Melanchthon. On manuscripts and printed editions of Sallust in Melanchthon's library, some of which preserve manuscript notes, see G. F. B. Kloss, *Catalogue of the Library of Dr. Kloss of Franckfort a. M. . .* (London, 1835), 233, nos. 3254–59.

19. Henricus Glareanus

Glareanus' annotations on the *Catilina*, *Iugurtha*, and the two *Invectivae* were completed in 1537 at Freiburg i. Br., where he was teaching, and published in Basel the following year (without, it seems, any accompanying texts). The commentary combined general textual explication with digressions on aspects of ancient law, chronology, and geography, especially when these touched upon the history of Gaul and Germany and his own homeland, Helvetia. Glareanus was critical of the earlier work of Laurentius Valla, Johannes Chrysostomus Soldus, and Jodocus Badius Ascensius, as well as of Aldus Pius Manutius' 1509 edition (generally considered the best to date), and based many of his emendations upon an Italian codex (*vetustum exemplar Gothi*) recently brought to him from Bourges by Julius Gothus, pupil of Andreas Alciatus.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Basel, 1538). Priscae ac verae nobilitatis insignisque eruditio viro, D. Ioanni Wernhero a Rischach, Domus Teutonicae Friburgi Brisgoae Commendatori, Henricus Glareanus s. d. p. [Inc.]: Cum hac nostra aetate in emendandis optimis auctoribus doctissimi quique in omni arte viri certatim satagant, laborent, desudent, quod germana lectio eorundem indigna temporum iniuria depravata tandem priscam recipiat lucem ac in integrum restituatur, quod in Livio, Cicerone, Plinio aliisque multis et fecimus ipsi et alios fecisse videmus, nequeo hercle satis admirari cur in Sallustium tam veterem, tam frugiferum, tantae postremo existimationis apud omnes classicos auctorem ut Quintilianus Thucydidae comparare non dubitarit [*Inst.* 10.1.101], nemo hodie dignum lectu quod sciām quicquam tentarit, quo sanaret tot vulneribus a barbarie diutina confossum, tam mutilum, tam lacerum ut, si a mortuis hodie resurgat, suorum scriptorum fragmenta agnitus quidem fuerit sed haud absque lacrimis inspecturus. Collegerunt quidam flosculos ex eo, verbis eis saepe corrupte citatis, ut editio nupera florum in hunc auctorem quae Huttendo ascribitur. Quae si eius est, levi (ut dici solet) ille bracchio sibi fortassis lusit, non in hoc ut ederetur. Cuius indicium mihi facit primus statim in scholiorum vestibulo flos, ubi ait: *Studere se* [BC 1.1]. Deinde continuo confirmanda rei gratia Sallustii verba subinfert: *Qui student sese praestare ceteris animantibus*, quasi accusativus sese ad student non ad *praestare* referatur. Quod, ne videa-

mur hic grammaticen docere, lectori discutendum relinquo. Idem dico de Commentario in Catilinam, qui initio quidem splendide nec absurde rhetoricitatur, ut existimes propemodum vel Vallae vel non indoctioris esse; at in posterioribus deinde commentationibus vix alicuius docti viri putabis, tantum abest ut Vallae videri possit. Transeo nunc Soldi cuiusdam ac Badii longissima commenta, multis in locis nec caelum nec terram attingentia, ut locorum, qui plurimi hic corrupti sunt, difficultates nihilominus vexent ac turbent lectorem. Male me habuit, ut verum fatear, cum quotidie in scholis praelegatur, in ore omnium in manibus versetur, denique nemo sit qui illum non devorasse videri velit, interrogati tamen multi de locis aliquot depravatis, ne verbum quidem dignum οὐδὲ γρῦ respondere queant. Quapropter, quando in aliis auctoribus nunc saepe id laboris haud gravate susceperim, nec eius rei hactenus paenituerit; etiam hic me studiosis operae pretium facturum existimavi si quae in hoc auctore sciolorum ignorantia et longa vetustas depravarit pro virili restitueremus. Ad quae non nudam dumtaxat coniectaram adferimus, sed historiae apud alios auctores collationem codicunque veterum fidem. Inter quos pervetustus unus Iulii Gothi, adolescentis eximiae spei et nobis in primis familiaris fuit, quem ipse e Biturigibus, cum illic sub Alciato, doctissimo viro, iuris prudentiae strenue operam navaret, huc attulerat, ex Italia tamen antea in Galliam delatum. Aldus Manutius Venetiis antea aliquot annos editionem exhibuit, ut tum putabant, satis emendatam; laudandam certe si ad prioris saeculi exemplaria edita conferatur. Verum si penitus introspexeris, Dii boni, quantum illic reperias errorum. Eam tamen nostra aetatis librarii certatim, tamquam simiae, a viginti nunc annis imitati, ne latum quidem digitum ab ea discesserunt. Unde factum est, si quis secus quam ea habebat legeret, ut identidem audiret impudenter obgannientes: aliter atque tu legis, habet littera Aldina, quasi piaculum commisisset qui non statim illi acquiesisset. Non existimo opus esse ut adolescentes ad hunc frequentissime legendum invitem. Vino vendibili (secundum proverbium) non est opus suspensa hedera. Hoc unum tamen sciat studiosus adolescens, maiorem ex hoc auctore fructum esse ad firmandum consolidandumque stilum quam ut paucis dici queat. Certe epistularis angustia in tam exigua opella nos plura dicere non patitur. Benignitati tuae, integerrime vir ac nobilitatis an-

tiquae ingens decus, hosce labores nostros offero haud nescius maiora tuam decere clementiam. Sed a parvo cliente magnus patronus parva sperare potest, magna haud scio desiderare ne potius an sperare. Bene vale. Friburgi Brisgoe, Calendis Novembribus, Anno a natali Christi MDXXXVII.

*Commentary.* In C. Crispi Sallustii Bellum Catilinarium Henrici Glareani Annotationes. [Inc.]: *L. Catilina nobili genere natus* (5.1). Quo genere quave familia natus sit L. Catilina ambigi idque inter doctos admodum miror. Ex Sallustio hercle certum deprehendi non potest. Florus eum patricium fuisse perhibet. Idem ait commentarius ille in Sallustii Catilinam qui Laurentio Vallae a quibusdam ascribitur. Ubi etiam additur de gente Cornelii eum fuisse. . . . Certe in Ciceronis orationibus nusquam de Cornelii (nisi memoria nos feffellerit) perhibetur. Quae autem ipsius Catilinae orationes feruntur, abs quoipiam confictae videntur, quarum prior, etiam stolida nec bene latina, egregie scilicet probat Catilinam de gente fuisse Cornelii. Itaque ego facile adducor, quod aliis codicibus adscriptum legimus Catilinam Sergium fuisse, quae familia et ipsa antiquissima esse perhibetur, nempe a Troiano illo Sergesto, si canenti Virgilio V Aeneidos credere libet [Aen. 5.121]: Sergestusque domus tenet a quo Sergio nomen. Verum de hoc lectori liberum esto iudicium. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Ipse cum liberis et colonis* (59.3). Dubium liberisne suis an liberis quia servitia repudiavit intelligendum. Vetus codex *libertis* habet. Quid si municipes intellexerit, cum colonorum proxime subiunxerit mentionem (mentiorem ed.)? *Ille cohortes veteranas. Ipse equo circumiens* (59.5). Mirum quam hic haesitent commentatores, ac contraria et sentiant et explicant in re non admodum difficiili. Ego per *ille* Petreum intelligo, per *ipse* Antonium, quod (quod si ed. Venice 1590) lector ipse simul atque priora cum sequentibus conferet, facile intelliget.

#### *Editions:*

1538, (\*) 1544, 1546, 1547, 1564, (micro.) 1571, 1607. See above, Composite Editions.

#### *Doubtful edition:*

Schweiger 2.872 mentions a new recension of the texts of the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* prepared by Glareanus and published by Cratander in 1538. His remarks seem to refer, however, to the textual emendations included in the *Annotationes* described above.

*Biography:*

See CTC 2.342–44 (Biography, 343–44) (Livius); 3.105–107 (Caesar); 5.387–91 (Biography, 391) (Valerius Maximus).

Add to *Bibliography*: “Henricus Glareanus,” *Contemporaries of Erasmus* 2.105–108 (F. Büsser); *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon* 6.364–65; *L’Europe des humanistes*, 209; Michaud 16.614–15; Sandys 2.263; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford, 1976), 85–86.

## 20. Johannes Rivius

In 1539 Johannes Rivius published at Leipzig his *Castigationes* of Sallust’s *Catilina* and *Iugurtha*, as well as a few emendations of the speeches and letters from the *Historiae* and the *Epistulae*. In his dedicatory letter of 1538 to Johannes, bishop of Meissen (Johannes VIII of Maltitz), he praised the bishop’s plans for reforming the schools and stressed the value of *honestae disciplinae* as training for public life. Rivius was primarily concerned, however, with correcting the text, and in this connection set forth, in general terms, his critical methods and cited the four manuscripts that he had used: a very old parchment codex given to him by Georgius Fabricius; another at the Benedictine monastery near Merseburg (whose riches he had learned about through Fabricius and to which he had gained access through the good offices of Johannes Cochlaeus); and two others that were sent to him by Cochlaeus and that arrived just as he was finishing the corrections. These witnesses Rivius collated with an edition recently printed by Johannes Gymnicus (perhaps the latter’s 1536 edition). In a separate preface (*Studiosis*), he cited the chief editions of Sallust from the time of Pomponius Laetus (1490) to his own day, singling out those of Benedictus Philologus (Florence, 1503), Aldus Pius Manutius (Venice, 1509), and Hieronymus Aleander (Paris, 1513), and explaining the importance of the manuscripts he had used. A new dedicatory letter, addressed to the young nobleman Ernestus von Schonburg, is found in later editions. It is dated 1542, the same year in which Jacobus Baerwaldus reportedly published an edition of Sallust’s *opera* with Rivius’ *Castigationes*.

Following Rivius’ notes on the *Catilina* is an appendix or “corollarium” that was drawn from

Constantius Felicius Durantinus’ *De coniuratione Catilinae liber*, published at Rome in 1518 by Jacobus Mazochius and republished at Leipzig in 1535 by Johannes Cochlaeus. Although Rivius does not name Felicius as his source for this appendix, he did cite him in his introductory remarks on *quo sit genere natus Catilina* and in his *castigationes* on the *Catilina*. (On Felicius and his criticisms of Sallust, see P. J. Osmond and R. W. Ulery, Jr., “Constantius Felicius Durantinus and the Renaissance Origins of Anti-Sallustian Criticism,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 1 [1995] 29–56).

*Praefatio* (ed. of Leipzig, 1539). Reverendo in Christo Patri ac D. D. Ioanni Episcopo Misenensi Ioannes Rivius Atthendoriensis s. d. [Inc.]: Postquam te, reverende Praesul, collapsas incuria maiorum instaurandi scholas consilium cepisse intellexi, cum et ipse quidem incredibili sum gaudio affectus et alacer atque laetus hanc pubi studiosae gratulari fortunam coepi, tum vero quantus ad illam pristinam meam erga te benevolentiam, qua te propter singulares in omni genere virtutes tuas sum mirifice semper complexus, hac re velut cumulus accesserit, non mehercule verbis consequi ullis possum. . . . [Rivius praises the bishop’s learning and relates the joy of scholars at his election.] Quamquam autem me, amplissime Praesul, communes cum aliis ad tibi gratulandum causae impellunt, sunt tamen et peculiares quaedam cur hoc officii mihi suscipiendum esse duxerim, et illa quidem cum primis, quod e Valentino Hertelio nostro de amplitudinis tuae propensa in me voluntate, studio, favoreque sum persaepe certior factus. Itaque facere non potui quin quantum ex initio atque instituto nuper instaurandarum scholarum consilio tuo voluptatis ceperim, hoc loco tibi declararem. Idque amplitudinem tuam, optime Praesul, bonam in partem accepturam esse, singularis ista naturae tuae bonitas atque facilitas uti sperem facit. . . . [Continues with prayers for the success of the bishop’s reform project.] Quid enim aut Deo ipsi gratius aut tibi gloriosius aut tuae commisso fidei populo conducibilis atque utilius facere possis quam si neglectam misere hactenus iuuentutem pietate, moribus, et quae ad percipiendam colendamque virtutem adiuvant litteris optimis et ingenuis artibus cures instituendam? Hoc demum enim vere est Episcopum agere, summam cum primis habere primae aetatis rationem et honesto salario

conducere, qui sibi traditos in disciplinam pueros fideliter doceant, qui assiduis cohortationibus ad veram pietatem, ad Dei cultum, ad virtutes Christianas incitent, qui civilitate morum imbuant, qui arceant a vitiis, qui denique aut erranteis, ut fit, in viam reducant, aut luxu diffluentis ad bonam frugem revocent. Quod si corruptos depravatosque populi Christiani reformare et corrigere mores velimus, nimirum hic maxime vigilemus, et hoc nervos omneis contendamus oportet, ut iam inde a teneris annis iuventus honestis disciplinis erudiatur. E ludis enim litterariis fere profiscuntur qui publica munera obeant, qui magistratum gerant legesque ac iudicia administrent, qui principibus in consiliis adsint, qui rebus gerendis praeficiantur, qui gubernandis ecclesiis praesint, qui sacras ad populum conciones habeant, quique aliis hoc genus officiis muneribusque perfungantur . . . Ipse quidem certe, quamquam nihil egregii de me promittere ac spondere ausim, si quid tamen haec ingenii mei exiguitas et doctrinae quantulaecumque mediocritas poterit, id pro virili operam dabo uti sanctissimos istos in promovendis studiis conatus, quarecumque possum, iuvem. Cuius rei gratia nostras in rerum romanarum florentissimum auctorem (sic enim Tacitus appellat C. Crispum Sallustium [*Ann.* 3.30]) castigationes dicare nomini tuo constituimus, rati nimirum et amplitudini tuae gratum acceptumque nos et iuventuti perutile delatueros munus. Tu vere accipias, quae-  
so, laeta et serena fronte Sallustium ipsum, iam ab innumeris paene mendis et erratis, quibus antea cum iniuria temporum tum librariorum incuria scatebat, repurgatum et in pristinam fere integratatem (absit invidia dicto) vindicatum. Hic est Sallustius ille, amplissime Praesul, quem acerrimi vir iudicij Quintilianus opponere Thucydidi non veretur [*Inst.* 10.1.101]. At cuiusmodi tandem historico? Quem ita crebrum esse rerum frequentia testatur Cicero, ut verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero consequatur, ita porro verbis aptum et pressum, ut nescias utrum res oratione an verba sententiis illustrentur [*De orat.* 2.13.56]. Hic est, inquam, quo de vere atque eleganter Martialis: Primus Romana Crispus in historia [14.191]. Nec vero consequi ullis verbis possum, quantis hae castigationes mihi laboribus constiterint. Qua in re permagna quoque Georgio Fabricio debetur optimo ac doctissimo adolescenti gratia. Is enim cum exemplar nobis Sallus-

tianum in pergamenis descriptum (quo non facile vetustius ullum extare hodie crediderim) dono dedit, tum vero in perquirendis aliis praeterea vel manuscriptis vel impressis voluminibus, quibus instructi paratores ad hoc negotium aggredieremur, operam mihi strenuam navavit. [Continues with praises of Georgius Fabricius.] Sed ut ad superiora revertar, nos, amplissime Praesul, in his Sallustii historiis non aut mendosa solum emendavimus aut correximus depravata sed et diversam saepe discrepantemque a vulgata lectionem indicavimus, non iudicium ubique interponentes nostrum sed integrum saepe relinquentes admonito lectori suum. Quosdam etiam locos, vel obscuros illos ac difficiles vel in quibus quamvis apertis et illustribus lapsi tamen interpretes essent, obiter explicavimus. Illud non mehercule dici potest quam ubique fuerit molestum adnotare identidem inversionem immutationemque ordinis verborum. Quod ipsum quidem ita crebro faciundum fuit interdum ut connivere in levioribus quibusdam nobis permiserimus . . . Iam vero, cum permulta hodie sint exemplaria Sallustiana variis in locis aliud alio correctius impressa, faciundum nobis fuit uti ad unum aliquod potissimum e tam multis, quod et recens editum et maxime omnium studiosae pubis manibus teratur, cetera fere quaecumque nancisci potuimus conferremus. Tale est quod Ioannes Gymnicus anno proximo excudit. Usi autem manuscriptis inter alia duobus sumus, altero e bibliotheca Merseburgensi, altero cuius facta nobis a Fabricio nostro copia atque adeo quod ab eodem est dono nobis datum. Quo in exemplari vetus illa scribendi ratio, quam ὄρθογραφίαν vocant, est diligentissime observata. Unde facile colligas ipsum bene esse vetustum. Sic passim ibi est *inbecillus*, *inbellis*, . . . *inpunitus*, *inprobrior*. Item, *inpudentia*, *inpunitas*, atque hoc genus alia, in suo quodque genere, numero, casu. Sed et praepositiones ibi non mutatas reperias in verbis, ut sunt *adcivisse*, *adtendere*, . . . *inrumpere*, *conlocare*, in sua quodque persona, numero, tempore et modo. . . . Iam et *Sulla* semper, pro *Sylla* et *Sullani milites* ibidem nec unquam fere aliter . . . [Rivius continues with examples of the orthography.] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Iam paene absolvebam castigationes hasce Sallustianas, cum ecce a doctissimo atque humanissimo viro, D. Ioanne Cochlaeo, exemplaria ad me duo in pergamenis descripta mittuntur, quae magno mihi usui fuere,

id quod locis suis non dissimulavimus. Ignoscet, optime atque humanissime Praesul, quod tam familiariter tecum agam, et propemodum in publica commoda peccem, dum te longo adeo sermone detineo ac moror. Sed si quid hic pecco, singularis et eximia quaedam generosae istius naturae tuae bonitas atque facilitas, quae a multis bonis doctisque viris uno ore praedicatur, causam omnem sustinet. Bene valeat amplitudo tua, nosque sibi (ut facit) commendatos habeat. E Friburgo XII Kl. Maii. Anno M.D.XXXVIII.

[*Vita Sallustii*] *Quo sit genere natus Catilina.* [Inc.]: Non fuisse de gente Cornelia Catilinam (id quod et falso Sallustii interpres affirmat et a Gymnico perperam est in margine libri adnotatum) inter alia esse indicio potest quod P. Lentulus, qui sine controversia de hac gente fuit, non apud Sallustium modo sed et apud M. Tullium, regnum Romae tribus Cornelii portendi ex fatis Sibyllinis et haruspicum responsis confirmet, in quibus antea Cinna Sullaque fuerit, tertius ipse sit cui fatum foret urbis potiri . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Facit nobiscum e recentioribus (ut dixi) Volaterranus [Raffaello Maffei], qui et ipse in *Anthropologia* Sergium Catilinam dicit, et Felicius item Durantinus [Costanzo Felici], qui praeponet M. Sergii illius cuius virtutem tot bellicae laudes testentur Catilinam fuisse confirmat. Qua in re Plinium [*Nat. hist.* 7.28.104] est auctorem secutus.

*Praefatio* [between the end of notes on the *Iugurtha* and the beginning of those on the *Histories*]. Ioannes Rivius studiosis. [Inc.]: Quam fuerint depravatae antehac historiae Sallustianae, vel illud inter alia esse indicio potest, quod tot egregii ac praestantes ingenio doctrinaque viri in tollendis harum mendis tantum operae collocarint. Inter quos primas iure suo Pomponius Laetus obtinet qui, conquisitis undique exemplaribus antiquis, Sallustium est emendare conatus, ut nihil ferme addendo (quemadmodum ipse inquit) sic non pauca detrahendo. Post hunc Philippus Beroaldus recognovisse Sallustium successivo ac tumultuario studio sese testatur idque ita res videlicet indicat. Benedictus quoque Philologus in emendando Sallustio multum operae posuit. Neque parum hic profuit studiosis Aldus, qui ad exemplaria Sallustii duo antiquissima excusisse hunc se auctorem affirmat. Nec minus Aleander qui editionem Aldinam cum venerandae vetustatis codice, cuius ipsi copiam fecerit Paulus Aemilius, contulit et exemplar recognitum

Ascensio dedit excudendum. Ego vero, cum obiter pauca admodum et quasi in transcurso solum ab his viris emendata viderem, putavi nimirum idem mihi faciundum quod in Terentio ante feceram, ut et accuratiore studio et industria maiore quam ante nos alii (absit invidia dicto) restituere et corrigere quae depravata corruptaque hoc in autore essent conarer. Id quia fieri Marte nostro (ut dicitur) ac citra veterum codicium adminiculum nullo modo poterat, omnium primum id operam dedi horum mihi ut alicunde copia fieret. Intellexeram autem e Georgio Fabricio nostro Merseburgi, vel potius in monasterio Benedictinorum CC fere passus ab hac urbe sito, bibliothecam esse auctoribus optimis et codicibus in membrana descriptis ut si usquam instructissimam atque ornatissimam. Itaque per egregium atque humanissimum virum Dn. Ioannem Cochlaeum ab optimis Patribus impetravi ut antiquissimorum voluminum atque exemplarium Sallustii quae extare illic inaudieram copia nobis fieret, quibus usus ipse quod coeperam exsequi facilius atque efficere tandem possem. [Continues on his critical method.] Quo nomine permultum sane studiosi debent familiae Benedictinae, quae cum primis optimis quosque auctores et exemplaria vetustissima semper conservavit. Absque hac enim esset quot egregii hodie auctores quos extare videmus desiderarentur? Quam multa veterum scriptorum volumina prorsus intercidissent? Neque vero interim ita sum codicibus antiquis fisus nullo ut adhibito iudicio fidem illorum ubique sequerer, nam et correctissima quaeque ex impressis contuli et veterum grammaticorum citationes observavi, et quid animadversum ab aliis esset adnotavi. Quod autem non minus saepe conjecturas meas attulerim quam certo et constanter pronuntiarim in causa fuisse sibi quisque persuadeat, velim quod nulla re perinde optimos quosque corruptos et depravatos esse auctores existimem atque temeritate illa scolorum quorundam facile quidvis immutantium. Itaque nihil ferme uspiam citra exemplarium veterum fidem atque consensum temere sum immutare ausus. Quamvis autem sedulo est a nobis opera data uti quidquid hic mendorum esset tolleremus adeo ut et persecuti minima quaeque simus, affirmare tamen haud ausim esse omnia prorsus ad unguem (ut dicitur) castigata, namque id fieri nullo modo potuit. Ceterum quia nihil opis erat ab exemplaribus manuscriptis in

orationibus quibusdam ex Historiarum Sallustii libris (nam hoc titulo circumferuntur) castigandis, haud ita multa in his emendare licuit. Sed tamen hoc quoque, studiosi, qualemque est quod ceu corollarium addere libuit, boni vos consulere velim. Aliquando (ut spero) Sallustium ipsum nostra opera multo quam nunc circumfertur emendatiorem ac in antiquum paene nitorem inque pristinam dignitatem restitutum, daturi in publicum sumus. Valete.

*Praefatio* ([Leipzig, 1542?]; transcribed from *Caii Crispi Sallustii Quae exstant . . . cura Sigeberti Havercampi*, Amsterdam, 1742): Joannes Rivius Atthendoriensis generoso ac nobili adolescenti Ernesto à Schoneburgk, Glaucii et Waldenburgi Domino, s. d. [Inc.]: Quum sis, Erneste optime, summo loco atque in amplissima familia natus (quis enim in his terris aut antiquitatem stirpis aut generis tui claritatem aut amplitudinem atque gloriam maiorum tuorum ignorat?) non, mehercules, admirari satis possum tuam istam prope singularem in litterarum studio assiduitatem et diligentiam, qua es praeter tui loci hominum morem haud minus profecto ac ingenio naturaeque bonitate praeditus. [Continues with praises of the young man and his father and with exhortations to pursue his studies for the honor of his family and the German nobility.] Hac ego tua, mi Erneste, in optimarum artium studio diligentia excitatus, quem in restituendo et corrigendo Sallustio nuper labore cepi tibi dedicandum esse duxi. Nec vero dubito quin sis hunc ipsum auctorem, sic a mendis quibus innumeris fere scatebat, maxima ex parte repurgatum, hilari fronte accepturus; maxime namque et praecipue historiarum lectio tibi tuique ordinis hominibus cum voluptati fore tum usui mihi videatur. Quo magis probo iudicium praeceptoris tui Mavortii, viri et doctrina et pietate longe praestantis, eoque nomine mihi profecto carissimi, qui eiusmodi ante hac semper auctores qui res gestas conscripsere proponere vobis atque explicare interpretatione sua consueverit. Bene vale una cum fratribus carissimis, mi optime ac suavissime Erneste. Dresdae, Calend. Julii. Anno 1542.

*Commentary* (ed. of Leipzig, 1539). Castigationum liber primus. [Inc.]: *Omneis homines qui student sese praestare caeteris animantibus* (1.1). In manuscriptis aliisque vetustis est ordo verborum immutatus. *Qui sese student praestare*, pro qui dant operam, uti praestent ipsi et antecellant. Id

lenius et asperum minus esse videtur, nec aliter a veteribus citatur, velut Prisciano lib. 7 quo loco de accusativo tertiae declinationis agit [GL 2.358], ubi et *Omnis* hic legendum esse docet pro *Omnis*. Terentianus diphthongo *ei* scribi vult in plurali cum hoc, tum similia nomina, quomodo fere et in vetustis inscriptionibus reperitur. . . . *Ne vitam silentio transeant*. Ita fere et impressa et calamo descripta exemplaria, nec male ut opinor. Verum in manuscripto quodam reperi *transigant*, ut in Beroaldino quoque licet eodem sensu pro *traducant* . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in proelio aut graviter vulneratus discesserat* (61.7). Quamvis Laurentius Valla in quibusdam repererit *strennuus quisque*, tamen exemplar manuscriptum quod penes nos est cum vulgata hodie lectione facit. Sed et Cato de re rustica: At ex agricolis, inquit, et viri fortissimi et milites strenuissimi gignuntur [Agr. pr. 4] et Cornelius Tacitus 20: Sumi bellum etiam ab ignavis strenuissimi cuiusque periculo geri [Hist. 4.69].

*Corollarium* (following commentary on the *Catilina*). [Inc.]: Hoc velut corollarium addere libet. Multa de Cicerone Sallustius in historia Catilinae silentio praetermisit eaque cum primis quae praecipue ad eximiam et singularem Ciceronis gloriam spectarent, consultone ut qui eius esset inimicus an vero imprudens haud facile dixerim. Eo tamen potius inclinat animus, ut dedita opera Sallustium haec de industriaque omisisse credam et illam historiae legem, ne qua suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis, in his praetermittendis neglexisse quae nequaquam fuerint silentio praetereunda. Eorum hic aliqua subicienda esse duxi.

I. Primum igitur Ciceroni gratiae sunt amplissimis verbis actae, quod virtute, consilio, prudenter sua rem publicam periculis maximis liberasset, idque sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicione, tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio ut ipsem Cicero inquit 3 in vectiva in Catilinam [III.10.23]. De hoc verbum nullum Sallustius. . . . / . . . V. Postremo statua eum inaurata Capuae decuriones decorarunt et patronum adoptarunt propter salutem illius urbis consulatu conservatam suo ut ipsem pro P. Sestio testatur. . . . Sed quid de hoc uspiam Sallustius? Quasi vero et haec et hoc genus alia non multo ad rem magis facerent, quam aut illa veterum Romanorum laus deque corruptis saeculi sui moribus querela, aut vero tam libenter ac prolixo

tributum Caesari Catonique paeconium. Quorum ut uterque fuerit merito laudandus, Caesaris tamen in laudibus, cum et ipse sit coniurationis creditus particeps, tam diu commorari supervacaneum esse mihi videtur, ne dicam praeter decorum. Nam illa de origine urbis et corruptis populi Romani moribus initisque motuum civilium sive a proposito digressio seu verius altior repetitio, utcumque nominare lubeat, nec aliena prorsus ab historiae argumento videtur et lectori accidit non ingrata. Sed de hoc iam satis, modo unum addidero. Mire Sallustius hoc dissimulat Caesarem fuisse inter coniuratos habitum qua de re tam multa interim Suetonius cuius cum primis probatur in historia fides. . . . Cuius coniurationis meminerint Tanusius Geminus in historia, M. Bibulus in edictis, C. Curio pater in orationibus, de qua et Cicero in quadam ad Atticum epistola significare videatur [Suet., *Iul.* 9.2]. Sed et auctores esse ait qui cum Cn. etiam Pisone conspirasse Caesarem testentur. Nam fuisse inter socios Catilinae nominatum et apud Nonium Nigrum quaestorem a L. Vectio indice et in Senatu a Q. Curio quorum hic e Catilina sese cognovisse diceret, ille chirographum quoque eius Catilinae datum polliceretur. Suetonius ipse confirmat quantumvis hoc dissimulare noster studeat. Itaque an hic nulla gratiae in scribendo sit suspicio aliorum esto iudicium.

*Editions:*

(micro.) 1539, (\*) 1544, 1546, 1547, 1564, 1579, 1607, 1742. See above, Bibliography I.A and Composite Editions.

*Doubtful edition:*

1537, Leipzig (ADB 28.711 [Müller]).

*Biography:*

Johannes Rivius (von der Becke) was born in 1500 at Otterndorf (in the County of Cuxhaven, Lower Saxony) but referred to himself as “Attendornensis” to indicate Attendorn (Westphalia) as his second homeland and to distinguish himself from another scholar of the same name, Johannes Rivius Venetus. He died in Merseburg (near Meissen) in 1553. Well known for his work as a philologist and theologian, he was also an influential teacher and educator.

At Otterndorf he attended the school of Tilmann Mull, and in 1516 he matriculated at the University of Cologne, where he continued the study of classical letters and began philosophy. In

1520 he embarked on a long teaching career that was to include positions in the public schools of Cologne (1520–23), Zwickau (1524–27), and Annaberg (1527–33), in private schools that he opened in Annaberg (1533–35) and Marienberg (1535), and in the public schools of Schneeberg (1536–37) and Freiberg (1537–40). His pupils (and/or later fellow teachers) included Adam Siber, Matthias Marcus Dabercusius, Hiob Magdeburg, and Georgius Fabricius. During his stay in Annaberg, Rivius introduced humanist methods of teaching the classics. His Protestant loyalties, however, and friendship with leading supporters of Luther led to friction with the Catholic ruler Duke George and he was obliged to suspend public teaching.

In 1537 Rivius was appointed tutor to August, son of the Protestant Duke Henry; he later assisted his older son and heir, Maurice, who succeeded to the dukedom in 1541, in establishing humanist schools in Ducal Saxony and served on his commission for religious affairs. In 1544 he was named inspector for the ducal schools and rector of the school at Meissen, and in the following year he became a member of the newly created Consistorium in this city, posts he retained until his death in 1553.

As a theologian, Rivius took a moderate position on issues of reform (see his correspondence with Melanchthon, Cochlaeus et al.). As a philologist, his work was highly regarded, and his *Castigationes* of Sallust’s *opera* were frequently cited and reprinted.

*Works:*

Editions and/or commentaries on Terence (1531), and Cicero’s *Brutus*, *Orator*, and *Epistolae familiares* (1537). Mention is made in some of the bibliographies of an edition of Macrobius (n. d.) and *Castigationes* on passages in Terence, Cicero, and Sallust (Cologne, 1532), but it has not been possible to verify the existence of these editions.

Pedagogical treatises, including: *De iis disciplinis quae de sermone agunt, ut sunt grammatica, dialectica, rhetorica, libri XVIII* (1539); *Libellus de ratione dicendi* (s. a.); and *Epitome in verborum et rerum copiam* (1571).

Theological and ecclesiastical writings, including: *De conscientia bonae mentis libri tres* (1541); *De instaurata renovataque doctrina ecclesiastica* (1541); *De religione libri tres* (1546); *De consolandis aegrotantibus* (1546); *De erroribus Pontificiorum*

seu *De abusibus ecclesiasticis* (1546); *De officio pastorali* (1549); *De vita et moribus Christianorum libri tres* (1552); and *De stultitia mortalium in procrastinanda correctione vitae liber I* (1557). See also *Opera theologica* (1562) and correspondence with Melanchthon and Cochlaeus. Other works include: *Mariebergi descriptio* (1541), *De seculi nostri felicitate* (1548), *De felicitate Germaniae*, and writings in German.

(Dates given above may not be those of the first edition. For additional information, see the bibliographies in the studies cited below, including Jöcher Suppl. 7.106–108, Müller [ADB], Pökel, and Schottenloher).

#### Bibliography:

ADB 28.709–13 (G. Müller); Bursian 1.204–207; *L'Europe des humanistes*, 369; “Rivius, Johann d. A., Schulmann,” DBE 8.337 (ADB); *Deutscher biographischer Index*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 6 (Munich, 1998), 2891; Goedeke 5; Jöcher 3.2128–29 and Suppl. 7.105–108; Pökel 228; *Realencyklopädie für prot. Theologie und Kirche*<sup>2</sup> 17.48–50 (G. Müller); Sandys 2.268; Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 11–15 and passim; Schottenloher 2.184.

G. Fabricius, *Joannis Rivii Athendoriensis vita*, in *Joannis Rivii Opera theologica omnia* (Basel, 1562); Melanchthon (correspondence with Rivius) in *Melanthonis Opera*, Corpus Reformatorum 4 (1837; rpt. 1963), 790, 857, 1015–16, 1018, and 1053–54; K. Olzscha, “Johannes Rivius in seiner Stellung als Rektor der Annaberger Lateinschule (1527–33),” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte von Annaberg und Umgebung* 2 (1907) 33–44; O. Saxenberger, *Johannes Rivius. Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Diss. Leipzig; Breslau, 1886). See also Schottenloher et al. (above) for additional bibliography. (We thank Rolf Bagemihl for his contributions to the Bibliography).

#### 21. Bartholomaeus Marrianus

Marrianus’ commentary on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* was first published at Venice in 1546 and was apparently intended for school use. It combined a general explication of the text with proposed emendations based on *antiqui et fideles codices* or the readings of Philippus Beroaldus, Jodocus Badius Ascensius, Aldus Pius Manutius, Johannes Gymnicus, Henricus Glareanus, and Johannes Rivius. In line with his own antiquarian interests, Marrianus frequently included observa-

tions on aspects of Roman history, political institutions, laws, and military customs.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Venice, 1546). Bartholomaei Marliani in C. Crispi Sallustii de Coniuratione Catilinae Commentaria nunc primum in lucem edita. [Inc.]: Quantam in historia assecutus fuerit laudem Sallustius his Augustinus in libro *De civitate Dei* [1.5] demonstrat verbis: Sallustius nobilitate (*sic*) veritatis insignis historicus. De huius vita multi alii. Propterea illotis manibus intactam sinam et ad alia me accingam. Historicus in historiarum compositione haec debet servare: ordinem temporum, scilicet quo tempore illa quae litteris mandat facta fuerint, locorum descriptionem, consilia, id est actus et eventus, id est quo consilio faciat, contrarium, id est casus et temeritatem, et singularum personarum descriptiones. Praeterea, ut sit compositio lenis et fusa quae ostendat se et quae non habeat aculeos, id est suspiciones [Cic., *De orat.* 2.15.62–64]. Similiter ut sit celeritas intelligendi et varietate figurarum [fugurarum ed.] distincta et modo ad altiorem dicendi materiam modo ad mediocrem tendat, prout res et personae requirent, quae omnia observasse Sallustium nemo veretur ut etiam mediocriter litteratus in ipso opere percipere potest.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: *Omnis homines praestare* (1.1) id est anteire. Iungitur etiam accusativo; Virgilii: Vel magnum praestet Achillem [Aen. 11.438]. Idem libro 12 cum genitivo: O praestans animi iuvenis [Aen. 12.19]. Cum dativo: Dii immortales homo homini quid praestat? Terentius in Eunuco [232]. *Silentio* id est ingloriam, inhonoratam. Ait Augustinus: Romani ardentissime gloriam adamarunt, propter hanc vivere et mori non dubitarunt [*De civ. Dei* 5.12]. Unde dicet Sallustius: Divitias mediocres, gloriam ingentem malebant [cf. BC 7.6] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Strenui* (60.4) fortissimi. *Generis* (60.7) quia et nobili familia fuit et si fuisset captus ludibrio omnibus se fore cognoscebat. *Ibi* (60.7) inter hostes. *Vis animi* (61.1) fortitudo. *Disiecerat* (61.3) disturbaverat. *Diversius* (61.3) ex ordinibus suis. *Suae vitae* (61.6) quemadmodum caedebant hostes non dubitabant et ipsi caedi.

#### Editions:

1546, 1547, 1564. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Bartholomaeus Marlianus (Giovanni Bartolomeo Marliani) (fl. 1520–50), was born in Milan, where he later served as *giureconsulto collegato*. He was best known, however, for his studies of Roman antiquities and topography.

His *Topographia urbis Romae*, first published at Rome in 1534, was reprinted the same year in Lyons with a Latin preface addressed by François Rabelais to Jean du Bellay; a second enlarged edition appeared at Rome in 1544 with a dedication to King Francis I and with a map of ancient Rome prepared in collaboration with Leonardo Bufalini. In the following decades both the Latin edition and an Italian translation by Hercules Barbarasa of 1548 were frequently reprinted, while Marlianus' detailed plan of Rome, the first scientifically drawn map of the ancient city, was often reproduced in collections of topographical and antiquarian treatises. Marlianus also helped Gentile Delfino arrange the recently discovered *fasti consulares* in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome, published the collection of the *fasti* in 1549, and produced an annotated edition in 1560.

Marlianus' colleagues included Annibale Caro, Antonio Allegretti, and Ludovico Fabri (of Fano); among his friends and pupils were Giovanni Gaddi and Antonio and Scaramuccio Trivulzi.

*Works:*

*Antiquae urbis Romae topographiae libri septem* (Rome, 1534); 2d ed., *Topographia urbis Romae* (Rome, 1544); *L'antichità di Roma*, Italian translation of the *Topographia* by Hercules Barbarasa (Rome, 1548); *Consulum dictatorum censorumque Romanorum series una cum ipsorum triumphis quae marmoribus scalpta in foro reperta est atque in Capitolium translata* (Rome, 1549); *Annales consulum dictatorum censorumque Romanorum a condita urbe usque ad T. Caesarem. Eiusdem in eosdem ac triumphos commentarius* (Rome, 1560). *Sophoclis . . . vita [et] sententiae* (Rome, 1545).

*Bibliography:*

Cosenza 3.2185–86; Sandys 2.154, 182; Tiraboschi 7.2 (1784), 232; *Storia di Milano*, vol. 8 (Milan, 1957), 434.

E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, 1981), 424–25 and passim; A. P. Frutaz, ed., *Le piante di Roma*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1962), 21–22, 56–57 and passim; R.

Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1990), 225, 271–75; R. Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1969), 68, 88–89, 93.

## 22. Vincentius Castellanus

The *Commentarius* on the *Catilina* and *Scholia* on the *Iugurtha*, completed and published in 1554, were composed in the course of the previous year and dedicated to Cardinal Julius Feltrius (Giulio Feltrio della Rovere). The notes on the *Catilina* covered most of the monograph and dealt mainly with textual questions. Emendations were based on several manuscripts, including three from the library of San Domenico in Bologna (which Castellanus had been able to consult thanks to Romeus Foscararius) and one from the library of San Salvatore, also in Bologna, as well as on *multa Sallustii loca incorrupta* transmitted by the grammarians. The commentary also included occasional digressions on aspects of the early history of Rome.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Bologna, 1554). Iulio Feltrio Cardinali Vincentius Castellanus s. p. d. [*Inc.*]: Numquam ego, Cardinalis amplissime, hoc levidense munus tibi misissem, nisi intelligerem summos quosque prudentissimos viros spectantes animum, non munus ipsum, quicquid est datum libenter accipere consueuisse. Quod maxime de Artaxerxe legimus, qui pauperem hominem cavis manibus aquam sibi afferentem haud aspernatus est. Hac igitur spe ut idem ipse pro tua consuetudine faceres, hosce meos primos tibi labores dedicavi. Qui si tibi paulum modo probentur, ad maiora me statim quae adhuc sub incude sunt edenda praeparabo. Tu enim pro tua singulari doctrina atque eruditione haec qualia sint optime cognoscere et iudicare potes, cum tantam ante neris unguiculis (ut aiunt) et latinis et graecis litteris operam navaveris, ut non solum quam expectationem tui a pueritia concitasti eam adolescens sustinueris, sed etiam mira quadam felicitate viceris . . . [continues, praising his early studies, virtues, and achievements; recalls Julius II, whose virtues, he says, are too numerous to relate]. Nihil praeterea dicam de fratre tuo fortissimo ac prudentissimo Duce et Principe nostro, cuius iustitia et aequitate cotidie fruimur. . . . Quod si tibi minus affabre elaboratum esse videbitur, maximam culpam festinationi meae

tribuas, qui id intra vertentem annum subsicivis horis conscripserim, cum plerique veterum in nonum aut decimum annum sua scripta presserint, ut tum demum ederent in lucem, cum ea prius identidem longo intervallo tanquam aliena lectitantes, summa cum diligentia et cura comprobassent. Vale. Bononia XV Cal. Aug. MDLIII.

*Ad lectorem.* Vincentius lectori s. Cum animadverterem hosce Sallustii Romanae (ut multi volunt) historiae principis libros, qui tamquam e naufragio divinitus post tantam litterarum iacturam servati ad nostram aetatem pervenerunt vel ob ipsum dicendi genus obscurum vel ob menda quibus deformati paene fuerant a paucis intelligi, operae pretium me facturum esse existimavi, si et ipse pro virili parte adolescentum utilitati consulerem. In Coniurationem igitur quae maiorem quandam diligentiam requiri videbatur commentarium, at in Iugurthinum bellum scholia locos tantum difficiles explicantia exhibemus. Sed antequam ad locorum ipsorum explicationem veniamus, pauca quaedam dicenda sunt, non ea quidem quae a plerisque graecis, item latinis nonnullis, interpretibus praeponi solent—propositum videlicet auctoris et eiusdem vita, utilitas et divisio libri aliaque huiuscmodi quae satis nota sunt—sed ea potius quae ad consilii nostri rationem pertineant. Laudamus igitur plurimos interdum tam graecos quam latinos auctores vel quod diversae sint opiniones vel quod putemus exactius historiam ex multis quam ex uno aut altero scriptore percipi posse. In iis tamen rebus quae notiores esse videbantur paucioribus contenti fuimus, praesertim si illi uberiores et diligentiores essent. At ea quae lippis (ut aiunt) et tonsoribus nota videbantur libenter omisimus, ne multitudine litterarum animos legentium obrueremus. Etsi quaedam inviti diximus, quo Sallustium nostrum a calumniis quorundam tueremur, qui ita morosi sunt et arrogantes ut nihil probent nisi quod ipsi fecerint et, siquid (ut fieri solet) minus intelligunt, statim culpam in auctores transferant, vel quod nimis obscuri vel quod negligentes in scribendo fuerint criminantes . . . [continues on chronology and manuscripts]. Porro in enumeratione annorum ab urbe condita scimus esse diversas opiniones; nos tamen vetustorum lapidum fragmenta, quae Romae paucis abhinc annis effossa sunt, quam maxime sequimur. Varias autem (ut nunc lo-

quimur) lectiones posuimus ut sunt in nostris libris, ex quibus si nonnullae erunt eadem cum iis quae alii observaverunt, scias, lector, ob eam causam nos quoque annotasse ut illae confirmarentur, cum ita nos quoque in exaratis calamo libris invenerimus. Sed inter cetera exemplaria quibus usi sumus, tria manuscripta fuerunt quae ex bibliotheca divi Dominici opera et studio Romei Foscararii Bononiae habuimus. Quorum fuit unum longe emendatissimum, cuius in toto hoc opere mentionem facimus. Legimus etiam, ubi praesertim opus fuit, exemplar in membranis scriptum quod est in Bibliotheca Divi Salvatoris, et alia multa in quibus evolvendis non penitus nos operam lusisse studiosi iudicabunt. Nec parum nos adiuverunt antiqui grammatici, apud quos multa Sallustii loca incorrupta permanerunt, etsi quaedam interdum illi citant ex Iugurthino Bello quae nos in nullo libro reperire potuimus, sive quod illi memoria lapsissent (*sic*) seu quod librarii vel illorum loca corruerint vel hic Sallustii verba negligenter omiserint. Ut sunt haec quae apud Priscianum lib. 14 leguntur: Ultra praepositio apud Sallustum in Iugurtha: Maurique vanum genus, ut alia Africae contendebant, Antipodas ultra Aethiopiam cultu Persarum iustos et egregios agere [frag. dub. 3M]. Quid autem profecerimus tum in corrigendis tum in explicandis locis, nihil ipsi dicimus; aliorum sit iudicium. Illud te tamen, optime lector, admonitum velim quod scribit Euripides in *Phoenissis* [745]: εἼΣ δ' ἀνὴρ οὐ πάνθ' ὄρα. Vale.

*Commentary.* Vincentii Castellani Forosempriensis in C. Sallustii Crispi Librum de coniuratione Catilinae commentarius. [Inc.]: C. Crispi *Sallustii*. Quoniam moris fuit apud Rumanos (*sic*) ut familiae nomen praeponeretur cognomini, hic si ordinem sequi velimus, legamus necesse est C. Sallustii Crispi, ut est apud Asconium in oratione *Pro Milone* [45.14], Cornelium Tacitum libro 1 et 3 [Ann. 1.6.16; 3.30.2], Appianum, *Civilis historia*, libro 2 [2.13.92; 2.14.100], et Hirtium non semel in libro *De bello Africano* [8; 34; 97] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Strenuissimus quisque* (61.7). Sic est legendum. Plinius *Naturalis historiae* libro 18 [18.26.1]: Principium autem a Catone sumemus: fortissimi viri et milites strenuissimi ex agricolis gignuntur. Locus ubi id dicit Cato est in prooemio libri *De re rustica* [Gellius, *Noct. att.* 10.26]. Non est igitur dubitandum quin *strenuissimus* recte et usitate dicatur.

*Editions:*

1554, 1564. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Vincentius Castellanus or Castiloneus (Vincenzo Castellani) was born at Reforzato, near Fossombrone (in the area of Urbino), in 1528 and died in 1601. He received a law degree from the University of Padua, but devoted most of his life to literary and antiquarian studies.

Castellanus taught *lettere* in Senigallia, Gubbio, and Ancona, and was later appointed public teacher in Fossombrone, perhaps through the influence of the della Rovere family. (His commentary on Sallust was dedicated to Cardinal Giulio Feltrio della Rovere and his *De officio regis* to Francesco Maria II, duke of Urbino). He travelled in France and Spain and was present at the Council of Trent. Between 1585 and 1590 he served as *reggente* of the Collegio Montalto in Bologna.

Well known during his lifetime as writer of Latin prose and poetry, Castellanus was hailed as “oculum alterum linguae latinae”, and his monograph *De bello Melitensi historia* has resonances of Sallust’s language and style. Castellanus was on friendly terms with numerous men of letters and scholars of his time, including Cardinal Girolamo della Rovere, Pietro Bonarelli, and Camillo Flacco, but he criticized the work of his successor at Fossombrone, Sebastiano Macci. Montaigne, whom he accompanied on a tour of Fossombrone, mentioned Castellanus in his *Essais*.

*Works:*

*De bello Melitensi historia* (Pesaro, 1566); *De officio regis* (Marburg, 1597); *De Homeri laudibus*; various *operette* on aspects of the history and antiquities of Fossombrone; two sonnets in Italian.

*Bibliography:*

DBI 21.638–39 (M. Palma), with bibliography.

## 23. Bartholomaeus Zanchus

The *Commentarius in Catilinarium Sallustii*, covering the entire monograph, was composed while Zanchus was teaching Sallust to his Venetian pupils and was dedicated to the Venetian patrician Franciscus Baduarius. It was intended to fulfill what he believed was the need for a detailed and thorough explanation of ancient government, laws, and customs (mostly through copious citations from ancient authors), and included much conventional explication of the text as well.

Although eager to demonstrate his learning, Zanchus sought to make the knowledge of antiquity available to a general, non-scholarly public. The commentary was first published at Venice in 1554 without an accompanying text of the *Catilina*.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Venice, 1554). Clarissimo atque praestantissimo Francisco Baduario Nobili Patritio Veneto Bartholomeus Zanchus s. d. [Inc.]: Philippus Rex cum aliquando diceretur Corinthum cum exercitu adventare, Corinthii omnes trepidi ac metu turbati pro viribus sedulo quae ad suam et patriae salutem spectabant facere coeperunt, nam alius quidem arma apportabat, aliis autem saxa comportabat, aliis muros urbis reficiebat, aliis propugnacula fulciebat, aliis quidpiam aliud quod in suam et patriae utilitatem esset subministrabat. [Continues with anecdote and application to himself of Diogenes’ response]. . . . forte accedit ut nonnullis adolescentibus Venetis Catilinarium Sallustii interpretarer (-tare ed.) et inter interpretandum, cum viderim commentatores ipsos penitus memoriae antiquitatum, legum, morum, omnium paene rerum ignaros, qui permulta in aliam partem quam ab ipso auctore dicta sunt detorserunt, ut unusquisque vel mediocriter eruditus videre potest, quicquid enim ipsi ignorabant sibi primum confingebant ac deinde aliis prodere ausi sunt; itaque evenit ut incautos lectores fefellerint et in maximos errores traxerint. Cum igitur res ardua esset et opus ipsum nova interpretatione maxime egere videretur et nemo eorum qui possunt interpretationibus suis illustrare contenderet, ego opus ipsum mihi aperiendum esse duxi etsi obscurum ac difficile sit propter brevitatem quam fugiendam esse omnino Quintilianus censet, quamvis in ipso virtutis locum obtineat [*Inst. 4.2.45*]. Is enim, brevi quadam digressione a condita urbe ad ipsius tempora mores civitatis ac laborem, quem Romani in rei militaris scientia aedificanda adhibuerunt, ostendere aggressus est, qua in re explicanda quantum ego insudaverim tu ipse facile iudicare poteris. Primum enim mihi non parvi laboris fuit mores ac vivendi rationem et quae ipse breviter de Romanorum iustitia, temperantia, continentia ac aequitate dixit sub exemplis ex illustribus auctoribus sumptis ostendere. Praeterea non mihi satis fuit eos qui de re militari conscripserunt evolvere, ut ea quae ipse breviter et unico verbo expressit aliis facilia ac plana facerem

sed prorsus omnes non modo historicos et oratores verum etiam geographos excutere mihi necesse fuerit, ut quae recondita apud ipsos haberentur ad nostri operis explanationem adducerem, neque enim dici posset quam libenter hoc Sallustii interpretandi opus suscepferim, in quo sese mihi obtulit occasio ut diligentiam meam (si quam in legendis antiquis auctoribus adhibui) patefacere possem. Ipse enim auctor fere in omnium manibus est, nam alii quidem legunt propter sermonis proprietatem, cuius ipse, auctor est Gellius [Noct. att. 10.20.10], retinentissimus est, qua in re non mediocriter mihi elaborandum fuit ut ex optimis auctoribus ea colligerem quae in eorum utilitatem afferre possem, nam si a natura sermonis proprietatem haberemus, non esset quod multum operaे in compositionibus poneremus. Multos enim novimus qui, dum eam ignorarunt, frustra vigilias in voluminibus componentis consumpsérunt, nam partim quidem ipsa aboleverunt propter inconditum eorum sermonis genus, partim quoque propter inscitiam ac loquendi improprietatem, itaque factum est ut hi una oleum et operam perdiderunt et in hac re nonnulli fortasse mihi vitio dabunt quod levia ac minuta quaeque interpretatus sim, sed si hi diligenter animadverterint (-tirent ed.) videbunt profecto nihil penitus me a veterum grammaticorum instituto declinasse qui et ipsi, ut posteris prodessent, levia quaeque exposuerunt sicuti videmus Nonium curiam a cura et Varonem (*sic*) exercitum ab exercitando interpretatum esse. Quod si isti gravissimi auctores id facere non erubuerunt, cur ego hoc facere erubescam? Et praesertim, cum mihi in animum induxerim velle omnino pro viribus quoque hac mea interpretatione omnibus satisfacere, alii propter antiquitatem cuius cognitione adeo omnibus qui bonas litteras profiteri volunt utilis ac necessaria est, ut nullus penitus non modo historicus atque orator sed ne poeta quidem ac iurisperitus absque ea perfecta intelligi possit, cumque in ea cognoscenda ego non parum temporis consumpsérím ob idque existimavi me operaे pretium facturum si in his locis quae sese mihi obtulerunt quid de ipsa sentirem in tuam et ceterorum studiosorum gratiam in medium proferrem, praesertim cum interpres ipsi nusquam omnino mentionem fecerint, neque id cuiquam mirum videri debet quia tunc temporis litterae in tenebris involutae erant, nonnulli vero ipsa historia in qua quidem

narranda densus et brevis et semper instans sibi est, et in hoc non parvus labor meus fuit, dum quae apud Ciceronem, Plutarchum, Dionem, Apianum et alios scriptores fuse narrantur, ipse ad id opus interpretandum adducere tentavi. Passim praeterea addidi brevem quandam Romanorum magistratuum explicationem, quia cum in legendis auctoribus ubique de ipsis nobis sese offerat mentio, nec ullus exstet (quod ego adhuc quidem legerim) qui de ipsis recte scripserit, idcirco non ab re fore duxi si ipsorum originem, numerum, officium ac potestatem perscriberem, ut esset unde studiosi ipsi haec discere possent. Praecipue cum haec cognitione tam necessaria sit ut nullus fere scriptorum absque hac cognitione vere ac perfecte intelligi possit, hocque meo commentario volui ut lectorum vulgus in locos scriptorum secretiores admireretur et interclusam atque abditam antiquitatem vetustatem patefacere remque omnem exemplorum varietate illustrare, cumque Salustius ipse multarum tum rerum tum disciplinarum proprietates breviter attigisset et variis angustis circumscripta copia multam attulisset obscuritatem, omnia fusoribus distincta exemplis explicare volui et ut facilitia haberentur effeci [continues in praise of dedicatee and his father Petrus Baduarus] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ego qui debiles ingenii mei vires tuis recensendis (*sic*) laudibus esse sentio tibi optimo studiosorum Maecenati hunc meum commentarium nuper typis excussum dedico. Vale.

*Vita Sallustii.* Ex libris Petri Criniti De historicis ac oratoribus latinis. [For this life, see I.18 above.]

*Commentary.* Bartholomei Zanchi Bergomatis in Catilinarium Sallustii Commentarius longe utilissimus quam ceteri, in quo omnia quae ad historiam, antiquitatem ac magistratuum Romanorum cognitionem spectant brevissime atque utilissime exponuntur et quam accuratissime nunc primum excussus. [Inc.]: *Omnes homines* (1.1). Exordium hoc est a collatione animi ad corpus et utriusque virtutum et, cum magni sit oratoris historiam scribere, non video cur a nonnullis Sallustius merito reprehendi possit quod, cum nefarium Catilinae scelus scripturus sit, potissimum exordium sumpserit a re nihil ad historiam pertinente, in quo non vident eum praestantissimos rerum scriptores imitatum et praecipue Isocratem in Hellenes encomio [Isocr., 10.1–15]. . . . *Omnes homines.* Priscianus libro 7

[GL 2.358] ait omnium nominum quae tam nominativum quam genetivum similem habent eorum accusativum pluralem raro in -es, frequenter in -is solere terminari, ut: hic et haec omnis, hos et has omnis. Salustius in Catilinario: *Omnis homines qui sese student.* Terentius in Andria [946]: *Omnis nos gaudere . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Volventes* (61.8) scilicet ut spoliarent. *Hospitem* (61.8). Sciendum est antiqui moris fuisse ut hospitii necessitudo non modo inter privatos sed etiam inter populos contraheretur [continues with discussion of the *hospitii mos*, citing Plautus, Lucian, *Suidas (Suda)*, Livy, Caesar, Ovid, and Cicero]. Arctum autem necessitudinis huius fuit olim vinculum atque etiam divini reverentia sanctum quod iuris huius disceptationi praefecit antiquitas Iovem hospitalem appellans et invocans quasi hospitii praesidem et vindicem. *Laetitia* (61.9) scilicet eorum qui inimicos suos reperiebant. *Maeror* (61.9) luctus scilicet eorum qui cognatos, amicos ac hospites invenerant.

*Editions:*

1554, Venetiis (Venice): apud Bortholomeum (*sic*) Turratum. (The edition has only lemmata from the *Bellum Catilinae*, not the complete text). Valpy 2.816. BAV.

1564. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Bartholomaeus Zanchus (Bartolomeo Zanchi) belonged to a distinguished family of Bergamo, but little is known of his life and work. He is listed in the register of the Accademia della Misericordia in Bergamo for the year 1575, at which time he was nineteen years old. According to this record, he belonged to the diocese of Bergamo, had taken the four minor orders, and had been a student at the Accademia della Pietà for six years. The writer states that Zanchus had not made much progress in the study of *lettere* because he was occupied with various other activities, but adds that he was “di pronto ingegno” (see below, G. Locatelli).

*Works:*

A letter and poem of a Barth. Zanchus to Nic. Michael is found in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. XII 211 (4179), s. XVI, fol. 225r (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.261b).

*Bibliography:*

Cosenza 4.3739; G. Locatelli, “L’istruzione in Bergamo e la Misericordia Maggiore (Storia e

documenti),” *Bollettino della Civica Biblioteca di Bergamo* 4 (1910) 136 and 5 (1911) 78; Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 4–5, 9–10 and passim. On the Zanchi family of Bergamo, see B. Belotti, *Storia di Bergamo e dei Bergamaschi*, 6 vols., passim (Bergamo, 1959).

24. Aldus Manutius Junior

Aldus’ *Scholia* on the *Catilina*, *Iugurtha*, and excerpts from the *Historiae* were first printed at Venice in 1563 with the edition of the *opera* previously published by his father, Paulus Manutius, in 1557 and the dedicatory letter written by his father for that edition to Cardinal Antonius Trivultius, in which he stresses the practical uses of history. A new preface by Aldus, addressed to the *studiosi*, introduced his own *Veterum scriptorum de Sallustio testimonia*, the first published collection of ancient sources on Sallust’s life and work. Aldus also included the first substantial collection of smaller fragments from the indirect tradition of the *Historiae* or *Historiarum reliquiae* (see III.iii.1 below). The notes (*Scholia*) on the two monographs and larger fragments excerpted from the *Historiae* supply emendations and variants, drawn chiefly from an *antiquissimus liber* of Fulvius Ursinus, parallel passages, especially in Greek authors, and occasional comments of antiquarian interest, particularly in the *Iugurtha*.

Later in 1563 (or according to the colophon, in 1564), a new edition of Sallust’s *opera* was published at the Aldine press in Rome containing more fragments of the *Historiae* (see III.iii.1 below) and additional *Scholia* on the monographs, excerpts, and fragments from the *Historiae*, and the first *Epistula ad Caesarem*. Following the preface to the *studiosi* and an augmented collection of *Testimonia*, there was a new preface to the *Collegium Romanum*, which testifies to family ties with the Society of Jesus and to the popularity of Sallust in the new Jesuit curriculum, and describes the interest with which Aldus, called to Rome by his father the previous year, had been exploring the city and its monuments. Another preface introduces the section on the *Historiarum fragmenta*. A copy of this edition from the library of the *Collegium Romanum*, originally in the collection of Marcus Antonius Muretus, contains manuscript annotations, mostly on the two monographs, that appear to be in Muretus’ hand (Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, 68.6.C.17; see I.27 below).

In the following years, Aldus continued to collect fragments of the *Historiae*, and in 1567 and again in 1579 he published editions of Sallust containing additional fragments and expanded or slightly revised notes.

*a. The edition of Venice, 1563*

*Praefatio.* Ad Antonium Triultum Cardinalem Pauli Manutii in historiam Sallustii praefatio. [Inc.]: Cum omnes me litterae omnisque libero homine digna cognitio vehementer delectat, Antoni Triulti, Cardinalis amplissime, tum vero passor incredibili voluptate et afficiar maiorem quendam in modum sensibus intimis dum historiam tracto . . . [continues in praise of history]. Atque hoc in genere Polybius inter Graecos, de nostris maxime is, cuius nunc libros tibi inscriptos emitto, Sallustius excellit. Eventa enim ita narrat ut causas simul aperiat. Ex quo oritur illa omnium pulcherrima scientia ut, malorum et calamitatum origine perspecta, nihil agamus nisi quod ratio praescribit, omniaque nostra consilia, omnes actiones veterum exemplorum regula metiamur. Quae cum sit omnium qui annales antiquorum evolvunt communis utilitas, alia quaedam tua condicio est [continues on the utility of studying the history of leading Greeks and Romans and on the virtues and deeds of illustrious members of the dedicatee's family and in praise of the Cardinal] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Interim, ut haec tibi nostra ex aliquo signo voluntas illicescat, praecaram edo tuo cum nomine Sallustii historiam, cui tu si locum dabis inter eos libros, qui ab oculis tuis abesse non solent, vigebit apud te nostri memoria; quoties eam videbis, toties animo tibi occurram, adero tibi saepe absens, tacitus saepe tecum loquar meque esse de tuis familiaribus unum, de iis maxime qui operam tibi assiduam praebent, qui tuo potissimum honori serviunt, existimabis. Quod ut ita sit, vehementer opto et, si assequor, feram in caelum istam humanitatem, colam animo, tuebor officiis et imitabor, quantum potero, studio; certe, si minus re licebit, tibi ut satisfaciam, elaborabo. [See the 1557 Venice edition of Sallust's *opera* edited by Paulus Manutius.]

*Vita Sallustii.* Ex libris Petri Criniti. [For the text of this life of Sallust, see I.18 above.]

*Aldus Manutius studiosis.* [Inc.]: Collegi pro vestra utilitate, cui semper studuit familia nostra, veterum scriptorum testimonia quae ad ingenium, mores vitamque Sallustii pertinent, nam

Petrus Crinitus ea quae scripsit testibus non probat. Nos igitur et ab illo scripta pleraque confirmamus et multa quae omisit adiungimus, labori numquam parcentes ut commodis vestris consulatis, quam consuetudinem ab avo et patre acceptam intermitti quantum in me erit minime patiar. MDLXII pridie Kal. Dec.

*Veterum scriptorum de Sallustio testimonia ab Aldo Manutio Pauli f. collecta* [from Quintilian to Martial].

*Commentary.* Aldi Manutii Pauli f. Scholia in Catilinam. [Inc.]: *Ceteris animantibus* (1.1). Scripti omnes libri, quos quidem ego viderim, *animalibus*, quo modo et Sosipater Charisius recitat lib. 1 [p. 139K] in verbo *omnes*. *Prius quam incipias, consulto, et ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est* (1.6). A Graecis multa Sallustius mutuatur, quod et Quintilianus lib. IX cap. III affirmat [Inst. 9.3.17] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Ab dextera rupe aspera* (59.2). Sic et Fulvii liber. Alii, *a dextris rupes aspera*, utrumque recte. *Paullo diversius, sed omnes tamen adversis* etc. (61.3). Sic omnes antiqui libri. Visum tamen est quo modo Charisius lib. 2 [p. 159K], Priscianus lib. 12 [Inst. 13; GL 3.8], et Diomedes lib. 1 [p. 333K] legant ostendere. Hi igitur ita legunt: *Alis (pro aliis) alibi stantes, omnes tamen adversis vulneribus conciderunt*, sive ut apud Diomedem ceciderunt.

*b. The edition of Rome, 1563 (colophon: 1564)*

*Praefatio.* Collegio Romano Societatis Iesu Aldus Manutius Pauli f. [Inc.]: Fatebor quod res est. Contuli me ad Urbem superiore anno, vocatus a patre, libentissime; cupiebam scilicet ea praesens intueri quae saepe legeram, et in iisdem locis vestigium imprimere, ubi sedes clarorum virorum ac domicilia fuisse cognoveram; ac me quidem hic permulta delectarunt ex veteribus monumentis, quae vel excellentium artificum ingenia vel mores aut eruditionem superiorum temporum declarant, sed neque marmoreum ullum, aeneumve simulacrum, neque septem collium aspectus, neque augusta illa Capitolii facies tantam animo meo iucunditatem admiratione attulit quam tam Collegii vestri dignitas et ordo, in quo nihil ad inanem voluptatem aut ad brevem usum, omnia vidi ad aeternum solidae gloriae fructum ad certam animorum salutem instituta. Itaque concursus ad vos quotidie maiores fiunt; nec dubitandum videtur, cum vobis in ista tam nobili disciplina non honor aut quaestus, quarum rerum spe multorum excitari solet industria, sed divina

tantum praemia proposita sint, quin haec ante paucos annos a summo viro, Ignatio Loyola, inducta bene merendi consuetudo et perpetua futura sit, et ubiores non in hac modo civitate, verum in universo terrarum orbe fructus ferat. Quae est enim civitas, quae gens, quae natio, sanctissimis Christi legibus addicta, quae non probet maxime vestrum institutum, quae vos non recipiat atque adeo non accersat ad erudiendam iuventutem, ad mores conformandos, ad religionem propagandam? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ego tamen, studio vestri et inductione quadam animi, patre etiam cohortante, qui vestra instituta ad caelum ferre solitus est, feci ut Sallustium et meos in eo corrigendo labores vobis dicarem. Nam, cum eius historiam assidue in manibus habeatis magnaue auditorum frequentia explanetis, commendabit, opinor, me vobis studium meum; et, ut spero, consequar id quod vehementer opto, ut patris mei meamque simul incolumitatem ac salutem piis precibus agentes cum Deo suppliciter curetis. MDLXIII. Kal. Oct.

*Aldus Manutius studiosis* (same text as in ed. of Venice, 1563).

*Veterum scriptorum testimonia.* [Inc.]: Ex Velleio Patervculo . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ex Statio.

*Commentary.* Aldi Manutii Pauli f. Scholia in Catilinam. [Inc.]: *Ceteris animantibus* (1.1). Scripti omnes libri, quos quidem ego viderim, *animalibus*, quo modo et Sosipater Charisius recitat lib. 1 [p. 139K] in verbo *omnes*. *Veluti pecora, quae Natura prona atque ventri oboedientia finxit* (1.1). Ovidius Met. I: Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram, // Os homini sublime dedit caelumque videre // Iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus [Met. 1.84–86] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Catilina longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est* (61.4). Iisdem verbis utitur Florus lib. 4 cap. 1 qui hoc amplius: Pulcherrima morte, si pro patria sic concidisset [Epit. 2.12.12]. Sallustii autem verba haec Servius in Virgilii librum Aen. I recitat [In Aen. 1.488].

#### *Edition:*

1563, 1563 (colophon: 1564). See above, Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

See CTC 3.113–16 (Biography, 114–16) (Caesar).

Add to *Bibliography*: *L'Europe des humanistes*, 288; F. Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio e la stamperia del*

*popolo romano* (1561–1570) (Rome, 1942). On manuscripts of Sallust in the Farnese collection, see F. Fossier, *La Bibliothèque Farnèse. Etude des manuscrits latins et en langue vernaculaire* (Rome, 1982), 134–37 and passim.

#### 25. Johannes Pescheur

In 1563 Johannes Pescheur published an annotated collection of speeches and letters from the two monographs, dedicated to Ludovicus du Moulin and entitled *Conciones ex historia Crispī Salustii decerp̄tae non minus utiles quam necessariae perfacili aditu scholiis, argumentis, et annotationibus illustratae per Ioannem Pescheur*. During the previous year he had been teaching the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* (histories of wars that were particularly relevant, he says, to the “tumult” in France), and the commentary, he believed, could be useful not only for instruction in rhetoric but also for those governing a state torn by civil strife. The excerpts contained passages, quoted or paraphrased, from Sallust’s texts; the marginal *scholia* identified the main parts of the speech or letter; and the *annotationes*, accompanying the *argumentum* at the end of each excerpt, supplied brief explanations of Roman customs and magistracies, historical events, and geographical references, along with the meaning and etymology of unusual words.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Paris, 1563). Prudentissimo ac clarissimo domino a regiis negotiis in urbanis aedibus Parisiis domino Ludovico du Moulin suo maecenati Ioannes Pescheur s. p. [Inc.]: Diu multumque (Maecenas amplissime) dubitavi quo tempore te maximis rei publicae negotiis occupatum minus inturbare; inturbassem vero te, si antea vultum tuum subiissem. Nam tantum tuum in me animum esse sum expertus ut vel clarissimorum hominum coetus, quibuscum semper egisti ac excelluisti, agis et excellis, vel gravissimas tuas occupationes intermittas, quoties tui piscatoris nomen percipis. Quid cum eundem cernis? Noverunt hi quorum negotia dicto citius studiose (ut soles omnia) expedienda curasti. Quae cum apud me perpenderem, retia velut sordidus et inops piscator in flumine immisi, eademque horis sub Auroram cedentibus perlustrans ex secundo ceu inundanti flumine Salustii Catilinario et Iugurthino bello procellarum civilium tempestate, undis turbulentis has multas diversasque eruditissimorum hominum

orationes seu conciones a tuo statu, genere et usu dicendi non multum absimiles sum expiscatus, ut te tuoque cognomine dignum aliquid irretitum a me exciperes. Has igitur conciones digessi ac velut pisciculos ex se insipidos diverso apparatu scholiis, argumentis, annotationibusque condire studi tibique cui animam (ut aiunt) debeo, hoc primum diei opus matutinum dicavi [continues in praise of du Moulin and his children, their study of rhetoric, and the tradition of making anthologies of speeches; observes the need of supplying introductions and explanations for these] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Has a nemine adhuc susceptas, quod sciam, cum argumentis conciones seorsum excudendas curavi. Eas itaque, si placet, hilari vultu sicut meipsum excipies, quod ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale. Datum e nostro Calvico Lycio quarto kal. Augusti, 1563.

*Lectori.* Lectori Ioannes Pescheur s. d. [Inc.]: Habes, lector studiose, conciones gravissimorum hominum ex Catilinario et Iugurthino bello cum verborum ornatu et splendore ut non iniucundas tum sententiarum pondere et dignitate ita non inutiles. His siquidem breviter et compendiose intelliges quae copiosissime Salustius historicus sane haud invenustus ad fidem historiae duo belli genera, quae toti rei publicae Romanae exitium attulerunt, persecutus est. Haec cum anno superiore meis Calvicis auditoribus praelegerem, mihi interpres erat oculatus (pro dolor) tantus nostrae rei publicae tumultus. Eorum vero consilia et orationes seu conciones, qui hortabantur vel dehortabantur, operae pretium esse duxi seorsum excipere et seligere ut haec in quibus sunt varia dicendi genera tibi oratori futuro ad copiam et memoriam excolendam non solum verum etiam ad usum rei publicae proponas. Nec quid melius potuit tuus piscator in tanta rerum perturbatione quam has conciones expiscari, quas tibi parasceve quadam ceu facili aditu argumentis, scholiis et annotationibus condire paucis contendit. Vale et aequi bonique consule. Datum e Calvico portu. 1563. 4 Kal. Augusti. Vale.

*Commentary.* Conciones ex Historia Crispri Salustii decerptae non minus utiles quam necessariae perfacili aditu scholiis, argumentis, et annotationibus illustratae per Ioannem Pescheur.

Parasceve seu aditus et praeparatio ad concionem primam ex Catilinario bello. [Inc.]: *Lucius<sup>a</sup> Catilina nobili genere natus fuit.* . . . / . . . [Expl.]: . . . omnibus procul arbitris amotis atque

*ibi orationem huiusmodi habuit* (20.1) [A brief summary based on BC 5, 18, and 20]. *Scholia:* a. Catilinae descriptio ex adiunctis et effectis. b. Causa coniurationis. c. Quales socii Catilinae eiusque institutum.

Oratio Catilinae ad suos coniurationis participes. Concio I. [Inc.]: *Nisi virtus atque fides vestra satis spectata mihi foret, nequicquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna dominationis in manibus frustra fuisset, neque ego per ignaviam aut vana ingenia incerta pro certis captarem*<sup>2</sup> (20.2) [continues with text accompanied by notes in the margins]: 1. Prolepsis qua ex adiunctis et effectis suorum benevolentiam captat Catilina. 2. Subiectio ex antecedentibus effectis. . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Haec ipsa (ut spero) vobiscum una consul agam<sup>3</sup>, nisi forte animus me fallit et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis* (20.17). . . . 3. Correctio quaedam qua magis ac magis suos accedit.

Argumentum concionis I. Tria hic . . . Catilina ubi suos in unum locum convocavit, eosdem pluribus modis ut sint animo forti et constanti adhortatur. I. Primum autem benevolentiam captat ex adiunctis et effectis variis. II. Deinde recenset commoda eorum qui dominantur et incommoda eorum qui aliis subiciuntur. III. Postremo victoriae praemia proponit.

Annotations ex parasceve concionis 1. *Stipator* (14.1) stipatorum Catilinae id est multitudinem custodium. Stipator proprie qui stipam hoc est stupam in navibus componit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Aes alienum* (20.13). Aes alienum quod nos aliis debemus, aes contractum quod mutuo sumptum est.

[There follow other *conciones*: Verba Catilinae apud seipsum; Allobrogum legatorum oratio; Literae Catilinae ad Quint. Catulum; Umbreni verba ad Allobrogum legatos; Epistola Lentuli ad Catilinam; Caesaris oratio ad patres conscriptos in Senatu; Catonis oratio et sententia de captivis puniendis.]

[Expl.]: Postrema adhortatio seu oratio Catilinae ad suos. Concio 9.<sup>1</sup> *Compertum habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum imperatoris oratione fieri*<sup>2</sup> (58.1). 1. Prolepsis. 2. Subiectio . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Semper in proelio iis est maximum periculum qui maxime timent. Audacia pro muro habetur*<sup>1</sup> (58.17). . . . Nam multitudo hostium ne nos circumvenire queat, prohibent<sup>2</sup> an-

*gustiae loci. Quod si virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit, cavete ne inulti animum<sup>3</sup> amittatis . . . virorum more pugnantes cruentam atque luctuosam victori-am hostibus relinquatis* (58.20–21). 1. Peroratio qua ab egregiis ante factis suos extollit et inflamat etiam ab adiunctis. 2. A loci natura et commoditate. 3. Ab extremo periculo et desperatione quadam suos accedit.

Argumentum in concionem 9. I. Primum pericula recenset quae Lentuli culpa et sibi et suis impendit. II. Deinde ab iisdem periculis, spe praedae, victoriae, personarum et loci occasione suos hortatur eisque animum addit. III. Postremo ab imminenti extremo periculo eosdem incitat et inflamat.

Exitus totius coniurationis et conflictus Antonii et M. Petreii cum Catilina.

Posteaquam vicissim Antonius et Petreius suos adhortati sunt *ut meminissent se contra latrones inermes pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris et sociis* (sic) *suis certare* (59.5) . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *ferociamque animi quam habuerat vivus in vultu retinens* (61.4). Conflictus et proelium utriusque exercitus et Antonii et Catilinae. Catilinae militum constantia et animus.

Annotationes ex concione 9. *Gallia*. Gallia Europae pars a candore populi sic dicta est. Huius historici tres partes constituunt: Belgicam, Celticam et Aquitanicam. Caes. comm. 1. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Signum dare. Tuba canere. Receptui canere* [cf. 59.1]. Signum dare, classicum vel tuba canere, id est milites incendere ad conflictum et pugnae signum dare; receptui canere est a proelio et conflictu eos revocare.

*Poem.* In lectissimas conciones, capturam Ioannis Pescheur ex duplice flumine Sallustii, Catilina et Iugurtha, Gulielmus de Baillou eius discipulus hoc scribebat. [Inc.]: Increpat hunc torpens infami ignavia labe // Qui didicit solum temporis acta sui . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ni tua, Piscator, tenerae dux strenue pubi // Servet ab ancipi musa diserta gradu.

#### *Edition:*

1563, Parisiis (Paris): Ex typographia Thomae Richardi. BNF.

#### *Biography:*

Johannes Pescheur (Piscator, as he calls himself) was a teacher of Latin and tutor to the children of Louis du Moulin, *regius procurator in domo publica* (Procureur du roi or Solicitor in the

royal court). No other information has been found on the author, and the identity of the place of writing is uncertain.

#### 26. Cyprianus Popma

Cyprianus Popma's notes on the *Catilina*, *Iugurtha*, and *Invectivae* were first published at Louvain in 1572 and accompany his edition of the texts. A dedicatory letter was addressed to Carolus a Brimeu, while the *Emendationes* were introduced by a separate letter of dedication to Igramus ab Achlen. The notes deal primarily with textual questions, but also comment occasionally on topics of antiquarian interest. In preparing the *Emendationes*, Cyprianus had consulted the printed editions of Jodocus Badius Ascensius, Aldus Pius Manutius, Henricus Glareanus, Vincen-tius Castiloneus (Castellanus), Christophorus Plantinus, and others. He had compared readings in several codices, including those he refers to as the Genepeus, Martinianus (seen in Cologne), Parcensis (from the Abbaye du Parc/Abdij van't Park, near Louvain), and the liber Gulielmi Canteri, and had taken into account the citations of the grammarians as well as readings in certain *veteres inscriptiones*. The Martinianus or Lovaniensis (from Val St. Martin, Louvain), identified with London, British Library, Harley 2460, contains a note on fol. 150v: "cum in Sallustio restituendo labore, usus sum hoc manuscripto libro, quem mihi commodavit ——— [erased] vir cum humanus tum religiosus. Cyprianus a Popma Phrysius."

*Praefatio* (ed. of Louvain, 1572). Illustri et gene-roso Carolo a Brimeu, Comitia Megen, Equiti Aurei Velleris, Praefecto Phryiae, etc. Cyprianus a Pompa Phrysius s. d. [Inc.]: Persaepe hoc mecum cogitavi, bonive an mali plus attulerint litteris homines illi qui superiori aetate in libris describendis operam et studium suum posuerunt. Nam cum multa doctissimorum viro-rum scripta magno labore magnisque vigiliis elucubrata prorsus interiisse considero, non minimam video per eos invectam partem incom-modorum. Cum autem res a nostra memoria per vetustatem remotas ex litterarum monumentis repetere instituo, multas seditiones ortas, plurima bella gesta, totum orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastatum intelligo, itaque in hanc potissimum sententiam ducor, ut existimem maximam eos utilitatem adduxisse quorum studio etsi mu-

tila ac lacera plurima tamen veterum scripta nostram ad aetatem pervenerunt quae ad vitam bene beateque instituendam plurimum conducunt, inter quae nullum mihi visum est vel iucundius vel utilius, ac perinde magis necessarium atque est illa multiplex et copiosa gestarum rerum testis historia. [Continues on the value of history] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Et quidem in eo numero, qui historias scripsere, inter Latinos, primus haberi potest Crispus Sallustius; magnarum enim rerum consilia, actiones, exitus, regumque et illustrium virorum actus, necnon quorundam caecas hominum mentes qui opes, dignitates, potentiam perdite flagitabant, graviter et ornate narrat. Hunc infinitis in locis meo labore, mea opera et diligentia emendatum sub tuo nomine, generose comes, emitto, neque dubito quin eum benigne accepturus sis, cuius rei signa habeo equidem permulta eaque non dubia sed illa certissima, quod patriae nostrae cum summa integritate, constantia, fide, dignitate atque gloria praesides et singulari quadam humanitate ac benevolentia omnes prosequi soles qui iis artibus studiisque operam navant, quae nos a primis temporibus aetatis summa diligentia curaque coluimus. Vale. Lovanii.

[There follows the *Vita Sallustii* by Petrus Crinitus. See I.18 above.]

*Praefatio* [before the *Emendationes*]. Clarissimo et ornatissimo Igramo ab Achlen Regii Senatus per Phrysiam Praesidi Cyprianus a Popma Phrysius s. d. [Inc.]: Crispi Sallustii optimi et clarissimi scriptoris libros historiarum vel temporum iniuria vel ipsa rerum confectrix vetustas abstulit. Duo dumtaxat opuscula, unum de coniuratione Catilinaria, alterum de bello Iugurthino, nostram ad aetatem pervenerunt, sed tam multis mendis et quasi maculis inquinata ut saepissime vix aut ne vix quidem intelligi possint, quod accidit magna ex parte superioris aetatis inscitia et antiquorum verborum ignorantia, quibus cum hic auctor plurimis uteretur, pro iis imperiti homines ineptas et horridas dictiones substituerunt. Sed huic rei aliquot aetatis nostrae eruditi viri magnam opem attulerunt, qui multa Sallustii loca cum ex vetustis codicibus, tum ex ingenio etiam et opinione sua emendarunt. Verum tam multa adhuc mutila, trunca et depravata reliquerunt ut si quam operam et industriam in iis repurgandis collocarem, eam studiosis probatum iri confiderem, sperarem certe aestima-

toribus non inquis. Quamobrem multis antiquis exemplaribus conquisitis, id opus arduum sane et difficile aggressus sum atque eorum auxilio et assiduitate lectionis Sallustii, cum summa et accurate diligentia coniuncta, Sallustium pristinae dignitati ut maxime potui restitui. Quem laborem, Igrame clarissime, ut tibi inscriptum atque dicatum emitterem, tua id fecit mira cum eruditione humanitateque coniuncta virtus singularis, quam omnes boni ac eruditii viri ita amplectuntur ut tuae amicitiae nihil anteponant. Vale. Lovanii.

*Commentary* (ed. of Louvain, 1572). Cypriani a Popma Phrysi in C. Sallustii Crispi Bellum Catilinarium Emendationes. [Inc.]: *Omnis homines* (1.1). Sic nos emendavimus cum antea in quibusdam libris prelo excusis *Omnis homines*, in aliis vero *Omneis homines* legeretur. Secuti autem sumus cum veterum codicum fidem tum grammaticorum auctoritatem . . . [cites Charisius and Priscianus; compares usage with Terence and Virgil]. *Ceteris animalibus*. Ita omnes fere impressi quibuscum consentiunt sex manu scripti codices et Charisius lib. I [p. 139K] . . . [also cites Seneca and Nonius] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Paululum etiam spirans* (61.4). Ita in veteribus libris legitur vulgaris omnibus reclamantibus in quibus *paululum etiam adhuc spirans* scriptum est. Sed prior vera et ingenua est, ut opinor, lectio eamque secutus sum.

#### *Editions:*

1572, (\*) 1574, 1579, 1607, (\*) 1619. See above, Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

Cyprianus Popma (Sybolt van Popma or Popmen) was born at Alst in Friesland (The Netherlands) in 1550 and died prematurely at Alst in 1582, at the age of thirty-two. He belonged to a distinguished family of scholars and, like his brothers Sixtus, Titus, and Ausonius, studied philosophy at Cologne and law at Louvain. In addition to his notes on Sallust, he wrote poetry and history. (Ausonius Popma's annotations on fragments of the *Historiae* were published at Franeker in 1619.)

#### *Works:*

*Henrici Mediolanensis libri de controversiis hominis et fortunae cum commentariis* (Cologne, 1570); *Historia motuum civilium qui in Frisia sunt post annum 1570* (lost).

*Bibliography:*

ADB 26.418 (Gisenhart); Michaud 34.99; Moreri (1759), 8.478; A. Gerlo and H. D. L. Vervliet, *Bibliographie de l'humanisme des anciens Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1972), s.v. Popma; Van der Aa 15.420–21. On the importance of Popma's contributions to textual criticism and on London, British Library, Harley 2460, see L. Canfora, “Per la storia del testo di Sallustio,” in *Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerti a Francesco Della Corte*, vol. 2 (Urbino, 1987), 377–98, reprinted in Canfora, *Studi di storia della storiografia romana* (Bari, 1993), 97–120.

## 27. Marcus Antonius Muretus

In 1578–79 Muretus gave a course on Sallust at the Sapienza (the papal university in Rome). The inaugural lecture of 1578 was published posthumously in a collection of Muretus' orations (Verona, 1590), with a dedicatory preface by his former pupil Franciscus Bencius. Muretus' *prolegomena* on history and his notes on the prooemium of the *Catilina* were also published posthumously (Ingolstadt, 1604), with prefaces by the editor and Muretus' lecture on Tacitus and notes on *Annales* 1–6. Earlier (and perhaps original) versions of the inaugural lecture of 1578, the *prolegomena* on history, and the notes on the *Catilina* are preserved in a manuscript at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. lat. 11591, fols. 1r–11v). References in the published notes of 1604 suggest that these were put into their present form sometime after 1580 and, as the editor's preface to this volume indicates, Muretus had not completed them at the time of his death (1585).

The inaugural lecture (*oratio*) explained the choice of Sallust's work, substituted for Aristotle's *Politics* at the recommendation of Cardinal Sirletus, and expounded various definitions of history. In the introduction (*prolegomena*) to his commentary on the *Catilina*, Muretus further expatiated on the nature and uses of history—relying largely upon Cicero's *De oratore* and other classical sources—and began explicating the prooemium of the monograph. To judge from the few surviving notes, the commentary probably combined some textual and linguistic analysis with observations on moral and political philosophy. Considering Muretus' interest in neo-Attic prose and political history, the study of Sallust may also have paved the way for his subsequent

course on Tacitus (1580–81). A few corrections to the text of the *Catilina* may be found in editions of Muretus' *Variae lectiones* (books 16, 17, 19).

Muretus' library contained six printed octavo volumes of Sallust (see *Bibliotheca Mureti*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 11562, fol. 76r), including the 1563 Rome (colophon: 1564) edition with *Scholia* by Aldus Manutius Junior (now Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, 68.6.C.17) and the 1576 Florence edition of the monographs by Petrus Victorius (now Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, 9.13.A.13), both with manuscript annotations on the monographs in what appears to be his hand. He also had in his possession an annotated manuscript, copied in 1462, of the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 11429).

*Praefatio* (ed. of Verona, 1590). Franciscus Bencius Societatis Iesu Scipioni Gonzagae Cardinali s. p. d. [Inc.]: Quod facturus fuerat M. Antonius Muretus in edendo posteriore volumine orationum suarum, si adhuc viveret, quod post eius obitum fratriss filius summa spe et animi et ingenii adolescens, nisi immatura morte praereptus fuisset, id mihi viri optimi tibique addictissimi, M. Antonius Lanfrancus et Ludovicus Rivaldus, ab hoc instituti heredes ad pias causas, ut facerem, et valde quidem ex mea voluntate, persuaserunt. [Continues on the elegance and erudition of Muretus and the virtues of the dedicatee.] . . . / . . . tot enim extiterunt tuae erga me humanitatis argumenta tamque illustria ut magnopere laetus sim extitisse tempus quo inteligerent omnes, et tu in primis, Bencium Mureti discipulum hoc etiam a magistro didicisse, ut in Scipione Gonzaga Cardinale amando et colendo nemini concedat. Utriusque rei indicium erit novum hoc munus, quod tibi, ut renovet memoriam mortui et declareret voluntatem superstitis, ipsum vero sub umbra tui praesidii numquam intereat, offertur. Vale, e Collegio Romano.

*Oratio.* Oratio nona. Habita Romae III Non. Novembr. MDLXXVIII. [Inc.]: Advenit tandem illud vobis quoque, ut opinor, auditores, sed mihi certe exoptatissimum tempus, quo diu iam intermissas exercitationes nostras et studia, haud facile dixerim honestatis an suavitatis pleniora, repetaimus. Iuvat hanc mihi circumfusam, incensam ac flagrantem siti bonarum artium, cupidam verae ac solidae laudis et gloriae, ore ipso atque oculis omnia me summa sperare de alacritate et indus-

tria sua iubentem lectissimorum adolescentum coronam intueri; iuvat aspici, iuvat audiri, iuvat in talibus ingenii excolendis quicquid ingravescens aetas virium reliquerit collocare . . . [continues with comments on teaching and on the desirability of varying one's habits and habitats, and likewise one's studies].

Atque equidem, auditores, quoniam humanus animus varietate capit omnia prope rerum, ut ait Euripides, iucunda mutatio est [*Orest.* 234], decrevi hoc anno aliquid vobis huius suavitatis impertiri et, intermissa paulisper philosophiae severitate, nobilissimi inter Latinos historiarum scriptoris lectione vos pascere. Quod consilium tum denique sine ulla dubitatione probabitis, cum ex quo fonte manaverit intellegitis. Superioribus diebus, cum ad illud non amplissimi tantum ordinis sed huius aetatis singulare lumen ac decus, Gulielmum Sirletum Cardinalem, venisse, coepit ille me, ut solet, de studiis meis humanissime interrogare. Cui cum pauca pro tempore respondissem, procedente sermone, quaesiit etiam ex me, quid vobis hoc anno proponere atque explicare meditarer. Respondi me in ipsis potestate et semper fuisse et semper fore, et hac quoque in re totum ex ipsis nutu atque auctoritate pendere, atque id demum mihi factu optimum atque utilissimum visum iri quod ipso auctore et tamquam auspice gereretur. Tum ille: Quando, inquit, superioris anni curriculum in Aristotelis Politicis consumpsisti, non alienum fuerit hoc anno aliquid paulo levioris operae assumere. Nam neque omnes ii quorum te commodis servire oportet capaces sunt tam arduarum disputationum, et a plerisque impetrari non potest ut graecas litteras ament, et sunt qui anni principio ad dimidiatos libros, tamquam ad delibatas ab aliis ac prope semeras epulas, non libenter accedant. Quare auctor tibi sum ut aliquem historicum sumas ac, si me audis, non alium potius quam Sallustium. Nam et egregie latine loquitur, et gravis ac densus est, et civilis sapientiae plenus et, quod tu quanti facias scio, Thucydideus, et, ut exiguis liber est, paucis illum mensibus totum explicare facile poteris. Ego vero, inquam, libentissime parebo auctoritati tuae neque umquam committam ut quacumque de re sententiam tuam cognovero, de ea mihi amplius quaerendum ac dubitandum putem. Quod igitur faustum felixque sit, de summi in omni genere laudandarum artium viri et nostrum omnium

amantissimi sententia evolvemus et excutiemus una hoc anno, auditores, Sallustium; hoc est eum scriptorem cui antiquitas historiae Romanae detulit principatum, ad quem cognoscendum, si vos parem meae industriam ac diligentiam adferetis, magnam vim ex eius scriptis cum Deo volente et eloquentiae et sapientiae praceptorum colligemus.

Sed in primis pauca quaedam de historia in genere, pauca de Sallustio dicam, quae instituto nostro non inutiliter praefulciantur ac praemuniantur. Ac de historia quidem haec: primum quid sit historia, deinde quam pulchra, quam iucunda quamque utilis sit historiarum cognitio. Tum quae sint historiae leges. Postremo in historiarum lectione versantibus quae potissimum observanda sint et quomodo in ea re a plerisque peccetur . . . [continues on definitions of history in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De inventione*; gives examples of "contemporary history" in Thucydides, Xenophon, Sallust et al.; formulates his own definition of history]. Atque haec cum ita sint, historiae tamen nomen in hac disputatione non tam late accipimus sed vim illius angustioribus terminis concludentes, ita definieram historiam putamus: Historia est rerum publice gestarum diffusa et continuata narratio. Neque quidquam interesse arbitramur ad hoc quidem ut historia sit, sintne res illae remotae ab aetatis nostrae memoria an minus, et num is qui eas scribit eis interfuerit an non interfuerit. . . . Si quis dicat ad fidem et auctoritatem historiae conciliandam interesse, scribat quis ea quae ipse viderit ac cognoverit an quae ab aliis tradita acceperit, non negabo; si, ut vere ac proprie historia sit, horum utrumlibet requiri dixerit, pernegabo. Nunc singulas propositae definitionis partes minutatim consideremus.

Historia est narratio rerum gestarum. Omnes igitur fabulae excluduntur. Neque enim continent res gestas sed ad eius qui scripsit libidinem fictas . . . [continues with examples of legendary or semi-fictitious accounts; distinguishes between history and biography].

Videtis igitur, quae sit quasi seges ac materia historiae propria: bella, paces, indutiae, foedera, seditiones, tumultus, leges, iudicia, commutationes rerum publicarum et quae sunt eiusdem generis, qualia apud Herodotum, Thucydidem, Xenophontem, Polybium, Dionysium Halicarnasseum, Sallustium, Livium, Diodorum Sicu-

lum, Cornelium Tacitum, Appianum, Ammianum Marcellinum, Dionem Cocceium et eiusmodi alios leguntur, quos vere ac merito possumus historiarum scriptores nominare. At tonderi diligenter ac radi aut velli etiam solitum Caesarem et semper cingi supra latum clavum, et Octavianum mense Decembri totos dies talis lusisse et similia eius sunt qui vitam alicuius, non qui historiam scribat.

Addidi in definitione historiae eam esse non narrationem modo, sed diffusam et continuatam narrationem . . . [continues with examples from various historians; distinguishes history from *breviaria* and collections of *exempla*].

Probasse me vobis arbitror quod principio posueram, historiam esse rerum publice gestarum diffusam et continuatam narrationem. Cetera, de quibus dicere institueram, sunt autem haec: de legibus in historia servandis, de pulchritudine, suavitate, utilitate historiae, tum quid praecipue observare debeant qui historias legunt: ea igitur et de ipso Sallustio quaedam cognitu digna, ne et vobis molestiae et aliis impedimento sim, in crastinum differentur.

Non dubito, L. C. V. P., quin quicunque te hoc honoris mei causa venisse vident et humanitatem erga me tuam admirantur, et me tibi plurimum eo nomine debere arbitrentur [continues in address of a presider?] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Mihi iam pridem adempta ac praecisa spes omnis est quidquam excogitandi, quod tuis erga me innumerabilibus meritis ulla ex parte respondeat.

*Praefatio* (to Commentary, ed. of Ingolstadt, 1604). Illustrissimo Domino Philippo Principi ac Comiti Arenbergio, Baroni Sevenbergae, etc. [Inc.]: Adfero tibi, illustrissime Comes, M. Antonium Muretum. Nec periculum est fore ut quaeras quid hominis Muretus. . . . [There follows a *tabella* by Andreas Schottus on Muretus' life, character, and learning.] En, illustrissime Comes, talis ac tantus vir fuit Muretus, inter saeculi nostri ornamenta ex praecipuis unum, cuius in Tacitum et Salustum commentarios, vel potius notas et observationes, nunc tandem in publicum proferimus post tot a funere auctoris annos: quae longe meliores, ornatiiores, ubiores e locupletiores in manus eruditorum venissent, si Mureto diuturnior vita obtigisset. Qualescumque tamen sint, dignae non erant diutius latere, multo minus perire. Sat splendoris et ornatus habent vel ab ipso Mureti clarissimo nomine. [Continues with

praises of the dedicatee.] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Probitatis enim atque eruditonis quasi biga invictus recta veheris et fereris, cum ad nominis perennem famam et gloriam, tum ad immortalem illam vitam, omnis virtutis unice expetendum praemium cursusque huius et peregrinationis supremum terminum. Vale. Ingolstadii. Kal. April. M.D.CIV. [See CTC 6.126–28.]

*Dedicatory poem* (in hendecasyllabics). In Notas M. Ant. Mureti ad Salustum. Illustrissimo principi comiti Philippo Arenbergico. [Inc.]: Musis nate Philippe gratisque, // Flos inter comitesque principesque; . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Hostes coepimus esse, non perennes: // Crispo parcite Tullioque linguae, // Sentitis bene convenire nobis. [See CTC 6.128.]

*Commentary*. M. Antonii Mureti in Sallustium Notae et in prooemium Coniurationis Catilinariae Scholia. [Inc.]: De historia prolegomena. Librum de coniuratione Catilinae explicare ingressus, quinque mihi capita initio tractanda suscepit.

Unum, quid Historia; alterum, quae historiae leges.

III. De suavitate et fructu historiarum.

IV. Quae praecipue observanda in historiis legendis et quomodo in eo a plerisque peccetur.

Postremo de Sallustio pauca dicam, nisi temporis angustiis exclusus vela colligere cogar . . . [continues with a discussion of the points mentioned above].

De Crispo vero Sallustio quid attinet dicere? Nimirum quod de Carthagine in Iugurthino bello idem usurpavit: silere melius esse quam pauca dicere [BI 19.2]. Colligam tamen tamquam per Satiram veterum iudicia atque elogia ut quo in pretio esse debeat veteranum commendatione discat iuventus etc. Restat ut ad eius explanationem veniamus.

[*Scholia*.] In Catilinariae coniurationis prooemium. [Inc.]: *Omnis homines* (1.1). Fabius lib. 3: Crispus (inquit) Sallustius in bello Iugurthino et Catilinario nihil ad historiam pertinentibus principiis usus est [Quint., *Inst.* 3.8.9]. Quod tamen ipsem eum Isocratis et Gorgiae Leontini exemplo fecisse dicit, et multa in philosophicis Ciceronis libris principia reperientur quae cum ea re, de qua in quoque libro disputatur, nihil omnino commune habeant. Ex quo constatare potest neque semper vitiosum esse tale principiorum genus, et in Sallustio notandum potius et observandum quam temere culpandum

videri. Ipsam potius huius principii oeconomiam universe primum, deinde per partes considere-  
mus. *Omnis homines* (1.1). Propositum Sallustio est ostendere quae se causa potissimum impulerit ut ad scribendam historiam accederet . . . / . . .

[Expl.]: *Nobili genere* (5.1). P. Cornelius Dolabella et nobilis, ut Cicero 2 Philippica [*Phil.* 1.12.29], ubi vide quae olim annotavimus. In Milonia [7.18]: Homo enim nobilis in suis monumentis equitem Romanum occiderat. . . Et in l. 2 de origine iuris exstat dictum Q. Mucii ad Ser. Sulpitium [Just., *Dig.* 1.2.2.43, in Sex. Pomponius, *De origine iuris*]: turpe esse patricio et ei nobili et causas oranti ius in quo versaretur ignorare. *Vastus* (5.5) πολύτροπος. *Satis loquentiae* (5.4). Alii *eloquentiae* legit. Vide Gellium cap. 15 lib. 1.

*Manuscript:*

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 11591, s. XVI, fols. 1r–11v (much damaged). Inaugural lecture of 1578, *Prolegomena* on history, and *Notae* on the *Catilina*.

*Selected editions:*

1590, Veronae (Verona): apud Hierony(mum) Discipulum. Orations of Muretus (“volumen secundum”, of which *Oratio IX*, “Interpretaturus C. Sallustium de coniuratione”, is the inaugural lecture of 1578). BAV (this edition is bound with “vol. 1” of Muretus’ orations [Venetiis (Venice), apud Aldum, 1575]).

(\*) 1591, Venetiis (Venice): apud F. Franciscum Senensem. Orations of Muretus (“vol. 2”, which may contain the inaugural lecture of 1578). BNF.

1595, Ingolstadii (Ingolstadt): ex Officina Typographica Davidis Sartorii. Orations of Muretus (“vol. 2”, of which *Oratio X* is the inaugural lecture of 1578). (This edition, bound with the 1596 edition of “vol. 1” of Muretus’ orations, letters, and poems, was kindly brought to our attention by Carolyn Valone.) BNF; Rome, Biblioteca Vallcelliana.

1604, Ingolstadii (Ingolstadt): ex typographia Adamis Sartorii. *Prolegomena* on history, and *Notae* on the *Catilina*, with Muretus’ inaugural lectures of 1580–81 and notes on the *Annales* of Tacitus. BNF; BAV.

1672, Lipsiae (Leipzig): sumptibus Joh. Grossi et soci. Literis Christiani Michaelis. Orations, letters, and poems of Muretus, ed. Jacobus Thomasius (“vol. 2”, of which *Oratio XIII* is the inaugural lecture of 1578). BL; BNF; (CaOTU).

1739, Venetiis (Venice): apud Josephum Bortoli. Orations, letters, and prefaces of Muretus (“vol. 2”, of which *Oratio X* is the inaugural lecture of 1578, dated 1579). NUC. BNF; (ICU; OCX; CaOTU).

1789, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): apud Samuel. et Johannem Luchtmans. The *Opera omnia* of Muretus, ed. David Ruhnken, 4 vols.; vol. 1.275–83 contains the inaugural lecture of 1578 (*Oratio X*); vol. 4.173–87 contains his *Notae* on the *Catilina*. NUC. BL; BNF; (CtY; ICU; NIC).

1834–41, Lipsiae (Leipzig): sumptus fecit et venumdat Serigiana Libraria. The *Opera omnia* of Muretus, ed. K. H. Frotscher, with the notes of David Ruhnken, 3 vols.; vol. 1.358–65 contains the inaugural lecture of 1578 (*Oratio X*, dated 1577). NUC. BL; BNF; (CtY; MiU; CaOTU).

1871–73, Lipsiae (Leipzig): Teubner. *Scripta selecta* of Muretus, 2 vols.; vol. 1 contains the inaugural lecture of 1578 (*Oratio XIII*). NUC. BL; BNF; (DLC).

*Biography:*

See CTC 1.104–105 (Biography, 105) (Alexander Aphrodisiensis); 6.125–29 (Biography, 129) (Tacitus); and 7.109 and 137 (Xenophon) and 260–64 (Biography, 264) (Catullus).

Add to *Bibliography*: *Bibliotheca Mureti* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 11562, which lists the copies of Sallust in Muretus’ library); *Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, ed. C. Nativel, Travaux d’Humanisme et Renaissance 314 (Geneva, 1997), 575–79 (C. Mouchel); *L’Europe des humanistes*, 315.

J. Blänsdorf, “Die Verwandlung der senecanischen Tragödie in Marc-Antoine Murets *Julius Caesar*,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 1.2 (1994) 58–74; E. S. Ginsberg, “Change and Permanence in the French Renaissance: Muret and Ronsard,” *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 16 (1986) 91–102, and references in the following works: M. Fumaroli, *L’âge de l’éloquence. Rhétorique et ‘res literaria’ de la Renaissance au seuil de l’époque classique* (Geneva, 1980; 2d ed., Paris, ca. 1994); *Prosateurs latins en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1987), 497–531 (bibliography, 499); P. Renzi, *I libri del mestiere. La Bibliotheca Mureti del Collegio Romano* (Siena, 1993) (with bibliography by F. Delage [1910]); A. Spotti,

"Guida storica ai fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 'Vittorio Emanuele II' di Roma," *Pluteus* 4–5 (1986–87) 359–86 (see "Fondo gesuitico"); J. H. Waszink, "Lo sviluppo della filologia nei Paesi Bassi del Nord dalla morte di Erasmo fino alla morte dello Scaligero," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 3d Ser., 8 (1978) 97–133; B. Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1961), see Index.

### 28. Janus Mellerus Palmerius

The *Spicilegia* on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* were notes written seemingly at random on the two monographs and published for the first time in 1580 together with the author's corrections, explications, and observations on the texts of several other Roman authors. The collection, dedicated to Johannes Crato of Craftheim, was introduced by poems of Hieronymus Berchemius, Johannes Posthius, Franciscus Modius Brugensis, and Janus Gulielmus Lubecensis. The notes on Sallust, dedicated to the Hungarian scholar Johannes Sambucus, consisted chiefly of proposed emendations. These changes were based upon readings in a number of manuscripts reported by Berchemius, Modius, and Lubecensis and referred to as the codices Thosanus, Bertinianus, and Sigebergenensis, the manuscripts of Modius, Brunnius, and Stanaeus, and the Fragmentum Colonense. Also used were readings in the printed editions of Aldus Pius Manutius and Petrus Victorius and the commentaries of Laurentius Valla, Jodocus Badius Ascensius, and Henricus Glareanus. Comparing aspects of language and style, Mellerus also called attention to Sallustian influences in Tacitus. Sigebertus Havercampus reestablished the order of the notes according to their sequence in the monographs ("maiori commodo et emolumento" of the reader) in his 1742 edition of Sallust's *opera*.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Frankfurt, 1580). Emendatus multis locis Sallustius. V. cl. Io. Sambuco Tiranoviensi Pannonio. [Inc.]: Verum est, Sambuce, quibus hoc primum hoc postremum fuit ut vetustos codices, qua cuique proximum esset, anquirerent, viam ad iuvandas litteras unicam institerunt; ita, si etiam communicant, ne isti dictum pro se putent qui antiquos libros habent atque id hactenus uti neque sciunt ipsi neque qui sciant facile patiuntur; hoc primum; deinde, cum

diis tuis aequis librum e turba utendum abstuleris, si hoc tantum, diem non repraesentes, quiritantur, clamant deum atque hominum fidem, flagitium, facinus, perfidiam, quicquid ipsis libuit, vocant. At ubi aequum bonum? Tu mihi quo iure, qua iniuria publicum occuparis atque id licere tibi postules praeter te nemini? Sed de horum hominum, audebo dicere, scelere, non ad dam ne lacessivisse convicia videar, et quia pri dem sunt, ut scire potes, Ducae nostri Hipponacteo paeconio addicti ad te ibam, clarissime Sambuce, dignissimum, qui omnibus, quantum est, poëtis carmen essem. Nam quis, o dii, bonum hoc hominum generi dedit? Tantum optimorum codicum vim accervasse laborantibus ac diu extreum spiritum trahentibus musis remedium fuit; contulisse, adnotasse, emisisse, vita; quid communicasse? Itaque ergo paucas ad Sallustium notas misi, paucas ut hic fabulator errat tibi sat scio, nimium quam multae videbuntur nimirum.

Sic quondam tener ausus est Catullus  
Magno mittere Passerem Maroni.

[Mart., Ep. 4.14.13–14]

De libris antiquis ne ignores nullum inspexi: tres in totidem abbatiis repertos et accuratissime a se collatos Franciscus Modius Brugensis, adolescens doctus, quem de edito Curtio nosse potes, mecum communicavit; unum Sigebergensem mea causa diligenter legit amicus meus Ioannes Guilhelmus Lubecensis; reliqui domi C. Hieronymi Berchemi fuerunt.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 24r) Principio ergo de coniuratione Catilinae: *Omnis homines qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus summa opere niti decet ne vitam silentio transigant* (1.1). Lego transeant. Qui aliter excludunt vim vocabuli non assequuntur. Probabit pro me Cornelius Tacitus in vita Agricolae [6.3]: Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque etiam ipsum tribunatus annum quiete et otio transit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Liquet mihi affirmare hunc Sallustii locum Tacitus respexit et eum qui mox est: *indocti incultique vitam sicut peregrinantes transire* (BC 2.8). Neque ergo inertes agunt vitam, verius transeunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 30v) De suppicio coniuratorum: *est locus, inquit, in carcere quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum ascenderis ad laevam . . . sed inculta tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis*

*eius facies est* (55.3). Emendandum e Thosano: *ubi paululum ascenderis ad laevam circiter XII pedes depressus . . . sed incultu, tenebris, odore foeda, atque terribilis eius facies est. Incultu quidem in illo libro scriptum non fuit, sed ita suspicione feci, invitante concinnitate ipsa orationis.* Nam si quid tertium cum illo *terribilis* iungeretur, videri poterat Sallustii. . . . [The remaining notes all deal with the *Iugurtha*, with the exception of the following two passages from the *Catilina* on fols. 43v and 44v:] Libro de Catilinae coniuratione: *ipse equo circumiens . . .* (59.5). . . . [and close to the end of the notes:] In oratione Caesaris. *De poena possum equidem dicere . . .* (51.20). . . .

*Editions:*

1580, Frankfurt. See above, Composite Editions.

1604, Francofurti (Frankfurt): I. Rhodii. In *Lampas sive Fax artium liberalium, hoc est Thesaurus criticus*, ed. I. Gruterus, 4.629–56. NUC. BL; BNF; (CtY; ICU).

1607. See above, Composite Editions.

1677, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): ex Officina Hackiana. With the *opera* of Sallust. Schweiger 2.879; NUC. BL; (CtY; MiU).

1690, Amstelodami (Amsterdam): ex officina H. et viduae T. Boom. Schweiger 2.879; NUC. BL; (MH; MiU).

*Biography:*

Janus Mellerus Palmerius (possibly Meller or Palmier), philologist and poet, may have been born in Cologne or the vicinity, rather than in Bourges or Bruges, as often stated; he died in 1582. He studied in Bamberg and spent most of his life in Germany, although he traveled to Basel, Leiden, and England. It appears that he was on close and friendly terms with leading scholars of the period including Janus Gulielmus, Hugo Blotius, Janus Dousa, Hieronymus Berchemius, and Johannes Posthius, as well as the Hungarian Johannes Sambucus (see CTC 2.36–37) to whom he dedicated his notes on Sallust, and Franciscus Modius, who honored him after his death with elegies (in *Novantiquae lectiones* of 1584). Caspar Scioppius (see CTC 4.446–50 and 3.336–37) cited Mellerus' contributions to textual studies in his *De arte critica* of 1597.

*Works:*

*Spicilegiorum Ian. Melleri Palmerii Commentarius primus, quibus pleraque Sallustii, Lucretii,*

*Plauti, Terentii, Propertii, Petronii Arbitri, tum fragmenta apud Marcellum, multa Cornelii Taciti, quaedam etiam Catulli et aliorum scriptorum alias conclamata tentantur primum aut impari ausu atque successu tentata iam ante cum diis volentibus emaculantur . . .* (Frankfurt, 1580).

*Bibliography:*

*L'Europe des humanistes*, 333; A. Roersch, “Où naquit J.-M. Palmerius?” *Le musée belge* 5 (1901) 28–30; Moreri (1759), 8.39; Pökel 199; Van der Aa 15.68.

F. Modius, *Epistola* 26 to I. Palmerius and *Epistola* 77 to H. Berchemius (with “*Versus epitaphii in obitum Iani Palmerii Melleri*”), *Novantiquae lectiones*, in *Lampas sive Fax artium liberalium, hoc est Thesaurus criticus*, ed. I. Gruterus, vol. 5 (Frankfurt, 1605); C. Scioppius, *De arte critica . . . commentariolus* (Nuremberg, 1597) and *Libri quatuor in quibus multa veterum scriptorum loca . . . emendantur, augentur, inlustrantur* (Amsterdam, 1662).

29. Petrus Ciacconius

Ciacconius' brief *Notae in Sallustium* on selected passages of the *opera* were published posthumously at Leiden in 1594 (thirteen years after his death at Rome) by Franciscus Raphelengius at the Plantin Press. They may have been compiled in the 1570s, at the time when Ciacconius was collaborating with Fulvius Ursinus in Rome on various editions and commentaries; in fact, the notes mention a *liber perantiquus F. Ursini* and *duo Longobardicis litteris scripti libri*, which may also have been in Ursinus' library, as well as notes by Adrianus Turnebus and the emendations of Aldus Manutius Junior and Latinus Latinus. In an accompanying dedicatory letter, Andreas Schottus praised Ciacconius as “*saeculi nostri alter Varro*”, commended his editing of Pliny the Elder, Varro's *De re rustica*, and Sallust, and in regard to his notes on the latter, called attention to Ciacconius' careful comparative study of the language and style of Cato the Elder, Sallust (who had imitated Cato), and Tacitus (who in turn had borrowed from Sallust). In a second preface to the reader, Raphelengius referred in less flattering terms to Ciacconius' *Adnotata*, which were not up to the level, he believed, of his work on Pliny, and criticized his casual methods of emendation and the inferior texts he had used. The notes had been left as they were received, but

some passages had been excised; the accompanying text, edited by Carrio, had been published by Christophorus Plantinus, Franciscus Raphelengius' father-in-law, in 1579.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Leiden, 1594). Iosepho Stephano ex Episcopo Vestano Valentinae Ecclesiae Decano Andreas Schottus s. p. d. [Inc.]: *Quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxime longam efficere rectius est* (BC 1.3). Liceat enim mihi iisdem verbis appellare te, doctissime Stephane, quibus olim usus est quem tibi nunc velut depositum fide bona reddo Sallustius, Historiae facile princeps, a Petro Ciacconio egregie emendatus. Qui, ut saeculi nostri alter Varro iure optimo est appellatus, sic et geminam huic Sallustianae Varronis sententiam et tanquam ex tripode pronuntiatum oraculum **VITAM LEGENDO SCRIBENDOQUE PROCUDITO** et servavit ipse egregie ut se vixisse posteris testatum faceret et aliis exemplum iuvandae rei litterariae reliquit sempiternum . . . [praises Ciacconius' emendations of Pliny, then compares his work on Varro's *De re rustica* with that on Sallust; see references to CTC 4 in the Biography below for Ciacconius' work on Pliny and Varro]. Utrumque diligentissime emendavit; illum, quidem, quis credit? Post Victorium et Scaligerum, bone Deus, quales viros? Hunc vero historicorum coryphaeum post tot tantorumque virorum industriam, Rivii, Manutii, Carrionis, Popmae, aliorum—ut enim Catonis de Latinis aemulum fuisse hoc epigrammate didicerat Ciacconius: Et verba antiqui multum furate Catonis, // Crispe, Iugurthinae conditor historiae [Quint., *Inst.* 8.3.29], sic ab illo vicissim stilum esse mutuatum Cornelium Tacitum observarat. Hos itaque diligenter horis subsecivis inter se contendit et perantiquos codices nactus Romae in orbis luce summa fide accurationeque comparavit. Cornelius enim Crispi summus admirator (ut et Sulpicius Severus et noster Aurelius Victor historici non insuper habendi) eum in deliciis habuit et de manibus, ut appetet, non deponebat; verum, ut quod sentio dicam, concisam illam Crispi brevitatem non cuivis obviam promptaque, natura non perinde felici praeditus, consequi non potuit, ut non in affine vitium ut fieri amat obscuritatis inciderit. *Brevis esse labore, obscurus fio* [Hor., *Ars* 25]: cetera prudentissimus, me hercle, scriptor, et qui Civilem egregie informet [continues with observations on history and rhetoric, examples of Sallust's borrowings

from Thucydides and Demosthenes, citations of ancient testimonia, and praises of Ciacconius] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Vivet itaque Ciacconius in animis posterorum si, ut spero et opto, M. Varronis Agricultura et C. Plinii maioris vastum Naturae opus ab eo illustratum aliquando lucem accipiet. Certe memoriam illius excipient omnes anni consequentes, in quo omne desino. Vale.

[Following are Ciacconius' epitaph (Romae, ad Divum Jacobum [1581]) and a eulogy of Ciacconius by Latinus Latinius Viterbiensis.]

*Lectori.* Fr. Raphelengius lectori. [Inc.]: Adnotata ab eruditissimo viro, P. Ciacconio, ad C. Sallustium vulgamus, benevole lector. Suasit hoc fama viri, meruit doctrina qua et istam meruit. Adnotata voco, nam ut serioris haec illi curae fuerint non crediderim; aliud agentis potius (prima illi semper, ut accepimus, Plinii maioris emendatio erat) ludicra et per occasionem adscripta suae memoriae. At si his studium impensis intendere lubido fuisset, multo haec pulcherrima haberemus. Quod ipso dignum sit, loquor; nam vel istis similia dare non possit quilibet. Edimus autem qualia nacti, nisi quod quaedam omisimus, quibus loca nonnulla emendabat, aut e conjectura aut e libro ad eum modum quo excusa. Nec enim editionem L. Carrionis viderat, tantum Lugdunensem forma minori. Quaedam tamen reliquimus etiam, qua ut minimum viri industriae derogaretur, qua firmandae noviter receptae lectionis. Multus est in collatione Taciti cum Sallustio, sed usus tantum veteri editione ante distributum in Annales et Historias opus atque hoc mutavimus bono legentium. Contextum servavimus quem sofer Plantinus ex emendatione Carrionis excudit anno 1579. Sed cum seriem paginarum istius editionis sequi non potuerimus, quod per bella non omnia ex voluntate suppeditant, numeros nihilominus in marginibus adnotari curavimus uti et huic editioni respondere possint Scholia Dousae, Popmae, Rivii, Carrionis atque aliorum quae seorsum habentur. Eadem in Rerum Indice numeros antiquos reliquimus, nam aliter est in novo quem iam adfinximus Locutionum Sallustianarum. Necessitudo nos subigit facere, benevole lector, quo alios pellicit profunda avaritia. Subsessores istos librorum ab aliis magnis sumptibus editorum typographos intellego, inclutae nostrae artis dehonestamenta. Qui numeros istiusmodi ad oras apponere, magno lectori incommodo, quam tantillos sumptus Indici ipsi recognoscendo facere

malunt. Homines cetera stolidi, quibus una lucri cura, boni honestique incuria, dubium ignaviores an avariores. Sed vivimus et vivit Deus qui te servet.

*Commentary.* In C. Sallustium Notae Petri Ciacconii Toletani. In Coniurationem Catilinae. [Inc.]: *Omnis homines* (1.1). Varro Caprino proelio: Nam virtutem propriam mortalibus fecit, cetera promiscue voluit communia habere [Men. 71.1–2]. *Divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa* (1.4). Vetus codex *gratia* habet, non *gloria*, ut in pag. 48: *salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam quaerere* [BI 4.3] cum in aliis ibi quoque legatur *gloria*. Et Apuleius qui Sallustium pluribus locis solet imitari *Apolog.* 2 [73.4]: Si haec reputans formae aut divitiarum gratia, quamvis gratia ibi pro causa posita sit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Inter hostium cadavera* (61.4). Servius [*In Aen.* 1.488] inter hostilia cadavera leguisse videtur, ut paulo infra (61.8). *Paululum adhuc spirans*. Meus liber non habet *adhuc*, forte et dum. *Nam strenuissimus quisque* (61.7). Meus liber: *Strenuus quisque*.

*Manuscripts:*

Copenhagen, Universitetsbiblioteket, Arnamagnæanske Institut, AM 828 4to, s. XVI, fols. 125r–129v. Petrus Ciacconius, autograph, notes on the *opera* (fols. 89r–145v).

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V D 44, fols. 1r–47r. Notes of Fulvius Ursinus, drawn from Ciacconius. See I.30 below, and V. Brown, “Caesar,” CTC 3.119–21 and “Varro,” CTC 4.491–93.

*Editions:*

1594, 1602, 1607. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC 3.119–21 (Biography, 121) (Caesar); 4.416 (Plinius), and 484–86 and 491–93 (Varro); 5.279 (Pomponius Mela).

Add to *Bibliography*: *L'Europe des humanistes*, 112; D. Rubio, *Classical Scholarship in Spain* (Washington, D.C., 1934), 58–59.

### 30. Fulvius Ursinus

The *Notae* of Ursinus on various passages of Sallust's *opera* were first printed in 1595, along with his annotations on Caesar, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus, Suetonius et al., and his edition of the *fragmenta historicorum*, a collection of fragments from Roman historians compiled by Antonius Augustinus. The annotations on Sallust

expand upon many of the same notes that appeared in Ciacconius' commentary, which suggests that the two scholars had been working together in Rome (see I.29 above). In commenting on the text and comparing various readings, Ursinus relied chiefly on an (unidentified) *vetus codex* in his own library. He cites parallel passages in Greek and Roman authors, particularly Thucydides and Tacitus, and draws upon numismatic and epigraphic evidence.

A number of Sallust manuscripts from Fulvius Ursinus' collection are found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. lat. 3325, 3326, 3327, and 3328; see P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* [Paris, 1887; rpt. Geneva, 1976], 274–77). Aldus Manutius Junior mentions an *antiquissimus Fulvii liber* that he consulted while preparing his *Scholia* on Sallust, as does Ciacconius. Ursinus also owned a copy of the 1481 Venice edition of Sallust annotated by a student of Pomponius Laetus (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Inc. II. 111; see II.12 below), and a copy of the Florence (Giunta) edition of 1503 contains notes said to be in Ursinus' hand (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ant. 279.29).

*Commentary* (ed. of Antwerp, 1595). *Notae ad Sallustii Bellum Catilinæ.* [Inc.]: *Alterum cum beluis commune est* (1.2). Varro Caprino proelio apud Nonium videtur non absimili sententia usus, cum ait: Nam virtutem propriam mortalibus fecit, cetera promiscua voluit communia habere [Men. 71.1–2]. *Nam divitiarum et formae gloria* (1.4). Vetus codex *pro gloria* habet *gratia*, tum hic tum infra, ubi est: *Salutare plebem et conviviis gloriam quaerere* (BI 4.3). Nam ibi in vetere codice scriptum planum est *gratiam non gloriam* . . . [continues with citations from Pacuvius (*apud* Nonium) and Apuleius] . . . sed ibi *gratia* *pro causa positum est* . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Equo circumiens unumquemque nominans* (59.5). Vetus codex: *Equo circumiens, quemque nominans*. Et paulo post *inter hostilia cadavera* (61.4) etc. quomodo leguisse videtur Servius [*In Aen.* 1.488]; et infra *volventes hostilia cadavera* (61.8). Item *paullulum etiam spirans* (61.4) etc. sine voce *adhuc*, quam non habet vetus codex.

*Manuscripts:*

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V D 44, fols. 1r–47r (fols. 1r–11v on the *BC*). Notes of Fulvius Ursinus, drawn from Ciacconius. See I.29 above, and V. Brown, “Caesar,” CTC 3.120 and “Varro,” CTC 4.492.

*Editions:*

1595, 1607. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC 4.235–37 (Biography, 237) (Cato) and 491–94 (Varro).

Add to *Bibliography*: Cosenza 5.1817–18; J. Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious* (Princeton, 1999), 203–205; *L'Europe des humanistes*, 329; F. Fossier, *La Bibliothèque Farnèse. Etude des manuscrits latins et en langue vernaculaire* (Rome, 1982); J. H. Jongkees, *Fulvio Orsini's Imagines and the Portrait of Aristotle*, *Archaeologica traiectina* 4 (Groningen, 1960), 3–16; J. R. Martin, *The Farnese Gallery* (Princeton, 1965), 39f., 46, etc.; F. Niccolai, *Pier Vettori (1499–1585)* (Florence and Leipzig, [1912]), 188–89; P. de Nolhac, “Les collections d'antiquités de Fulvio Orsini,” *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, Ecole française de Rome* 4 (1884) 139–231; de Nolhac, “Une galerie de peinture au XVIe siècle. Les collections de Fulvio Orsini,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 29 (1884) 427–36; C. Riebesell, *Die Sammlung des Kardinal Alessandro Farnese. Ein 'studio' für Künstler und Gelehrte* (Weinheim, 1989); C. Robertson, ‘*Il Gran Cardinale': Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts*’ (New Haven, 1992), 223–30.

On Vat. lat. 3325, which L. D. Reynolds includes in his list of *libri integri* (ed. Oxford, 1991, xiii), see also L. Canfora, “Per la storia del testo di Sallustio,” *Studi*, 107–108 (I.26 above, s.v. Cyprianus Popma). On Vat. lat. 3327, see p. 193 and n. 49 above; E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2d ed., 2 vols., *Sussidi eruditivi* 33–34 (Rome, 1980), vol. 1, see index and vol. 2, p. 147 (with further bibliography); and *Virgilio e il chiostro. Manoscritti di autori classici e civiltà monastica*, ed. M. Dell'Omo (Rome, 1996), 189–90, no. 49 and 4 figs. (fols. XXV<sup>r</sup>, XXXVI<sup>r</sup>, and details of illumination): “Sallustio, *De coniuratione Catilinae; Bellum Jugurthinum*” (A. Spotti).

## 31. Christophorus Colerus

Colerus' commentary on the monographs and *Historiarum fragmenta* was prepared in 1597–98, while he was teaching at Altdorf, and was published at Nuremberg in 1599 with his accompanying edition of the texts. Most of the notes deal with linguistic and textual questions and draw upon the earlier work of Johannes Rivius, Janus Mellerus Palmerius, Petrus Ciacconius, Fulvius

Ursinus, Petrus Victorius, Antonius Riccobonus, Ludovicus Carrio et al. He also cites the Codex Rittershusianus, *liber Pirckhemeri*, and emendations proposed by Turnebus and Lipsius. Occasionally, he includes comments on historical or antiquarian topics.

Colerus was especially eager to propagate Sallust's work and promote his reputation as historian, political thinker, and stylist, and in 1598 he had already published at Altdorf his *Sallustius sive De historia veteri oratio*. In the dedicatory epistle introducing his commentary of 1599 on the *Bella* and *Historiarum fragmenta*, he elaborated on Sallust's merits as both writer and historian and, comparing him with Tacitus, stressed the greater relevance of his work to all forms and stages of government. Sallust's importance as a source of political wisdom was further illustrated in the *Notae politicae* to the *Epistulae* (Hamburg, 1599) and in a letter of 1601, *De studio politico ordinando epistola*, addressed to Stanislaus Zelenius Vitellius de Zelanka, a young Polish nobleman. Here, after comparing Sallust with Thucydides, he commented: “Historia eius tota periit, pessimo generis humani. Cernis quam pie et industrie ipse nonnumquam istas saltim naufragii tabulas minutus colligam, conseram, conglutinem. Bellum Catilinarium memoriter tenes, sed frustra nisi consideras profundam illius viri rei publicae scientiam, quam ille vel breviculo illo libello prodidit. Non minori arte Bellum Iugurthinum confecit. Duea illae Epistolae de re publica ordinanda ad Caesarem, nonne caelo delapsae videntur?”

*Praefatio* (ed. of Nuremberg, 1599). Ad nobilissimum et amplissimum Senatum Noribergensem Christophori Coleri praefatio. [Inc.]: Nobilissimi et amplissimi viri, Sallustum meum ad vos mitto. Cui enim magis debo quam vobis? Vestro auspicio, vestro favore ac beneficio nobilissimum hunc auctorem quasi peregrinatum in theatrum hoc Germaniae nostrae reduco Germanus, non introduco, dico. Fecere id ante me clari viri, Huttenus, Glareanus, alii. Sed mehercule foedum aspectu eum nobis stitere:

. . . lacerum crudeliter ora,  
Ora manusque ambas populataque tempora rap-  
tis  
Auribus, et truncas in honesto vulnere nares.  
[Aen.6.495–497].

Vestro inquam subsidio, viri prudentissimi, hunc gravissimum scriptorem denuo ausus sum dare

in vulgus. Dum enim eundem in praeclera illa Academia vestra publice interpretor, plurimis eum inter legendum, uti fieri solet, mendis liberavi locisque prope innumeris obscurum et tenebricosum illustravi. Vereor dicere apud vos, viri prudentissimi, quantos politicorum et ad quamcumque etiam rem publicam necessariorum praceptorum thesauros in hoc auctore aperuerim, protulerim, explanaverim; ne scilicet meipsum laudem. Sed audeo apud vos dicere, talem esse hunc scriptorem, qui sui vel negligentibus vel contemptoribus suis oculos egregie perstringere possit: certe prudentissimis etiam et perspicacissimis nebulam non unam quam vix pviderint, obicit. Ac licet neque aetate magna neque doctrina sim, conabor tamen brevi reapse planum facere, non esse solum inter veteres Tacitum, a quo Galli πολιτεύεσθαι hodie et Itali discant. Est certe magnus et serius scriptor Cornelius Tacitus, et qui nostris aulicis nasum emungere egregie possit. De quo etiam scio quid Lipsius iudicet, nec repugno. Ego etiam aliquando utrumque inspexi, et audebam alterum cum altero contendere. Videtur mihi Sallustius omnes docere, Tacitus paucos et doctos. Hic ad principatum maxime, ille ad omnes rei publicae formas utilis esse. Ille monere, hic cavere. Ille sapere ut docearis, hic docere ut sapias. Quid multa? Dignus Sallustio magistro Tacitus; dignior Tacito discipulo Sallustius. Ita enim ubique imitatur Sallustium ille ut eum discipulum Sallustianum merito appellem. Quae vero stili elegantia in Sallustio! Quae brevitas, quis nitor, quae eloquentia! Per hunc atticae Musae Romam etiam lustrarunt. Audiant hoc Ciceroniani nostri et doleant. Si atticus sermo est optimus, ut est absque dubio, Sallustius eum certe est assecutus. Quid ni Cicero potius, inquiet isti? Dicam causas: Thucydides inter Atticos primus habetur; is grandis, magnificus, nec sine ubertate rotundus. Ei quam simillimus esse studuit Demosthenes, quod hodieque apparent. Cicero licet Demosthenem summopere admiratus sit, tamen eius orationis genus numquam assequi potuit. Mollior multo Cicero et luxuria quadam verborum lasciviens et exultans. Unde Calvus orator pressus et nervosus Demostheni quam Cicero similior iudicatur a Seneca [*Contr. 7.4.7–8*] et Quintiliano [*Inst. 10.2.24–25*], talium rerum aequissimis arbitris. Asiatici quidam fuerunt qui superfluum quoddam et redundans orationis genus sectati sunt, ob eius sermonis

studium nimium; Ciceronem insectati sunt Brutus et Calvus summi oratores. Contra si orationis filum spectes, Sallustius Demostheni et Thucydidi simillimus, quod exemplis evincere possem si id nunc res pateretur. Sed idem de Sallustio et Cicerone sensisse novi Iulium Scaligerum et Adrianum Turnebum, summos viros. Satin' clare demonstravi magis Ciceronem Asiaticum quam Atticum et Demostheni similiorem esse Sallustium quam Ciceronem? Non absurdum putavi apud vos, viri amplissimi, aliquid etiam de stilo et oratione disputare in qua re, quamvis seria, hodie mire ludunt vulgares magistri et non nemo etiam de plebe. Sed nonne huius negotii litterarii cura fuit olim summis in re publica et sapientissimis viris? Hisce deliciis sese oblectarunt magnae illae animae, Plato, Aristoteles, Cato, Caesar, Cicero. ὁ λόγος ὥσπερ πλάστης ἀγαθὸς καλὸν τῷ ψυχῇ περιτίθησι σχῆμα aiebat olim Socrates [apud Stob. 2.4.14]. Reliquas Sallustianae historiae virtutes alibi exposui, neque hic committam ut fiat *Crambe repetita*. Libabo tantum nonnullas alias causas ob quas praestantissimum hunc auctorem ad vos miserim, viri prudentissimi. Eae mihi tres nunc occurrunt et quidem ab ipso auctore: dignitas eius, materia, utilitas. Familia nobili fuit; fuit in re publica totius orbis terrarum maxima versatus. Fuit aliquando praetor; fuit totius Numidiae praefectus. Iulio Caesari amicus et consiliarius fuit. Augustinus, vir in sacra et profana eruditione admirabilis, cum suam civitatem Dei exstrueret, hoc quasi architecto usus est. Eius auctoritate, prudentia, veritate nixus, Ethnicorum structuras cum fundamentis eruit ac disiecit. Vestrae igitur civitati spero non erit dedecori is, quo sanctam illam suam ornavit Augustinus. Principi civitati Germaniae, principem historicum Romanum commendo. Qui rei publicae aristocraticae initia, progressus, mutationes et finem per causas miro iudicio et experientia exsequitur, eum vos aristocratici antistites, gratum acceptumque hospitem habere debetis. Aut ego valde fallor aut hic ipse Sallustius vestrae civitati nihil aliud quam speculum. Praeterea philosophi magnos nobis fructus ostentant ex ethicis et politicis praceptis, fateor. At quid de illo nos non sperabimus, qui nobis ea per exempla non in aureis et memoriam instillat tantum, sed in mentem penitus intromittit oculisque spectanda praebet. Talis Sallustius omnino ad cuius Historiam et censuras quaecumque civitas sese serio compositura est,

nae illam ego vel corruptissimam probis moribus brevi futuram existimabo. Deus vestram rem publicam florentissimam servet et augeat. Viri nobilissimi et amplissimi, valete.

*Epigrammata quaedam de auctore huius editionis* [Epigrams in honor of Colerus]: Petri Wesembecii IC Consiliarii Saxonici. Scipionis Gentilis IC et Antecessoris. Responsum Coleri. Iani Gruteri IC. Conradi Rittershusii IC. Michaelis Virdungi P.I. Jani Dousae Nordovicis Domini Curiae Hagae-Comitis Supremae Senatoris, Acad. Lugdun. Bata. Curatoris.

De vita, scriptis ac stilo Sallustii peculiariis oratio Christophori Coleri exstat typis vulgata ab eodem typographo quod te scire volui, Lector, si forte eam desideres. [On this *Sallustius sive De historia vetere oratio*, composed in Altdorf and published in 1598, see the introduction above.]

*Veterum scriptorum et nonnullorum recentiorum de Sallustio Iudicia et testimonia . . .* [from Suetonius to Lipsius].

*Commentary.* Christophori Coleri in Bellum Catilinarium Notae. [Inc.]: Titulus huius libri varie inscribitur. Plerique libri veteres et nonnulli etiam manuscripti eum ita concipiunt: De coniuratione Catilinae et eius sociis. Sed ego hanc inscriptionem iure repudio adductus auctoritate veterum grammaticorum, Nonii praesertim, qui triginta locis amplius hunc Sallustii librum laudat hoc titulo: Sallustius in bello Catilinae vel Catilinario. . . . *Omnes homines* (1.1). Philosophatur egregie toto hoc exordio Sallustius, solens more suo atque huiusmodi exordiorum genere tantum non proprio et peculiari gaudet, quae vocat Aristoteles ἀκροατικά [fr. 662 Rose = *Epist. 1* Teubner]. Sed Fabius Quintilianus, auctor et censor gravissimus, ob hoc genus exordiorum ut supervacaneum et parum ad historiam pertinens notat Sallustum [Inst. 3.8.9], cui non iniuria maiorem curiositatis notam inussit magnus ille Scaliger lib. 2 Poeticae cap. 96; eius verba gravissima subscribam. . . . *Animalibus* (1.1). Haec est verissima lectio, testibus libris antiquissimis, teste Charisio lib. 1 [p. 139K], Seneca 8 epistula [Ep. 121.3] ubi hunc locum aemulatur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Catilina vero* (61.4). Florus [Epit. 2.12.12]: Catilina longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, pulcherrima morte si pro patria sic concidisset.

#### *Edition:*

1599. See above, Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

See CTC 5.399–401 (Biography, 400–401) (Valerius Maximus); 6.135–36 (Biography, 136), 157–58, and 173–74 (Tacitus).

Add to *Bibliography*: DBE 2.355 (ADB); *Centuria latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, ed. C. Nativel, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 314 (Geneva, 1997), 405–10 (C. L. Heesakkers); *L'Europe des humanistes*, 121–22; Van der Aa 7.506–17.

Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 26–27, 81–82, 88; E. Weber, ed., *Virorum clarorum saeculi XVI et XVII epistolae selectae* (Leipzig, 1894), letters 45, 50, and 51 (Janus Gruterus to C. Rittershusius with references to Colerus) and nn. 280, 281, 316, and 317.

#### 32. Helias Putschius

Putschius' *breves notae* on passages of the *Catilina*, *Iugurtha*, and *Historiae* were published by the Plantin Press in 1602 and dedicated to Cornelius Neostadius (Nijstad or Neustadt) who held positions at the University of Leiden and at the court of Holland. The notes were intended to carry on the work begun by previous scholars, particularly that of Johannes Rivius on the monographs and of Ludovicus Carrio on the *Historiarum fragmenta*. A slightly revised and expanded version of these notes appeared posthumously in Janus Gruterus' 1607 variorum edition. In the annotations on the two monographs, Putschius also compared emendations by Petrus Ciacconius and Fulvius Ursinus and readings from the Codex Cuiacianus and a *vetus codex* in his own library.

*Praefatio* (ed. of [Leiden,] 1602). Amplissimo viro D. Cornelio Neostadio, Curiae Hagae-Comitis Supremae Senatori, dignissimo domino et fautori suo, Helias Putschius s. p. d. [Inc.]: Vir amplissime, a natura hoc omnibus hominibus tributum videmus ut, quod animo carum acceptumque habent [BI 12.3], id a fatorum et vetustatis legibus summa ope asserant; et, si forte annis collapsum aut aetate deformatum est, erigere et ad pristinum statum reducere in votis habeant. Accidit id C. Crispi Sallustii praclaris ingenii monumentis, in quibus emendandis et ab iniquitate temporum vindicandis doctissimus quisque desudavit iam inde ab initio. Nam post renatas cum typographia (quae, dono Dei, labascenti hoc aevo mortalium generi data est) litteras, nemo

fere repertus est qui non Sallustio pro viribus optime consultum vellet. Is enim est scriptor qui unus eorum omnium qui res populi Romani domi militiaeque gestas composuere verissime cuncta est persecutus; indoctos docet, doctos delectat, et tot ingenii sui admiratores habet quot lectores. Laborarunt igitur viri doctissimi ne divina illius orationis maiestas enervaretur aut caderet. Nam nisi barbarie grassanti doctorum accurata diligentia obviam ivisset, horror profecto et squalor totum terrarum orbem obsedissent et semel corrupta eloquentiae regula aeternum perstitisset. Sed memoria nostra (ut proavos omittam) fuere viri duo quibus Sallustius ipse, si animam reciperet, plurimum se debere fateretur, Ioannes Rivius et Ludovicus Carrio, quorum alter, acquisita ingenti tum manuscriptorum tum cusorum codicum mole, politissimum scriptorem multis naevorum milibus, quae illi supina desribentium negligentia et indocta magistellorum arrogantia inusserant, liberavit. Alter Historiarum libros, praclarum mehercule opus, maiorum ignavia deperditos, quanta potuit sedulitate collegit, composuit et rei publicae litterariae L. M. spectandos proposuit. Quo magis mirabuntur quidam me hominem adolescentem, post tot tantorumque doctissimorum hominum accuratam diligentiam, tam serio scriptori ausum manus admoveare, qui, si institutum nostrum cognoverint et quo consilio opus hoc aggressus sim, iudicabunt me magis merito fecisse. Cum enim in hoc studiorum genere alias alio plura invenire possit, nemo omnia, mihiique auctorem nostrum ad antiquitus scriptos et cusos codices contendenti multa in animum venirent aut ab aliis omissa aut neglecta, non fuit consilium diutius apud me detinere ex quibus magnum Crispone nostro commodum venturum praesciebam. Adde quod Historiarum libros ex variis auctoribus, tum vero maxime ex Servio Virgiliano interprete quem nuper nobis liberalitas clarissimi Petri Danielis dedit, multis in locis auxeramus priscoque nitori quantum quidem in tanta caligine potuit restitueramus, amicissimusque Raphengius editionem pararet et (quod rei caput est) illustrissimus Iosephus Scaliger institutum nostrum non improbabret, ausus sum me in vulgus dare. Non tamen totum; nam ecce BREVES NOTAS damus, in quibus Sallustianae saluti magis quam cultui studuimus. Constitueramus quidem Indicem scribere ad exemplum Indicis Lucretiani,

sed quia ad finem deduci non poterat, cum nimirum iam Crispus noster sub prelo anhelaret, excerptsimus has quas vides annotatiunculas. Sed cum sine patrono tenellus hic foetus prodire vereretur, circumspicienti mihi cui potissimum me meaque commendarem occurristi tu, vir amplissime, cui hoc debebam multis de causis. Tum quod Crispus noster merito tuus dici possit, quem postquam iuvenilis adolevit aetas tibi familiarissimum reddidisti tantosque ex eo sapientiae ac verae virtutis fontes imbibisti ut impeditissima re publica tanta negotia sustinueris quanta ante te nemo. Tum etiam quod beneficia tua quibus me in amicorum tuorum numerum nullo meo merito ascivisti, consiliis iuvisti, et reapse benevolentem tuum erga me animum saepius ostendisti, grati ac memoris animi testimonium videbantur postulare. Verum ego vix satis gratus videar, si tibi animam quam nequeo concessero. Accipies igitur opellam nostram, maioris alicuius munera obsidem, et ab ea Zoilorum irruentium morsus defendes. Vale, cum nobilissimo tuo collega, Iano Dousa. Stadae, Anno MDCL, IV Eid. Decembbris.

[There follow poems in honor of Helias Putschius: Iani Dousae ad Heliam Putschium elegia. . . . Petri Scriverrii in Heliae Putschii breves ad C. Crispum Sallustium notas epigramma. . . . Eiusdem aliud. . . .]

*Veterum scriptorum et nonnullorum recentiorum de Sallustio iudicia et testimonia . . .* [from Suetonius to Julius Caesar Scaliger].

*Commentary.* Heliae Putschii in Catilinam Notae. [Inc.]: *Sed omnis nostra vis* (1.2). Vis δύναμις. Servius ad XII Aeneidos: Ille ut depositi proferret fata parentis // Scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi [12.395–396]. Ibi Servius [In Aen. 12.396]: *Potestates vim, possibilitatem. . . . Rei publicae consultabant* (6.6). Errat vir doctus qui hic legit *consulebant*. Vulgatam enim lectionem tuetur Sallustius infra: Omnis homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant [BC 51.1] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Ipse cum libertis et colonibus* (59.3). Perspicue vera est haec lectio, quam reposuimus ex codice consultissimi Cuiacii, pro vulgata illa et recens immissa: *cum libertis et colonis*. Glossae: CALO δοῦλος δημόσιος σκευόφορος. Item θεράπων, ὑπερέτης στρατιώτου. Calo. Acro ad Sat. II lib. i [In Hor. Serm. I.2.44]. *Infestis signis occurrunt* (60.2). Ita emendavimus ex vetere codice cum antea esset

*concurrunt.* In Historia: occurrere duces et proeli-um accendere (*Historiae* II.59M).

*Editions:*

1602, 1607. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Helias Putschius (Helias, Elias or Elie van Putschen or van Bursian or Putsch) was born at Antwerp in 1580 to an affluent German merchant family from Augsburg, and studied in Emden, Stade, Hamburg, and Rotterdam before moving to Leiden ca. 1599. There he studied law and philology at the University and met many of the leading scholars of his day, including Janus Dousa, Bonaventura Vulcanius (De Smet), Paulus Merula, Petrus Scriverius (Schrijver), Johannes Meursius (Jean de Meurs), Daniel Heinsius, and the revered Joseph Justus Scaliger.

Between 1601 and his premature death in 1606 at the age of twenty-five at Stade, Putschius traveled to Jena, Leipzig, Frankfurt, Munich, and Heidelberg in search of manuscripts for his collection of ancient grammarians. In Heidelberg he frequented Marquand Freher, Janus Gruter, and Jacques Bongars, and it was mainly from manuscripts in Bongars' library that he prepared his groundbreaking edition of *Grammaticae latinae auctores antiqui*, dedicated to Scaliger and published in 1605.

*Works:*

*Grammaticae latinae auctores antiqui* (1605); posthumous *Notae in Iulium Caesarem* (1607); *elegiae* and *orationes*.

*Bibliography:*

ADB 26.747–48 (R. Hoche); BNB 18.345–47; *L'Europe des humanistes*, 358; A. Gerlo and H. D. L. Vervliet, *Bibliographie de l'humanisme des anciens Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1972), 435; Jöcher 3.1819–20 and Suppl. 6.1075–76; Sandys 2.313; Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 3, 6, and *passim*; Schindel, "Die Rezeption," 96.

### 33. Janus Gruterus

Gruterus, professor of history and head of the Bibliotheca Palatina at Heidelberg, published his *Notae* on the *Catilina* and *Iugurtha* at Frankfurt in 1607 in a new variorum edition of Sallust's *opera*, with emended texts and the notes of Henricus Glareanus, Johannes Rivius, Aldus Manutius Junior, Cyprianus Popma, Ludovicus Carrio,

Janus Mellerus Palmerius, Janus Dousa, Petrus Ciacconius, Fulvius Ursinus, and Helias Putschius. In the previous years, he had compared readings in twelve Palatine manuscripts, which he ranked by ordinal numbers according to what he considered their individual merits ("pro bonitate sua"). They included the tenth-century Nazarianus or *Palatinus primus* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 889), *Palatinus secundus* (Pal. lat. 887), and *Palatinus tertius* (Pal. lat. 883), all of which were later used in constructing the stemma of the monographs. He also cited readings from the Commelinianus, an ancient manuscript formerly in the library of the Heidelberg bookseller Hieronymus Commelinus (d. 1597). In addition, Gruterus had compared the chief printed editions and commentaries from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including the editions of Pomponius Laetus, Aldus Pius Manutius, and Johannes Gymnicus, and the commentaries he reprints in his edition (although that of Colerus, announced on the title page, is missing). In the meantime, he had published Jacobus à Cruce's *Annotatiunculae* and Janus Mellerus Palmerius' *Spicilegia* on Sallust's monographs in his *Lampas sive Fax artium liberalium, hoc est Thesaurus criticus* of 1604 (see I.17 and I.28 above). The edition of 1607 is dedicated to his pupils and patrons, Nicolaus, Christophorus, Sigismundus, and Franciscus Burghausius in tribute to their friendship.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Frankfurt, 1607). Quadrigae siderum vere illustri, Dn. Nicolao, Dn. Christophoro, Dn. Sigismundo, Dn. Francisco, Burghausiis Stoltzenae, Seifeldorfii, Schiltbergae, Girsdorfii, Neudorfii, et Sackerovii Dynastis, etc., genere, virtute, doctrina, fama, nemini per Germaniam secundis, Ianus Gruterus s. p. [Inc.]: Cur Sallustius iste viam ad vos adfectet, iure quae-reretis, viri nobilissimi, nisi is esset nominis vestri amabilis splendor eaque erga me comitas ac dignatio ut nulli iustius sacrari aut deberet aut pos-set. Nimirum, cum toties verborum tuorum salutes, Domine Nicolae, auribus istis oculisque insinuaverit verus ille Musarum Charitumque pullus, Tobias Scultetus, tuque praeterea, Domine Sigismunde, nullo non amore atque honore Gruterum prosecutus fueris, praesens quidem aliquot annos ab ore eius publice pendere non dignatus, absens vero epistolari alloquio pristini adfectus caritates erga ipsum tenerrime ex-

ercendo, iisdemque item institerit vestigiis Dominus Franciscus, honorificas eius salutationes frequenter permittente ad me amicissimo illo capite Sculteto [continues on his duty to respond and in praise of his patrons] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Qua quoque de causa, nominis vestri character praescriptus huic nostro libello, cui alioquin opus erat numine alioque tutelari contra vitii virus, hodie nimis quam communis inscitiae atque invidiae, quod ut porro profligare queatis, valetudinem vobis longam opto vovoque meique amorem perennem. E Bibliotheca Palatina I. Augusti MDCVI.

*Veterum scriptorum et nonnullorum recentiorum de Sallustio iudicia et testimonia . . .* [from Suetonius to J.-C. Scaliger].

*Commentary.* Iani Gruteri Notae in Sallustii Catilinam. [Inc.]: Caput I. *Qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus* (1.1). Digradientur alii, per me licet genuinum ne magis *animalibus* an *animantibus*, dum norint utrumque videri tanquam e glossa irreptium meis certe auribus, meo animo, hac voce retenta, odiose mox sequitur *ne vitam silentio transeant veluti pecora*. *Quae natura prona atque ventri oboedientia finxit* (1.1). Sallustii breviloquentia non consistit in eis quae vulgus hodie putat, quippe paucioribus verbis dixisset *natura prona atque ventri oboedientia*; *abieco quae et finxit* . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Qui de castris visundi* etc. (61.8). Sic manuscripti virtutis edecumatae, nam sequiores adhaerent editis *qui e castris. Luctus atque gaudia agitabantur* (61.9). Et hoc bene Carrio, neque abeunt Palatini, nam editi prius *gaudium*, quod quis etiam exoriretur qui controversiam moverit voci. *Agitabantur tamquam supervacuae; ei equidem clam palamve assensionem meam commodaverim.*

#### *Editions:*

1607. See above, Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

See CTC 4.287–89 (Biography, 288–89) (Martialis), and 6.139–40, 158–59, 163–64, and 174 (Tacitus).

Add to Works: letters in *Virorum clarorum saeculi XVI et XVII epistolae selectae e codicibus manuscriptis Gottingensibus*, ed. E. Weber (Leipzig, 1894). Sallustian maxims are quoted in the *notae* to his *Florilegii ethico-politici . . . pars tertia* (Frankfurt, 1612) and among the *sententiae his-*

*toricorum* in his *Loci communes* (Strassburg, 1624).

Add to *Bibliography*: DBE 4.228 (Killy); *Deutsche Literatur-Lexikon* 6.965–67; A. Gerlo and H. D. L. Vervliet, *Bibliographie de l'humanisme des anciens Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1972), 354 and *Supplément 1970–1985* (Brussels, 1988), 258; *L'Europe des humanistes*, 221–22; A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1993), 388 n. 89, 503–505, 688, 690; *Centuria latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, ed. C. Nativel, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 314 (Geneva, 1997), 405–10 (C. L. Heesakkers).

On the Palatine manuscripts used by Gruterus, see E. Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 2.2 (Paris, 1982), especially 62–68 (on mss. Pal. lat. 886, 887, and 889); *Bibliotheca Palatina. Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 8. Juli bis 2. November 1986, Heiliggeistkirche Heidelberg*, ed. E. Mittler et al., 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1986), 1.74–75, 76–77 (R. K.), with bibliographies, including H. Wirz, “Der Codex Nazarianus des Sallustius,” *Hermes* 32 (1897) 202–209 and “Die Codices Palatini des Sallustius und Beiträge zur Geschichte des Textes,” *ibid.* 33 (1898) 109–18. On the two witnesses used in constructing the *stemma codicum* of the *libri mutili*, Pal. lat. 889 (N) and Pal. lat. 887 (K), see also the prefaces to Reynolds’ OCT edition (1991), ix–x, and to Kurfess’ Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1957), iii–v. Ahlberg included another Palatine codex (Pal. lat. 883) in the *stemma* of the *libri integri*. On Pal. lat. 887, see also *Virgilio e il chiostro. Manoscritti di autori classici e civiltà monastica*, ed. M. Dell’Omo (Rome, 1996), 125, no. 10: “Sallustio, *De coniuratione Catilinae; Bellum Iugurthinum*” (A. Spotti).

## II. BELLUM IUGURTHINUM

### COMMENTARIES

#### 1. Anonymus Bernensis

This commentary, like that of I.1 above, has its earliest and most complete witness in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 411, and it appears in many of the same manuscripts as I.1, to which it is very similar, but it was never printed or attributed to Om-

nibonus Leonicenus or anyone else. The *accessus*, type III.a (Munk Olsen #95), presents briefly the *materia*, *intentio*, *utilitas*, and *titulus*, repeating some phrases from the *accessus* to BC, before giving a paraphrase of the *prologus* which leads into the commentary.

*Accessus* (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 411). [Inc.]: (fol. 160r) *Catilinaria prosecuta diligenter historia cuius certitudinis conscius erat, Iugurthinam Sallustius ingreditur cuius certitudinem non tam firmiter memoriae commendaverat. In qua materiam . . . [intentio, utilitas, titulus; the prologus has a threefold function]. . . . Quartam etiam addit scilicet quandam falsam querimoniam generis humani . . .* [Expl.]: Hanc triplicem conques-  
tionem ponit auctor et destruit dicens [the first lemma of the commentary follows].

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 160r) *Genus hu-  
manum falso queritur* (1.1) i.e. iniuste conqueritur.  
Falsum ponit pro iniusto, sicut verum pro iusto  
. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 164r) *Cum Gallis certare* (114.2) i.e. certabant. *Pro salute* i.e. gloriā i.e.  
satis videbatur illis. *Sed postquam* (114.3) non  
solum gloria obvenit Mario ex bello confecto sed  
quia absens consul factus est et Gallia sibi decreta  
est quod male pugnaverant Quintus Scipio (*sic*)  
et Marcus Mallius (*sic*). Marius vero devincit. *Ex*  
(*sic*) *ea tempestate spes et opes civitatis in eo sitae  
sunt* (114.4). Explicant Glosulae super Sal-  
lustium.

#### Manuscripts:

Assisi, Biblioteca e Centro di Documentazione Francescana (Sacro Convento), fondo antico 303 (miscellany), s. XIV–XV, fols. 120r–141r. See I.1 above.

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 411 (miscellany), s. XIII, fols. 160r–164r. See I.1 above.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7612 (miscellany), s. XV, fols. 104r–127r. See I.1 above.

Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, 142, s. XV, fols. 43r–70v; to 66.2. See I.1 above.

Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, 1836 (Cors. 43 F 11), s. XV, fols. 17r–18v; to 5.5 (*Idem finis fuit*). See I.1 above.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 3291 (miscellany), s. XIV, fols. 67v–85v. See I.1 above. Reads, in last line, *civitatis mane in eo* [sc. (*Ro*)*manae in eo?*] as do the Assisi and Munich manuscripts above.

New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 358, s. XV, fols. 57r–162v. Some of the marginal annotation in this codex appears to be drawn from the commentary preserved in the manuscripts listed above. See I.9 above.

#### 2. Anonymus Ratisbonensis A

This unpublished commentary, like I.2 above, has its apparently earliest witness in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14515, s. XII, where it is written continuously, but in that manuscript it extends only as far as 97.4, as though it were copied from a source that lacked its last folio. It is also found in some of the same manuscripts as I.7 above. Instead of a traditional *acces-  
sus*, the commentary begins directly with a paraphrase of the *prologus* (Munk Olsen #100).

*Commentary* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14515). [Inc.]: (fol. 99r) Incipit liber Iugurthinus. Ipse promisit in primo prologo libri se dicturum gesta populi Romani carptim et secundum hoc deberet incipere Iugurthinum bellum scribere; sed sicut fecit in alio libro ita facit hic, praemittit prologum. . . . Ipsi conqueruntur de natura, et est notandum quamvis in alio prologo extulisset negotium suum, per quod videtur non debere hic extollere, tamen quia non eodem tempore fecit istud opus non est iudicandus prologus superfluus. Natura non est aliud nisi quod facit omnia nasci, videlicet deus. Vel quod est ut sunt ipsae naturae. *Humanum genus* (1.1) ideo ponit potius quam ‘homines’ quia ipsa littera videtur magis accedere ad humum et per hoc notat quod non sursum tendunt sed ad humum. Nunc littera *humanum genus* et accipit quosdam; tantum queritur quod taliter est natus scilicet quod illa natura est imbecilla i.e. sine baculo scilicet debilis; et inde etiam conqueritur quod si etiam fortis esset tamen brevis est aevi, hoc est non tam diu vivit quod aliquid praeclarum possit facere; et si etiam tempus magnum concederetur, tamen queritur inde quod potius regatur forte quam virtute animi. Quasi dicat quod taliter est natum inde conqueritur, et falso, i.e. haec questio est falsa; et dicit falsam esse ponendo haec contraria quasi dicat inde patet quod falsa est quaesi-  
tio. Nam si saepe putaveris contraria horum, non invenies aliud genus minus isto hoc contra . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 124v) *Igitur Sylla* etc. (95.3). Numquam super industriam fortuna, scilicet quis maior eius gloria quam virtus et meritum. *Pudeat*

*inuerb.* (sic) (95.4). Pudeat in animo quia talis erat qualem antea diximus. *Igitur Sylla* etc. (96.1) quia tali tempore eum invadunt. *Igitur simul consul* etc. (97.4).

*Manuscripts:*

Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 390, s. XII, fols. 17v–50v. The commentary is entered as interlinear and marginal notes; the beginning is nearly identical down to “non est iudicandus hic prologus superfluus”, but the first and last lemmata are (fol. 17v) “*Falso queritur* (1.1). Falsam querimoniam facit; vere falsa est querimonia. *Nam reputando contra*. Si tu contra mea dicta iterum et iterum putaveris . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 50v) *Italia omnis contremuerat* (114.2). Omnis Italia contremuerat; et ideo Romani illi qui tunc fuere et posteri sic se habuerunt, quod *omnia alia* praeter Galliam credabant *prona esse virtuti suae*, i.e. de omnibus aliis locis quasi per pugnam sibi subiectis gloriabantur; de Gallis vero non gloriabantur, quia cum certarent pro gloria cum omnibus aliis, *cum Gallis* certabant *non pro gloria sed pro salute*, i.e. ne invaderentur ab eis, vel ut defenderent fines suos ab eis. *Italia* quod *contremuit*, sed tamen in Mario magnam <fidem> habuit. Et ideo illum absentem consulem fecerunt (114.3).” See I.7 above. (Munk Olsen C.28).

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14515, s. XII, fols. 99r–124v. See I.2 above.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5345, s. XI–XII, origin Italy (Brescia?), fols. 20v–59v. BC and BI with marginal and interlinear notes. The beginning is the same to “non iudicandus iste prologus superfluus”, but continues: “Huius prooemii materia est gloria. Intentio sua est stultam occasionem destruere quorundam qui dicebantur esse [?] nati quia humana natura est imbecilis et brevis aevi et magis regitur sorte quam virtute. Et est sua intentio commendare studium suum dicendo maiorem utilitatem rei publicae de studio suo quam de aliorum officio, et ideo dicit se dimisisse consulatum. Finalis causa est honestas. Nunc ad ipsam litteram veniamus. Natura non est aliud . . . qui non sursum tendunt sed ad primum, scilicet de se [?] *humanum genus falso queritur* (1.1). Falsa est illa querimonia quam agit genus humanum de sua natura quod imponens illam culpam naturae quae potius est imponenda suo vitio. . . . Materia totius libri Iugurthini est Iugurtha cum suis sequentibus et Romani cum suis. Intentio Salustii

est in hoc Iugurthino hortari homines ne contendant pervenire ad honorem per proditionem ut Iugurtha. Similis causa est vitare finem Iugurthae. Ego hortor homines ad gloriam et ipsi opponunt mihi huiusmodi causam quam audistis. Sed male opponunt; et hoc est in libro. *Humanum genus* etc. *Falso queritur* (1.1). Falsa est illa querimonia quam agit . . . Alius descensus ad litteram. Mea intentio est hortari unumquemque hominem ad pulchra facta . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 59v) *Prona esse* (114.2) oboedientia prograta [praegravata?].” (Munk Olsen C.158).

Manuscripts containing material possibly related to this commentary:

London, British Library, Harley 2675, s. XV, fol. 15v. A very similar introduction to that in Vat. lat. 5345 immediately above is entered on a blank page between BC and BI, but there is no commentary. Fol. 44: “Antonii Seripandi et amicorum. Iustum librum emit magister Joannes de Vins de babuco pro se suisque ab uxore D. Bartholi de Catonio pro pretio quinque librarum pecu suorum 1469 xxii aprilis.”

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. X 103 (3364), s. XI–XII, fols. 21r–22r. Similar introductory material and notes are written in the margin, but after 4.9 the text is sparsely annotated. See I.7 above.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1648, s. XII, fols. 23r–68v. BC and BI. The text of BI is annotated with the beginning of the commentary and other similar notes between the lines and in the margins to 32.2. See I.7 above.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 287, s. XIII?, fols. 16v–48r. BC and BI. Identical commentary entered as interlinear and marginal notes, but the beginning of the commentary is similar only in ideas and wording; the Explicit is exactly that of Erlangen 390. See I.7 above.

Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V. 34, s. XV (a. 1461), fols. 20r–49r. BC and BI; Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*. Identical beginning written in margin, to “non est iudicandus hic prologus superfluus”, then marginal and interlinear commentary same as the foregoing at the beginning, but the notes are sporadic and appear to be drawn from other sources as well. See I.7 above.

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 170 sup., s. XIV–XV, fols. 41v–42v. Similar beginning and notes written continuously, but only as far as 2.3. See I.8 above.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossi 508, s. XII, fols. 23r–31v. Origin: Italy. BC and BI with marginal and interlinear notes, similar but beginning only with the first lemma, to 17.7. (Munk Olsen C.147).

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 64.18, s. XI–XII, fols. 1r–62v. Origin: Italy. BI with marginal and interlinear notes, similar but beginning only with the first lemma, extending to the end of BI with a last gloss on “*Ex ea tempestate* (114.4) i.e. commotione Romanorum et Iugurtha” (similar note in ms. Nuremberg V. 34 above). (Munk Olsen C.34).

### 3. Anonymus Ratisbonensis B

This unpublished commentary has the same character and is found in the same manuscripts as I.3 above, with traces in several others.

*Commentary* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14515, with variants from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14748 in square brackets). [Inc.]: (fol. 135r) *Falso queritur genus humanum* (1.1). Eadem intentio est in hoc prologo quam et in superiori. Ordine ut supra [superius] promisit res gestas debet [deberetur] exequi sed [scilicet] ingenium extollendo ipsisque [illiusque] respondendo qui imponebant ei nomen pigritiae [inertiae], quod maluit scribere quam facere. Facit digressionem scribendo hunc prologum in quo commendat ingenium, ostendens quomodo [quodammodo] ad quantam dignitatem possit homo pervenire per virtutem ingenii, ostendens in principio eorum querelam [esse] falsam qui dicunt et conqueruntur se ita natos esse ut nil boni possint facere. Hanc enim ubi [esse] falsam ostendit. Patet [patens erit] omnium ingenium qui volunt id [illud] exercere tale esse quod per hoc [per quod homo] ad maiorem dignitatem possint [possit] pervenire quam per vires corporis. Et si omnium hominum tale est, tunc et suum, et incipit ideo ab universalis ut convenientius descendat ad speciale. *Falso imbecilla* (1.1) i.e. fragilis, debilis, et quod sine baculo non potest esse . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 142v) *Sed postquam bellum in Numidia* (114.3). Prius praesens [omitted] cum magno labore factus est *Marius consul* sed modo *absens*. Vel *Italia intremuit* (114.2) sed in Mario spem habuerunt.

#### Manuscripts:

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 64.23, s. XII, fols. 25v–73v. BC and BI. The mar-

ginal and interlinear notes begin with the initial sentence of the commentary but continue with a note on the first lemma: “*Falsa est illa querimonia quam facit genus humanum*” (see above, II.2, Vat. lat. 5345); the manuscript is not consistently annotated nor from this one source. (Munk Olsen C.35).

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14515, s. XII, fols. 135r–142v. See I.2 and II.2 above.

\_\_\_\_\_, Clm 14748 (miscellany), s. XII, fols. 31v–38r. See I.3 above.

Oxford, Balliol College, 123, s. XV, fols. 147v–159r. See I.11 above and II.8 below.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 883, s. XII, fols. 21r–59v. Origin: Germany. BC and BI. Marginal and interlinear notes at the beginning are similar, especially to Florence 64.23 above, but the annotation, which continues to the end of BI, is not consistently drawn from this source. (Munk Olsen C.137).

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Rheinau 86, s. XII, fol. 25v (Munk Olsen C.171). BC and fragment of BI (to 1.5); contains the introduction to “descendat ad speciale”, then adds a few sentences paraphrasing the proem; no notes.

### 4. Anonymus Parisiensis

These unpublished explanatory notes and glosses, found in the margins and between the lines of a single s. XII manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6088), appear to have extended to the end of the work, but the last leaf was lost and replaced with a text that has only one note at the end. The *accessus* (Munk Olsen #73, 102) discusses first the *materia* and *intentio* of the *prologus* as if they were that of the whole work, then appends a brief statement of *materia* for the work.

*Accessus* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6088). [Inc.]: (fol. 25v) *Materia Salustii est in hoc opere commendare opus suum et reprehendere illos aemulos qui imponebant sibi nomen inertiae. Intentio sua est destruere malam opinionem . . . ex illorum officio militari. Sicut in superiori libro praemisit prologum sic, et in isto exsequitur prooemium, captando benevolentiam. . . . Materia sua est in hoc opere Iugurtha. . . . [Expl.]: et hortari ad probitatem Metelli et Marii. Descensio ad litteram talis est: Quasi dicat, Quidam sunt qui non curant. . . . Vel aliter: Quasi dicat, Ego hortor unumquemque*

niti ad gloriam. Sed aliquis dicet mihi non posse niti ad gloriam, quia humana natura est brevis aevi. Sed falsum est.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 25v) *Humanum genus* (1.1) i.e. debitum soli humanitati, i.e. quod tantum exercet ingenium corporis. Sed corpus et non ingenium et non aeternitati, i.e. non curat animum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 73v) *Sed Mario parum confidere (corr. ex cum fide) saepe ante (sic) cum imperatoribus* (112.2). Iugurtha dicebat pacem saepe antea frustra conventurum. Sed . . .

(alia manu, fol. 74v) Dictum pulchrum commonefacio re huius rei, commonefio -are huius rei, admoneo te hanc rem. (Stemma of African kings) Syphaci Iugurthaeque Numidia regibus captis bello Romamque perductis turpis vitae exitus fuit, siquidem alter Tibure in carcere periit, alter a saxo Tarpeio deiectus est.

*Manuscript:*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6088, s. XII, fols. 25v–74v. See I.7 above.

### 5. Anonymus Monacensis A

For the nature of this unpublished commentary and its manuscript, see I.4 above. The *accessus* (Munk Olsen #118) begins with the historical summary of the work, then discusses briefly the *materia*, *intentio*, *utilitas*, and *pars philosophiae*, then the *prologus* in respect of the first three topics. Except for the longer *accessus*, this is again a shorter version of II.6 below.

*Accessus* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19480). [Inc.]: (fol. 12r) *Falso* (1.1). Diruta Carthagine et Numantia per Cipionem (*sic*) iu niorem, Micipsa filius Masinissae ex testamento instituit Iugurtham filium sui concubinae Manastabilis (*sic*) coheredem cum filiis suis. Qui adepto regno . . . [continues with historical summary]. . . . Iugurtham cepit, captumque et vinc tum Romam duxit et de Tarpeia rupe praecipitavit. Hoc bellum accedit auctor describere . . . [continues with *materia*, *intentio*, *utilitas*, and *pars philosophiae*]. Vetat superbiam avaritiam, commendat industriam. Materia huius auctoris sunt in hoc prologo . . . [continues with *intentio* and *utilitas* of prologue]. [Expl.]: Quod ibi minus excusabat se, dicens (BC 3.3–4.1) propter superbiam vitia devitanda <et> se a re publica remotum, hic exsequitur, dicens maius commodum proventurum rei publicae ex suo otio quam ex il lorum negotio. Omnes homines deberent (*sic*)

niti ad proventum gloriae per aliqua honesta studia, a quo officio deficiunt cum quadam excusatione, quam constat esse falsam.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 12r) *Humanum genus* (1.1) i.e. rationalis creatura de humo genita. Cui a prima creatione sui talis natura indita est ut rationem haberet bene iudicantem, voluntatem bene eligentem, sensualitatem bene operantem. Sed per liberum arbitrium vitiis inserviens, haec naturalia bona negligit, sicque occupatus ignavia falso naturae suae imputat quod potius suae imputandum est ignaviae. *Imbecilla* sine baculo i.e. sustentamento virium. Deficiunt ei vires unde sustentetur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 21v) *Id adeo* (111.1). Ipsi erant traditionis mutuo certi. Sed ipse *Bocchus* (113.2) (fol. 22r). Quam alii iter incertum erat quia *nocte ea* (113.3). Hic bene adtigit Romanis, sed alibi male. Nam *per idem tempus* (114.1). Explicit commentum Salustii.

*Manuscripts:*

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19480 (miscellany), s. XIII, fols. 12r–22r (pp. 22–42 in another numeration). See I.4 above.

New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 358, s. XV, fols. 57r–162v. The *accessus* and some of the earlier notes appear to be drawn in part from this source. See I.9 and II.1 above, and II.7 below.

### 6. Anonymus Monacensis B

This commentary contains the *prologus* portion only of the *accessus* in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19480, to which it makes a slight addition, and then a fuller commentary. It is uncertain which is the source of the other. Several other manuscripts begin with or have in the margin this version of the *accessus*, but the commentary itself is not complete in them, or they pass to another source of annotation. See I.5 above.

*Accessus* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14732). [Inc.]: (fol. 40r) Materia huius auctoris in hoc prologo sunt quidam inertes incusantes naturam suam quod ad nullam gloriam pervenire valeant. . . . [Expl.]: Hic exsequitur, dicens maius commodum proventurum rei publicae ex suo otio quam eorum ex negotio. De quibus ita admirans inchoat.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 40r) Admiranda est pravitas humani generis quod *humanum genus queritur* (1.1). Et unde queritur? de natura. Et quid? quia sit *imbecilla* i.e. sine baculo sustenta-

tionis, hoc est, infirma. Quod ideo mirandum est, quia queritur *falso*. Nec [id?] solum queritur sed etiam quia sit *aevi brevis*. Quod si abesset i.e. si haberet et vires et tempus non tamen illud sufficeret . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 57v) *Specie oris* (113.3) i.e. ad similitudinem oris. Bocchus primo fuit incertus, sed tamen postea fuit certus. Nam *postremo Sullam accersi* (113.4). Hic bene contigit Romanis, sed alibi male. Nam *per idem tempus* (114.1). Et quod tremebant mirandum non est, quia *et illi* [i.e. *illique?*] (114.2) tunc temporis. Et non solum in Numidia triumphavit sed et in Gallia, quia *postquam bellum* (114.3) et post victoriam Galliae. *Ex (sic) ea tempestate* (114.4).

*Manuscripts:*

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14732, s. XIII, fols. 40r–57v. See I.5 above.

\_\_\_\_\_, Clm 14477, s. XI–XII, fols. 23r–56v. The commentary in the margins gradually decreases, becoming quite sparse after 38.5. See I.5 above.

New York, Columbia University, Butler Library, Plimpton 96, s. XV (a. 1478). The *accessus* in a slightly revised form is found at the end of a fuller *accessus*, fols. 54v–55r: “[Inc.]: Principium Salustii in Iugurtham. Compertum est ut maiores commentati non modo poetas unius etc. res gestas perscripientes, in exponendis auctoribus auctoris vitam, titulum operis. . . . Materia prologi est: sunt enim quidam inertes naturam incusantes quod ad nullam gloriam pervenire valeant. . . . [Expl.]: Et si haberetur et virtus et tempus, non sufficerent, cum potius fortuna quam virtute regatur humanum genus. Sequitur textus” [but there is no text of BI]. There is no commentary. See I.4 above.

Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V. 34, s. XV (a. 1461). The *accessus* is written in the margin of fol. 20r; for the annotation, see II.2 above.

Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 549 (503), s. XII, fols. 17r–47r. The *accessus* and first note of the commentary are found on fol. 17r; but the marginal annotation decreases, especially after 78.1 (fol. 37v), and is not consistent with this commentary. See I.6 above.

7. *Anonymus Yalensis*

For the composite nature of this unpublished commentary, found in a rather deluxe early s. XV manuscript, see I.9 and II.1 above; for the *accessus*, see II.5 above.

*Accessus* (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 358). [Inc.]: (fol. 57r) In Iugurthina historia redarguit Sallustius impugnantes patriam per avaritiam; non Iugurtham neque suos, nam Roma non erat patria Iugurthae, sed eos Romanos qui consentientes in sceleribus Iugurthae a via veritatis exorbitabant, et scelera Iugurthae non solum non puniebant, sed impudenti declamatione ea defendebant in Capitolio. Materia huius libri est regnum Numidia et res publica vel Numidarum bellum et populi Romani vel duces ex utraque parte. Intentio dehortari quemque a temeritate electionis ducum vel heredum vel dehortari ab invasione rei publicae per exemplum Iugurthae vel reprehendere negligentiam Albini, avaritiam Bestiae, superbiam Metelli, et Marii commendare industriam.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 57r) *Falso queritur genus humanum* (1.1). Deficit ab officio perveniendi ad gloriam per honesta studia cum falsa excusatione . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 162v) *Illic* (114.2 *Illique*) in illo tempore. Vel dic *illic* in Gallia. *Inde* ab eodem tempore. *Prona virtuti sua* oboediens Romanis. *Pugnare* satis videbatur eis quod se ab illis defenderint.

*Manuscript:*

New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 358, s. XV, fols. 57r–162v. See I.9 above.

8. Ricardus Bole

For the date and circumstances of these unpublished commentaries, see I.11 above; it is the second commentary (B) that appears to be an expansion of a commentary resembling II.3 above.

*Commentary A.* [Inc.]: (fol. 127r) *Falso queritur* (1.1). Ut a principio promisit, res gestas deberet exequi; sed prius suis aemulis aequum duxit respondere, ostendens vim ingenii aptiorem esse viribus corporis ad aliquid comparandum. Sed sane quidem quidam non sane vinctis (*sic*) conqueruntur se ita natos ut nihil boni possint. Eorum querelam falsam convincit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 137r) *Per idem* (114.1). Hoc inducit ut iterum Marium consulem faciat. Qui prius vix praesens factus est consul (114.3). Iste Iugurtha cum duabus filiis suis de rupe Tarpeia praecipitatus fuit. Finis glosularum super Salustum.

*Commentary B.* [Inc.]: (fol. 147v) Intentio eadem quae in priori prologo. *Falso queritur genus humanum* (1.1) i.e. falsa est querimonia quam agit genus humanum de sua natura, imponens illam

culpam naturae suae quae potius imponenda est vitio hominum. *Nam contra.* Vere falso queritur, nam non est in re. *Nam neque maius aliud . . . / . . . [Expl.]:* (fol. 159r) *Sed postquam* (114.3). Prius praesens cum magno labore factus est consul Marius et consulatum quasi spolia ab illis vicit accepit. Sed modo *absens factus est consul* (114.3). Vel aliter: *Italia quidem intremuit* (114.2), sed tamen in Mario spem magnam habuerunt; et ideo absentem fecerunt consulem. Finiuntur glosae.

*Manuscript:*

See I.11 above.

*Biography:*

See I.11 above.

### 9. Anonymus Vaticanus

This unpublished commentary, found in a late s. XV manuscript (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1709), is prefaced with a paraphrase of the proem written in the margin; the text of *BI* is provided with rather full interlinear and marginal annotation, with some lengthy notes, in a roughly contemporary hand.

*Commentary* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1709). [Inc.]: (fol. 151r) Materia huius prologi sunt homines ignavi de infirmitate naturae querentes. Et intentio eius est excusare naturam et inertiam illorum incusare. Sed causa finalis ut errorem illorum vitemus et animum exerceamus. Et ipse simul ostendit aper-tissimis rationibus mortales per animi exercitium posse venire ad verum decus et gloriam virtutis, et magis etc. prodesse rei publicae animi exercitium quam corporis. Itaque nulli mirum videri debet quod et ipse demisso exercitio corporis contra rem publicam ad animi se exercitium contulit et studia. Quae quoniam quam plurimi desidia, luxu et aliis vitiis aetatem ducentes assequi non possunt, infirmitatem naturae, fortunam et vitae hominum brevitatem accusant. Sed quod ipsi iniuste hoc faciant ostendit Salustius, dicens *falso queritur* etc. *Falso* (1.1) i.e. inique, iniuste. *Queritur* conqueritur. *Imbecilla* i.e. infirma, debilis scilicet sit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 180v) *Sulla breviter* (111.1) ad illa respondit pauca de se et pace sed plura de rebus communibus verba facit. Et regi persuadet ut aliquid quo senatum et populum Romanum placaret faciat: quia senatus et populus Romanus armis plus valuisse, eum vero haberet in gratia. Posset autem hoc facile perpetrare quom Iugurtham in potestate haberet, si

eum populo Romano traderet. . . (fol. 181r) *Ea tempestate* (114.4) illo tempore. *Civitatis Romanae.* *Ilo* Mario. *Sitae* positae sunt.

*Manuscript:*

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1709, s. XV (a. 1494), fols. 151r–181r. See I.13 above, Version A.

### 10. Petrus Paulus Pompilius

For the date and circumstances of this commentary, see I.15 above.

*Praefatio* (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 1351). [Inc.]: (fol. 58r) Asinius Pollio, ut ferunt, de Cicero saepe male sentire solitus est; eadem ingenii imbecillitatis (*sic*) librum conscripsit quo Sallustii scripta reprehendit ut nimia priscorum verborum affectatione obliterata . . . [continues with discussion of testimonia from Quintilian and Suetonius]. . . . [Expl.]: Quamobrem si qua antiquitas repetita est, non in his duabus opusculis insecta creditur sed in ea historia quae temporum incuria deperdita est.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (fol. 58r) *Falso queritur* (1.1). Gorgias et Isocrates sumptis principiis ex aliqua vicinia usi sunt sed nihil ad rem pertinentibus; sic et Sallustius, quod Quintilianus animadvertis [Inst. 3.8.9]. Nam in Catiliniana de se plurimum dicit, hic parcissime et dumtaxat ad excusationem cur relictis rei publicae rebus gerendis se ad scribendum transtulerit . . . non implicetur et quod animi opera et [del.] veluti animus ipse etiam immortalia sunt, quod attinet ad laudem historiae. *Falso queritur.* Quintilianus Institutionum nono vitandum esse monet quicquid est euridmon [*sc. eurhythmon*], hoc est, habens nimiam quandam concinnitatem [9.4.77]. Quae affectatione deprehenditur quale istud Salustianum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 107r) *Prona* (114.2) facilia *virtuti* Romanorum. *Certare* certabant. *Salute* vita, non pro gloria. *Gallia* ut gereret bellum contra Cimbros. *Consul* iterum factus. *In eo* (*sic*) (114.4) Mario.

*Manuscript:*

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 1351, fols. 58r–107r, s. XV (ca. 1481). See I.15 above.

### 11. Anonymus Neapolitanus

This unpublished full and detailed commentary, prefaced by an essay on history, appears to be a product of humanist teaching. It is found in a single s. XV manuscript.

*Preface* (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V D 53).

[*Inc.*]: (fol. 5r) Historia ab historeo, graeco verbo, quod est cerno et video, nomen est. Primi enim historici ea quae vidissent scribebant. Sed cum ignavia quadam mortalium res gestae cum silentio praeterirent, ex aliorum fide et relatis scribere coeperunt.... [*Expl.*]: voluptuose ut Gelli et similium. Crispus Salustius cum esset civis Romanus, urbis Romae gesta tamen comprehendit, neque iniuria, quippe quae totius orbis imperii est sedes et domicilium virtutis ac deorum immortalium semper habitum. Perierunt inde, seu fati seu temporum culpa, belli civilis volumina quattuor, in quibus seditiones inter Marium et Sullam, Caesarem et Pompeium scriptae erant.

*Commentary.* [*Inc.*]: (fol. 5r) *Falso* (1.1). Vitam satis longam dii immortales nobis dedere, si eam non ignavia sed cum virtute transigimus. *Imbecilla* antiquum vocabulum, nunc inbecillis dicimus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 21r) *Per idem tempus* (114.1). Dum haec in Africa adversus Numidas summa diligentia ab Mario gererentur . . . (fol. 21v) Alii existimant loci squalore interiisse. *Marius* (114.3) triumphali veste ut erat indutus, quod nulli ante eum contingerat (*sic*), in senatum venit.

#### *Manuscript:*

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V D 53, s. XV, fols. 5r–21v. With commentaries on Lucan (books 1–2) and Terence, *Andria*, *Eunuchus*, and *Heautontimoroumenos*; and a text of Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinæ*. (Kristeller, *Iter* 1.400a).

#### 12. Julius Pomponius Laetus

These unpublished notes on Sallust, found in Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1110/2037, were apparently taken down at Rome in 1480 by one of Laetus' students, Ricardus Graman de Nekenich. At the end there is some resemblance to Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V D 53 (II.11 above).

Manuscript notes from Laetus' lectures on Sallust are also found in a number of copies of late fifteenth-century printed editions. A copy of the 1481 edition published at Venice by Baptista de Tortis (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Inc. II. 111), later in the library of Fulvius Ursinus, contains annotations "Sub Pomponio in Salustum", including seven short notes on BC 8.3–31 added on the first few leaves. Three copies of Laetus' own edition of Sallust's *opera*, published at Rome by Eucharius Silber in 1490, contain brief essays in the flyleaves on a variety of topics, including Roman antiquities, chronology,

and the history and art of historical writing, as well as marginal annotations and interlinear glosses ranging from brief textual comment to detailed observations on Roman law and magistracies, political and military events, religious and social institutions, geography, and topography. The copy in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Inc. Ross. 441) appears to have been annotated by Laetus himself. The notes in the copy belonging to the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (51414.2) and in the copy of the Biblioteca Estense, Modena (Inc. gamma B.6.25), which in places bear close resemblances to those of the Vatican volume (while also containing other material), may have been written by his students.

References to the Vatican and/or Morgan copies are found in P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887; rpt. Geneva, 1976), 207; V. Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto*, 2 vols. (Rome and Grottaferrata, 1909–12), 2.141–45; F. B. Adams, Jr., "Early Printed Books," in *Eleventh Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, December, 1961), 19–20; B. L. Ullman, "The Dedication Copy of Pomponio Leto's Edition of Sallust and the 'Vita' of Sallust," in Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 2d ed. (Rome, 1973), 365 n. 1; and R. Black, "The New Laws of History," *Renaissance Studies* 1 (1987) 126–56. A comparative study of these notes by P. Farenga, P. J. Osmond, and R. W. Ulery, Jr. is currently in progress.

*Commentary* (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1110/2037). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 78r) Illud praecipue vitandum, in quo magna pars errat, ne in oratione imitemur poetas et historicos. Sua enim cuique proposita lex . . . (fol. 79r) . . . Reprehenditur Salustius quod incepit a ——gino (?). *Falso queritur* (1.1) i.e. falso conqueruntur homines *de natura sua imbecilla* . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 104r) Iugurtha ductus ad currum triumphantis Marii cum duobus filiis quantum spectaculum populo Romano praebuit et statim positus in carcere Tulliano ibi necatus est. Volunt quidam squalore loci interiisse. *Marius* triumphali veste in senatum venit, quod nemo ante eum fecerat.

#### *Manuscript:*

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1110/2037, s. XV (a. 1480), fols. 78r–104r. Fol. 104r: "Pomponii Achademie Romane principis In Salustii Iugurthinum bellum explanationes finiunt collecte per me Ricardum Graman de Nekenich

Rome anno MCCCCLXXX. Finis." (Kristeller, *Iter* 3.718a).

*Biography:*  
See CTC 3.379–82.

Add to *Bibliography*: W. Bracke, "The MS Ottob. Lat. 1982. A Contribution to the Biography of Pomponius Laetus?" *Rinascimento*, 2d Ser., 29 (1989) 293–99; P. Scarcia Piacentini, "Note storico-paleografiche in margine all'Accademia Romana," in *Le chiavi della memoria. Miscellanea in occasione del I centenario della Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia Diplomatica e Archivistica* (Vatican City, 1984), 491–549.

### 13. *Anonymous Monacensis C*

This unpublished commentary combining explanatory glosses and paraphrase, in part similar to II.3 above, is found collected with other commentaries in a s. XV manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7612). It begins with an abbreviated *accessus*; the end of the commentary is similar to that of Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 390 (II.2 above).

*Commentary* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7612). [Inc.]: (fol. 87r) *Falso queritur* etc. (1.1). *Materia huius libri est Iugurtha et populus Romanus. Intentio vel utilitas eadem quae et superius et in superiori prologo, scilicet describere res gestas populi Romani. Ita fit accessus ad istum librum. Ordine ut superius promisit res gestas populi Romani . . . quod nihil boni possint operari et ab hoc incipit. Humanum genus queritur de sua natura* (1.1) i.e. de sua nativitate. Quod si *inbecilla* et *debilis* et *fragilis* . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 101r) *Sed postquam confectum est bellum in Numidia* etc. (114.3). *Absens factus consul.* Vel aliter: non solum habet hunc successum quod cepit Iugurtham, sed etiam absens factus est consul. Vel ita: *Italia* quidem *intremuit* (114.2) sed tamen magnam spem in Mario habuerunt. Et ideo illum absentem consulem fecerunt etc.

*Manuscript:*  
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7612, s. XV, fols. 87r–101r. See I.1 above.

### 14. *Johannes Chrysostomus Soldus*

The *Commentaria in bellum Iugurthinum*, covering the entire text of the *Iugurtha*, was written

by Johannes Chrysostomus Soldus in 1469–70. It was composed or at least begun at the monastery of San Leonardo outside Verona and may have been completed in Padua; it was to be delivered to his brother Bartholomaeus at San Salvatore, Brescia. The *editio princeps* was printed in Brescia by Bernardinus Misinta for Angelus and Jacobus Britannicus in 1495, with the accompanying text of the *Iugurtha* edited by Pomponius Laetus (Rome, 1490), revised by Johannes Britannicus.

Soldus, as he tells us in his preface, dedicated the commentary to his brother in order to help him read Sallust's work profitably and teach it more easily. For this purpose, he sought to explain both the ideas and the subject matter and to clarify the grammar and word order. Many passages offered an occasion to comment on Roman customs, institutions, history, and rhetoric, and to insert long digressions on virtues and vices. The *vita* includes material traditional to an *accessus*.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Brescia, 1495.1; variants from the edition of [Venice, ca. 1496] are inserted in square brackets). [Inc.]: Ioannes Chrysostomus Bartholomeo Soldo fratri salutem. Dedi operam, mi frater, ut Salustii de bello Iugurthino interpretationem incoharem, ut haberetis quod et utiliter legeres et commode doceres. Cum opus absolvero, curabo illud ad te transmittere. Tu interea da operam ut memoria teneas quae praecpta dederim tibi cum a te discederem. Scholasticos assiduo studio atque labore prosequere eosque omni diligentia custodi. Plura scriberem, nisi celeritas nuntii prohiberet. Vale. Ex monasterio sancti Leonardi quinto [calendas] Ianuarii MCCCCLXX extra Veronam.

Ioannes Chrysostomus Bartholomeo Soldo fratri salutem. Mitto ad te expositionem in Salustum de bello Iugurthino sicuti eram pollicitus, opus summo labore confectum. Quia in re ideo maior est a me labor susceptus, quod non solum sententiae resque ipsae mihi fuerunt explicandae, sed ordo quoque verborum multis in locis est demonstratus, ut et tu ipse melius intelligeres et alias facilius doceres. Tu si Salustum et interpretationem atque expositionem nostram diligenter intuitus fueris, aditum intelligentiae tibi multas ad res apertum esse cognoscas. Te rogo ut des operam ne tantus labor frustra a me susceptus, neve ex industria mea ignavia tibi parata esse videatur; quod si te hoc opere nostro

delectatum esse intellexero ad alia maiora aggregienda studium meum excitabis. Quantum enim tibi prodesse sis [scis], ego etiam quantum possum intelligo. Nemo enim est qui te mihi in hac luce te [om.] carior sit, vel cui plus ingenium meum desudare cupiat [cupiam]. Sed fac te dignum praestes in quem talia a fratre officia conferantur. Cum epistolam legeris Brixiam te conferes ad sanctum Salvatorem et fratrem Stephaninum convenies, cui opus tibi assignandum tradidi. Curabisque ut textum correctissimum habeas atque ita legere et meo labore proficere incipias. Vale et pasinum tuum cura diligenter. Uxorem ceterosque meos nomine meo saluta. Datum Patavii XV kalendas Iulias MCCCCLXX.

*Vita Sallustii.* [Inc.]: Salustius civis Romanus Senatorii ordinis fuit. Hic primo se ad rem publicam contulit et in ea aliquamdiu versatus est. Postea cum ei in senatu (ut tradit Acron [*In Hor. Serm. 1.2.49*]) a censoribus obiectum esset, quod libertinarum sectator esset, tum ille non se matronarum sed libertinarum sectatorem esse testatus est, atque ideo senatu repulsus est, quod et in principio belli Catilinarii et in praesenti exordio excusat [*BC 3.3–5; BI 3.1–4*]. Dicit enim aliam fuisse causam quamobrem se ab administratione rei publicae removeret, quod videlicet virtuti honos non daretur, sed ambitio omnia virtutis praemia possideret. Sed revera constat Salustum infamia circa feminas laborasse. Nam, ut idem Acron refert [*In Hor. Serm. 1.2.41*], in Faustae [Faustinae] Syllae filiae et Milonis uxoris adulterio deprehensus ab ipso Tito Annio Milone flagellis caesus est. Igitur Salustius ob eiusmodi flagitia a senatu remotus. Cum intelligeret sibi ob tantam ignominiam aditum ad honores penitus interclusum, omissa cura rei publicae, se ad historiam scribendam contulit. In qua re ita claruit, ut omnibus qui historiam scripserunt omnium iudicio anteponatur. Et quemadmodum apud Graecos Thucydides Herodotum ceterosque qui historiam scripserunt nobilitate et artificio dicendi superavit, sic apud Latinos Salustius Livium ceterosque historicos facile vicit. Unde Quintilianus [*Inst. 10.1.101*] Thucydidi Salustum comparat, Livium Herodoto. Porro tam in Thucydide quam in Salustio mira brevitas quaedam et affectata rerum ubertas commendatur. Nam uterque ita rerum frequentia creber est, ut verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero conse-

quatur, genus autem dicendi pressum et nitidum et omnino rebus magis quam verbis redundans [cf. Cic., *De orat. 2.13.56*]. In hoc autem opere bellum quod Romani cum Jugurtha rege Numidiae gesserunt conscribit. Sed ante praemittit exordium in quo causam (ut diximus) ostendit quamobrem se ab administratione rei publicae ad historiam scribendam contulit, ne forte ignaviae daretur si vel taedio laboris vel metu periculi potius quam iusto iudicio animi rem publicam reliquisse videretur. Dicit enim sic: cum multa sint studia et exercitia animi quibus summa laus et claritudo comparari possit, veluti consilio rem publicam regere, dare operam litteris et alia huiusmodi, hoc tempore mihi non placuit per administrationem rei publicae laudem et gloriam comparare, quia videbam hoc tempore imperia et honores et magistratus dari hominibus indignis et non virtute praeditis sed ambitione corruptis. Et propterea aliud studium atque aliud exercitium animi quaerendum esse putavi in quo laudem et gloriam comparare possem. Sed ex omnibus studiis quae excentur animo atque ingenio, utilissimum visum est historiam scribere et memoriae mandare res gestas. Et ideo ad hoc studium atque exercitium me contuli, omissa cura rei publicae. Sed videamus quomodo paulatim veniat ad exponendam hanc causam atque ad hunc sensum explicandum.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: *Falso queritur* (1.1). In iuste, inquit, homines conqueruntur de natura sua, dicentes quod natura sua imbecilla sit et viribus infirma et brevi tempore duret et quod fortuna potius quam consilio regatur. Sed male faciunt qui sic conqueruntur. Nam ego contrarium existimo. Nihil enim esse puto maius aut praestabilius natura hominis. Homo enim cunctis animantibus praestat et excellit. Nam homo capax est rationis et cetera omnia animantia praeter hominem carent ratione. . . . *Falso.* Ordo est: genus humanum falso queritur, id est conqueritur de natura sua, quod *imbecilla* scilicet ipsa natura atque aevi brevis regatur potius forte quam virtute. *Falso* id est false. Est adverbium, id est iniuste . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Alia omnia virtuti suaे prona* (114.2) id est facilia et proclivia virtuti Romanae. Ac si diceret, Romani existimaverunt hoc, videlicet alias omnes gentes praeter Gallos virtute sua vinci et domari posse, sed Gallos gentem esse cum qua dimicandum sit non ut eam subigant sed ne ab ipsa subigantur. *Ex ea tempestate*

(114.4). Ex eo tempore omnes spes et opes civitatis in Mario positae sunt.

Lector memento scriptum esse in Iugurthino: Deinde postero die per Saritiam legem sententiis exquisitis in ditionem accipitur [BI 29.5]; ubi mendum tollendum est et legendum *per Satyram legem* non *per Saritiam*. Nam lex Satyra est, auctore Diomede grammatico [p. 486K], quae uno rogatu multa scilicet et varia comprehendit, ut vultis iubetisne ut cum Iugurtha bellum componatur, elephantes tradat omnes, transfugas reddat universos? Finis.

*Editions:*

1495.1, [ca. 1496], [ca. 1497–99], 1497.1 (or 1498.1), 1500.7, 1502, (\*) 1513, 1514, 1546, 1547. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Johannes Chrysostomus Soldus (Giovanni Crisostomo or Gian Crisostomo Soldi) flourished in the second half of the fifteenth century and presumably came from Brescia, where the Soldi (or Soldo) were one of the prominent families of the city. Early writers (Cozzando and Peroni) state that he was a member of the Dominican Order, but this has not been substantiated by any Dominican biographers. At the time Soldus began his *Expositio*, he seems to have been residing at the monastery of San Leonardo in Monte (Monte Donico) outside Verona, which housed a community of monks under the rule of St. Mark of Mantua (Lateran Canons).

He should not be confused with the Cristoforo Soldo(i) of Brescia, author of a mid-fifteenth-century *Cronaca*, nor with the Dominican theologian of the later sixteenth century, Johannes Chrysostomus of Bagnolo (Naples). Other persons by the name Johannes Brixensis, de Brixia, or Bresciano are mentioned in connection with the history of Brescia and of the Dominican Order, but there is nothing to indicate that one of them was the author of the commentary on Sallust's *Iugurtha*.

*Works (?):*

Manuscripts listed by Peroni (see below) as lost: *Vita del B. Sebastiano Maggi* and *Cronica di S. Domenico*.

*Bibliography:*

Cosenza 4.3294A; L. Cozzando, *Libraria bresciana*, part 2 (Brescia, 1694), 261; V. Peroni, *Bibli-*

*oteca bresciana*, vol. 3 (Brescia, 1818–23; rpt. Bologna, [1968]), 227–28. On Brescian humanism and printing in the fifteenth century (with references to Soldus' commentary), see V. Cremona, “L’umanesimo bresciano,” in *Storia di Brescia*, vol. 2: *La dominazione veneta* (Brescia, 1963), 542–70; E. Sandal, “Dal libro antico al libro moderno,” in *I primordi della stampa a Brescia 1472–1511*, ed. E. Sandal, *Medioevo e umanesimo* 63 (Padua, 1986), 227–307; P. Veneziani, “La stampa a Brescia e nel Bresciano 1472–1511,” *ibid.*, 1–23 and *La tipografia a Brescia nel XV secolo* (Florence, 1986). On Johannes Britannicus, see in addition to the above: CTC 1.231–32; “Britannico, Giovanni,” DBI 14.342–43 (U. Baroncelli).

### 15. Jodocus Badius Ascensius

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.16 above.

*Commentary* (ed. of Paris, 1504). Iodoci Badii Ascensii in Bellum Iugurthinum Familiaris et Dilucida Interpretatio. [Inc.]: *Falso queritur [de natura sua genus humanum]* (1.1). Allatus huius operis auctor instituti sui rationem cur videlicet praetermissa rei publicae administratione se ad historiae descriptionem applicuerit, orditur ab communi hominum natura, quae talis est ut nullus sit excusationi locus quominus clarus memorandumque evadat, cum tot sint animi humani exercitia quae nos ad immortalem gloriam perducant . . . [continues with *titulus*, *divisio*, then phrase by phrase]. In exordiali facit quod dixi. Unde ordo est: *Genus humanum* id est fere omnis homo. *Queritur* id est conqueritur. *Falso* id est immerito aut potius falsa ratione inductum, cum putet se miserum et infelix quod tam brevi includatur vitae spatio corpusque tam fragile ac imbecillum habeat, cum contra animo immortali aeternam gloriam mereri posset, si potius animum quam corpus exercuerit. Christiano autem homini (ut ad nos quoque respiciam) cum frequens sit, nulla est iusta de brevitate aut fragilitate vitae querela, nam si bene vixerit, ut decet, quilibet esset, desiderium habens dissolvi et esse cum Christo, haberetque dissolutionem in voto et vitam in patientia . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Ex ea tempestate [spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae]* (114.4). *Et spes atque opes civitatis* scilicet Romanae. *Sitae* id est positae seu locatae erant. *In illo* scilicet Mario. *Ex ea tempestate* id est post eam tempestatem, quia victis Cimbris, tertium Romae conditorem

Marium populus Romanus appellabat, ut auctor est Plutarchus [Mar. 27.5]. Actum siquidem de imperio fuisse, nisi Marius illi saeculo contigisset. De morte Iugurthae inveni epigramma sequens in quo obiisse dicitur in carcere, sed putem necatum fuisse, ut de Lentulo et sociis coniurationis visum est, nam id Florus quoque attestatur [Epit. 2.12.11]. Nosse cupis vulgo non cognita fata Iugurthae // Ut Plutarchus ait, carcere clausus obit [Mar. 12.3–4]. Finis.

*Editions:*

See I.16 above.

*Biography:*

See I.16 above.

16. Jacobus à Cruce Bononiensis

For the date and circumstances of the annotations, see I.17 above.

*Commentary* (ed. of Paris, 1511). In Iugurtham Sallustii. [Inc.]: In Iugurtha ad hoc primum illud occurrit: *Nunc vero exul patria, domo, solus atque omnium rerum honestarum egens, quos accedam aut quos appellem* (14.17). Ex Donato [*In Ter. Hec. 378*] corrigendum est *quos accidam*. *Accidere* enim eodem auctore est gestum corporis ostendere in humilitatem cadentis quod est iuxta et cadere. Tranquillus in Claudio [10.2]: Et p[ro]pra metu ad genua sibi accidentem imperatorem salutavit; non accidentem ut passim legitur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Illud etiam paene in calce Iugurthae sic ab omnibus legitur fere: *Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me et Mycipsam fluit, non egrediar* (110.8). Tu autem periculo meo *Mulucha* legit. *Mulucha* namque genere neutro pronuntiatur. Ut enim ait Caper: duo barbara neutri generis lecta sunt apud Sallustium: *Mulucha* et *Duria* [Phoca, Ars, p. 412K].

*Editions:*

See I.17 above.

*Biography:*

See I.17 above.

17. Philippus Melanchthon

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.18 above. Textual corrections or variants, noted by the author or editor and printed in the margins, are marked by an asterisk.

*Commentary* (ed. of Haguenau, 1529). C. Crispī Salustii *De bello Iugurthino* liber. [Inc.]:

*Falso queritur de natura sua . . .* (1.1). Orditur a loco communi de hominis natura unde postea rationem otii reddit. *Animus incorruptus, aeternus* . . . (2.3). Non est obnoxius mortalitati animus. *Verum ex his magistratus* (3.1). De otio suo . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Numquam ego ratus fore* (110.1). Orditur ab opinione sua a praesenti casu. *Ceterum de re publica vestra* (110.6). Narratio. Denique regi patefecit quod polliceatur . . . (111.1). Quando victoria penes Romanos esset. *Quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore ut illi plurimum debetur, amicitiam, foedus* (111.1). Non esse facturos foedus cum rege. Sed plerumque regiae voluntates, *ut vehementes sic mobiles, saepe ipsae sibi adversae* (113.1). Γνώμη. *Uti de pace \*veniretur* (113.2). Aliter \*conveniretur.

*Editions:*

See I.18 above.

*Biography:*

See I.18 above.

18. Henricus Glareanus

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.19 above.

*Commentary* (ed. of Basel, 1538). In C. Crispī Sallustii *Iugurthinum Bellum Henrici Glareani Annotationes*. [Inc.]: *Decus atque libertatem suam gratificari* (3.3). Illud *gratificari* varie exponunt commentarii. Soldus coniungit *libido gratificari* et exponit *libido gratificandi*. Badius addit in expositione sua verbum *velint*, quod nulli contextus habent. Sed subiungit: si ordo hic est, *libido gratificari*, ponitur more Graecorum pro *gratificandi*. Sin *libido tenet gratificari*, *tenet* ponitur quasi pro cogit. Haec ille. Ego puto ordinem esse: Nisi forte quem inhonesta et perniciosa libido tenet *gratificari*, id est gratis donare decus atque libertatem suam potentiae paucorum, quasi diceret, quos iuvat fieri mancipia. . . . *Per idem tempus adversus Gallos* etc. (114.1). L. Florus Livii racemator libro LXVII ex eodem [Epit. 1.38] ait bello adversus Cimbros male ab his ducibus pugnatum esse, non autem adversus Gallos, ut hic Sallustius perhibet. Sane Cimbri Germani sunt, quorum Chersonesus est in extremo Germaniae angulo Septentrionem versus, ut praeter alios auctores etiam Ptolemaeus meminit . . . [discusses Sallust's account in comparison with those of Livy, Strabo, Pliny, and Tacitus] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Verum qui de his copiosius scitu dignissima legere volet, videat volumen D.

Aegidii Tschudi Claronensis V. C. apud Helvetios quod de antiquitate Rhaetiae inscripsit ubi Plinii aliorumque auctorum loca de gentibus Alpinis et vere et eleganter ut nemo hac aetate melius explicavit [Nat. hist. 3.20.133–35].

*Editions:*

See I.19 above.

*Biography:*

See I.19 above.

### 19. Johannes Rivius

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.20 above.

*Commentary* (ed. of Leipzig, 1539). Castigationum liber secundus. [Inc.]: *Sorte potius quam virtute regatur* (1.1). Manuscripta, quaecumque ipse viderim, *forte potius pro fortuito eventu*. Nam fors pro fortuna saepe ponitur. Cicero ad Atticum [14.13.3]: Sed haec fors viderit, quae talibus in rebus plus quam ratio potest. Idem [8.1.3]: Quemcunque fors tulerit casum. Sed et impressa quaedam sic habent. Neque tamen priorem lectionem repudio, quae et ipsa bene habet . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Ceteri obtruncati, Iugurtha Syllae vinctus traditur* (113.7). Venetum illud a Pincio excussum, necnon alia pleraque, *ceteris obtruncatis* ut sint duo ablativi absolute positi. Sed est idem utrobius sensu. Quomodo in Fabriciano fuerit, haud scio, nam finis deest. In duobus manuscriptis et vulgata lectio. *Isque Calendis Ianuariis magna gloria triumphavit* (114.3). Manuscripta KL Ianuarii quomodo et ex impressis quaedam. Tametsi quod ad sensum ipsum attinet, utrumvis probe quadrat.

*Editions:*

See I.20 above.

*Biography:*

See I.20 above.

### 20. Bartholomaeus Marlianus

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.21 above.

*Commentary* (ed. of Venice, 1546). [Inc.]: *Falso* (1.1) accentum habet in fine, id est non merito. *Imbecilla* fragilis. Unde Plinius [Nat. hist. 7, praef. 4]: Quid est homo? Imbecillissimum corpus, obnoxium sexcentis malis; et Seneca [Dial. 6.11.3]: Quid est homo? Quodlibet vas quassum et tactu fragile. *Brevis*. Seneca de brevitate vitae [Dial. 10.1.1] inquit: Maior pars mortalium de naturae

malignitate conqueritur, quod exiguum aevi gig-nimur, quod haec tam velociter, tam rapide dati nobis temporis spatia decurrant. Non exiguum enim temporis habemus, sed multum per-didimus; satis longa vita est, si tota bene collo-caretur. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Insidiantibus* (113.5) sci-liset Syllanis. *Male* (114.1) infeliciter. *Marius* (114.3). Hoc videtur factum contra Romanorum legem ut Marius absens fieret consul, quod non assecutus est Caesar qui, devictis Gallis, triumphum cupiebat et tunc forte comitiorum dies erat, ergo volebat ut absens consul fieret ut etiam triumphare posset, quod, postquam utrumque assequi non potuit, spreto triumpho, consulatum (*sic*) ei decretum est. Sed superius visum est Mari-um consulem (*sic*), et forte fuit confirmatus ut in sequenti anno consolare imperium haberet, et ita triumphavit, quia non est ingressus Romam ad consulatum petendum.

*Editions:*

See I.21 above.

*Biography:*

See I.21 above.

### 21. Vincentius Castellanus

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.22 above.

*Commentary* (ed. of Bologna, 1554). [Inc.]: *Falso* (1.1). Non solum vulgus sed etiam doctissimi plerique viri (ut apud Stobaeum ceterosque auctores legimus) conquesti sunt, quod imbecilla sit hominum vita brevisque temporis spatio terminetur, itemque quod casui et fortunae subiecta sit. In his praesertim fuit Theophrastus qui (ut inquit Cicero Tusculanarum quaestionum libro 3 [3.28.69]) . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Cum Gallis pro salute non pro gloria certare* (114.2). Diomedes gram-maticus, ubi agit de impersonali verborum declinatione [p. 399K], ita hunc locum citat: *Cum Gal-lis de salute non de gloria certari. Iugurtham Romam vinctum adduci* (114.2–3). Ductus est Iugurtha cum duabus filiis vinctus in triumpho ac mox in carcere necatus (Livius, Orosius, Eutropius, Plutarchus). *Marius consul absens factus est*. Id per leges Romanas fieri non poterat, sed in tanto periculo legibus solutus est. Vide Plutar-chum [Mar. 12.1].

*Editions:*

See I.22 above.

*Biography:*  
See I.22 above.

### 22. Aldus Manutius Junior

For the date and circumstances of the *Scholia*, see I.24 above.

#### a. The edition of Venice, 1563

*Commentary.* In Iugurtham. [Inc.]: *Vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes* (3.2). Sumpsit hoc a Platone ex epistola ad Perdiccam [Ep. 5, 322B], quem locum et Cicero mutuatus est in epistola, periucundae (*sic*) . . . [Ad fam. 1.9.18]. Secundum ea (14.3) pro post ea. Sic Priscianus legit lib. XIII [GL 3.26], idque sententia confirmat. Fulvii liber: Sed ea . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Ab inermis pedibus* (107.1). Antea *inermibus*. Ego *inermis* reposui, ex Nonio haec recitante in commentariolo de mutata declinatione [p. 492M].

#### b. The edition of Rome, 1563 (colophon: 1564)

The edition of Venice, 1567 introduces additional *scholia* including texts of ancient inscriptions.

*Commentary.* In Iugurtham. [Inc.] *Vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes quamquam et possis et delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est* (3.2). Sumpsit hoc a Platone in epistola longa ad Dionis propinquos: πατέρα . . . τὴν ἀριστην [Ep. 7, 331C–D]. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Quae scilicet tacente ipso occulta oris immutatione patefecisse* (113.3). Fulvii liber: Quae scilicet tacente ipso occulta pectoris specie oris patefecissent. Alii: Quae scilicet ipso tacente occulta pectoris oris immutatione patefecisse. Vel: Quae scilicet tacente ipso occulta oris immutatio patefecit.

*Editions:*  
See I.24 above.

*Biography:*  
See I.24 above.

### 23. Johannes Pescheur

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.25 above.

*Commentary.* Parasceve ad conciones ex Iugurthino bello a Ioanne Pescheur decerptas. [Inc.]: Bello Punico secundo, quod dux Carthaginiensium<sup>a</sup> Annibal Italiae opes attriverat, Masinissa rex Numidarum receptus a P. Scipione Africano multa et praeclera rei militaris facinora fecerat [5.4] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: a quo Iugurthinum

bellum dicitur. <sup>a</sup>Quo tempore Masinissa exceptus est a Romanis. . . .

Parasceve ad conciones I. Cum Scipio Romanus imperator Iugurthae animum, industriam et audaciam in Numantiae expeditione, ad quam erat missus a patruo Micipsa ut Romanis esset auxilio, cognovisset, hunc Iugurtham ad Micipsam remissit cum his litteris [7–9].

Conciones. Scipionis litterae ad Micipsam [9.2]. Conc. 1. <sup>1</sup>Iugurthae tui bello Numantino longe maxima virtus fuit, quam rem certo scio tibi gaudio esse. Nobis ob merita sua carus est, ut idem Senatui populoque Romano sit, summa ope nitemur<sup>2</sup> [cf. BC 1.1]. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. En habes dignum virum te atque ayo tuo Masinissa. Vale. [BI 9.2] 1. Iugurthae commendatio ex effectis. 2. Benevolentiae locus ab adiunctis.

Argumentum concionis I. Iugurtham effectis et rebus bellicis Micipsa commendat ipsique gratulatur Scipio.

Annotationes in argumentum historiae. *Punico.* Punicus id est Carthaginiensis, et Punci quasi Phoenici dicuntur a Phoenice Agenoris filio conditore, de quibus Strabo lib. 16 [17?]. *Syphax.* Syphax rex fuit Numidarum qui cum Scipioni per Laelium amicitiam proposuisset et paulo post adhaerens Annibali fidem violasset, victus ab ipso Scipione in triumphum ductus est, illoque mortuo in carcere regnum Masinissae est datum. . . . *Patruus.* Patruus frater patris qui est quasi loco patris. Patruus magnus, magnus frater; avi patruus, maximus frater; proavi et abavi avunculus, matris frater.

[Other *conclaves* follow: 2. Micipsa adhortatio; 3. Adherbalis verba ad Senatum; 4. Adherbalis ad Senatum litterae; 5. Memmii tribuni pleb. adhortatio ad populum; 6. Oratio Marii consulis ad Pop. Rom.; 7. Syllae facundi adolescentis oratio ad Bocchum; 8. Senatus et Pop. Rom. ad Bocchi legatos responsum; 9. Oratio Bocchi ad Syllam.]

Belli Iugurthini extreum quo Bocchi dubia cunctatione et insidiis Iugurtha intercipitur. [Inc.]: <sup>1</sup>Ad ea Sylla, quando pro se breviter et modice de pace et de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Rex saepius fatigatus, leniter ex voluntate Syllae omnia se facturum promittit [111.1–3]. 1. Sylla sua facundia Bocchum in suam sententiam pellexit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ceteris obruncatis Iugurtha Syllae vincitus traditur et ab eo ad Marium deductus est [113.6]. Per idem tempus Consul Marius absens factus de Gallis<sup>5</sup> postea kalendis

*Ianuariis victoriam reportavit* [114.1–3]. . . . 5.  
Marius de Gallis victoriam reportat.

Annotationes ex extremo belli Iugurthae.  
*Quaestor* (113.5). Quaestor a quaerendo dicitur quasi quaesitor, vel qui curam habet aerarii publici cuius officium est inventum bellorum causa, quem hodie thesaurarium bellicum vocamus. . . . Item quaestor qui praeest iudiciis exercendis et maleficiis puniendis: maleficiorum iudex nominatur. Quaesitor Minos Vir. 6 Aeneid. [6.432].

Letters in praise of Johannes Pescheur and of Louis du Moulin:

Prudentissimo Regio procuratori in domo publica, domino Ludovico du Moulin maecenati sui praceptoris Ioannis Pescheur Gaspardus Luylier s. p. . . .

Praeceptoris sui maecenati L. du Moulin Mathaeus du Pont offerebat. . . .

Nicolaus Morin lectori. . . .  
Gulielmus de Baillou lectori. . . .

*Editions:*

See I.25 above.

*Biography:*

See I.25 above.

#### 24. Caelius Secundus Curio

Curio's annotations on the *Iugurtha* were published posthumously at Basel in 1571 in an edition also containing the notes of Jacobus à Cruce, Philippus Melanchthon, and Henricus Glareanus. They were evidently intended for use in the classroom, but were not quite finished at the time of his death. Curio had already used the *Iugurtha* as a model for his monograph *De bello Melitensi historia nova* (1567), where Sallustian influence is especially evident in the preface, speeches, and digressions; he had also cited Sallust in his essay *De historia legenda sententia*. The commentary, which covers most of the *Iugurtha*, contains some notes on the text, but is chiefly an explication of the *verba* and *sententiae*, with occasional brief digressions on points of history, rhetoric, and moral or political philosophy.

The copy of the 1571 edition seen on microfilm (Bern, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Z133; Filmholt Bong V.616) has the following note on the title page: "Sebastianus dedit H. Stephano Francfordii, Anno 1595. Febr. 13." It contains marginal annotations said to be by Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne).

*Praefatio* (ed. of Basel, 1571). Caelii Secundi Curionis in Salustii Bellum Iugurthinum annotationes. [Inc.]: Salustiani exordii in bellum Iugurthinum scopus est et propositum debere mortales bonis artibus ac beneficiis in commune conferendis nominis immortalitatem sibi comparare. Verum quoniam plerique naturam accusant suam quasi imbecillem ad id consequendum, hos Salustius primum reprehendit . . . [continues with detailed philosophical discussion of the prologue]. [Expl.]: Et haec de prima exordii parte. Nunc expendamus verba atque sententias.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: *Falso quaeritur* (1.1). Inter eos qui generis humani imbecillitatem deplorarunt fuit Theophrastus, ut Cicero Tuscul. 3 testatur [3.28.69]; praeterea Plinius Secundus de nat. histor. lib. 7 prooemio [7, praef. 4]: sed qui scripsit elegiam de obitu Maecenatis multa videtur in hanc scientiam collegisse. Sed horum omnium querelis respondet Lactantius in lib. [3] de opificio Dei. Seneca quoque in opere de brevitate vitae multa subtiliter et Stoice [Dial. 10.1.1]. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Hostes paene victos dare* (59.3). Periphrasis est, pro vincere vel equites Iugurthini novo modo pugnantes dabant et tradebant peditibus suis Romanos paene victos, ut peditibus sit dandi casus.

[Editor]: Hucusque pervenit in explicationibus verborum ac sententiarum belli Iugurthini clarissimus vir c. CAELIUS SECUNDUS CURIO. Discessit ex hac valle miseriarum, Anno Virginei partus millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo nono, mense novemb. die 24. lectionibus non absolutis.

*Editions:*

(micro.) 1571, (\*)1590, 1606. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC 1.232–34 (Biography, 234) (Juvenalis) and 3.285–87 (Biography, 287) (Persius).

Add to Works: *De bello Melitensi historia nova* (Basel, 1567); Italian translation by E. F. Mizzi: *Nuova storia della guerra di Malta* (1565) (Rome, 1927); *De historia legenda sententia* (before 1564), in *Artis historicae penus . . .*, ed. J. Wolfius, vol. 2 (Basel, 1579), 599–602.

Add to Bibliography: "Curione, Celio Secondo," DBI 31.443–49 (A. Biondi); G. Busino, "Italiani all'Università di Basilea dal 1460 al 1601," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 20 (1958)

497–526; *L'Europe des humanistes*, 140; D. Cantimori, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento* (Florence, 1939), 93ff. and passim; Cantimori and E. Feist, eds., *Per la storia degli eretici italiani del secolo XVI in Europa* (Rome, 1937), 91–92; E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, 1981), 352–53 and passim; G. Cotroneo, *I trattatisti dell' "Ars historica"* (Naples, 1971), 305–306.

### 25. Cyprianus Popma

For the date and circumstances of the *Emendationes*, see I.26 above.

*Commentary* (ed. of Louvain, 1572). [Inc.]: *Ceterasque bonas artes* (1.3). Haec lectio in omnibus pervulgatis exemplaribus et quattuor manu descriptis reperitur. Verum in duobus pervetustis libris *Aliasque bonas artes* scriptum animadverti quomodo et Donatus citat act. II scen. II in Eu-nuchum Terentii. Nos tamen hic vulgatam receptamque lectionem non mutavimus. Etenim apte sane quadrat cum illo Catilinarii loco: Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem ceterasque bonas artes subvertit [BC 10.4] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Cum Gallis pro salute non pro gloria certare* (BI 114.2). Diomedes libro primo [p. 399K] *Cum Gallis de salute et non de gloria certare* legit. Et in Catilinario (ut nos eum locum restituimus): non de divitiis, inquit, cum divite neque de factione cum factioso, sed cum strenuo de virtute, cum modesto de pudore, cum innocentia de abstinentia certabat [BC 54.6]. Neque tamen vulgatam scripturam damno, huic enim apte convenit, quod supra eodem in libro scribit Sallustius: magna vi utrimque pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus [BI 94.5].

#### *Editions:*

See I.26 above.

#### *Biography:*

See I.26 above.

### 26. Janus Mellerus Palmerius

For the date and circumstances of the *Spicilegia*, see I.28 above.

*Spicilegia* (ed. of Frankfurt, 1580). [Inc.]: *Quaerere conviviis* (4.3) dixerat Sallustius in *De bello Iugurthino*, belle, si ita visum esset librariis qui alii aliud; plerique *gloriam aut gratiam*, quidam etiam *amicitiam* inculcarunt. Atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi procul re publica ae-

tatem agere, tanto tamque utibili labori meo nomen inertiae imponent, certe quibus maxima industria videtur salutare plebem et conviviis quaerere. Utibili fuit in vetere codice meo et musis gratia, cum bene fuit. Usi eo multi, in multis Terentius: Quid minus utibile fuit quam hoc ulcus tangere [*Phormio* 690]? [The notes continue, treating random passages of the *Iugurtha* on fols. 17v–24r, then after several pages on the *Catilina* resume on fols. 30v–45r.] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: De paratu Metelli: *Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui milites eligere . . . et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent* (43.3). Principio illud *eligere exturban-dum est*. In optimis enim libris nullum eius vestigium et, si aures consulas, quadra orationis ipsa repudiatur. Deinde sequendus est Thosanus: *Denique omnia quae in bello vario multarum rerum usui esse solent. Bellum rerum varium, ut homo animi varius*. Ita *insignem cum dignendi casu dixit Tertullianus [De pallio 4.5]*: Sardanapalum tacendum est et alias libidinum insignes. Illo loco: *Ipse paullatim dispersos milites neque minus hostibus conturbatis in unum contrahit, dein custos pleno gradu in collem subducit* (98.4), quod sic plerique scripti codices repraesentant, non est existimandum subesse aliud quam quod ita scripserit Sallustius *cuctos*. Sic enim dicebant. Itaque *cuctionem* pro arilatore ab eadem origine interpretantur Isidorus [Etymol. 7.6.33: *coc-tionem*; cf. Festus, pp. 20M, 51M] et alii, quia per cuncta licitando eat.

#### *Editions:*

See I.28 above.

#### *Biography:*

See I.28 above.

### 27. Petrus Ciacconius

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.29 above.

*Commentary* (ed. of Leiden, 1594). Notae in *Iugurthinum Bellum Sallustii*. [Inc.]: *Agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur* (2.3). Sic Aristoteles περὶ ἔχειν in *Categorii* [Cat. 15] et Cicero lib. 9 epistula ultima *Ad familiares* [9.26] de Aristippo Socratico philosopho. *Dedit corporis gaudiis* (2.4). Sic in oratione *De re publica ordinanda: omissis pecuniae et corporis gaudiis* [I.7.5]. *Cae-dem, fugam aliaque hostilia* (3.2). Meus liber: *cae-dem, fugam, incendia aliaque hostilia*, ut *Catilina* 20: *caedem, incendia aliaque belli facinora* [BC

32.2]. *Potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari* (BI 3.4). Tacitus 4: Odiis Seiani per dedecus suum gratificabatur [Ann. 4.19] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Cum Gallis pro salute non pro gloria certari* (114.2). Tacitus in vita Agricolae [26.3]: Romanis reddit animus ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant.

*Manuscripts:*

Copenhagen, Universitetsbiblioteket, Arnamagnæanske Institut, AM 828 4to, s. XVI, fols. 130r–137r. Petrus Ciacconius, autograph, notes on the *opera* (fols. 89r–145v). See I.29 above.

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V D 44, s. XVI, fols. 12r–29r. Notes of Fulvius Ursinus on the *opera* (fols. 1r–47r), drawn from Ciacconius. See I.29 and I.30 above, and V. Brown, “Caesar,” CTC 3.119–21 and “Varro,” CTC 4.491–93.

*Editions:*

See I.29 above.

*Biography:*

See I.29 above.

### 28. Fulvius Ursinus

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.30 above.

*Commentary* (ed. of Antwerp, 1595). Notae ad Librum de bello Iugurthae. [Inc.]: *Agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur* (2.3). Verbum *habet* et *habetur* eodem quo Graeci sensu Sallustius usurpavit, apud quos notum est illud Demosthenis ἔχω τὴν λαΐδα, καὶ οὐκ ἔχομαι [Diog. Laert. 2.75.1 (Aristippus)]. *Caedem, fugam aliaque hostilia* (3.2). In vetere codice additur vox *incendia* etc. et legitur: *caedem, fugam, incendia aliaque horribilia*. Et sic supra in Bello Catilinae [32.2] dixit: *caedem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora* . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Iugurtha Sullae vinctus traditur* (113.7). De hac Iugurthae traditione, quae a Fausto Sullae filio in numismatibus quoque veteribus signata est, Plinius lib. XXXVII, cap. 1 sic ait: Sulla Dictator traditione Iugurthae semper signavit [Nat. hist. 37.9.2], et Valerius Maximus lib. VIII cap. XIV [8.14.4]. L. autem Sulla, etsi ad neminem scriptorum animum direxit, tamen Iugurtha a Bocco rege ad Marium perducto totam sibi laudem cupide asseruit, ut anulo quo signatorio utebatur scalptam illam traditionem haberet. *Cum Gallis pro salute non pro gloria certare* (114.2). Huc respxisse videtur Tacitus, cum in vita Agricolae [26.3] dixit: Romanis reddit animus, etc. securi pro salute, de gloria certabant.

*Manuscript:*

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V D 44, s. XVI, fols. 12r–29r. Notes of Fulvius Ursinus on the *opera* (fols. 1r–47r), drawn from Ciacconius. See I.29, I.30, and II.27 above, and V. Brown, “Caesar,” CTC 3.120 and “Varro,” CTC 4.492.

*Editions:*

See I.30 above.

*Biography:*

See I.30 above.

### 29. Christophorus Colerus

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.31 above.

*Commentary* (ed. of Frankfurt, 1599). Christophori Coleri ad bellum Iugurthinum Notae. [Inc.]: *Liber hic inscribitur De bello Iugurthino, quod in eo bellum a populo Romano cum Iugurtha Numidarum rege in Africa gestum describatur. Bella quae Romani gessere varii sunt generis: generaliter tamen interna vel externa. . . . Falso queritur* (1.1). Imitatus est hoc exordium Sallustianum Vindicianus in epistula medica ad Valentianum imperatorem: Cum saepe, sacratissime Imperator, humani generis fragilitas falso de natura sua queratur, aliquando tamen potuimus redditis causis ostensisque remediis vanas et innumerias querimonias refrenare [Ep. Vind. 1, in Marcellus, *De medicamentis liber*]. *Imbecilla* (1.1). Afranius apud Nonium [fr. 315 Ribbeck] in vescus: At puer est vescis imbecillus viribus [toga. 315]. *Forte potius* (1.1). Sic recte primus emendavit Turnebus lib. 26 cap. 15. Usi enim hac voce veteres plerique pro nec opinato casu . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Consul absens factus* (114.3). De hac re exstat vetus lapis: \_\_\_\_\_ VGVRTA MIL. EXTRA // \_\_\_\_\_ VGVRTA REGE NVMID. // \_\_\_\_\_ ANTE CVRRVM SVVM // \_\_\_\_\_ NSVL APSENS // CREATVS // \_\_\_\_\_ NORVM EXER // CITVM // \_\_\_\_\_ CIMBROS FVGA // VIT EX SC // \_\_\_\_\_ IEIS // \_\_\_\_\_ HAVIT REM // TURBATAM.

*Editions:*

See I.31 above.

*Biography:*

See I.31 above.

### 30. Helias Putschius

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.32 above. The edition of Frankfurt, 1607 has a slightly different version of the com-

mentary, beginning with a note on *defluxere* (*BI* 1.4).

*Commentary* (ed. of [Leiden,] 1602). Ad Iugurtham. [*Inc.*]: *Et postea quae genera hominum* (4.4). Melius vetus codex: et quae genera hominum postea in senatum pervenerint. *Magis magisque eum in dies amplecti* (7.6). Sincerior erit lectio electo τόδ' *eum*, quod quam sit congruens superioribus, iudicent Sallustiani . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *Vultu corporis pariter atque animo varius* (113.3). Haec vera lectio est, nec satis mirari queo emendatorum supinitatem, qui glossis librarium quam Sallustianis verbis adhaerere maluerunt. Quid enim haec quam mera glossemata: *colore ac motu?*

*Editions:*

See I.32 above.

*Biography:*

See I.32 above.

### 31. Janus Gruterus

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.33 above. In his note to *BI* 103, Gruterus points out the following lacuna (to *pacem vellet, daret operam* [112.3]) in his Nazarianus (Pal. lat. 889). (On the Palatine manuscripts, see I.33 above.)

*Commentary* (ed. of Frankfurt, 1607). Iani Gruteri in Iugurtham Notae. [*Inc.*]: Caput I. *Falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum*. Palatini nec eodem loco nec eodem modo scriptum habent pronomen, nam septimus *de sua natura*, octavus *de natura sui*; at Commeliniano meo totum abest . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Caput CXIV. *Consul absens factus est* (114.3). Nazarianus *esset*. Palatino tertio abest id vocis, et recte. *Ex ea tempestate* (114.4). Ita manuscripti potentioris fidei, nam quibus minor auctoritas exclusere illud *ex vel mutarunt in et*; sunt etiam qui *praeferant et ex ea tempore*. *Spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae* (114.4). Eieci Carrionis asseclarumque *sitae erant*, quod non compareret in plerisque manuscriptis arcereturque alioquin editionibus obsoletis, denique proderent id falsi manuscripti aliquot in quibus *sitae sunt*.

*Editions:*

See I.33 above.

*Biography:*

See I.33 above.

## III. HISTORIARUM LIBRI\*

### COMMENTARIES

#### I. HISTORIAE

##### 1. Aemilius Asper

In a number of places in the grammarians (Julius Romanus [third century A.D.] *apud* Charisium [fourth century]; Rufinus [fifth-sixth century] and Priscian [fifth-sixth century]), in the early fifth-century church fathers Jerome and Augustine, and in the fourth/fifth century commentaries of Donatus and Servius on Terence and Virgil are found references to and quotations from Aemilius Asper, who can be dated only between the mid-first and mid-third centuries of our era. From three such references (Julius Romanus, Lydus [sixth century], and Jerome) comes evidence that one of his works was a commentary on Sallust: Julius Romanus cites “Asper commentario Sallustii historiarum”; Jerome says, “Puto quod puer legeris Aspri in Vergilium et Sallustium commentarios” (*Adversum Rufinum* 1.6); Lydus’ Greek term for the commentary is ὑπόμνημα τῶν Σαλλουστίου ιστοριῶν (*De magistratibus* 3.8). The evidence of all but one of the fragments suggests that his commentary was limited to the *Historiae*; only Wessner’s fr. XIII (from Julius Romanus) is in reference to *BC* 51.1 *Omnès*, but not necessarily to an Asper commentary on that passage. The grammatical nature of the surviving fragments is perhaps due to the circumstances of their survival, but the commentary of a *grammaticus* would have been a teaching commentary that began with grammar and passed to everything necessary to the reading and interpretation of the author. At least some of the commentary was written in question-and-answer style. There are nine fragments, seven concerning texts from books 1–4 and the others on texts of uncertain location.

*Commentary.* [*Inc.*] [of fragment nearest to beginning of comm.? = fr. V Wessner]: *Recens* (I.2). Asper commentario Sallustii historiarum I nunc adverbium nunc nomen id esse dicit, ut “*recens scrip<tum>*”. Potest enim esse temporis <adverbium> [Julius Romanus, *De adverbio* =

\* For the numbering of the fragments, see the introduction to III.iii below.

Charisius, *Ars grammatica* (p. 216K)] . . . / . . . [Expl.] [of fragment nearest to end of the commentary? = fr. XI Wessner]: *Ceterum consilium est Tigranis regno integro . . . bellum conficere* (IV.69.16). *Ceterum quo modo positum est? pro alioquin: alioquin consilium est? an pro relicum, ut sit nomen: relicum consilium est?* [fr. XII Wessner] *Rumore primo* (fr. incertae sedis 17). Sallustius historiarum, ubi Asper: non est, inquit, nomen sed adverbium, ut illud [Virg., Aen. 1.613] “obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido”.

*Edition:*

1905, Halle a. S.: Walsenhaus. P. Wessner, *Aemilius Asper. Ein Beitrag zur roemischen Literaturgeschichte*.

*Biography:*

Nothing is known of Aemilius Asper but the name and a date between the mid-first and mid-third centuries (between Cornutus and Julius Romanus). He is not to be confused with the author of that name to whom is attributed an *Ars grammatica* (pp. 39–61K [GL 8]).

*Works:*

*De verbo*; perhaps a work on the language of Virgil; commentaries on Terence, Virgil, and Sallust.

*Bibliography:*

É. Chatelain, “Fragments d’Asper d’après le palimpseste de Corbie,” *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire anciennes*, N. S., 10 (1886) 83–101; M. Franca Buffa, “Aemilio Aspro: I commentari sallustiano e terenziano,” *Studi e ricerche dell’Istituto di Latino* (Genova) 1 (1977) 7–49; *Encyclopédia virgiliana* 1 (1984) 373–74 (M. Geymonat); H. Hagen, “Über die grammatischen Fragmente des Aemilius Asper,” *Philologus* 25 (1867) 353ff.; Fr. Lammert, “Literatur zu Aemilius Asper,” in “Bericht über die Literatur zu den lateinischen Grammatikern, zur Scholienliteratur und Glossographie, 1921–25,” *Bursians Jahrbuch* 231 (1931) 60; A. Macé, “Note sur les fragments d’Asper d’après le palimpseste de Corbie,” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 9 (1889) 17ff.; O. Ribbeck, *Prolegomena critica ad P. Verg. Maronis opera maiora* (Leipzig, 1866); A. Tomsin, *Étude sur le commentaire virgilien d’Aemilius Asper* (Paris, 1952); P. Wessner, “Zu Aemilius Asper,” *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 26 (1906) 62–63.

## II. ORATIONES ET EPISTULAE EX HISTORIIS EXCERPTAE

### (A) SET OF FOUR ORATIONS AND TWO LETTERS

(*ORATIO LEPIDI, ORATIO PHILIPPI, ORATIO C. COTTAE, ORATIO MACRI, EPISTULA CN. POMPEI, EPISTULA MITHRIDATIS*)

#### 1. Jodocus Badius Ascensus

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.16 above.

*Commentary* (ed. of Paris, 1504). *Oratio Lepidi consulis ad populum ex libris Historiarum C. Crispi Salustii. [Inc.]: Clementia et probitas vestra, [Quirites, quibus per ceteras gentis maximi et clari estis . . .]* (I.55.1). *Clementia et probitas vestra* etc. Haec oratio seu contio ad populum est Marci Aemilii Lepidi consulis ad populum Romanum, qui de se ut de alio in fine locuturus est ubi se commendat. Quod te admonitum velim, lector, nam illic adnotamentum nostrum inversum est. Nam ubi scripseram ‘se commendat’ et ‘ad sui commendationem’ quem et cuius supposita sunt? Dehortatur autem populum a factione Syllae et ut libertatem se praeside vendicet monet. *Tyrannidem id est violentam occupationem dominii. Erat tamen olim rex omnis tyrannus dictus unde est illud: Pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse tyran ni* [Virg., Aen. 7.266] . . . / . . . *Epistola Mithridatis. Rex Mithridatis Regi Arsaci s. . . [Expl.]: [Teque illa fama sequetur . . . magnis regibus latrones gentium oppressisse . . .]* (IV.69.22). *Oppres sisce latrones gentium scilicet Romanos. Neu malis id est magis velis. Pernicie id est damno nostro. Prolatare id est differre. Tuam scilicet perniciem. Quam fieri victor societate scilicet inter nos inita.*

*Editions:*

See I.16 above.

*Biography:*

See I.16 above.

#### 2. Philippus Melanchthon

For the date and circumstances of the *Scholia*, see I.18 above. There are no *Scholia* on the speeches and letters in the 1529 edition, but a few appear in the Paris edition of 1530 and, with some additions or omissions, thereafter. Occasional *variae lectiones* (marked by an asterisk) appear in the margins.

*Commentary* (ed. of Haguenau, 1529). *Rex Mithridatis regi Arsaci s.* (IV.69.1). Arsaces omnes reges Persarum dicti: Servius [*In Aen.* 6.760]. \**Atqui ea* (IV.69.3) alias *atque*. \**Coactus in patrium regnum* (IV.69.14) alias *conatus*. \**Nisi parvum habere* (IV.69.17) alias *partum*.

*Editions:*

See I.18 above.

*Biography:*

See I.18 above.

### 3. Johannes Rivius

For the date and circumstances of his *Castigations*, see I.20 above.

*Commentary* (ed. of Leipzig, 1539). [Inc.]: Ex oratione Lepidi. *Nequae ipsi nefanda non aestimatis, ea parum credendo de aliis circumveniamini* (I.55.1). Legendum divisim *ne quae ut sint duea dictiones*. In Gymnico τὸ nefanda perperam deest . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ex Epistola Mithridatis. *In somnis occidere eum. En civis amicitiam gloriose ostentant initio prodidere* (IV.69.7–8). Legendum *in somnis occidere. Eumenem cuius amicitiam ostentant* etc.

*Editions:*

See I.20 above.

*Biography:*

See I.20 above.

### 4. Aldus Manutius Junior

For the date and circumstances of the *Scholia*, see I.24 above.

*a. The edition of Venice, 1563*

*Commentary* (ed. of Venice, 1563). [Inc.]: In orationem Lepidi. [Inc.]: *Secundae res mire sunt vitiis obtentui* (I.55.24). Demosthenes Olynth. 2: ἀλλ᾽ οἵμαι νῦν μὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ τούτοις τὸ κατορθοῦν· αἱ γὰρ εὐπράξιαι δειναὶ συγκρύψαι καὶ συσκιάσαι τὰ τοιαῦτ᾽ ὄνείδη· εἰ δέ τι πταίσει, τότε ἀκριβῶς αὐτὸν ταῦτ’ ἔξετασθήσεται [2.20]. . . . In epistolam Mithridatis. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Meis militibus, procul ab domo, parvo labore per nostra corpora bellum conficere* (IV.69.16). Charisius sic lib. 2 [p. 196K]: *Meis militibus belli prudentibus procul ab domo per nostra corpora bellum conficere*.

*b. The edition of Rome, 1563 (colophon: 1564)*

*Commentary*. In orationem Lepidi. [Inc.]: *Rele-*

*gati in paludes* (I.55.23). Haec Fronto [Arus. Mess., p. 505K] ex primo Historiarum in *relegat* in illum locum in quo pro *relegati relegat* mendose legitur. *Res secundae mire sunt vitiis obtentui* (I.55.24). Seneca Controversiarum lib. V contr. 25 [lib. 24; 9.1.13]: Cum sit praecipua in Thucydide virtus brevitatis, hac eum Sallustius vicit et in suis illum castris cecidit. . . . Eadem apud Demosthenem sententia, qui et ipse Thucydidem assidue in manibus habebat, Olynth. 2: ἀλλ᾽ οἵμαι νῦν μὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ τούτοις τὸ κατορθοῦν· αἱ γὰρ εὐπράξιαι δειναὶ συγκρύψαι καὶ συσκιάσαι τὰ τοιαῦτ᾽ ὄνείδη· εἰ δέ τι πταίσει, τότε ἀκριβῶς αὐτὸν ταῦτ’ ἔξετασθήσεται. . . . In epistolam Mithridatis. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Meis militibus, procul ab domo, parvo labore per nostra corpora bellum conficere* (IV.69.16). Haec Charisius lib. 2 [p. 196K] ex 4 Historiarum sic recitat: *Meis militibus, belli prudentibus, procul ab domo, per nostra corpora bellum conficere*.

*Editions:*

See I.24 above. (The edition of Venice, 1567 makes a few additions to and changes in the content and order of the *Scholia*.)

*Biography:*

See I.24 above.

## (B) ORATIO LEPIDI

### 1. Antonius Zenus

The commentary on Lepidus' speech (*Historiae* I.55) was composed, together with that on Pericles' speech in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* [1.140–44], as the young author was preparing to return to Venice after his studies in Bologna. It was dedicated to Andreas Baduarius, Venetian statesman and diplomat, and combined a rhetorical analysis of the speech and comparison with Pericles' oration with an explication of the text and general moral and political observations. The commentary also offered an opportunity for expatiating on the importance of rhetoric in civic affairs and for praising Venice's mixed constitution.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Venice, 1569). Andreeae Baduario clarissimo viro Antonius Zenus s. [Inc.]: *Vetus ea est constanti doctorum hominum testimonio iampridem comprobata sententia, Andrea Baduari, vir clarissime, ex omnibus artibus quae ad vitam hominum instituendam, excolendam ac*

certo ad beatitudinem praesidio muniendam pertinent, nullam aut usu fructuosorem aut dignitate ampliorem esse quam quae civitatum instituendarum ac regendorum populorum laudem sibi assumit et vindicat . . . [continues on the role of *eloquentia* and his early education in Padua and Bologna] cepi consilium mecum aliquid referre ex iis quae diligentiore cura tractaveram. Fuerunt autem contiones duae, una Thucydidis altera Sallustii, a me accurata in primis explanatione, quoad per me licuit, illustratae quae, quod causas civiles continerent atque artificio dicendi praecellerent, facile quibus potissimum elaborassem in studiis indicarent . . . [continues on the relevance of the speeches to Venetians]. Quae eadem me causa impulit ut in his explanandis non summum solum in artificio dicendi aperiendo studium collocarim sed etiam in rebus civilibus aliqua saepe opportuna egressione tractandis elaborarim ac locorum eventuumque similium undique conquisita collatione ornare tentaverim . . . [continues on the accomplishments of the dedicatee]. [Expl.]: Sin autem praecipuam tui colendi causam exquiram, amor tuus erga me fratresque meos qui ad affinitatem accedit quae tibi cum avunculo meo, Vido Mauroceno, viro integerrimo intercedit, pro tua humanitate est tantus ut non solum hoc exiguum ingenii mei monumentum sed me ipsum quoque totum tibi, quemadmodum quidem cupidus, velim dicatum esse. Vale.

[There follows his preface to the speech of Pericles.]

*Praefatio.* Antonii Zeni in M. Lepidi conzionem praefatio. [Inc.]: Nunc vero tempus est ut idem artificium, sic enim suscepimus, a Sallustio in Lepidi contione adhibitum ostendamus. Ceterum de Sallustio qui Thucydidis aemulus imitatorque studiosissimus fuit eadem prope quae de Thucydide dici possunt: ut omnium consensu primas inter historicos latinos obtinuisse, sic multorum maledictis ac reprehensionibus laceratum esse. Quibus et verba et sententiae et nimium in contionibus scribendis studium eius notatum est . . . [continues on the works and the sources of the lost *Histories*, and with remarks on M. Lepidus' political career, the occasion of his speech, its genre and audience, and similarities with Thucydides, Cicero's fourth *Philippic*, and Demosthenes] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Itemque reliquis fere omnibus in quibus de Philippi tyrannide populi Atheniensis ignavia conqueritur. Ex quibus

etiam plures sententias a Sallustio exceptas fuisse manifeste appareat.

*Commentary.* Contio M. Aemilii Lepidi Consulis ex libro primo Historiarum Sallustii. Prooemium. [Inc.]: Clementia et probitas vestra, Quirites, quibus per ceteras gentes maximi et clari estis, plurimum timoris mihi faciunt adversus tyrannidem L. Sullae ne, quae ipsi nefanda non aestimatis, ea parum credendo de aliis circumveniamini. . . . (I.55.1–6). Quae in universum de exordiis in consilio dando fingendis veteres praeceperunt, ea fere a nobis in Periclis contione explicanda exposita sunt, ut hoc loco eadem repetere aut parum necessarium aut certe non admodum opportunum esse videatur. Quae tamen huius loci praecipue sunt, ea non sine magna reprehensione praetermitti posse existimamus. Quod ergo supra quoque diximus id hoc etiam loco admonere haud alienum videtur. Ex omnibus exordiorum locis nullum fortasse aut frequentius occurtere, aut rei instituendae accommodatius esse quam crimina aut inferre aut oblata diluere . . . [continues with comparison of Pericles and Lepidus]. *Clementia* etc. In hac prima parte prooemii orditur Lepidus partim a persona sua . . . partim a persona adversariorum, cum a Sullae sceleribus incipit atque graviora ea quam videbantur ostendit. . . . *Tyrannidem L. Sullae*. Non dixit L. Sullam sed tyrannidem L. Sullae . . . [continues with a summary of constitutional theory, based on Aristotle's definitions of three good and three corrupt forms of government and with the theories of Cicero and Polybius on the mixed constitution, illustrated by reference to Cardinal Gasparus Contarinus' work on the Venetian constitution, *De magistratibus et Republica Venetorum libri V* (Paris, 1543); he then continues analyzing the parts of the oration] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Ad recipiendam* (I.55.27). Usus est verbo *Democratiae* gratissimo, non enim dixit *ad bellum inferendum* ne videretur seditiosus, nec *ad imperium comparandum* ne tyrannidis avidus, sed *ad libertatem* quae semper honesta est; nec dixit *comparandam* sed *recipiendam*; est enim multo honestius recuperare ea quae amisimus [*amicimus ed.*] quam comparare quae non habemus. In quo verbo locus latet ἀπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ atque etiam τοῦ ἀναγκαῖου.

*Edition:*

1569, Venetiis (Venice): apud Bolognatum Zal-terium. The *Oratio Lepidi* (from the *Historiae*)

with commentary by Antonius Zenus. (This edition also contains Thucydides' oration of Pericles with commentary by Zenus.) NUC. (CtY; CU-B). A copy (VII.F.25) now in the Biblioteca Comunale of Siena was owned and annotated by the Sienese scholar and statesman Bellisarius Bulgari-nus, who had purchased it at Venice in 1594.

*Biography:*

See CTC 8.171 (Thucydides).

Add to the *Bibliography*: Cosenza 4.3753. On Andrea Badoer, see "Badoer, Andrea Biagio," DBI 5 (Rome, 1963), 98–99.

## 2. Federicus Cerutus

The *Commentarius* on the *Oratio Lepidi*, published at Verona in 1589, was dedicated to Petrus Franciscus Toccolus, a former pupil of Cerutus and later senator of Verona. It was chiefly a rhetorical analysis based on the precepts of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, and on a recent compendium of their works by Cyprianus Soartius (Suarez), the *De arte rhetorica*, which Cerutus also annotated. In his introduction to the commentary, Cerutus explained the *argumentum*, *genus*, and *status* of the oration; at the end he added a brief "ethical analysis" composed of *sententiae* from Lepidus' speech.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Verona, 1589). Petro Francisco Tocco Patritio Veronensi Federicus Cerutus s. p. d. [Inc.]: Male sane de rebus humanis ageretur, Francisce Tocco, si quod in ore multis est virtuti locus non esset . . . [continues on *virtus* and the evidence for it in Verona, and in praise of Francis-cus]. [Expl.]: Interim, quando tua me tibi adeo devinxit virtus ut qua ab ineunte aetate tua te sum complexus, benevolentiam in dies auxerit, ad eandem cunctis testificandam a me habebis commentarium hunc in orationem M. Aemilii Lepidi; quem cum leges et tibi in memoriam revocare poterit illud tempus quo, me docente, humanioribus litteris operam dabas, et in hoc ipso tamquam in lucido speculo imaginem civis illius perspicias qui in re publica corrupta nefariorum hominum conatibus audet se opponere et pro patriae libertate tuenda nulla pericula nolit non subire, quod praestandum ei esse qui publica ornamenta, qui communem civium statum in tranquillitate conservari studeat, sapientissimi omnes iudicarunt. Vale.

*Argumentum*. [Inc.]: Facilius fortasse perspici

posset quonam fuerit ingenio L. Sulla, si ea hic potissimum commemorentur quae inter ipsum et C. Marium sunt gesta . . . M. Aemilius Lepidus, homo in primis audax et Sullae inimicus, qui hoc anno cum Q. Catulo consul erat, vocato ad con-tionem populo, acriter invectus est in Sullam hac oratione qua populum excitare conatus est ad suscipienda arma contra Sullam tyrannidem ex-ercentem [there follow sections on the speech's *genus*, *status*, subdivisions, and what must be known of the speaker and audience] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: alios Lepidos a sermonis lepore, alios Paullos a pusillo corpore nominatos, Barbulos, Papios, Scauros alios scribit is, qui dudum librum de familiis Romanorum [*De gentibus et familiis Romanorum* (Venice, 1571)] edidit Ricardus Streinius.

*Commentary. Explanatio. [Inc.]: Clementia et probitas* (I.55.1). Praeter ea, quae superius de exordio iam commemoravimus, lubet alia quaedam ex Aristotele addere quibus clarius eluceat exordium non temere in hac oratione positum fuisse . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Mihi quamquam* (I.55.26). Alter locus in quo sibi Quiritium animos conciliat; augetur fiducia, cum ostendit non esse quod timeant rebus suis cum deos sibi fore auxilio in-telligent. *Libertate* (I.55.27). Vox plebi gratissima et qua clausulam de industria orationi suae im-posuisse Lepidum existimarim quo acrius illam urgeret et inflammaret; non dissimilis finis Philippicae 4.

*Analisis ethica. [Inc.]: I. Non prolatandum neque votis paranda auxilia* [I.55.7] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: VII. Potior videtur periculosa libertas quieto servitio [I.55.26].

*Edition:*

1589, Veronae (Verona): apud Hieronymum Discipulum. The *Oratio Lepidi* (*ex Historiis*) with the *Commentarius* of Federicus Cerutus. (This edition is bound with Cicero's *Pro Marcello* and *Pro Rabirio*, with the commentaries of Cerutus). Orvieto, Biblioteca Comunale; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense.

*Biography:*

See CTC 3.297–98 (Biography, 298) (Persius) and 437–38 (Juvenalis); CTC 4.282–83 (Martialis). Cerutus' school in Verona attained considerable importance and was transformed into a public *gymnasium*. His pupils included Cozza Cozza, Aloisio Novarino, and sons of distinguished

Venetian families. He was a member of the Accademia della Filarmonica and, later, head of the Accademia dei Moderati. He advised his friend Mario Bevilacqua on the formation of his library and had a small but important collection of antiquities of his own. Some of his inscriptions became part of the collection of the Filarmonica and, in turn, of the Museo Lapidario of Verona.

Add to Works: commentary on the *De arte rhetorica libri tres* by Cyprianus Soartius (Suarez); translations of Plutarch's *Dialoghi morali*, with an abridged French version of this work (1610), and of the *De oratoris officio et de quinque rhetoricae partibus* (1589); *Prosopopeia amphitheatri Veronensis ad Nicolaum Barbadicum praetorem* (1575); *De re poetica libellus incerti auctoris* (1588); Latin poems, including *Musarum corolla* (1584) and *Hymnus in Bacchum* (1585), and *carmina* for many of his contemporaries, including Sforza Pallavicino, Curio Bolderio, Philipp and Albert Fugger, and Lodovico Bevilacqua. See also L. Carpanè and M. Menato, *Annali della tipografia veronese del Cinquecento*, 2 vols., Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana 126 (Baden-Baden, 1992), 2.692, 718 (Index).

Add to Bibliography: *Cultura e vita civile a Verona: uomini e istituzioni dall'epoca carolingia al Risorgimento*, ed. G. P. Marchi (Verona, 1979), 748 (Index); Moreri (1759), 3.408; B. Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1961), see Index; Weinberg, ed., *Trattati di poetica e retorica del Cinquecento*, vols. 3 (Bari, 1972), 521ff. and 4 (Bari, 1974), 422ff., with further bibliography.

### III. HISTORIARUM FRAGMENTA

The numbering of the fragments of the *Historiae* and their assignment to books have varied since the time of the first collections in the Renaissance. They are here cited according to the edition of B. Maurenbrecher (Leipzig, 1891–93), which remains the standard complete edition. Some fragments given by the Renaissance commentators will not be found in Maurenbrecher's edition as they are no longer considered authentic.

The edition of L. D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1991) contains *Fragmenta selecta* and uses the same numbering but occasionally changes the order of

the fragments (duly noted in the *apparatus criticus*). P. McGushin, in his English translation, with commentary (*The Histories*, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1992–94]), makes changes in both the placement and numbering of the fragments, but provides a concordance at the end of vol. 2 to the numbering in Maurenbrecher's edition.

#### 1. Aldus Manutius Junior

A brief list of *Fragmenta ex libris Historiarum Sallustii* (without notes) appeared as an appendix to the 1544 Paris edition of the *opera* by Robertus Stephanus (Estienne). However, the first substantial collection of fragments from the indirect tradition was published by Aldus Manutius Junior in the Aldine edition of Venice, 1563 (for the date and circumstances of his work see I.24 above). The fragments, numbering more than 250, were printed separately from the excerpted speeches and letters (see III.ii.[a.]4 above) and allocated to *libri* 1–5 and 9 (out of what he believed was an original total of nine books) or to the *incerta* (fragments of uncertain placement). In his second edition of Rome, 1563 (colophon: 1564), Aldus inserted additional fragments, especially among the *incerta*, bringing the total to about 350, and reordering them, within each book (1–5 and 9) or among those of uncertain reference, by source. Approximately twenty-one contributors were represented, including Augustine, Charisius, Donatus, Festus, Gellius, Isidore, Macrobius, Nonius, Priscian, Probus, and Servius.

The *Scholia*, chiefly in the Rome, 1563 (colophon: 1564) edition (and thereafter), offer only brief remarks on some of the fragments: the sources, historical references, parallel passages, proposed emendations, or variant readings from particular manuscripts (among them, an *antiquus liber Fabii Farnesii* of Nonius, an *antiquissimus liber Cardinalis Rainutii Farnesii* of Servius, and a copy of Fronto lent to him by Scipio Pettius). In view of the importance of Aldus' initiative, however, the *incipit* and *explicit* are given below. In subsequent editions (Venice, 1567 and Antwerp, 1579), there are a few additions to the fragments and some additions to or slight changes in the notes.

The edition of Rome, 1563 (colophon: 1564) is dedicated to Franciscus Morandus, a friend of Aldus' father, Paulus Manutius. It mentions Aldus' collection of inscriptions, which he completed af-

ter arriving in Rome, and the value of this evidence for corroborating and expanding upon his *De orthographia*, published three years earlier. But most of his time, he says, has been devoted to collecting the *fragmenta veterum scriptorum*.

*a. The edition of Venice, 1563*

*Commentary* (ed. of Venice, 1563). *Fragmenta ex libris Historiarum Sallustii.* [Inc.]: Ex lib. I. *Tunc vero et posci cum ceteri eiusdem causae ducem senatus rati maximo gaudio bellum irritare* (I.67). Ex Nonio *Irritare* [p. 31M]; et Frontone ibidem, qui ex hoc fragmento extrema tantum quatuor verba recitat [Arus. Mess., p. 486K]. *Id bellum excitabat metus Pompeii victoris Hiempalem in regnum restituentis* (I.53). Ex Nonio *Metus* [p. 140M]; et Gellio lib. IX cap. XII ... [Incerta] ... / ... [Expl.]: Legimus apud Sallustium *paces et luces* (Incerta 30) numero singulare. Ex Sergii arte ii [In Don., *De nomine*; p. 432K].

*b. The edition of Rome, 1563 (colophon: 1564)*

*Praefatio.* Aldus Manutius Pauli f. Francisco Morando s. p. d. [Inc.]: Postquam ad urbem veni, totus in cognoscenda antiquitate fui, itaque magnum volumen effeci veterum inscriptionum. Orthographiam vero meam, quam ad te ante annos tres misi, lapidum testimoniis confirmavi vehementer atque auxi. Praecipuam autem industriam in eo locavi ut fragmenta omnia veterum scriptorum tum ad meam tum etiam ad communem utilitatem colligerem. Quo in opere adhuc versor: est enim multi laboris nec exigui temporis. Sallusti, cuius lectione vehementer delector, loca iam omnia, nisi fallor, in unum coegi quae volui in tuo nomine apparere, ne me tuorum in patrem meum, ac me ipsum officiorum oblitum putares. A te peto ut hoc quamvis tenue munuscum ne contemnas et maiora a nobis exspectes si modo maiores in litteris, ut speramus, processus erunt nostri. Nam inertiam aut ignaviam neque voluntas nostra neque natura fert, et in eote qui liberalium disciplinarum in studiis ita versaris ut ne valetudini quidem parcas libenter imitamur. Domesticum, inquies, in hoc habes exemplum. Ita est; verum tamen tu quoque me excitas, quem et patris iudicio et mea etiam sponte non vulgariter diligo ac veluti alterum parentem colo. Vale, optime vir, nobisque et amore et similitudine studiorum coniunctissime meque, illustri Comiti, sapientissimo viro et maximarum artium scientia instructissimo, Iulio Iusto, ad quem

scribere aliquid cogito, plurimum commenda. Romae, Kal. Quinti. MDLXIII.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: Fragmenta ex libro I Historiarum Sallustii. Ex D. Augustino de Civitate Dei, lib. 2 cap. XIX [2.18]. *Sallustius in primo historiae sua libro atque ipso eius exordio fatetur etiam tunc cum ad consules a regibus esset translata res publica* [I.11] ... discessionem plebis a patribus aliasque in urbe dissensiones fuisse. . . . [in margin]: quindecim annorum. Livius 1.2 . . . / . . . [Expl.]: [Incerta] Sall. [III.60] de Appio (*sic*): ubi eum tota in concione ab exercitu cogit discedere, *dicit se eius opera non usurum eumque ab armis dimittit* (Aen. XII [12.844]). Plutarchus etiam Sallustii testimonio utitur cuius verba recitanda non putavimus, quia ex graecis illius verbis quae fuerint latina Sallustii divinare difficile est.

*Editions:*

See I.24 above.

*Biography:*

See I.24 above. For a discussion of Renaissance collections of fragments, see A. C. Dionisotti, “On Fragments in Classical Scholarship,” in *Collecting Fragments. Fragmente Sammeln*, ed. G. W. Most (Göttingen, 1997), 1–33; the excerpts and fragments from Sallust’s *Historiae* are mentioned at 28–29.

## 2. Antonius Riccobonus

Antonius Riccobonus assembled his collection of more than 300 *fragmenta* earlier than Aldus—as Carolus Sigonius, among others, he says, could testify—but, because of the printers’ negligence, they were not published until 1568. At this time, they were included, with other fragments from the works of Cato the Elder, Claudio Quadrigarius, L. Sisenna, and M. Terentius Varro, in an edition dedicated to Julius Cananius (Giulio Canani), bishop of Adria. Like Aldus, Riccobonus allocated the fragments to books 1–5 and 9, or to the *incerta*, but he integrated the excerpted orations and letters into the collection, instead of grouping them separately, as Aldus had done. Moreover, within each book, he attempted to arrange the fragments in their historical or historiographical context. In the accompanying *Scholia*, he commented on the sources and ordering of the fragments, cited similar passages and locutions, analyzed the rhetorical structure of the speeches, and occasionally expatiated on topics of

Roman history, ethics, and politics. An introductory essay, *De historia commentarius*, elaborated upon classical precepts for writing history and stressed the utility of history to grammarians, poets, philosophers, and orators.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Venice, 1568). Iulio Cananio, reverendissimo Adriae episcopo, Antonius Riccobonus Rhodiginus s. d. [Inc.]: Dici non potest, Iuli Canani, reverendissime episcope, quanta cupiditate ardeam meam ut erga te voluntatem illustri aliqua significatione testatam relinquam . . . [see CTC 4.240–44; continues with praises of his family, his generosity, and virtues]. Quamobrem iamdiu nihil est quod ego magis cupiam quam exploratum esse omnibus quid ego de maximis tuis clarissimisque virtutibus et in primis de iustitia, integritate, beneficentia ac humanitate sentiam. Atque haec fuit praecipua causa, Iuli Canani, episcope reverendissime, cur meum de historia commentarium cum fragmentis aliquot vetustiorum historicorum et scholiis quibusdam meis in tuo potissimum nomine voluerim apparere. Hunc enim habebam modum testificandae apud omnes meae erga te singularis observantiae et simul sperabam fore ut meum hoc opus tua claritate ac splendore illustraretur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: A me igitur hoc munuscum quasi animi mei praedem accipies, cuius remunerationem aliam non exspecto, nisi ut contentus sis illud tui nominis fulgore fuisse illustratum, quod si tibi placuerit praecipere mihi collocasse operam videbor; sin, quod metuo, nihil admodum in eo fuerit dignum quod a (*sic*) te mitteretur, peto tamen a te ut speces animum non rem tibique persuadeas, si maiora unquam conabor (nam me aliquid perfecturum affirmare non audeo), qualiacunque fuerint, tua fore, id est eius cuius benignitati non modo dignitatem meam quae pertenuis est sed vitam etiam ipsam acceptam refero. Vale. Rhodigii. Kalendis Novembris. MDLXVIII.

*Argumentum operis.* [Inc.]: Hoc commentario consilium est de historia disputare quae quid sit et quibus legibus contineatur. Primum ostenditur [see CTC 4.240–44] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quinque libri de actionibus Scenicis, alii varii libri et Satyrae variae, et varia poëmata.

Antonii Riccoboni Rhodigini De historia commentarius. Ad Iulium Cananium reverendissimum Adriae episcopum. [Inc.]: Quid sit historia et quae leges sint historiae. Historiam, cuius in-

ventionem Cadmo Milesio tribuit Plinius [*Nat. hist.* 7.56.205], generatim definire hoc modo possumus . . . [see CTC 4.240–44]. . . . Neque vero Salustius spernendus est, qui vitam atque naturam singulorum mirabiliter exprimit ut Catilinae et pulcherrimas comparationes facit ut inter Caesarem et Catonem [BC 54] . . . addi potest ut historia sit brevis, id est neque necessaria omittat neque plura dicat quam necesse sit. Thucydides et Salustius Togo Pompeio displicant quod orationibus nimium longis utantur [Iust., *Hist. Phil.* 38.3.11]. . . . Adiungi praeterea potest illa lex ut historia sit perspicua. Pollioni Asinio visus est non servasse perspicuitatem Salustius, quod verbis nimis antiquis sit delectatus et ea mutuatus sit ex Catonis Originibus [Suet., *Gramm.* 10] . . . coniungi posse admirabile Philaenorum factum videtur de quibus legendus est Salustius in bello Iugurthino [BI 79] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quamobrem mihi consilium accidit non modo aliquot historicorum et praecipue Catonis, Quadrigarii, Sisenae, Salustii et Varronis in hoc de historia commentario quas potero reliquias colligere, verum etiam pro viribus in ordinem redigere et aliquibus scholiis illustrare. Incipiamus autem a Catone.

*Praefatio* [to the *fragmenta* of Sallust]. Antonius Riccobonus studiosis. [Inc.]: Quamquam non ignorabam Salustii fragmenta ab Aldo Manutio Paulli filio fuisse in unum redacta et edita, tamen, quia eadem ipse multo ante eum collegeram, ut cum aliis plurimis testis esse Signorius potest, perire meas lucubrationes nolui easque in lucem atque in aspectum produxi vestrum, serius quidem typographorum negligentia, sed non sine aliqua laudis spe, praesertim cum et aliquanto plura me fragmenta invenisse et aliquem eis ordinem dedito et pluribus ea scholiis illustrasse perspicerem. Valete.

*Commentary.* Antonii Riccoboni Scholia [in fragmenta ex primo Historiarum libro]. [Inc.]: *Recens scripsi* (I.2). Ex Charisio lib. II [p. 216K]. Scripsit autem Salustius iam senex, cum sibi reliquam aetatem a re publica procul habendam decrevisset, ut ipse testatur in historia Catilinariae coniurationis [BC 4.1]. *Cato Romani generis* (I.4). Victorinus in librum Ciceronis primum de Inventione: Historia et brevis esse debet in expositione et aperta et probabilis [ad 1.20.28], ut Salustius sibi omnia in Catilina tribuit: Quam brevissime potero, paucis absolvam [BC 4.3] . . . / . . . [Expl.]:

[*Inculta*] Pompeius [oris improbi (sic)] (II.16). Ex Suetonio [Gramm. 15]. Scythaee (III.76). Ex Porphyrione [In Hor. carm. 3.24.9]. Opprobrii. Ex Agraetio [ad BC 23.1; p. 119K]. Apollinis (II.6). Ex Probo [p. 7K].

*Edition:*

1568, Venetiis (Venice): apud Johannem Barilettum. The *Historiarum fragmenta* with the *Scholia* of Antonius Riccobonus. (This edition also contains the *fragmenta* of M. Porcius Cato, Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, L. Sisenna, and M. Terentius Varro, with *Scholia* by Riccobonus). Schweiger 2.890. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense.

*Biography:*

See CTC 4.240–44 (Biography, 244) (Cato Censor).

Add to *Bibliography*: *L'Europe des humanistes*, 367; E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1981), 204, 234, 417; G. Cotroneo, *I trattatisti dell' "Ars Historica"* (Naples, 1971), 404–409 et alibi; B. Frischer, “Rezeptionsgeschichte and Interpretation: The Quarrel of Antonio Riccoboni and Nicolò Cologno about the Structure of Horace's *Ars Poetica*,” in *Zeitgenosse Horaz: der Dichter und seine Leser seit zwei Jahrtausenden*, ed. H. Krasser and E. A. Schmidt (Tübingen, 1996), 68–116, with bibliography; P. Griguolo, “Il testamento olografo di Antonio Riccoboni,” *Quaderni di studi dell'Università di Padova* 22–23 (1989–90) 305–10; B. Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1961), see Index; Weinberg, “Nota filologica” to his edition of Riccoboni's *De re comica ex Aristotelis doctrina*, in Weinberg, *Trattati di poetica e retorica del Cinquecento*, vol. 3 (Bari, 1972), 504–507.

### 3. Ludovicus Carrio

In 1573 Carrio published his edition of the *Historiarum fragmenta*, dedicated to Guido Laurinus, on which he had been working since the early 1560s in Louvain and Cologne. The collection contained approximately 350 fragments, derived from 37 different authors: about 210 assigned to books 1–6 and about 140 to the *incerta*. It provided a comprehensive ordering of the fragments on a chronological basis, and remained authoritative up to and beyond the publication of de Brosses's edition in 1777. In the accompanying *Scholia*,

Carrio discussed the ordering of fragments, compared the testimonia of various manuscripts of Donatus, Gellius, Servius, Priscian, and others, and took account of numismatic evidence.

In 1579 Carrio brought out a new recension of the texts in the Sallustian corpus along with a slightly augmented collection of *fragmenta* and his *Criticum emendationum Sallustianarum*. The new notes cited readings from the *liber* (or *libri*) *Fabri et Briconetti* (the manuscript[s] of Faber and Cardinal Briconetus, presumably Nicolas Lefèvre and Guillaume Briçonnet, cardinal of Saint-Malo) and from the Vaticanus (Vat. lat. 3864), supplied through the courtesy of Claudio Puteanus, as well as the emendations of Petrus Pithoeus. In his letter to Christophorus Plantinus, Carrio relates that he had prepared *castigationes* on the other texts of the Sallustian corpus some eighteen years earlier, but these were no longer at hand and he did not have the time or means to rewrite them.

Brief observations on miscellaneous passages in the *opera* and proposed emendations are also found in Carrio's *Antiquarum lectionum commentarii III* (Antwerp, 1576) and *Emendationum et observationum libri II* (Paris, 1583). For the *Epistulae ad Caesarem*, which Carrio included among the *incerta*, see IV.5 below.

#### a. The edition of Antwerp, 1573

(Variants, corrections, and additions in square brackets are taken from the second edition of Antwerp, 1579, bound with the accompanying volume of commentaries by Johannes Rivius, Aldus Manutius Junior, Cyprianus Popma, and Carrio.)

*Praefatio.* Ludovici Carrionis I. C. In C. Sallustii Crispi Historiarum libros a se collectos [auc-  
tos] et restitutos ad Guidonem Laurinum Clin-  
querlandii, [Erkegemii], etc. Dominum praefatio.  
[Inc.]: Quonam litterarum fato, Guido Laurine, ex  
tot tantisque veterum scriptorum monumentis  
quae ad omnem immortalitatem comparata, sin-  
gulares quosdam ac prope divinos universo  
hominum generi fructus allatura videbantur, ad  
nos tam pauca pervenerunt? . . . [continues with  
a history of the vicissitudes of scholarship on  
classical historians, and on the rise of Roman ap-  
preciation of good letters and the ignorance and  
hostility to learning that began with the Germanic  
invasions and empire]. [Expl.]: Atque ego qui-  
dem, qui procul ab omni rerum publicarum cura,

quae minime mihi hac tempestate cupienda videatur, aetatem ago ne incultu et socordia ingenium quo neque maius aliud neque praestabilius in natura mortalium invenias torpescere sinerem, statui res populi Romani a C. Sallustio Crispo compositas ac superiori aetate, vi aut per negligentiam suppressas, illustrare et in hominum memoriam scribendo revocare, nam eum scriptorem in primis ego praeclarum existumo verborum atque sententiarum brevitate. Igitur illius Historias, quanta fieri potuit industria a me collectas, [auctas] et restitutas, ad te, Guido Laurine, mitto ut quod officium re ipsa nuper praestitisti gratum id mihi fuisse verbis ostendam, simul ut me cum v. c. Marco Laurino fratre tuo, de cuius viri laudibus, quia multi dixere praetereundum puto, uti consuevisti, ames et adversus eos qui, quia fractos et convulsos historiarum libros edere decrevi, huic tanto tamque honesto labori meo imperitiae nomen imponent tuearis atque defendas. Vale. Lovanii A. D. IV. Kal. Sextilis MDLX-IV.

*Commentary.* Lud. Carrionis In C. Sallustii Crispi Historiarum librum I scholia. [Inc.]: *Res populi* [R. M. Lepido, Q. Catulo Coss. ac deinde militiae et domi gestas composui] (I.1). In tanta rerum antiquarum, Guido Laurine, obscuritate tamque densis errorum tenebris, quae prima sint in his C. Sallustii Crispi historiis, quae secunda, difficilis est diiudicatio; atque eo difficilior quod neque veteres eam rem oratione persecuti sunt, et si qui aetatis posterioris idem agere tentarunt, iisdem etiam vestigiis, quibus insistimus, inhaerere ut per omne scriptorum genus errare debuerunt neque certam aliquam scribendi rationem quasi viam tenere potuerunt. Igitur nos, quibus in rebus huiusmodi diligentius inquirendis industriam graviorum disciplinarum tractatio negavit, et in inveniendis ingenium natura satis parce est elargita, ita haec historiae Sallustianae fragmenta et veluti e naufragio tabulas componemus, ut si navem integrum et sartam tectam esse praestare non possimus, quis enim id speret? saltem efficiamus ut minus lacera minusque dissipata et in partes pauciores dissoluta esse videatur. Haec autem primo historiae loco posui, quod Tib. Donatus sub initium Aeneidos Virgilium, qui prius rem deinde posuerit personam, ita tueatur ut Sallustium omni metrorum ratione liberum sic Historiam coepisse scribat, primo ut rem mox populi Romani personam poneret. Quae Donati verba commode, ni fallor, ad haec referri possunt. . . .

[Continues with fragments from books 2–5. The speeches of Lepidus and Philippus are assigned to book 1, the letter of Pompeius and the oration of Macer (entitled *Oratio Marci Lepidi tribuni plebis*) to book 3, and the letter of Mithridates to book 4.]

Lud. Carrionis In C. Sallustii Crispi Historiarum librum VI Scholia. *Cuius [duas insulas]* (I.100). Sunt qui fragmentum hoc X Sallustii historiae, sunt qui XI adscribant; sed cum praeter V superiores historiarum libros nullos a grammaticis recenseri videam et vetus codex sexto postrema haec tribuat, omnino hunc numerum retinere malui; neque enim mihi sit verisimile reliquos eos, si modo praeter sex, uti iam dixi, alii etiam a Sallustio scripti sunt, ita prorsus intercidisse ne verbum quidem ex iis ut a grammaticis afferatur. Maxime cum novator verborum Sallustius sui ubique sit simillimus et aliis suis libris, si quos forte scripsisset, non minus grammaticis nova in eo observandi argumenta dedisset, quam iis quos mutilos, laceros, consicissos, perturbatos, et nulla ex parte sibi respondentes nunc in lucem edimus, suppeditaverit. Adde quod illa ipsa fragmenta, quae ex quibus historiarum libris sint desumpta, incertum est, cum ad hos quidem superiores libros pertinere certum sit, cui tamen unumquodque eorum debeat assignari non temere dixeris; sed ad fragmentum. Loquitur, quantum divinare valeo, de insulis fortunatis ad quas victimum voluisse ire Sertorium a Sallustio in historiis esse traditum, scribit in librum Eponon Horatianus interpres, sive is Acron est sive Porphyrio. Hoc quoque silentio praetereundum non est me pro *satis constabat* scripsisse *sitas constabat*, quod ne cui paulo humaniori non probem, non timendum mihi esse existimo. Huc etiam pertinere arbitror hisque proxima fuisse verba Servii lib. V Aeneid. sic scribentis: Insulas fortunatas Sallustius inclutas esse ait Homeri carminibus [Servius, *In Aen.* 5.735; Sall. Fr. *Hist.* I.101\*].

Lud. Carrionis In incerta C. Sallustii Crispi Historiarum fragmenta Scholia. [Fragmenta non adscripto Historiae aut libri numero a grammaticis allata (?)] [Inc.]: *Illi tertio [mense]* (II.79). Adducit Arusianus Messius *citius sive celerius* hac re. Sic enim ibi scribendum est. Hoc autem fragmentum, etsi non dubito quin ad librum quartum pertineat, quo bellum Mithradaticum (*sic*) describitur, tamen, ut certum eo referre religio mihi fuit. . . . *Quirites* . . . [continues with notes on the

*oratio Cottae*, of uncertain reference]. *Scio ego . . .* [continues on the *Epistula II ad Caesarem*]. Orationem hanc quae ad Caesarem de re publica ordinanda inscribitur decreveram omittere, neque hoc loco Sallustianis fragmentis attexere. . . . *Populus [Romanus]* [continues on the *Epistula I ad Caesarem*]. Quae de superiore oratione quae ad C. Caesarem de re publica ordinanda inscribitur a nobis dicta sunt, eadem de hac quoque oratione dici poterant, nimis neque eam a Sallustiana dicendi ratione prorsus abhorrere, neque omnino cum ea convenire, atque ea de causa inter Sallustiana tantisper haberi dum certius quid hac de re iudicari poterit. . . . *Dicta pectore evolat* (8.9). Achilles Statius commentario in Tibullum monuit orationes has sub nomine Sallustii in codice Vaticano legi in eoque perscriptum extare *edita pectore evolat* et inde legendum videri *mediata pectore evolat*, quam eius suspicionem ut non satis certam nondum admittere potui. Libri tamen Vaticani auctoritate moveor ut a Sallustianis orationem hanc nondum disiungam.

Ad incerta quibus verbis a Sallustio sint scripta . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Primo [mense veris dicitur novum ver . . . secundum Sallustium]* (Incerta 38). Ex Servio lib. I Georgicon [Servius, *In Georg. 1.43*].

Loci auctorum in his libris emendati. . . . Aelius Donatus [in Terentium] . . . Servius Honoratus . . . Versio Plutarchi CLXXVI.

*b. The edition of Antwerp, 1579*

*Praefatio.* Ludovicus Carrio Christophoro Plantino suo. [Inc.]: Sallustium Crispum multis millibus opera mea meliorem nunc ad te mitto. Castigationes non mitto, nam et illae quas ex libris membranaceis et aliis huiuscemodi ante annos duodeviginti cum cura digessimus ad manum non fuere, neque mihi novas scribere totque et tantis auxiliis clade Lovaniensi spoliato quodque in Galliam versus iter pararem nunc erat volenti; igitur vicem illarum Criticum meum emendationum Sallustianarum, dis iuvantibus, in tempore dabo. Vale. Bonna, non procul a Corneliana Ubiorum ara Matronalibus, MDLXXIX.

*Veterum scriptorum et nonnullorum recentiorum de Sallustio iudicia et testimonia* [from Suetonius to Justus Lipsius].

*Commentary.* Lud. Carrionis In C. Sallusti Crispri Historiarum Lib. I Scholia. The 1579 edition contains approximately sixteen additional fragments (preceded by a list of forty-two *Scrip-*

*tores e quibus haec fragmenta collecta sunt* from Aelius Donatus in Terentium to Vibius Sequester). A separate volume, bound with that of the texts, contains both new and revised *Scholia* and some variations in their order. The *Scholia* on the *Epistulae ad Caesarem* are placed after the section *Ad incerta* and two short notes on the *Declamatio in Ciceronem* and *Declamatio in Sallustium* appear at the end, followed by a list of *doctorum virorum qui in C. Sallustium Crispum scripserunt nomina* (from Laurentius Valla through Ludovicus Carrio). For the *Scholia* on the *Epistulae* and *Orationes invictivae*, see IV.5 and V.7 below.

*Editions:*

1573, (\*) 1574, 1574, (\*) 1576, 1579, 1607. See above, Composite Editions. The Plantin edition of 1579 is bound with Carrio's edition of Sallust's *opera* and often, too, with Janus Dousa's annotations on the *fragmenta* and *Epistulae*. A copy of Carrio's 1579 edition owned and annotated by his friend Jacobus Bongarsius is cited in the *Catalogus codicum Bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana)*, ed. H. Hagen (Bern, 1875), 545 at "Sallustius" Z 100.

*Biography:*

Ludovicus Carrio (Louis Carrion) was born in Bruges ca. 1547 to a Spanish father and (according to one biographer) a German mother, and died at Louvain in 1595.

He studied Latin and Greek at the Collegium Trilingue of the University of Louvain, obtained a degree in law, and afterwards continued his studies in Cologne. About 1579 he traveled to France (perhaps for the second time), where he searched for manuscripts, gave public lectures on law, and met many of the leading French philologists, jurisconsults, and poets, including Jean-Antoine Baïf, Barnabé Brisson, Jean Dorat, Josias Mercier, Jacques Bongars, François and Pierre Pithou, Henri Estienne (Stephanus), with whom he collaborated on a new edition of Aulus Gellius, and Claude Dupuy and Nicolas Lefèvre, to whom he dedicated books 1 and 2 respectively of his *Emendationes et observationes*. In the mid-1580s Carrio returned to Flanders, where he had been offered the position of *professeur extraordinaire* in the Faculty of Law at Louvain. He subsequently received his doctorate in *utroque iure*, was appointed to teach Justinian's *Institutes*, promoted to the chair of canon law in 1589, and ultimately named

rector of the University in 1591. Meanwhile, he was made canon of a number of churches, including St. Peter's in Louvain.

Scaliger was critical of Carrio's life and character but paid tribute to his learning. Justus Lipsius, in a letter to Guido Laurin (the dedicatee of Carrio's 1573 edition), also praised his work, although he disagreed with some of his conclusions (*Epistolaricarum quaestionum libri quinque*, lib. 4, ep. 14).

#### *Works:*

Editions of Valerius Flaccus, *Argonauticon libri VIII* (Antwerp, 1565; 2d ed., 1566); Cassiodorus, *De orthographia liber* (Antwerp, 1579); Censorinus, *De die natali* (Paris, 1583); Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae* (Paris, 1585); *Itinera constantinopolitanum et amasianum* (Antwerp, 1582), commentary on the first part of De Busbecq's *Voyages en Orient; Antiquarum lectionum commentarii III* (Antwerp, 1576); *Emendationum et observationum libri duo* (Paris, 1583).

#### *Bibliography:*

ADB 4.27–28; *Bibliotheca belgica*, part 2 (Brussels, 1739), 829; *Bibliotheca belgica (Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas)* 5.10; BNB 3.352–56; *L'Europe des humanistes*, 102; A. Gerlo and H. D. L. Vervliet, *Bibliographie de l'humanisme des anciens Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1972), 268; Jöcher 1.1704; Michaud 7.66; Moreri (1759), 3.271; L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589). A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam, 1980–83), 2.584–85 and 5.2019–23; references in A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1983–93), 1.191–92, 322–23 and 2.438; and Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 12, 25, 78. On Guido Laurinus, see BNB 11.457–61.

#### 4. Janus Dousa

In 1580 Janus Dousa, Dutch scholar, statesman, and first rector of the University of Leiden, published his textual notes on some 120 passages of the *Historiarum fragmenta* and *Epistulae ad Caesarem* for the Plantin Press. The volume was usually bound with Carrio's 1579 edition of Sallust's *opera* and *Scholia*. Following his *Notae* were appendices containing the *fragmenta tria Schotti Serviana*, transcribed from *schedae* apparently in the possession of Petrus Danielis (who at the time was working on his edition of *Servius auctus*) and

transmitted by Andreas Schottus to Justus Lipsius, then at Leiden, and in turn to Dousa. The fragments from the *Historiae*, in fact, belonged to a bifolium of the ancient Codex Floriacensis (now Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1283B) dealing with the rebellion of Spartacus at the end of 73 B.C. Dousa recognized that they belonged to Sallust's *Historiae* and assigned them, correctly, to book 3.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Antwerp, 1580). Ianus Douza Christophoro Plantino suo s. d. [Inc.]: Pensum meum iam absolverim quaeris? An ego negotiosis omnibus et pro Crispi Historia certatim sua quasi pro salute nitentibus vitam silentio transiens ductarie tantum facinus emolirer? Tudem videto, mi Plantine, quam nec in hoc genere opera parcus mea, nec restrictus fuerim in largiendo. Etenim supplementi vicem auctarium, tria Novavetera Fragmenta, Sallustio adieci: non quidem de meo (ne quid erres) sed proinde ut nunc mos viget atque, ut fartores faciunt, de alieno. Unde igitur? Unde, nisi a communi Achate, doctissimo Belgici generis Lipsio nostro? Is enim hic (ut scis) et fundus est et iugis quasi thesaurus nobis. Nec hac struice usuraria contentus, etiam altera quinque prioribus adtexui, quae princeps ego, ab aliis per incogitantiam (ut videtur) omissa, non terra aut mari sed ex Plutarchi et Isidori synthesibus mihi tibique ac Crispi amatoribus evolvi. Nunc itaque, mi Plantine (quae res tum datori tum acceptori, toti denique rei publicae litterariae bene feliciterque vortat) promissas tibi in principem Historicum Notas expensas fero; recens a me, occasione novae editionis uso, saltuatim et quasi per saturam conlectas, in quibus si cui forte vota praecipitasse meque ac spes meas nimia scribendi lubidine corrupisse iudicatus fuero, nae hercule ego cum illo pignus haud ausim dare . . . [continues on his difficulties in this work and his hopes of having improved the text]. [Expl.]: Qui multa castigationum milia in omne scriptorum genus minati, post inanissimum dictorum strepitum, nihil aliud lectori quam fumum ex fulgore relinquunt, qui tamen tanti non est ut ideo oculis nostris vel minimum dolorem concinnent. Quid iam? Rideo, ait Galba, cantherio [Festus, p. 282M]. Vale, flos calcographorum Galliae tuae, simul autem salve. Lugduno Batavorum.

*Commentary.* Iani Douzae Nordovicis Ad C. Sallustii Crispi Fragmenta primi Historiarum libri Notae. [Inc.]: Semper in certamine libertatis

*aut gloriae aut dominationis agit* (I.7). Quidam pro *agit agitur* rescribere institerunt veteris (ut videtur) codicis fidem secuti, unde suspicio est *agitat* in Sallustio scribi debere, et certe mecum facit Priscianus huius Fragmenti laudator [GL 2.158], qui *agitur* hoc loco (*lego agitat*) pro *agit* positum observasse videri potest. Quid? Quod plerumque frequentativis evenire solet ut pro simplicibus ab historico nostro ponantur, qua de re exempla, quod in promptu sint, praeterfluere sino . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Troianorum tempore invadendarum terrarum causa fuerat navigatio.* Et hoc haud absurde transferri posse arbitror connectique fragmentum illud quod supra libro 3 est: *Namque primum Iasonem novo itinere maris Aetae hospitis domum violasse* (III.68).

Ad fragmenta tria hactenus inedita notae. [Inc.]: Fragmenta tria quae promissi exsolvendi deinceps sum subiecturus ex vetustis et Servianis doctissimi Petri Danielis schedis necdum publicatis Lutetiae descripta atque inde porro ad C. V. Iustum Lipsium ab adolescenti lectissimo Andrea Scotto gratificandi causa Lugdunum nostram transmissa, alias neminis quam Sallustii esse quovis pignore contendere ausim, cui rei argumenta primo stilum dico, quem ego adeo omni ex parte Sallustiano dicendi generi respondere probare posse videor, ut lac lacti similius esse non queat, deinde Servilis belli tractationem quam Sallustium in his Historiarum suarum libris executum esse, cum ex aliquot superioribus fragmentis tum vero ex Ausoniana illa duodecim annorum computatione ita examussim sim compertum iampridem atque exploratum habemus ut satis acceptance nobis eius rei causa opus non sit. Abessent tantum caecae liturae illae tot barbariae mendis ac maculis coopertae quibus ipse hercule eluendis sat esse non possum. Neque enim Fullonicam didici. Proinde uti eapte exarata accepi, ita repraesentabo. Ceterum fides sit penes exscriptores. [Notes follow on the three fragments (III 96A and III 98C and D), which he attempted in part to restore, and an Appendix with two passages citing Sallust (*Hist.* III.42 and V.10) in Plutarch's *Lucullus*, 11.4 and 33.3 respectively] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Id est, ut quidem vertit Cruserius (eius enim interpretationem et hic et supra in ciatandis Plutarchi testimoniis ubique fuimus secuti). Ac Sallustius quidem fuisse milites iam inde a principio male ait in eum [sc. *Lucullum*] animatos quod ad Cyzicum et iterum ad Amisum

duas hiemes eos in castris continuisset (cf. IV.69.14–15).

#### *Edition:*

1580, Antwerp. See above, Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

See CTC 3.329–30 (Petronius) and 444 (Addendum to CTC 1, Juvenalis); and CTC 7.271–73 (Biography, 273) (Catullus).

Add to *Bibliography*: *Centuria latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, ed. C. Nativel, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 314 (Geneva, 1997), 333–40 (C. L. Heesakkers); *L'Europe des humanistes*, 154; Schindler, *Untersuchungen*, 25, 78; J. H. Waszink, “Lo sviluppo della filologia nei Paesi Bassi del Nord dalla morte di Erasmo fino alla morte dello Scaligero,” *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 3d Ser., 3.8 (1978) 97–133. See also A. Gerlo and H. D. L. Vervliet, *Bibliographie de l'humanisme des anciens Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1972), 287 and *Supplément 1970–1985* (Brussels, 1988), 125–26; and A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1983–93), 2.372–73, 389, 608. On the Fleury manuscript and the Vatican fragment, see *Hist.* III.96A and 98C and D in the editions of Maurenbrecher and Reynolds (= McGushin III.64A and 66C–D) and relevant notes and bibliographical references, including studies by E. Hauler, H. Bloch, and others.

#### 5. Petrus Ciacconius

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.29 above. Ciacconius' *Notae*, dealing with about seventy fragments, consist chiefly of conjectural emendations and illustrations of parallel passages, particularly in Tacitus. The collection of fragments published in the Leiden edition of 1594 followed that of Ludovicus Carrio's edition of 1579.

*Commentary* (ed. of Leiden, 1594). In lib. I Historiarum Sallustii Notae. [Inc.]: *Res populi Romani.* (I.1). Tacitus, Annales 2 (sic) [11.11.1]: *Res imperatoris Domitiani composui. . . . In orationem M. Aemilii Lepidi Cons. ad populum romanum. Ne aut ipsi nefanda quae non existimatis* (I.55.1). *Forte nefanda quae vobis existimatis et a dictione praesertim usque ad eximat parenthesi inclusa esse debent . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Uxori eius*

*frater erat* (V.11). Sic supra: Liberis eius avunculus erit. Tacitus 4 [*Ann.* 4.71.2]: Asinius Gallus, cuius liberorum Agrippina materterea erat. Sed videndum an ibi legi debeat cuius liberis. *Saepe celebritatem nominis. Forte sed te.*

In incerta Sallustii Crispi. [Inc.]: *Pompeius oris improbi* (II.16). Contra Plinius lib. 7 cap. 12 [*Nat. hist.* 7.12.53]: Illud os probum reddentes et illius oris probi venerandique. . . . In Orationem C. Cottae Cos. ad Quirites. *Et vobis genitus hic* (II.47A.3). Illi libri *et bis genitus hic*, recte . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Cui nomen oblivionis condiderant* (III.44). Legam *indiderant*. Et de Lethe Hispaniae flumine intelligam, quod Limiam appellant Strabo lib. 3 [3.3.4] et latius Mela [3.1.10]: Et cui oblivionis cognomen est Limia.

*Editions:*

See I.29 above.

*Biography:*

See I.29 above.

## 6. Fulvius Ursinus

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.30 above. The *Notae* were first published by Ursinus in his 1595 Antwerp edition with the *Fragmenta historicorum* compiled by the Spanish scholar Antonius Augustinus (Antonio Agustín). They expanded upon Ciacconius' annotations (see III.iii.5 above), adding notes on other fragments or passages, elaborating on his discussion of sources and parallel passages, especially in Greek authors, and introducing epigraphic and numismatic evidence.

*Commentary* (ed. of Antwerp, 1595). *Notae ad librum primum Historiarum.* [Inc.]: *Res populi Romani, M. Lepido Q. Catulo Cos. ac deinde militiae et domi gestas composui* (I.1). Videtur Sallustius aemulatus esse exordium, quo Thucydides historiam suam exortus est, cum dixit: Θούκυδης Ἀθηναῖος συνέγραψε . . . ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἄλλήλους (1.1). Nam verbum *composuit* eodem modo usurpavit quo graecus scriptor συνέγραψα quod positum est pro συγγράψω. Ad Sallustium respexit Tacitus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Morbi graves ob inediām insolita vescentibus* (III.38). Sic legendum, nam Tacitus habet: De obsidione cunctantibus, solita insolitaque alimenta deerant [*Hist.* 4.60.1]. Videndum autem an ad haec fragmenta addi possit illud quod ab Ambrosio citatur epistula ad Marcellinum V: Brevi, inquit, multitudo

diversa atque vaga, concordia civitas facta erat, etc. Nam paulo ante nominatur Sallustius, ut ad eum haec quoque referri possint [Aug., *Ep.* 138.10].

*Editions:*

See I.30 above.

*Biography:*

See I.30 above.

## 7. Christophorus Colerus

On the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.31 above. In the preface to his *Notae*, addressed to his Italian friend Scipio Gentilis (Scipione Gentile), professor of law at the University of Altdorf, Colerus defended his work on Sallust from the criticism that he was doing what had already been done. He had proceeded judiciously and to the best of his ability, he insisted, and although the notes on the *fragmenta* had been hastily compiled, he did not regret the effort. The *Notae* supplied emendations and explanations of a few dozen selected passages among the ca. 400 fragments from books 1–5 and the *incerta* printed in his edition, often comparing and disputing the readings of previous commentators, chiefly Ludovicus Carrio, Petrus Ciacconius, and Fulvius Ursinus.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Nuremberg, 1599). V. clar. Scipioni Gentili meo s. d. [Inc.]: Nunc demum satis mihi placeo, dum me et mea tibi, mi Scipio, placere intelligo. Et vero talibus censoribus mihi opus erat qualis tu contra improbulas istorum voculas qui me actum egisse in Sallustio proclamant. Velle equidem amplius aliquid potuisse me. Immo nolui plus audere praesertim in haec fragmenta quae, sive emendare sive illustrare velis, opus est meritis coniecturis καὶ τοὺς οὐκ ἀβαρές apud nostros. Feci igitur in his fragmentis secundum Catonis praeceptum: Quod est eo uti decet et quod agas agere pro viribus [Cic., *De sen.* 9.27]. Nam in bellum Catilinarium et Iugurthinum ingentes commentarios confeceram, sed placuit tantum Notas excerpere exemplo aliquot magnorum virorum. Atqui ne huius quidem operae tumultuariae paenitet post Carrionis industram. Sed aliquando et haec et illa fortasse an iterabimus. Tu, anime mi, vive litteris, vive Iurisprudentiae, vive amicis. Mihi quidem certum est te imitari in omnibus istis. Idque ut faciam οὐχ ὡς λόγος μόνον εὑ̄ ἵσθ’ ἀρκιβῶς (*sic*), ὡς

δ' ἕδιος πείθει τρόπος (non tuus sermo modo, sed ut probe scis proprii mores iubent) [Menander, fr. 532 K-T]. Vale.

*Commentary.* Christophori Coleri ad fragmenta Sallustii Notae. [Inc.]: Libro I Historiarum. *Multa paucis absolvit* (I.4). Cicero De oratore [2.12.51–53]: Talis noster Cato et Pictor et Piso, qui neque tenent quibus rebus ornatur oratio (modo enim hic ista sunt importata) et dum intelligatur quid dicant unam dicendi laudem putant esse brevitatem. Scripserat inter alia Cato bellum Carthaginense, qui liber bis a Nonio citatur [p. 89M]. Nihil tamen potius eius Originum libris . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Incerta . . . posita. In ea quae oblique ex Sallustio citantur (II.8) . . . : A Troia Capys. Integrius hoc fragmentum est apud Servium Fuldensem [In Aen. 1.242]. *Troianorum tempore.* Habetur et hoc auctius in eodem Servio. Κριοῦ μέτωπον. Ptolemaeus, Strabo, Plinius et Priscianus in exegesi: Arietis hanc rupem simulantem vertice frontem. Pro merito Graii κριοῦ dixere μέτωπον. Et alibi: — sed contra finibus alter Prominet Europae, hanc κριοῦ dixere μέτωπον. Quae in Orationes Crispi nostri de Republica Ordinanda notavi, ea peculiariter brevi cum Deo vulgabo. Interim contentus sis hoc Catone, mi Lector.

*Editions:*

See I.31 above.

*Biography:*

See I.31 above.

### 8. Helias Putschius

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.32 above. The collection of fragments published at the Plantin Press in 1602 numbered about 400, including some 100 that Putschius reportedly contributed himself. They were allocated to books 1–5 and to the *incerta*. (For his remarks on the number of books in the *Historiae*, see the comment below on book 6.) The accompanying notes on selected fragments supplied corrections of the text, based largely on manuscripts of the ancient grammarians that he had at his disposal, and discussed the order of individual fragments.

*Commentary* (ed. of Leiden, 1602). Ad primum librum Historiarum. [Inc.]: *Semper in certamine* (I.7). Paulo aliter Servius ad IV Aeneidos [In Aen. 4.98]: *Inter certamina dominationis aut libertatis agit. Postquam remoto* (I.12). Tria haec apud tres

diversos auctores varie dispersa fragmenta, ita ut vides, mi lector, coniunximus volente et monente nobilissimo Dousa . . . [continues on books 1–5]. Ad VI librum Historiarum. *Cuius duas insulas* (I.100). Multae super hoc loco doctorum opiniones. Aldus Manutius nono, Ludovicus Carrio sexto Historiarum libro ascripsit. Colerus inter incerta referendum censuit. Nos vero cum viderimus in quibusdam Nonii codicibus IX, in aliis XI, in aliis VI Historiarum libro tribui, ad quartum relegandum putavimus. . . . [Continues on the errors of *librarii* in transcribing the Roman numeral IV] . . . neque vero mihi cum doctissimo Colero fit verisimile Crispum ultra V Historiarum libros conscripsisse, persuasis [sc. nobis] auctoritate grammaticorum, qui sane non insuper habuissent, verborum a communi usu remotorum delectum et elegantiam, uti ex superioribus ita et ex his libris si unquam fuissent, scriptis suis inserere.

*Ad incerta quo Historiarum libro posita.* [Inc.]: Pompeius oris improbi (II.16). Vide quae super hoc loco disserit nobilissimus Dousa in Notis suis. *Neque me diversa pars in civilibus* (I.6). Ad librum primum Historiarum haec retuli, ubi se vere scripsisse omnia testabatur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Falso quoque ascribit Sallustio fragmentum ex libris Ciceronis de re publica Antonius Augustinus sub finem notarum P. Ciacconii Antverpiae editarum.

*Editions:*

See I.32 above.

*Biography:*

See I.32 above.

## IV. EPISTULAE AD CAESAREM SENEM DE REPUBLICA

### COMMENTARIES

#### 1. Jodocus Badius Ascensius

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.16 above. Badius appears to exclude the possibility that the *epistulae* (or *orationes*, as he calls them) could have been the work of Sallust.

#### Epistula I

*Commentary* (ed. of Paris, 1504). [Inc.]: [Populus Romanus antea tenebat regna atque imperia fortunam dono dare (1.1).] *Populus Romanus.*

Haec oratio ad Caium Caesarem iam voti compotem habita est sed auctoris nomen supprimitur. Multa tamen artificiose et ingeniose simul et graviter dicta continent sed plurima in gratiam Caesaris. *Tenebat id est firmiter putabat . . . / . . .* [Expl.]: *[Porro eis quibus bis die ventrem onerare (8.2).] Bis die.* Ergo tamen cenas celebraverunt prisci, unde in prandia invehuntur satirici. Sed quomodo dicit Martialis, imperat exstructos frangere nona toros [4.8.6], nisi quod iam etiam prandia recepta, quae Plato Italicae vitio dedisse legitur. Cetera aptiora sunt.

### Epistula II

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: *[Scio ego quam difficile atque asperum sit (1.1).] Scio ego.* Haec oratio ad Caium Caesarem senem ingeniose quidem et diserte composita est, sed cuius sit auctoris mihi non constat cum unde deprompta sit non habeam et in praescriptione auctoris nulla fiat mentio. Verum ut Seneca dicit: Ne te moveat diligentis auctoritas sed quid dicatur attende [Ep. 12.11.3]. *Scio ego* (1.1). In re gravi solemus pronomina exprimere et ab ipsis exordiri. *Aut imperatori.* Qualis tunc fuerat Caius Iulius Caesar quamquam ad senium extremum non pervenerat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Ceterum deos immortalis obtestor* (13.8). *Obtestor* id est in testimonium invoco *deos immortalis*, quasi dicat eos testes conscientiae meae facio. *Ut quocumque modo ages id est sive ut consulo sive aliter sentis. Ea res eveniat prospere tibi et rei publicae.* Prudenter videtur hic (quisquis est) consultor ingressus, qui animum suum in rem publicam ostendit et Caesari quae sensit honeste suasit. Verum quia iam rerum potiebatur Caesar, etiam sibi prospexit. Nam iudicio eius omnia permittit. Finis.

#### Editions:

See I.16 above.

#### Biography:

See I.16 above.

### 2. Philippus Melanchthon

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.18 above. The edition of Haguenau, 1529 has no *Scholia*. A few appear, however, in the edition of Paris, 1530 and (with various additions or omissions) thereafter. Occasional *variae lectiones* (marked by an asterisk) appear in the margins.

### Epistula I

*Commentary* (ed. of Lyons, 1533). \*Item illa (1.1). \*Alias, item alia. *Sed ob easdem causas immane dictu est* (2.7). Epiphonema.

### Epistula II

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: *Quae honeste nominari nequeunt* (9.2). Periphrasis. *Igitur ubi plebs Senatus* (10.6). *Senatus animus, plebs corpus est.* *Tabella obtentui erit, quo magis animo libero facere audeat* (11.5). Per tabellam ferre sententiam in lenioribus causis solebant. Vide Asconium [cf. *In Cornelianam* 7]. *Ac per summam \*secordiam* (12.5). Alias, discordiam. *O Caesar, nos te genuimus* (13.1). Προσωποποία patriae ad Caesarem.

#### Editions:

See I.18 above.

#### Biography:

See I.18 above.

### 3. Johannes Rivius

For the date and circumstances of the *Castigationes*, see I.20 above. There are only a handful of corrections on each epistle. The *Venetum* cited in the notes is probably Philippus Pincius' edition of 1491.

### Epistula I

*Commentary* (ed. of Leipzig, 1539). Ad Caesarem de Republica ordinanda. *Quorum aetas ne per otium quidem talis voluptas sine dedecore attigerit* (4.4). *Venetum talis voluptatis. Et omnia aspera, uti soles, persuade* (6.3). *Legendum pervade ex Veneto, id quod sensus quoque ipse postulare ita videtur. Quae dicta pectore evolat* (8.9). *Venetum quae edita; Badianum quae dicta pectore evolvat.*

### Epistula II

*Commentary.* Ex II De republica ordinanda. *Quoniam modo rem stabilias communicesque* (4.4). *Venetum communicasque.* Mihi legendum videatur *stabiliias communiasque*; nec aliter sensus postulat quantumvis reclamantibus exemplaribus pro confirmes. *Sed plebs eo libere agitabat* (5.3). *Legendum plebes quo et alias saepe uitur.*

#### Editions:

See I.20 above.

#### Biography:

See I.20 above.

#### 4. Aldus Manutius Junior

For the date and circumstances of the *Scholia*, see I.24 above. Aldus' augmented edition of Rome, 1563 (colophon: 1564) contains the first and only note published on *Epistula I*. No notes were published on *Epistula II*.

##### Epistula I

*Commentary* (ed. of Rome, 1563 [colophon: 1564]). Ad Caesarem De re publica ordinanda. *Reliquum est optare uti quae tibi placuerint ea dii immortales approbent beneque evenire sinant* (8.10). Sic 105. Quae mihi utilissima factu visa sunt quaeque tibi usui fore credidi quam paucissimis potui perscripsi. Ceterum deos immortales obtestor ut quocumque modo ages, ea res tibi reique publicae prospere eveniat [*Ep. II* 13.8]. Et Demosthenes Olynth. 1: χρηστὰ δ' εἴη παντὸς εἴνεκα [*Olynth.* 1.28]. Et 3: Σχεδὸν εὑρηχ' ἀ νομίζω συμφέρειν· ὑμεῖς δ' ἔλοισθ' ὅ τι καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἄπασιν ὑμῖν συνοίσειν μέλλει [*Olynth.* 3.36].

##### Editions:

See I.24 above.

##### Biography:

See I.24 above.

#### 5. Ludovicus Carrio

For the date and circumstances of the *Scholia*, see III.iii.3 above. In his 1573 edition, Carrio included, among his notes on the *fragmenta incerta* of the *Historiae*, his *Scholia* on the *Epistulae* (or *Orationes*, as he calls them) in reverse order so that *Epistula II* precedes *Epistula I*. Although he doubted that Sallust had written these *Orationes*, he acknowledged that there were arguments of a linguistic nature both for and against his authorship. In his second edition of 1579, Carrio presented a slightly different version of his introductory remarks, described the Declamation against Catiline attributed to Porcius Latro as spurious, and expanded the *Scholia* on *Epistula I*, particularly with readings from the manuscripts of Nicolaus Faber (Nicolas Lefèvre) and Cardinal Briconetus (Guillaume Briçonnet) and from the Vaticanus (Vat. lat. 3864).

##### a. The edition of Antwerp, 1573

Ludovici Carrionis In incerta C. Sallustii Crispi Historiarum fragmenta Scholia.

##### Epistula II

*Commentary*. [Inc.]: *Scio ego* (1.1). Orationem hanc quae Ad Caesarem de re publica ordinanda inscribitur decreveram omittere, neque hoc loco Sallustianis fragmentis attexere ... [continues with reasons against and for inclusion of the oration for comment]. Qua tamen in re ita mihi temperabo ut, cum in reliquis brevissimus fuerim, hic multo sim futurus brevior tribusque verbis quod statui dicam. *Quia plerasque* (1.2). Sallustius Iugurthino [102.9]: fortuna pleraque rerum humanarum regit; idem Catilinario [8.1]: fortuna omni in re dominatur ... / ... [Expl.]: *Sicut in statua* (9.4). Antea in omnibus vetustioribus editionibus erat *sicut instituto*, in quibusdam autem recentioribus *sicut instituo*, quorum neutrum hoc quidem loco lectori satisfacere potest. I. Lipsius Juvenis, in his artibus doctissimus et uno verbo ut absolvam humanissimus, quem ego propter excellens ingenium, raros mores, iudicium integerrimum tanti facio quantum summa eius erga me benevolentia et mutua necessitudo nostra meretur, primus legendum docuit *sicut in statua* [Iust. Lips., Var. lect. libri IV, 1.8]. Quam suam opinionem pluribus rationibus in elegantissimis illis Variarum lectionum libris, quos in Italiā non ita pridem concedens nostrae fidei et Plantini curae commisit, quique ab horum studiorum amatoribus summo cum desiderio expetuntur, firmissime stabilivit.

##### Epistula I

*Commentary*. [Inc.]: *Populus* (1.1). Quae de superiori oratione quae Ad C. Caesarem de re publica ordinanda inscribitur a nobis dicta sunt, eadem de hac quoque oratione dici poterant, nimirum neque eam a Sallustiana dicendi ratione prorsus abhorre, neque omnino cum ea convenire, atque ea de causa inter Sallustiana tantisper haberi dum certius quid hac de re iudicari poterit ... / ... [Expl.]: *Dicta pectore evolvat* (8.9). Achilles Statius commentario in Tibullum monuit orationes has sub nomine Sallustii in codice Vaticano legi in eoque perscriptum exstare *edita pectore evolvat* et inde legendum videri *medita pectore evolvat*, quam eius suspicionem ut non satis certam nondum admittere potui. Libri tamen Vaticani auctoritate moveor ut a Sallustianis orationem hanc nondum disiungam.

##### b. The edition of Antwerp, 1579

The *Scholia* on *Epistula I* now precede those on *Epistula II*; both are placed at the end of Carrio's notes on the *Historiarum fragmenta*.

In Orationes ad C. Caesarem de republica.

### Epistula I

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: *Populus Romanus* (1.1). Liber Fabri et Briconeti *populus romanus* vero. Sed omnis haec periodus et a distinctione et a scriptura mirum in modum mendosa est. . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Alia via perges* (8.10). Omnes libri perget.

### Epistula II

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: *Quia plerasque res* (1.2). Sallustius Iugurthino . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Diversa praemia* (12.7). Fabri et Briconeti *divisa*, neque securus Vaticanus. *Interea forte ea* (12.8). Briconeti et Fabri *interea dum ea*.

#### Editions:

See III.iii.3 above.

#### Biography:

See III.iii.3 above.

### 6. Janus Dousa

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see III.iii.4 above. The *Notae*, first published at Antwerp in 1580, refer to the text of the two *Epistulae* edited by Ludovicus Carrio and printed by Plantinus in 1579. Dousa accepted the *Orationes* as genuine works of Sallust on the evidence of both the manuscript tradition and the style.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Antwerp, 1580). [Inc.]: De scriptore duarum (ut quidem nunc inscriptio est) Orationum ad C. Caesarem, cur ambigerent litterati homines causa non erat, praesertim cum et codicum membranaceorum consensus et (quae ratio maxima est) geminissimus dicendi character, postremo tot tantaeque in iis censoriae notiones exercitae sese ab alio nemine quam a severo et serio illo historico esse, haud indicium modo sed et fidem dare poterant multo certissimam . . . [continues with arguments for authenticity]. [Expl.]: Quas si quis cum Catilinarii et Iugurthini Belli querimoniis inter se contendere voluerit, facile videbit eiusdem imaginis formam possidere utrasque neque aliud in his maius discrimen comparare quam quo Menaechmum surreptum a Sosicle discrevit Plautus [Men., Arg. 2–4]. Quare his, ut dixi, praeteritis, aliquot prius a me emendatiunculas daturus rem ad exodium aliquando deducam.

### Epistula I

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: *Populus Romanus antea obtinebat regna atque imperia fortunam dono dare, item alia quae per mortales avide cupiuntur etc.* (1.1). Ita haec distinguo nec puto quicquam desiderari multo minus locum corruptum aut deploratum esse, id quod censem critici. Proinde, *obtinebat* novo significatu a novatore verborum Sallustio positum accipio pro *opinabatur* seu potius *persuasum habebat sibi* etc. pleno ac perspicuo intellectu . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Et quia tibi terae et maria simul omnia componenda sunt* (7.1). Potius est ut Sallustium *terra et mari* scripsisse credamus.

### Epistula II

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: Restituendus etiam locus ille Epistolae 2 . . . *Quin accipe tu ea quae dicam de summa rei publica etc.* (2.4). Quomodo fere prisci illi, Plautus, Terentius omnisque illa Catoniana aetas loqui consuevit, cuius dicta sententiasque prae ceteris aemulus Sallustius fuit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: De illo vero *libertatem gloria clariorem habeo* (12.5) veteribus potius impressis assentior qui *cariorem* praefrerunt. Idem de eo quod sequitur: *Ac per summam discordiam dilabi patiaris dictum velim pro quo ceterae editiones socordiam ostentant, quam quidem scripturam nupera et novicia ista multis milibus habeo cariorem.*

#### Editions:

See III.iii.4 above.

#### Biography:

See III.iii.4 above.

### 7. Petrus Ciacconius

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.29 above.

### Epistula I

*Commentary* (ed. of Leiden, 1594). In Orationem ad C. Caesarem de re publica ordinanda. [Inc.]: *Populus Romanus antea obtinebat regna* (1.1). Duo Longobardicis litteris scripti libri habent: *Pro vero antea obtinebat regna atque imperia fortuna dono dare.* Sed Latinus Latinus legit *fortunae dono dari.* Forte *Pro vero antea obtinebam regna atque imperia fortunam dono dare* . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Uti quae tibi placuerint eadie immortales approbent* (8.10). Livius lib. 6 [6.41.12]: Harum omnium rerum causa vobis antiquandas censeo istas rogationes. Quod facitis

[faxitis *Livy*], deos velim fortunare. Et infra: *Ceterum deos immortales obtestor ut quocumque modo ages, ea res tibi reique publicae prospere eveniat* [Ep. II 13.8].

### Epistula II

*Commentary.* In Orationem ad C. Caesarem de re publica ordinanda seu potius Epistolam illi missam antequam in Hispaniam ad Petreium Afraniumque proficiseretur. [Inc.]: *Periculum facere* (1.4), hoc est, adire discrimen. Tacitus 15 [Ann. 15.6.2]: Corbulo merita tot per annos gloriae non ultra periculum faceret, et 14 [Ann. 14.28.1]: eiusdem pecuniae periculum facerent cuius ii qui imperatorem appellavere . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Cuius nullum membrum a flagitio aut facinore vacat* (9.2). Totum hunc locum aemulatus est ille, quisquis fuit, qui Sallustii nomine declamationem in Ciceronem edidit, nam sic scribit: *Cuius nulla pars corporis a turpitudine vacat, lingua vana, manus rapacissimae, gula immensa, pedes fugaces, quae honeste nominari non possunt in honestissima* [In Cic. 3.5]. (See Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V D 44 [Fulvius Ursinus]: In orat. Ad C. Caesarem de Rep. ord. seu potius Epist. illa missa antequam in Hispaniam . . . proficiseretur.)

#### Manuscripts:

Copenhagen, Universitetsbiblioteket, Arnamagnæanske Institut, AM 828 4to, s. XVI, fol. 141r-v. Petrus Ciacconius, autograph, notes on the *opera* (fols. 89r–145v). See I.29 and II.27 above.

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V D 44, s. XVI, fols. 35v–37r. Notes of Fulvius Ursinus on the *opera* (fols. 1r–47r), drawn from Ciacconius. See I.29, I.30, II.27, and II.28 above, and V. Brown, “Caesar,” CTC 3.120 and “Varro,” CTC 4.492.

#### Editions:

See I.29 above.

#### Biography:

See I.29 above.

### 8. Fulvius Ursinus

For the date and circumstances of these notes, see I.30 above.

### Epistula I

*Commentary* (ed. of Antwerp, 1595). Notae ad Sallustii Epistolam I ad C. Caesarem de re publica ordinanda. [Inc.]: *Populus Romanus antea obtinebat regna* etc. (1.1). Placet lectio veterum librorum in quibus est: *Populus R. pro vero antea*

*obtinebat . . . / . . .* [Expl.]: *Uti quae tibi placuerint, ea Dii immortales approbent beneque evenire sinant* (8.10). Sic in epistola sequenti: *Ceterum deos immortales obtestor . . .* [Ep. II 13.8]. Quod faxitis, deos velim fortunare [Liv. 6.41.12].

### Epistula II

*Commentary.* Notae ad Epistolam II de re publica ordinanda. [Inc.]: *Sed per ceteros mortales* (1.6). Vetus codex habet *super ceteros mortales* etc. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Et bonis et malis rebus ea creatur* (7.9). Videtur sine dubio pro *rebus* scribendum *rationibus* . . . [continues on Caesar’s Bell. civ.] in quo est: Tamen omnibus rebus in eo perseverandum putabat [Bell. civ. 1.26.2], cum pro *rebus* debeat legi *rationibus*, ut ad eum locum notavimus.

#### Manuscript:

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V D 44, s. XVI, fols. 35v–37r. Notes of Fulvius Ursinus on the *opera* (fols. 1r–47r), drawn from Ciacconius. See I.29, I.30, II.27, II.28, and IV.8 above, and V. Brown, “Caesar,” CTC 3.120 and “Varro,” CTC 4.492.

#### Editions:

See I.30 above.

#### Biography:

See I.30 above.

### 9. Christophorus Colerus

In 1599, shortly after the appearance of his annotated edition of the monographs and *Historiae* (I.31 above), Colerus published the *Epistolae duae* (which he accepted as the work of Sallust) illustrated by his *Notae politicae*. The annotations contained observations on government and advice to rulers, and reflect the growing interest at this time in the practical political value of these writings. The dedicatory letter of *Epistula I*, written while Colerus was professor at Altdorf, was addressed to Zdenkonus a Waldstein; that of *Epistula II* was addressed to another young nobleman, Johannes Athier. Both letters discussed the importance of studying ancient history and Sallust’s work in particular. In his emendations of the text, Colerus refers to the earlier commentaries of Ludovicus Carrio, Petrus Ciacconius et al., and to the notes of the French scholar Josias Mercerus on the epistles of Aristaenetus.

*Praefatio* [to *Epistula I*] (ed. of Hamburg, 1599). Illustri Domino Zdenkoni Baroni a Wald-

stein, Domino in Ungersberg et Budovitz Brtnizii heredi, iuveni generosissimo s. p. d. [Inc.]: Noli mirari, iuvenis generose, scriptum ab homine tibi incognito mitti . . . [Colerus has heard reports of his virtues from other young men and especially from his teacher, Paulus Virdungus, "praceptor tuus et meus cognatus"]. Scriptum ad te mitto, generose iuvenis, maioris sane ponderis quam prae se fert magnitudo, hoc est, Epistolam priorem C. Sallustii Crispi ad Iul. Caesarem de re publica ordinanda. Non toleravi diutius in tam serium scriptum nihil exstare praeter minutus quasdam emendatiunculas et annotatiunculas grammaticas . . . [continues with discussion of the practical value of studying the *Epistles*]. [Expl.]: identidem posthac respiciendum erit ad magistrum illam vitae historiam et practicam quandam philosophiam, quam Plutarchus in Catone maiore recte omnium artium perfectissimam pronuntiavit. Animadvertis, opinor, me loqui de politica. Vale, iuvenis generosissime. Saluto nobilissimum virum Dominum Adamum Ropaliū a Kystenberg, Praefectum tuum. Altdorfii in provincia Noribergensium XIV. Mart. T. G. D. Christophorus Colerus, Politicae et Historiae Professor.

*Commentary.* Notae in Epistulam I. [Inc.]: *Populus Romanus* (1.1). Obscurum initium. Quis enim umquam eo felicitatis pervenit ut Fortunam ipsam donare aliis posset, quippe quae ipsa potius regna et imperia ex sua libidine largiatur? Itaque doctissimum et elegantissimum Mercerum sequor, qui Notis illis eruditissimis ad Aristaeneti epistolas locum hunc ita distinguit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Vix satis apertum os* (8.9). Tria, inquit Plinius ad Traianum, consiliario principis adesse oportet: libertatem, fidem, et veritatem [*Panegyr.* 1.6] Tales autem assentatores quales Sallustius hic innuit lubentius equidem cum Cratete συγκατανευσιφάγος quam συμβουλευτικός dixerim.

*Emendationes quaedam.* [Inc.]: *Populus Romanus* (1.1). Vedit Carrio etiam periodum corruptam esse. Petrus Ciacconius ex libro longobardico reponit: *Pro vero antea obtinebat*, haud absurde; sed tamen magis placet Merceriana correctio. [Cites other emendations by Carrio and the *scripturae* of Faber and Briconetus] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Nequaquam eo* (8.2). Legendum *Nequiquam eo*, hoc est frustra, *postea eo hebeti* etc. et *postea rescribo exercito*.

*Praefatio* [to *Epistula II*]. Nobilissimo iuveni Iohanni Athier Equiti Silesio splendidissimo. [Inc.]: Recte puto facere nobilitatem Germanicam quae se praeter cetera iuris civilis studio dare solet, nobiliss(ime) iuvenum. Olim etiam illustribus viris id peculiare fuit. Unde turpe et dishonestum facinus perpetrasse nobilem iudicabant veteres prudentes, qui ius discere insuper habuisset . . . [continues on the importance of not concentrating exclusively on jurisprudence, but on combining the study of law with that of eloquence and ancient history]. [Expl.]: Huius meae mentis argumentum offero tibi alteram Epistolam C. Sallustii Crispi ad C. Iulium Caesarem de re publica ordinanda. Notis eam illustravi, ut vides brevibus sed non omnino, uti spero, vulgaribus aut a mea professione tuisque studiis alienis. Tu utere, fruere, et fruere per hasce fama publica. Vale nobilissimum iuvenum et Colerum ut hactenus ama. Tuus Christophorus Colerus.

*Commentary.* In alteram Epistolam ad C. Caesarem de re publica ordinanda Notae. [Inc.]: Vel ex hac epistola satis apparet amicum valde Caesaris vixisse Sallustium. Ita solebant in otio degentes viri prae ceteris cati et rerum periti absentes et rem foris gerentes amicos excitare et quasi sui officii commune facere. Talis est illa quantivis pretii epistola M. Ciceronis ad Quintum Fratrem. Et videtur sane haec scripta ad Caesarem antequam ad Petreum Afraniumque proficeretur. Bello adhuc flagrante scriptam esse satis apparet. *Scio ego* (1.1). Quattuor causas adfert ob quas difficile sit agere consiliarium principis aut regis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Deos immortales* (13.8). Claudit epistolam voto quod nescio an usitatum valde fuerit isto aevo. Sub Augustis in epistolis aliquando etiam exactum fuit eiusmodi votum ut ex Dione liquet lib. 57 [cf. *Hist. Rom.* 57.8, 11]. Velleius Historiam suam [2.131] voto an adulatio finivit. Recte id hodie et pie imitabimur ad principes Christianos sribentes.

*Emendationes quaedam.* [Inc.]: *Per ceteros mortales* (1.6). Nihil causae est cur tantopere illam lectionem probet Carrio *Per deos immortales* . . . [cites various other emendations found in Carrio et al.]. [Expl.]: *Cetera multitudo* (11.3). Locus perobscurus et mordosus; videnda variae lectiones Carrionis. Plura nunc neque libet neque licet addere gravioribus occupato. Ignosce mi, lector, et have.

(We thank Kenneth Lloyd-Jones for kindly

transcribing portions of the Preface from the 1599 edition at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.)

*Edition:*

1599, Ambergae (Hamburg): apud Michaelem Forsterum. Schweiger 2.891 [1598]; VD 16 S-1417. BNF; Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek.

*Biography:*

See I.31 above.

## V. ORATIO IN M. TULLIUM CICERONEM (AND ORATIO IN C. SALLUSTIUM CRISPUM)

### COMMENTARIES

#### 1. JODOCUS BADIUS ASCENSIO

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.16 above.

*Oratio in Ciceronem.* Invectiva C. Salustii in Ciceronem.

*Commentary* (ed. of Paris, 1504). [Inc.]: [*Graviter et iniquo animo maledicta tua paterer* (1).] *Graviter et iniquo animo.* Tametsi haec invectiva dicitur Salustii in Ciceronem est, tamen potius relativa, nam statim in principio dicit se laesum a maledictis et conviciis contumeliosis ipsius Ciceronis. *Iudicio* id est ex animi sententia. *Quam morbo* id est vitio animorum, ut invidia, qui summus morbus etiam corpus corrumpens . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Quos tyrannos appellabas* (7) scilicet ante exilium. Et ita arguit Ciceronem inconstantiae, verum ipse argutissime se defensurus est vertens in laudem suam quod vitio datum erat.

*Oratio in Sallustium.* M. T. C. Responsio contra C. Salustium.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: [*Ea demum magna voluptas est Cris. Salusti* (1).] *Ea demum.* Acris admodum et amara [armara ed.] est haec responsio atque conviciorum relatio summo artificio ut a disertissimo et eloquentissimo in eruditissimum et eundem acerrimum hominem retorta. Fit autem principium vehementis orationis fere per interrogationem ut hic. *Demum* etiam particula accelerandi vim habet. Vult autem Salustium ideo petulanter et impudenter in se locutum ostendere quod talem semper vixit vitam . . . / . . . [Expl.]: [*Omnium cubicolorum in aetate pellex* (21).] *Cubicolorum pellex* quia pulsis coniugibus eorum locum supplesti patiens muliebria. [Ut ea dicam si

*qua ea honeste effari possum* (22).] *Si qua.* Argute dubitet an se digna sint.

*Editions:*

See I.16 above.

*Biography:*

See I.16 above.

### 2. Franciscus Sylvius Ambianus

In 1532 Sylvius' notes on the Sallustian invective and the (ps.-)Ciceronian rejoinder were published as part of a series of annotated editions of Ciceronian orations prepared for Badius' press and intended for the humanist curriculum that Sylvius was promoting in the French schools. The dedicatory letter, written at the Collège de Tournai and addressed to Joannes Morinus, stressed the pleasure and utility of studying the two opposing speeches. Sylvius did not doubt the authorship of the two orations, but he observed that if Cicero's oration was inferior to other speeches that he had published, it was perhaps because it had been excerpted by shorthand writers while Cicero was speaking (without a written text) in the Senate, and had not been prepared for publication. The *argumentum* offered explanations for the enmity between the two men and gave a brief analysis of the rhetorical structure of the speeches. The notes supplied a general explication of the text with corrections based on an ancient *exemplum* from the library of the Abbaye de Saint-Victor, Paris (see *Bibliography* below), an edition printed in Venice forty years earlier, and passages from Sallust cited in Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae*.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Paris, 1532). Franciscus Sylvius clarissimo viro Ioanni Morino Parisiensium Praepatori s. [Inc.]: Utilissimum esse Quintilianus scribit [Inst. 10.1.76–77; 11.3.6–7] utrumque habitas actiones legere, ut Demosthenis et Aeschinis inter se contrarias. Hac enim ratione fit ut causas norimus melius, et si quid a librariis corruptum sit, emendemus facilius. Humanis litteris quam bene provisum foret, si editae orationes eae, quae Ciceronis actionibus contrariae fuerint, exstarent. Tuberonis in Ligarium, Hortensii pro Verre actiones Quintiliani aetate exstabant. Utrumque habitas orationes legere non utile solum, verum etiam iucundum esse arbitror. Ipsa enim oratorum contentio velut sub oculos subiecta non mediocrem affert voluptatem. Qualem capturum te esse ex hac Ciceronis et Sallustii contentione

spero, quae in curia non in foro facta est. Quod si haec Ciceronis oratio aliis ab eo editis inferior esse videatur, nihil est quod suspicere an Ciceronis non sit. Per multis enim concessum est, id quod Ciceroni contigit, ut melius scribant quam dicant. Quas edidit Cicero orationes eas postea scripsit quam habuit. Orationem in Senatu post redditum habitam, de scripto se dixisse affirmat. Milonis defensionem postea scriptam Milo ipse probavit maxime. Ea ne iudicibus quidem cum dicebatur probata est. Hanc igitur a notariis quibusdam, cum Cicero diceret, exceptam esse arbitror, nec a Cicerone editam. In has Sallustii et Ciceronis orationes commentarios tuo nomini dicamus, eos iucunde ut accipias te obsecro. Bene vale. Parisiis ex schola Tornaca, X die Maii MDXXXII.

*Argumentum.* F. Sylvii Ambiani in duas sequentes orationes argumentum. [Inc.]: Illud usu venire solet, ut inimicitiae graviores sint inter eos qui amici aliquando fuerunt . . . [continues with an account of Sallust's relations with Cicero, and the nature and circumstances of these speeches]. [Expl.]: hanc tamen a Cicerone scriptam non arbitror, sed a notariis quibusdam, cum diceretur, exceptam, quod tam absoluta non sit quam aliae quas ipse edidit. Hae orationes multis in locis mendorosae erant, sed nos, adiuti vetusto quodam e divi Victoris bibliotheca exemplo alioque annis abhinc quadraginta Venetiis impresso et Laurentii Vallae Elegantiis, multa restituimus. Haec autem inter Sallustium et Ciceronem contentio fuit post necem C. Caesaris.

*Oratio in Ciceronem* (C. Crispi Sallustii in M. Tul. Ciceronem [Oratio]).

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: *Graviter et iniquo animo* (1). Quae in nos ab inimicis per contumeliam dicuntur, si nos contemnere significemus, inimicos afficiunt gravius. *Iudicio* id est consilio et sana mente. *Morbo animi* id est temere et quadam insania. *Petulantia*, ut ait Sex. Pompeius, a petendo dicta est. M. Tullius De re publica libro quarto [4.6] (Nonius, p. 23M)]. Itaque a petendo petulantia, a procando, id est poscendo, procacitas nominata est. Est autem petulantia, ut ait Nonius Marcellus [p. 162M], improbitas. Cicero De oratore libro secundo [2.75.305] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Levissime transfuga* (7). A re militari facta translatio est. Transfuga enim est qui liber aut servus aut hostis voluntate sua ad hostes transierit, ut ait Sextus Pompeius [Festus, p. 214M]. *Neque in hac*

*neque in illa parte fidem habens* (7) id est neque haec neque illa pars tibi confidit. Hanc Ciceronis levitatem exprobavit D. Laberius, cum dixit eum geminis sellis sedere solitum, ut est apud Macrobius libro Saturnalium secundo [2.3.10].

*Oratio in Sallustium* (M. Tullii Ciceronis in Crispum Sallustium Responsio).

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: *Ea demum magna voluptas est* (1). Cicero respondet maledictis iis quae obiecit Sallustius aliaque maledicta in Sallustium reicit. *Ea demum* id est ea solum vel ea omnino. Hunc enim locum Valla libro VI [Eleg. 6.21] ita exponit. . . . *Atque actibus* (1). Laurentius Valla libro quarto inter gesta et acta quid differat scribens, actis non actibus hoc in loco scribendum putat [Eleg. 4.9] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Petulantissima consecrari lingua* (22). *Insectari non consecrari* apud Valla libro quarto scriptum est. *Moribus tuis* id est secundum mores tuos.

#### *Editions:*

1532, Parisiis (Paris): sub prelo Ascensiano. The *Oratio in Ciceronem* with the *Commentarius* of Franciscus Sylvius Ambianus. (This edition is bound with ps. Cicero, *In Sallustium* and Cicero's *Pro M. Fonteio*, *Pro Q. Ligario*, *Pro Deiotaro rege*, *Pro T. Annio Milone*, *Pro Corn. Balbo*, *Pro M. Marcello*, *Pro lege Manilia*, and *Paradoxa*, each with the commentary of Sylvius, as well as Cicero's *De partitione oratoria dialogus* with the commentary of Jacobus Lodoicus Strebæus Rhenensis [1531–34].) Ph. Renouard, *Josse Badius Ascensius*, 3.243. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale.

1541, Parisiis (Paris): M. Vascosanus. In M. T. Ciceronem invectiva oratio et Ciceronis in eundem responsio cum F. Sylvii Ambiani commentariis. (A copy of this edition in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York [shelf mark: 15436], bound with a 1545 edition of Cicero's orations with commentaries and *scholia*, bears the arms of Louis de Saint-Maure, marquis de Neelle, on the cover.)

1546, 1547. See above, Composite Editions.

(\*) 1553, Parisiis (Paris): David. The *Oratio in Ciceronem* (and ps. Cicero, *In Sall.*) with the *Commentarius* of Franciscus Sylvius Ambianus and notes of Andreas Helmoutanus. NUC. (CUB). (It has not yet been possible to examine this edition; on the author [André van Helmont] see BNB 9.11).

*Biography:*

See CTC 4.211, 213–16 (Biography, 211) (Ausonius).

Add to *Bibliography*: “François Dubois of Amiens,” *Contemporaries of Erasmus* 1.408 (M.-M. de la Garanderie); *L’Europe des humanistes*, 163; Ph. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste (1462–1535)*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1908; rpt. New York, [1967]); Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVIe siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1969), 273 (“Bade [Josse]”); Renouard, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1972–85) (see indices); M.-M. de la Garanderie, *Christianisme et lettres profanes (1515–1535)*, vol. 1 (Lille and Paris, 1976), 109–12.

A manuscript of Sallust from the library of the Abbaye de Saint-Victor, now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 15143, reportedly once contained the *Invictivae*. See G. Ouy and V. Gerz von Büren, *Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de l’abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris de Claude de Grandrue 1514* (Paris, 1983), 354, HHH 14. (We thank Virginia Brown for this information).

## 3. F. Jammetius Textor

In 1535, Textor published his *Scholia rhetorica* on the two invectives, with a dedicatory letter to the young Johannes à Rupe Fucaldus, commanding his diligence and recommending especially the study of Cicero. The *argumentum* explained the (supposed) background and circumstances of the speeches and of the enmity between Sallust and Cicero (cf. the introduction of Franciscus Sylvius Ambianus, V.2 above), while the notes (printed in the margins) provided a rhetorical analysis of the orations as examples of the *genus demonstrativum* and an explication of the text.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Paris, 1535). Inclitissimo ac nobilissimo bonae indolis adolescenti, sanctae sedis apostolicae protonotario, Ioanni a Rupe Fucaldi, domino suo, clarissimo comite heroique felicissimo fatis invidentibus defuncto Francisco de Rupe Fucaldi nato, F. Jammetius Textor s. p. d. [Inc.]: Etsi iamdiu videram quis in me tuus animus quodve iudicium de optimarum litterarum studiis esset, tamen nunc audita tua diligentia, verius quid sentires cognovi. Id enim mihi videris tibi persuasisse nihil esse in vita humana aut pul-

chrius aut laudabilius quam honestis disciplinis tuam nobilitatem exornari . . . [continues with an exhortation to the study of these orations]. [Expl.]: Cuius quidem orationem in Salustum et Salustii in eundem, quo magis ad effectum tuorum consiliorum pervenires, nostris scholiis pro animi viribus explicatam, tuae nobilitati nuncupavimus. Qua licebit frui, quamdiu voles: tamdiu velle debebis, quoad tuum institutum perfeceris in ea ratione, quae te digna est. Boni consule et interim quae ad tuam dignitatem pertinere arbitrabor, diligenter et studiose curabo. Lutetiae in aedibus divae Genovefes, septimo calendas Novembris Anno domini Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimoquarto. Fac valeas.

F. Iammetii Textoris argumentum In orationem C. Crispi Salustii. [Inc.]: Gellius scriptum reliquit [Noct. att. 17.18], Salustum, qui nobis veteris Romae historiam scripsit, ab Annio Milone in adulterio cum uxore sua deprehensum fuisse . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Proinde coram senatoribus facta nulla mora in Ciceronem hanc pronuntiavit orationem, hostili quidem animo atque omni maledicendi acerbitate post necem Caii Caesaris. Nam ita brevi dicendi copia vitia Ciceronis notavit, ut nihil intactum esse videatur.

F. Iammetii Textoris In responsionem M. T. Ciceronis contra Salustum argumentum. [Inc.]: Salustii iniuria ac detractione coram senatoribus M. T. Cicero lacesitus, cui summam dicendi copiam natura largita fuerat, tacere ac domum redire non potuit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Cuius treis totius responsionis partes esse intelligo et earum unam in obiectis criminibus refellendis, alteram in similibus conferendis, tertiam in multis et novis criminibus oblatis esse versatam. Quibus tandem tela sui adversarii ita reiecit atque detorsit ut medicinae facienda sibi locus fuerit.

## Oratio in Ciceronem

Commentary. C. Crispi Salustii in M. T. Ciceronem Oratio, una cum scholiis rhetorici F. Iammetii Textoris. (The notes are printed in the margins opposite the following words italicized as lemmata.) [Inc.]: *Graviter* etc. (1). *Oratio* est in genere demonstrativo. Status vero est coniecturalis. Nullum autem prooemium. Est tamen quaedam ratio orationis inchoandae. *Propositio* a Ciceronis petulantia. *Ubi querar* addubitatio. *Qui ita largitionibus subiectio* . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Vatinii*

*causam agis* (7) conclusio in qua Ciceronis inconstantiam depingit. *Transfuga* translatio a re militari vel a servis ducta.

#### Oratio in Salustum

*Commentary.* M. T. Ciceronis in C. Salustum Responsio una cum scholiis rhetorica F. Iammetii Textoris. (The notes are printed in the margins opposite the following words italicized as lemmata.) [Inc.]: *Ea demum* etc. (1). Oratio est in genere demonstrativo, in qua refutat convicia sibi illata et alia in Salustum nova retorquet. A sententia incipit. *Aetas tua* locus a pueritia. *Neque enim* etc. aetiology. *Neque qui* etc. interpretatio. *Quo me vertam aporia . . . / . . .* [Expl.]: *Saepe enim gravius* (22). Studet videri vir bonus: sententia. *Mihi quidem ratio* etc. apodiosis.

#### *Edition:*

1535, Parisiis (Paris): apud Hieronymum Gormontium. The *Oratio in Ciceronem* with the *Scholia* of Textor. (This edition also contains ps. Cicero, *Oratio in Sallustium* with the *Scholia* of Textor.) Schweiger 2.892. NUC. (DFo).

#### *Biography:*

The author may perhaps be identified with Franciscus Jametius, legal scholar and tutor (together with Franciscus Floretus) to Franciscus, Carolus, Christophorus, Claudius, and Ludovicus Chalanconius, the dedicatees of Badius' 1534 edition of Cicero's *De inventione* (see Renouard, cited below).

#### *Bibliography:*

Cosenza, *Checklist of Non-Italian Humanists 1300–1800*, 277; Ph. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensus, imprimeur et humaniste (1462–1535)*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1908; New York, 1967), 2.303; Schindel, "Die Rezeption Sallusts," 91.

#### 4. Henricus Glareanus

For the date and circumstances of this commentary, see I.19 above. Glareanus doubted that the orations were the genuine works of Sallust and Cicero, for the language, he thought, was unfit to be heard in the Roman Senate, but he hesitated to question the authority of Quintilian, who had referred to them in the *Institutio oratoria* [4.1.68; 9.3.89]. For the text, Glareanus had consulted the Aldine edition (1509) and a *codex vetustus*, perhaps the *codex Gothi* which he cites in his notes on the monographs.

#### Oratio in Ciceronem

*Commentary* (ed. of Basel, 1538). In Orationem Sallustii contra Ciceronem. [Inc.]: Nihil dicturus eram in hasce non tam amaras (quamquam vix quicquam amarius fingi possit) quam pudendas orationes, nisi Quintilianus in primis gravis auctor eas citasset nominatim libri IV Institutionum oratoriarum capite de exordio [4.1.68]. De quibus hoc unum non satis mirari possum, fueritne senatui illi qui tum orbis imperium habuit tantum otii ut vel voluerit vel potuerit tam frivolas audire accusationes. Cum nostra aetate apud nos (barbaros illorum opinione) nullus adeo humilis sit viculus qui meretriculas duas ita concertanteis audire dignaretur, tantum abest ut alicuius dignitatis viros, omnes crucem ac ignem clamarent. Multos saepe audivi qui putarent ab eis scriptas quidem sed non pronuntias coram senatu, quod equidem nescio. Sed audiamus priorem Sallustium. *Ubi M. Tullius leges iudicia populi Romani* (1). *Populo Romano* in dandi casu habet codex Aldinus, sed vetustus in gignendi, quod malim. Illud autem in ordine quod proxime sequitur, quid sibi velit apud me non admodum planum est . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Quem amicum quem inimicum in hac civitate habet* (7). Ingenue fateor me haec verba, ut in Aldino sunt codice atque adeo etiam in vetusto ac cunctis aliis quos mihi videre contigit, non intelligere. Ideoque mutito, admonito tamen lectore, ut mecum ipse dubitet aut felicius, si queat, eruat. Transilire, ut notum, facile erat, si quosdam imitari velim quos pudet fateri se non omnia vel scire vel intelligere.

#### Oratio in Sallustium

*Commentary.* In Orationem Ciceronis in Sallustium. [Inc.]: Vel in hac oratione videre licet quantum differat Cicero a Sallustio, quanta brevitas in hoc, quanta in Cicerone copia. Sed frustra haec apud doctos qui melius haec norunt. Apud indoctos prorsus operam perdiderimus si haec indicare velimus. Ideoque ad rem statim. *Quod si aut de mea vita atque actibus nostris* (1). Ita habent omnes codices quos ego vidi. Quod si recte legitur, non omnino poëticum id fuerit *actus pro gestis* ponere, ut Lucanus [Bell. civ. 5.659]: Licet ingenteis abruperit actus. Nam Cicero quos hic actus vocat, postea gesta ac res gestas nominat, immo postremum actiones . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Quod bis consularem et bis triumphalem* (21). Ubi Cicero bis consul fuerit, nisi vel alicui suffectus vel proconsul factus bello in Syria gesto, scire non

possum. Minus vero ubi bis triumphaverit quem ne semel quidem triumphasse legi. Bello civili impeditus cum e Cilicia rediisset ad Atticum longam dicit querelam. Ergo *bis triumphalem* ait, non autem triumphasse, quasi diceret qui triumphum merueram si fortuna non invidisset. Igitur non ab eo quod fuit, sed ab eo quod esse vel potuit vel iure debuit, sese laudat, ut verum sit quod de eo dicit Seneca [*De brev. vitae* 5.1]: Cicero se laudat non absque causa sed absque modo.

*Editions:*

See I.19 above.

*Biography:*

See I.19 above.

### 5. Aldus Manutius Junior

For the date and circumstances of the *Scholia*, see I.24 above. Aldus accepted Sallust's authorship of the *Oratio in Ciceronem*, but rejected the Ciceronian authorship of the *Oratio in Sallustium*. In the 1557 Aldine edition of Sallust's *opera*, his father, Paulus Manutius, had already expressed his reservations by calling this invective "M. Tullii Ciceronis ut putatur in Sallustium *Oratio*". In the 1563 edition, the title was changed to "In Sallustium *Oratio* quae Ciceroni falso tribuitur". The Rome, 1563 (colophon: 1564) edition was the first to contain any note. No *Scholia* are found on the *Oratio in Ciceronem* either in this or the following editions of Rome 1564, Venice 1567, and Venice 1579.

*Oratio in Sallustium*

*Commentary* (ed. of Rome, 1563 [colophon: 1564]). In *Orationem in Sallustium*. [*Inc.*]: *Neque aliter vexavit ac debuit* (17). Nihil muto. *Vixit* tamen pro *vexavit* magis placaret. *Nominis perditi ac notissimi* (18). Quid, si legas *homines perditi ac notissimi*?

*Editions:*

See I.24 above.

*Biography:*

See I.24 above.

### 6. Cyprianus Popma

For the date and circumstances of the commentary, see I.26 above.

*Oratio in Ciceronem*

*Commentary* (ed. of Louvain, 1572). In *Orationem in Ciceronem* Sallustio falso ascriptam.

[*Inc.*]: *Petulantia ista uti* (1). Impressi quidam codices habent *Petulantia ista tua uti*. Quam dictationem et illi codices qui habentur prelo excusi emendatissimi non habent, nec in quinque manuscriptis et codice antiquo Venetiis impresso reperti. Est enim in initio orationis idque forte errori occasionem dedit. *Ut sese fortunasque suas* (1). Ita nos ex consensu trium antiquorum codicium restituimus, cum antea legeretur *ut sese ac fortunas suas . . . / . . .* [*Expl.*]: *Oblivisci piis servitutis suae* (6). Scripsimus ut in vetustis libris legitur eamque scripturam Glareanus probat. *Cui in civitate fecisti insidias ancillaris* (7). Verbum *ancillaris* in codice Venetiis impresso deest.

*Oratio in Sallustium*

*Commentary*. In *Orationem in Sallustium* falso Ciceroni ascriptam. [*Inc.*]: *Nisi ut lutulentus cum quovis velitari at longe opinione fallitur* (3). Secuti hic sumus partim antiquorum codicum fidem, partim Iusti Lipsii eruditissimi iuvenis et mihi amicissimi conjecturam qui libr. IV Variarum lectionum cap. XV hunc locum ingeniose et eleganter restituit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *Et quod factum aut dictum turpe hunc movere possit, patres conscripti, quem non puduerit* (16). Sic hunc locum emendavi veterum codicum fidem et auctoritatem secutus, eamque lectionem veriorem elegantioremque esse videbit qui eam cum vulgata contulerit.

*Editions:*

See I.26 above.

*Biography:*

See I.26 above.

### 7. Ludovicus Carrio

On the date and circumstances of these notes, see III.iii.3 above. Carrio included two brief notes on the invectives, which he considered spurious, in the 1579 edition of his scholia on the *Historiarum fragmenta* (see *Incerta*). The source of a passage in the *Declamatio in Sallustium* (20) had been brought to his attention by Franciscus Pithoeus.

*In Salustii Declamationem in Ciceronem*

*Commentary* (ed. of Antwerp, 1579). *Cuius nulla pars corporis* (5). Eadem sunt in *Oratione ad Caesarem de re publica* pag. 221. An L. Domitii magna vis est? cuius nullum membrum a flagitio aut facinore vacat, lingua vana, manus cruentae, pedes fugaces, quae honeste nominari nequeunt,

inhonestissima. Igitur illa iisdem verbis expressit, aut potius inde mutuatus est istarum declamationum auctor: quas eo magis nec Sallustii nec Ciceronis esse appetet.

In Declamationem Ciceronis

*Commentary. Patrimonio non comeso sed devo-*  
*rato* (20). Sumpsit haec, quisquis tandem ille fuit  
qui hanc declamationem tam liberaliter Ciceroni  
dedit, a Didymo quem de Sallustio scripsisse,  
*comesa patrimonia*, Diomedes auctor est [p.

387K]. Quem locum mihi indicavit Franciscus  
Pithoeus vir humanissimus et liberaliore iuris  
prudentia aliisque humanitatis artibus ornatis-  
simus.

*Editions:*

See III.iii.3 above.

*Biography:*

See III.iii.3 above.