

SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS, GAIUS. ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

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The *Addenda*, which are arranged in the order of the original article (CTC 8.183–326), consist of a) material for the *Fortuna* and Bibliography, and b) three new commentaries.

FORTUNA

p. 192b n. 44. Correct to:

The *Collectaneum Hadoardi* is found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1762, . . .

BIBLIOGRAPHY

p. 217a. Add:

I. ANNOTATED LISTS OF EDITIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF SALLUST

W. Capezzali, *Annali delle edizioni delle opere di Gaio Sallustio Crispo* (sec. XV–XVI), Deputazione abruzzese di storia patria, Bibliografica 9 (L'Aquila, 2004). A listing and description of 275 editions (limited to Italian libraries).

II. SELECTED MODERN EDITIONS AND COMMENTARIES

B. The *Histories* and Minor or Doubtful Works

Historiarum fragmenta, ed. R. Funari (Amsterdam, 1996) (a preliminary edition of the fragments from the indirect tradition with introduction and commentary; a new edition of the fragments is in preparation by Funari and A. La Penna); A. A. Novokhatko, *The Invectives of Sallust and Cicero*, *Sozomena* 6 (Berlin and New York, 2009).

C. Commentaries

J.T. Ramsey, ed., *Sallust's "Bellum Catilinae"* (Chico, Cal., 1984) (with introduction and commentary).

p. 217b. Add:

III. GENERAL STUDIES

L. Bessone, *Le congiure di Catilina* (Padua, 2004); S. Schmal, *Sallust* (Hildesheim, 2001); J. Malitz, *Ambitio mala: Studien zur politischen Biographie des Sallust*, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 14 (Bonn, 1975); J. Marincola, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography* (Cambridge, 1997); E. Pasoli, *Le historiae e le opere minori di Sallustio* (Bologna, 3rd ed., 1974); I. Samotta, *Das Vorbild der Vergangenheit. Geschichtsbild und Reformvorschläge bei Cicero und Sallust*, Historia Einzelschriften 204 (Stuttgart, 2009).

p. 218a. Add:

IV. SURVIVAL AND INFLUENCE

A. Selected Textual Studies

N. Adkin, "Sallust, Hist. frg. 1,1 and Ps. Julius Rufinianus, schem. lex. 39," *Philologus* 146 (2002) 190–92; C. Cardelle de Hartmann, "Sallust in St. Emmeran: Handschriften und Kommentare in der Bibliothek des Klosters St. Emmeran (Regensburg)," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 18 (2008) 1–23; R. Funari, "Glosse greche di PSI I 110 e l'antica traduzione dei *Bella* di Sallustio," *Studi di egittologia e di papirologia* 4 (2007) 99–103; R.F. Gleis, "Catilinas Rede gegen Cicero: Literarische Fälschung, rhetorische Übung oder politisches Pamphlet?," *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch. Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature* 4 (2002) 155–72; Gleis and M. Köhler, "Bonacursius de Monte Magno, *Oratio L. Catilinae in M. Ciceronem*," *ibid.*, 173–96; A.A. Novokhatko, "Eine Liste der Handschriften der im Sallust- und Cicerocorpus überlieferten Invektiven (*Sallustii in Ciceronem et invicem Invektivae*)," *Eikasmos* 13 (2002) 273–86; F. Santangelo, "Whose Sacrilege? A Note on *Sal. 5.14*," *Classical World* 104.3 (2011) 333–38; R. Scarcia, "Il Sallustio di Virgilio nella glossa serviana," *Schol(i)a* 6 (2004) 9–27; K. Schurgacz, *Die "Declamatio in L. Sergium Catilinam": Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 58 (Trier, 2004); S. Trovato, "Sallust's *Historiae* in Eumenius' *Pro instaurandis scholis*. A New Source for Fragment I.11 Maurenbrecher," *Revue d'histoire des textes*, n.s., 5 (2010) 281–90; A. J. Turner, "Reading Sallust in Twelfth-Century Flanders," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 21 (2014), published online: 18 May 2014.

B. General Studies

T. Burkard, "Sallust als Klassiker," in M. Schauer and G. Thome, eds., with E. Danay, *Altera Ratio: Klassische Philologie zwischen Subjektivität und Wissenschaft: Festschrift für Werner Suerbaum zum 70. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 2003), 12–24; C. Giovinazzo, "Un riesame del problema dell'autenticità delle *Epistulae ad Caesarem* attribuite a Sallustio," *Rendiconti dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Ser. 9a10* (1999) 93–116; J. Hellegouarc'h, "Démocratie et principat dans les lettres de Salluste à César," *Revue de Philologie* 44 (1970) 60–75; Y. Maes, "Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus)," in C. Walde, ed., *Die Rezeption der antiken Literatur: kulturhistorisches Werklexikon. Der Neue Pauly, Supplemente*, Bd. 7 (Stuttgart/Weimar, 2010), cols. 791–826; (also in English) in C. Walde, ed., in collaboration with B. Egger, *Brill's New Pauly Supplements I, Volume 5: The Reception of Classical Literature*, Brill Online, 2014, at <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly-supplements-i-5/sallust-gaius-sallustius-crispus-e1028230>; G. Massa, "Sallustio contro Cicerone? I falsi d'autore e la polemica anticiceroniana di Asinio Pollione," *Athenaeum* 94 (2006) 415–66; R. Nisbet, "The *Invectiva in Ciceronem* and *Epistula secunda* of Pseudo-Sallust," *Journal of Roman Studies* 48 (1958) 30–32; P. J. Osmond, "Sallust," in A. Grafton, G.W. Most and S. Settis, eds., *The Classical Tradition*, 256–58; F. Santangelo, "Authoritative Forgeries: Late Republican History Re-told in Pseudo-Sallust," *Histos* 6 (2012) 27–51; O. Seel, *Sallusts Briefe und die pseudosallustische Invektive*, Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft 25 (Nuremberg, 1966).

C. Special Studies

N. Adkin, "Hieronymus Sallustianus," *Grazer Beiträge* 24 (2005) 93–110; Adkin, "Sallust and Ps.-Acro: The Prologue of 'Catiline' and the Commentary on Horace, 'Epistle' 1.4," *Prometheus* 35 (2009) 229–30; L. Bessone, "Sallustio e Cicerone in Floro," *Patavium* 12.24 (2004) 21–42; C. Buongiovanni, "Aulo Gellio lettore di Sallustio," in G. Abbamonte, F. Conti Bizzarro, L. Spina, and L. Pernot, eds., *L'ultima parola: L'analisi dei testi. Teorie e pratiche nell'antichità greca e latina. Atti del terzo Colloquio italo-francese, Napoli 13–15 marzo 2003* (Naples, 2004), 35–48; A. Campbell, ed., *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, with a supplementary introduction by S. Keynes (Cambridge, 1998); A. Carrera, "Cultura clásica y educación para la humanidad en una edición renacentista de Salustio," *Estudios clásicos* 132 (2007) 87–106; G. Cipriani, "Sallustio, Servio e i fondamenti del latino," in G. Marinangeli, ed., *Atti del primo convegno nazionale sallustiano: L'Aquila, 28–29 settembre 2001* (L'Aquila, 2002), 25–41; P. Culhane, "Jugurtha 31 in a Pamphlet War of 1708–09," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 14 (2007) 74–99; P. Foro, "Charles de Brosses entre Salluste et le patrimoine antique de Rome," *Anabases* 5 (2007) 149–59; P. Gautier Dalché, "Les diagrammes topographiques dans les

manuscripts des classiques latins: (Lucain, Solin, Salluste),” in P. Lardet, ed., *La tradition vive: Mélanges d’histoire des textes en l’honneur de Louis Holtz* (Turnhout, 2003), 291–306; E.V. George, ed., *Juan Luis Vives. Declamationes Sullanae* (with translation and introduction), *Selected Works of J.L. Vives 2 and 9* (Leiden, 1988 and 2012); F. Greenland, “*Devotio Iberica* and the Manipulation of Ancient History to Suit Spain’s Mythic National Past,” *Greece & Rome*, 2nd ser., 53 (2006) 235–51; R. Hardy, “‘A Mirror of the Times’: The Catilinarian Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century British and American Political Thought,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 14 (2007) 431–54; R. Jakobi, “Die Sallustparaphrase des Iulius Exuperantius: Literarische und politische Strategien spätantiker Klassikerrezeption,” *Hermes* 130 (2002) 72–80; A. La Penna, “I ‘Flosculi’ sallustiani di Aurelio Vittore,” *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 40–41 (2004/5) 377–84; C. Lee, “Sallustio nel Medioevo,” in P. Esposito, ed., *Da ‘classico’ a ‘classico’. Paradigmi letterari tra Antico e Moderno. Atti del Convegno della CUSL, Fisciano - Salerno 8–10 novembre 2007* (Pisa, 2010), 143–56; J. Lössl, “Sallust in Julian of Aeclanum,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 58 (2004) 179–202; M. Martin, “Fonti per l’etnografia gallica in Ammiano Marcellino (*Res gestae* 15, 9–12),” *Koinonia* 30–31 (2006/7) 87–99; J. Moraleda Díaz, “Los primeros incunables españoles de Salustio (Barcelona 1475 – Valencia 1475),” *Epos* 25 (2009) 37–58; I. Moreno, “El pasado en el presente: La perspectiva histórica en el *Liber de Caesaribus* de A. Víctor,” *Estudios clásicos* 132 (2007) 69–86; A.R. Murphy, “Augustine and the Rhetoric of Roman Decline,” *History of Political Thought* 26 (2005) 586–606; J.K. Newman, “Sallust: A Note,” in S.M. Bay, ed., *Studia palaeophilologica: Professoris G.M. Browne in honorem oblata* (Champaign, Ill., 2004), 79–92; B. Noak, “The Dutch Republic between Hauteur and Greed: Lambert van den Bosch and his Drama *L. Catilina*,” in K.A. Enekel, J.L. de Jong, and J. De Landtsheer, eds., with A. Montoya, *Recreating Ancient History: Episodes from the Greek and Roman Past in the Arts and Literature of the Early Modern Period* (Boston, 2002), 339–55; A. Onorato, ed., *Leonardo Dati. “Hyempsal”*, Quaderni di filologia medievale e umanistica 3 (Messina, 2000); P. Osmond, “Pomponio Leto e Diano: Un’eredità ambivalente,” in C. Carlone, ed., *Diano e l’assedio del 1497. Atti del Convegno di Studi, Teggiano 8–9 settembre 2007* (Battipaglia, 2010), 187–201; Osmond, “Catiline in Renaissance Conspiracy Histories: Hero or Villain? The Case of Stefano Porcari,” forthcoming in M. Chiabò et al., ed., *Congiure e conflitti. L’affermazione della signoria pontificia su Roma nel Rinascimento: politica, economia e cultura*. Atti del Convegno, Roma 3–5 dicembre 2013, RR inedita 62, saggi (Rome, 2014); Osmond, “Pomponio Leto’s life of Sallust: between *vita* and *invectiva*,” forthcoming in *Renæssanceforum* (Renaissance Forum, Universities of Aarhus and Copenhagen); É. Rouziès, “Salluste dans les bibliothèques du XVe siècle,” in C. Volpilhac-Augier, ed., *D’une antiquité à l’autre: La littérature antique classique dans les bibliothèques du XVe au XIXe siècle* (Lyons, 2006), 29–48; A. Sebastiani, “Il

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D. Individual Commentaries on Sallust

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V. Pineda, “Un capítulo de historiografía humanista: Los veinte preceptos para el arte de la historia de Jodocus Badius Ascensius,” in E. Fosalba and G. Pontón, eds., *La escondida senda. Estudios en homenaje a Alberto Blecu*a (Castalia, 2012), 85–120.

Julius Pomponius Laetus:

M. Buoncore, “La sottoscrizione del ‘Virgilio Mediceo’ nell’incunabolo BAV, Ross. 411 [i.e., 441]: Una piccola tessera di aggiornamento,” in P. Cherubini and G. Nicolaj, eds., *Sit liber gratus, quem servulus est operatus. Studi in onore di Alessandro Pratesi per il suo 90° compleanno*, 2 vols. (Vatican City, 2012), 2: 989–96; P. Farenga, “In the Margins of Sallust. Part I. Di un incunabulo non del tutto sconosciuto e del commento di Pomponio agli Opera di Sallustio,” in M. Miglio, ed., *Antiquaria a Roma. Intorno a Pomponio Leto e Paolo II*, RR inedita 31, saggi (Rome, 2003), 1–11; P.J. Osmond, “In the Margins of Sallust. Part III. Pomponio Leto’s Notes on *Ars Historica*,” *ibid.*, 35–49; Osmond, “Pomponio Leto’s Unpublished Commentary on Sallust: Five Witnesses (and More),” in B. Wagner and M. Reed, eds., *Early Printed Books as Material Objects* (Berlin, 2010), 135–49 and colour plates 47–48; Osmond, “Testimonianze di ricerche antiquarie tra i fogli di Sallustio,” in A. Modigliani, P. Osmond, M. Pade, and J. Rammingner, eds., *Pomponio Leto: Tra identità locale e cultura internazionale*, RR inedita 48, saggi (Teggiano, Salerno, 2011), 179–98; Osmond, “*Lectiones Sallustianae*. Pomponio Leto’s Annotations on Sallust: A Commentary for the Academy?,” in M. Pade, ed., *On Renaissance Academies. Proceedings of the International Conference “From the Roman Academy to the Danish Academy in Rome = Dall’Accademia Romana all’Accademia di Danimarca a Roma”: The Danish Academy in Rome, 11–13 October 2006* (Rome, 2011), 91–108; Osmond, entries on Vasino Gamberia, Agostino Maffei, Alessio Stati, and Pomponio’s *Vita Sallusti* in “Repertorium Pomponianum,” www.repertoriumpomponianum.it; M. Pade, “*Lectiones Sallustianae*. The 1490 Sallust Annotations: The Presentation Copy,” in *On Renaissance Academies*, 109–22; R.W. Ulery, Jr., “In the Margins of Sallust. Part II. The Sources and Method of Commentary,” in *Antiquaria a Roma*, 13–33.

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A. Carrera De La Red, “¿Por qué se prohibieron las Adnotaciones de Philipp Melanchthon a la obra de Salustio en México a finales del siglo XVI?” in R. Schnur, J.L. Charlet, L. Gualdo Rosa, H. Hofmann, B. Hosington, E. Rodríguez Peregrina, and R. Truman, eds., *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Cantabrigiensis* (Tempe, Ariz., 2003), 121–29.

Omnibonus Leonicensus (attrib.):

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Johannes Chrysostomus Soldus (editions):

A. Sempriani, *Bernardino Misinta, Stampatore. La sua vita e produzione tipografica dalle opere del fondo storico della Civica Biblioteca Queriniana di Brescia e di altri cataloghi italiani e stranieri* (Brescia, 1996). On the 1495 edition of Sallust, see p. 28, n. 31, and figures 7 and 7a, 60–61.

Laurentius Valla (?):

P.J. Osmond, “The Valla Commentary on Sallust’s *Bellum Catilinae*: Questions of Authenticity and Reception,” in *On Renaissance Commentaries*, 29–48.

Antonius Zenus:

D.E. Rhodes, “Per la biblioteca di Belisario Bulgarini e per la storia del mercato librario in Siena lui vivente (1539–1620),” in *Studi bibliografici. Atti del convegno dedicato alla storia del libro italiano nel V centenario dell’introduzione dell’arte tipografica in Italia, Bolzano 7–8 ottobre 1965* (Florence, 1967), 159–68.

I. *BELLUM CATILINAE*

COMMENTARIES¹

p. 225b3off. Add:

10a. Jean Lebègue

Found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, D’Orville 141, this unpublished paraphrase commentary was ostensibly written by Jean Lebègue in 1417, together

1 In accordance with editorial practice in CTC 8, we have modernized the punctuation and the spelling of ‘u’ and ‘v’ and of ‘i’ and ‘j’, regularized diphthongs, and silently expanded most abbreviations. If the expanded part of the word or its termination is in doubt it is placed in parentheses. We thank Jesse Torgerson for checking the transcription of the commentary of Andreas Helmuntanus (V.4a below) at the Bancroft Library.

with a document in French outlining a program for painted illustrations to accompany the text of Sallust's monographs. According to the *subscriptio*, it was copied from an old and poorly written manuscript; the commentary bears some resemblance to, and occasionally has verbal echoes of, commentaries like that of Anonymus Ratisbonensis A and B (nos. 2 and 3). It is introduced by an *accessus* of type II.c (*vita, materia, intentio, causa intentionis*) partly identical with that of no. 3. See also the commentary of Ricardus Bole (I.11).

Accessus (Oxford, Bodleian Lib., D'Orville 141). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1r) Salustius, uti mos erat omnium Romanorum, transtulit se a studio in adolescentia ad militiam sed, cum ibi plura vitia imperitare vidisset, ad otium et quietem studii prius derelicti regressus est, et Romanorum gesta non omnia ut in ordine acta cognoscebantur, sed sicut quaeque memoria digniora existimaret, scribere statuit. Ideoque de Catilinae coniuratione quae foedissimum facinus ab omnibus credebatur, omittere non censuit. Et est materia eius coniuratio illa. Intentio vero est bellum describere quod fuit inter Catilinam et Romanum populum. Causa intentionis est hortari bonos ad defensionem patriae exemplo Ciceronis, malos vero ab oppugnatione patriae detrahere per Catilinam. Sed quia quidam deputaverunt inertiae Salustii dicendo quam faciendo famam sibi malle parare, prologum proponit in quo se excusat erga detractores suos, ingenium multis rationibus latenter extollens, et callide casum suum, quod ipsi ignaviam putabant, illorum negotio praeferens, ubi populum ad defensionem et virtutem Rei publicae hortatur, quod plus prodest rei publicae quam quorundam mediocre negotium. Et hoc intendit in hoc prologo, scil. ut studium suum commendet et negotium extollat. Sed ne nudis verbis sine ornatu hoc statim dicat, et inde paulo remotius incipiat, incipit sic inchoans.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1r) *Omnis homo [sic]* (1.1) i.e. omnes homines. *deceat niti summa opere [sic]*. opem naturae accipit, rationem et consilium. *prestare ce(ter?)a [sic]*. homo (?) quibusdam rationalibus vel brutis. *ne transeant vitam sub silentio veluti pecora quae natura quasi dicat non est mirum si pecora vitam sub silentio transigunt quia natura i.e. voluntas divina . . . / . . . [Expl.]*: (fol. 18v) *Sed confecto* (61.1) dum pugnaverant, virtus eorum poterat cognosci, sed confecto proelio i.e. finito bello scil. Romani adepti sunt victoriam, sed non laetam. *Multi autem* (61.8) non solum istorum qui in bello fuerant; pars laetabatur pro victoria adepti et pars tristabatur pro vulneribus acceptis.

Biography:

Jean Lebègue was a humanist in the employ of the court of France; born 1368 of a family of royal clerks and notaries, he was educated in law at Angers, served as a secretary to the royal chancellery, and from 1407 was clerk to the Courts of Accounts. He survived the Armagnac-Burgundian conflicts, finding refuge

outside of Paris, worked for English masters, and was reinstated with pardon when the French monarchy was restored. He died in 1457. Other manuscripts of Sallust in which Lebègue had a part in commissioning, annotating, and/or decorating include: Paris, BNF, lat. 9684 (Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*); Paris, BNF, lat. 5747 (Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*); Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, lat. 54 (Sallust); and another Sallust manuscript with miniatures, similar to the Geneva manuscript, in a private collection, currently being studied for publication in facsimile. See Ouy, “Jean Lebègue” (below), “Appendice,” pp. 161–71, for a list of his manuscripts discovered so far.

Manuscripts:

Oxford, Bodleian Lib., D’Orville 141, s. XV (1417, ut vid.), fols. 1r–41r. F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 4 (Oxford, 1897), 71, no. 17019 (cited by Byrne, 46 n. 42).

Paris, Bibl. Nationale de France, lat. 5762, s. XV (ca. 1404), fols. 3r–36v. BC and BI, with marginal and interlinear notes and variants. The scribe of this and lat. 9864 may be identified as G. Monfaut (Byrne, p. 43 and n. 13, citing a communication from G. Ouy).

Works:

Les histoires que l’on peut raisonnablement faire sur les livres de Salluste, ed. J. Porcher (Paris, 1962); *Épître à Pierre l’Orfèvre*; *Manuel à l’usage des employés du greffe* (original lost); *Catalogue de la bibliothèque royale au château du Louvre*; *Tabula de vocabulis sinonimis et equivocis colorum*; *Livre de la première guerre punique que compila maistre Leonard de Arecio*; *Éloge d’Orose*; a work on rhetoric.

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Auteur, Copiste et Bibliophile,” in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops*, 143–71; Ouy, “Le songe et les ambitions d’un jeune humaniste parisien vers 1395,” in F. Simone, ed., *Miscellanea di studi e ricerche sul Quattrocento francese* (Turin, 1967), 357–407; N. Pons, “Leonardo Bruni, Jean Lebègue et la cour: Échec d’une tentative d’humanisme à l’italienne?,” in D. Marcotte, ed., *Humanisme et culture géographique à l’époque du concile de Constance autour de Guillaume Fillastre, Actes du colloque de l’Université de Reims, 18–19 novembre 1999* (Turnhout, 2003), 95–125; Pons, “Érudition et politique: La personnalité de Jean le Bègue d’après les notes marginales de ses manuscrits,” in *Les serviteurs de l’état au moyen âge. XXIX^e Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S. (Pau, mai 1998)* (Paris, 1999), 281–97; J. 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; E. Taburet-Delahaye, ed., *Paris 1400—Les arts sous Charles VI, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 22 mars–12 juillet 2004* (Paris, 2004), 204–5, nos. 117 A, B, and C (I. Villela-Petit, “Salluste, *Catilina*,” “Salluste, *Catilina* et *Jugurtha*,” and “Jean Lebègue, *Histoires sur les livres de Salluste*”) and 241–43, nos. 145 A and B (M.-H. Tesnière and Villela-Petit, “Térence dit de Martin Gouge” and “Térence des ducs”).

15a. Julius Pomponius Laetus

At some time after the printing of his edition of Sallust’s *opera* on 3 April 1490 at the Rome press of Eucharius Silber and before his death on 9 June 1498 Pomponius Laetus entered copious notes on the *Catilina* and *Jugurtha* in the margins of his own copy, now Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Inc. Ross. 441, along with occasional interlinear glosses. The marginal annotation ranges from brief explanations of vocabulary, grammar, and rhetorical constructions to longer comments on points of Roman history, laws and customs, political, military, and religious institutions, and topography. Sets of notes on other antiquarian topics—metrical *clausulae*, genres of Greek and Roman historical writing, the origins of the name of Rome, the early inhabitants of Latium, and the founding of the city—were written on separate paper quires bound at the beginning and end of the Vatican incunable. Precisely when and for what purpose Pomponio annotated Sallust’s text and compiled the notes on the attached leaves we do not know. He may have prepared them as lecture notes for a course on Sallust that he was teaching or planning to teach at the *Studium Urbis*. He had, in fact, already given lectures on the *Jugurtha* in or before 1480, as we know from the notes taken down by a German student, Ricardus Graman de Nekenich (Trier, Stadtbibl., 1110/2037, fols. 78r–104r; see CTC 8.291–92). On the other hand, given their distinctive historical-antiquarian character, the wealth of ancient sources cited, and the rather advanced level of information they provide compared to most school commentaries on Sallust in this period, including the Trier *dictata*, they may

have been intended for a smaller, more mature circle of readers, perhaps members of his *sodalitas*. In any case, although the notes were never published, they must have circulated among his students and/or humanist friends, for we find the same or similar annotation in (yet unidentified) humanist hands in several other copies of Pomponius' 1490 edition of Sallust (see "Manuscripts" below).

The marginal annotation in the *Catilina* and *Jugurtha* of the Vatican incunable seems to have been washed at some time in the past and most of the notes can be read, and even then with difficulty, only with the help of a UV lamp. We have thus made only an approximate transcription of selected notes. The phrases to which they appear to refer in Pomponius' text are in italics. Conjectural readings, in square brackets, of words not legible in the Rossiano copy are based upon corresponding notes in the Fermo copy (for the passage below on fol. 2v) and from the Pierpont Morgan Library copy (for the commentary notes that follow).

Commentary (Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Inc. Ross. 441, ed. of Sallustius, *Opera*, Rome, 1490). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 2v, following the end of Pomponius' dedicatory letter to Augustinus Mafaeus) Anno ab secunda origine mortalium, unde M^{mo} XXXVI cepit regnare in Assiria Belus qui pro Saturno habitus est; [huius filius] Ninus primus bella finitimis intulit victorque per ignaros militiae populos unde (?) Nilo flumine Africa incipit imperium terminavit. Constat antea regium nomen sine cupiditate et violentia fuisse ut apud Egyptios et Scythas et in Europa Acheos apud quos Sicynorum rex primus Egyaleus cui successit Europs. EX TROGO POMPEIO. Principio rerum gentium nationumque imperium penes reges erat, quos ad fastigium huius maiestatis non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio provehebat. Populus nullis legibus tenebatur, arbitraria principum pro legibus erant. Fines imperii tueri magis quam proferre mos erat. Nulla . . . / . . . ingenio invenit [8 lines scarcely legible]. (fol. 3r) (note in top right marg.) Sallustius in prohemiiis imitatur Gorgiam et Isocratem quorum principia nihil ad materiam attinent. *in Asia Cyrus* (2.2). (bottom marg.) Regnante Tarquinio superbo, Cyrus [a Medis in Persas regnum transtulit pulso Astyge. Cyrus] Hebreorum multis milibus in Iudeam redire iussis innumerabilia vasa argentea aureaque sacrarum ceremoniarum restituit. Tunc fundamenta templi facta. Et opus impediens Samaritis intermissum est. Sed anno ii Darii qui iiii a Ciro fuit peractum . . . (fol. 3v) *Ab optimo quoque ad minus bonum* (2.6). (left marg.) *transfertur* (right marg.) *vel a pessimo quoque ad optimum quaque transfertur . . .* (fol. 16v) *liberum corpus habere . . . Saepe maiores vestrum* (33.1). (lower left marg.) [T]empore quo [propter] nexos magni motus in urbe fierent, lata est lex ne propter aes alienum Romana corpora sevirerent et ne quis in corpus Romani civis saeviret. Antea creditores catenatos trahebant quos verberabant quousque aes solutum esset. (fol. 17r, top and upper right margins) DE SECESSIONE PLEBIS A. Virginius Montano [T.] Vetsius Geminio coss. plebes aere alieno gravata nocturnos cetus faciebat. Creatur Dictator M. Valerius Volesi

f, qui cum delectum haberet plebes sine certamine nom[ina] dedit; x Legiones facte. Nunquam ant[ea] similis exercitus fuit. Victor und[ique] rediit iii e loc[is]. Dictator triumphavit; cum res de nexis irrita foret, indignatus magistratu abi[it]. (bottom marg.) Plebes desperata primum de caede consulum egit sed autore L. Sicinio in Sacrum Montem secessit trans Anienem iii milibus passuum; tempus erat post Equinoctium autumnale. Oratione deinde Menenii Agrippe reducta est; in condicionibus fuit [ut plebi sui ma]gistratus essent sacrosancti et ibi tunc primum creati tribuni [plebi. Iterum propter] scelus Appii Claudii xviri plebes via Numentana [cui tum Figulensi nomen fuit] repetiit Sacrum Montem et inde post condiciones reducta est [a legatis L. Valerio Potito] et M. Horatio Barbato .../... [Expl.]: (fol. 32r) *Compertum ego habeo* (58.1). (right marg.) exordium cum argumentatione. *secordia atque ignavia Lentuli* (58.4). culpam reicit ad Lentulum. *memineritis vos divitias* (58.8). pro quibus pugnamus. (fol. 32v) *Praeterea milites non eadem nobis* (58.11). (left marg.) auget animos honestiore caussa. *Potuiistis nonnulli* (58.13). ab indignatione. *Praeterea necessitudo* (58.19). Necessitas frangit leges. (fol. 33r) *prope aquilam assistit* (59.3). (right marg.) Aquila [C. Marii argentea cui sacellum in domo sua fecerat Catilina et ei ut numini sacrificabat.] (fol. 33v) . . . *ab ferentariis* (60.2). (left marg.) Ferentarii sunt levis armatura; pilum, hasta Romanorum [VI.?] ped(um?). tris occupat ferum in cetero lignum. VIRTUS CATILINAE.

Manuscripts:

New York, The Pierpont Morgan Lib., 51414.2 (ChL 682H); Modena, Biblioteca Estense, gamma B.6.25 (Campori App. 222); Fermo, Bibl. Comunale 'Romolo Spezioli', 4C8 395–34390; and Glasgow, Univ. Lib., Sp Coll BD7-e.1. The Morgan and Estense copies also contain additional quires bound at the beginning and/or end of the printed text with sets of manuscript notes very similar to those found in the Vatican incunable, while the Estense copy also preserves in the front leaves the Latin translation of an Arabic month-list with the copy of a dedicatory letter by Pomponius to Vasinus Gamberia. Traces of the notes and/or emendations or variant readings appear as well in the presentation copy of Pomponius' 1490 Rome edition of Sallustius for Augustinus Mafaeus, written by Jacobus Aurelius Questenberg, Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 2989, and in the following incunable copies of Sallust's *opera*: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibl., Inc. 3587 (Rome: Eucharius Silber, 3 IV 1490); Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Inc. II. 111 (Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 23 XII 1481), which also preserves part of Pomponius' little essay on *ars historica*; and London, British Lib., I.A. 18813 (Rome: [Eucharius Silber], 17 IV 1482). There are some correspondences as well between the marginal annotations on the *Jugurtha* in various incunables and the notes in Trier, Stadtbibl., 1110/2037, fols. 78r–104r.

Biography:

See CTC 3.379–82. Add to Bibliography on Pomponius: M. Accame, *Pomponio Leto: Vita e insegnamento*, *Richerche di filologia, letteratura e storia* 6 (Tivoli, 2008).

Bibliography:

M. Buonocore, “La sottoscrizione del ‘Virgilio Mediceo’”; P. Farenga, “In the Margins of Sallust. Part I.”; P.J. Osmond, “In the Margins of Sallust. Part III”; Osmond, “Pomponio Leto’s Unpublished Commentary on Sallust”; Osmond, “Testimonianze di ricerche antiquarie tra i fogli di Sallustio”; Osmond, “*Lectioes Sallustianae*. Pomponio Leto’s Annotations on Sallust: A Commentary for the Academy?”; Osmond, entries on Vasino Gamberia, Agostino Maffei, and Alessio Stati in “Repertorium Pomponianum,” www.repertoriumpomponianum.it; M. Pade, “*Lectioes Sallustianae*. The 1490 Sallust Annotations: The Presentation Copy”; R.W. Ulery, Jr., “In the Margins of Sallust. Part II.” Work in progress: an edition, with introduction and notes, of the essay “De nominibus mensium” in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, gamma B.6.25 (Campori App. 222) by S. Cristoforetti, with M. Accame and P. Osmond.

On Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1110/2037, fols. 78r–104r see CTC 8.291–92 and Osmond, “*Lectioes Sallustianae*.”

(See the additions to the Bibliography (Section IV.D) for full citations of the above studies.)

II. *BELLUM IUGURTHINUM*

COMMENTARIES

p. 284b41ff. Add commentaries:

7a. Jean Lebègue

This unpublished commentary, a continuation of I.10a above, is found in the same manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Lib., D’Orville 141, dated 1417), and begins with a much abbreviated *accessus* discussing only the author’s *intentio* and proceeding directly to the commentary.

Commentary (Oxford, Bodleian Lib., D’Orville 141). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 19r) *Falso queritur* (1.1). Eadem est intentio in hoc prologo quae in superiori scilicet in Catilinarii prologo. Vero quod ordine res gestas scribere debuisset sicut superius promiserat, sed postquam adversariis, qui nomen inertiae honesto suo studio imposuerunt, eo quod scribere maluit quam facere, paucis respondet. Ad quam responsionem ut convenientius deprendat et ne inartificiose et nudis verbis statim eam exponat, paulo remotius exorditur, convincens ignavorum querelas

refellendo et nichil esse firmitus diuturnius certius ostendendo quam quod illi dicunt, esse imbecillum breve casu gubernatum sicque omnem excusationem illis aufert quam brevitati et imbecillitati naturae imponebant. Quare omnis [sic] ad gloriam et famam pervenisse poterant. Sic dictus: *humanum* / (fol. 19v) *genus queritur de natura sua quod sit inbecilla* i.e. debilis et sine fulcimento et sit brevis aevi et quod regatur forte i.e. casu potius quam virtute. Haec tria queritur genus humanum. Sed falso et vere falso. *Nam contra reputando* (1.2) i.e. cogitando . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 40v) *Sed postquam* (114.3). Contremuit, dico, italia sed postea spem in Mario habuit. Vel praesens consul cum magno labore factum [sic] est modo i.e. ultro declaratus est Kalendis Januarii [sic] quando introiuratus(?) est et ei redditus est triumphus. Jugurtha detectus et arcu triumphali turpiter periit. *spes* (114.4) de futuro bono. *opes p̄ucia* (?) bona sunt. Deo gratias.

Biography:

See I.10a above.

Manuscripts:

Oxford, Bodleian Lib., D'Orville 141, s. XV (1417, ut vid.), fols. 1r–41r. F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 4 (Oxford, 1897), 71, no. 17019 (cited by Byrne, 46 n. 42).

Paris, Bibl. Nationale de France, lat. 5762, s. XV (ca. 1410), fols. 3r–108r. BC and BI, with marginal and interlinear notes and variants. An *accessus* to BI more extensive than the above is found on fols. 37r–38r:

Incipit commentum supra librum Salustii de Iugurtino bello. *Falso queritur* etc. (1.1) Materia scil. in hoc prologo est commendatio sui operis et aemulis respondere qui imponebant ei nomen inertiae. Intentio sua est destruere malam occasionem quorundam qui dicebant non posse niti ad gloriam Metelli et Marii et ceterorum proborum virorum, quia humana natura est inbecilla et brevis aevi, et magis regitur fortuna quam virtute. Et similiter est sua intentio reprehendere illos qui dicebant eum ob inertiam dimisisse Rempublicam et adessisse litterali studio dicendo maiorem utilitatem Reipublicae evenire ex suo otio quam ex militari studio. Descensio ad litteram. Ego hortor unumquemque niti ad gloriam sed aliquis dicet michi non posse niti ad gloriam quia humana natura est inbecilla et brevis aevi, quod falsum est. Materia Sallustii in hoc opere est Iugurta, Atherbal, et (H)iemsal, et Romani et principaliter Iugurta. Intentio sua est deortari homines ut non ad dignitatem per proditionem contendant ne ad malum finem inde perveniant sicuti Iugurta qui per proditionem sibi regnum acquisivit et inde ad malum devenit. Et intentio sua deortari homines / (fol. 37v) a vilitati Auli et Albini et Scauri et ceterorum, et hortari ad probitatem Metelli et Marii. *Falso queritur* etc. (1.1) Ipse promisit in prologo primi libri se dicturum carptim gesta Reipublicae et secundum hoc deberet Iugurtinum bellum incipiendo scribere. Sed sicut fecit in alio libro praemittit proemium, in quo est sua intentio extollere

negotium scribendi, et hoc ideo quia imponebant ei nomen inertiae, ideo quia amisso studio Reipublicae contulerat se ad scribendum scil. quo (>quod) videbatur quibusdam otium; et priusquam ad singularem laudem quae est ubi dicit *Ceterum ex aliis negotiis* (4.1) quae ingenio exercentur etc. Laudat omnes qui vim animi quaecumque sit non suffocant sed potius utendo fructificant. Et ut magis appareat laus istorum vituperat illos qui id vis animi quod habent non exercent. Et hoc magis reprehendit illos cum id quod natura debet de eis scilicet queri inde quod taliter sint nati qui utendo vi animi etiam in gloria ipsi conqueruntur de natura. Humanum ingenium ideo ponit potius quam homines quia ipsa natura magis videtur ad humanum et hoc notat illos qui sursum non tendunt. Notandum est quod quamvis in alio prologo extollisset [*sic*] negotium suum / (fol. 38r), per quod videretur se non debere hic extollere se (*punctis del.*), tamen quia non eodem tempore fecit illud opus, non est iudicandus prologus superfluous. Natura non est aliud nisi quod vel facit omnia nasci vel quod natum est crescere ut sunt ipse creature. Quare hic ergo natura sua potius forte quam virtute regatur. sed magis virtute regitur quam forte. Quia animus est dux. Vere falsa est querimonia. *Nam reputando contra* (1.2) id est si contra mea dicta iterum et iterum reputaveris aud [*sic; d puncto del.*] dicam verum aut falsum. Videbis quod neque maius neque praestabilius aliud invenies humana natura quia nec angeli etiam. Et ostendit falsam esse querimoniam ponendo eorum communia, quasi dicat tamen potest videri quod falsa est questio. Nam si saepe putaveris contraria eorum non invenies aliquid maius isto, hoc dicit contra imbecilla, neque praestabilius, hoc contra brevis aevi; quasi dicat et si spatium sit breve tamen id tempus quod habuit praestabilius est omni spatio aliorum animalium cum plus possit proficere una hora quam alia (s.l. animalia) in mille annis. Et qui (*punctis del.*) hoc est ideo invenies naturae homini deesse industriam quam vis, contra hoc quod dicit imbecilla, aut tempus, contra hoc dicit brevis aevi. Et hoc totum tenet in se illa questio falsa. Et magis debet natura conqueri de eis quam ipsi de natura.

Bibliography:

See I.10a above.

12. Julius Pomponius Laetus

For the date and circumstances of the commentary see above I.15a.

Commentary (Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Inc. Ross. 441, ed. of Sallustius, *Opera*, Rome, 1490). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 55r) *magno usui est* (4.1) (right marg.) De historia. *Qui si reputaverint* (4.14) De historia. *Maiusque commodum ex ocio meo*. G(estarum?) historia rei publicae magno usui est. (fol. 55v) *quin divitiis et sumptibus* (4.7). (top marg.) *Quisquis est qui cum maioribus non contendat de divitiis et sumptibus . . .* (fol. 62v) *Aemilius Scaurus* (15.4). (bottom marg.) M. Aimilius Scaurus familia Aemiliorum ab Aimilio rege Albanorum fuit

patricia et trifarium divisa Lepidorum Scaurorum Paullorum. . . . *L. Opimius* . . . (16.2–5). *L. Opimius* invidia non caruit . . . [Fulvium virum consularem et triumphalem et Gracchum tribunicium iccirco populus indignatus; querebat causam vindicandi quae oblata est; reus factus quod pecuniam accepisset a Iugurtha in divisione regni; publico indicio in exilium actus est ubi infamis per dedecus ignominioseque reliquum aetatis egit.] (fol. 70v) *Maiores vestri* (31.17). (bottom marg.) Anno A.V.C. cclxxxiii. Ex libidine Appi Claudii xviri et dominatu xvirali duce Virginio qui filiam occiderat, secessio facta est in Aventinum et inde via Figulensi, hoc est, Numitana. Factum est iter et castra in Sacro Monte locata. [Sedavere] plebem *L. Valerius Potitus* et *M. Horatius Barbatus*, quibus auctoribus plebes rediit in Aventinum, atque ibi x [tribuni pl.] creati, confirmata vetere lege et altera lata ne cui fraudi esset secessio. *M. Papirius M. f. comitia tribunitia* [populi Romani tribuni pl. ii], *L. Sicinius L. f. Belutus*, *L. Albinus L. f. Patriculus* et hi tris cooptarunt . . . (fol. 71r, bottom marg.) *A. Verginio Montano T. Vetusio Geminio Cos.*, cum dictator *Valerius* infectam rem de nexis videret, indignatus magistratu abiit. Plebes primum egit de con[sulum] cede sed auctore *Sicinius* secessit in Sacrum Montem qui est trans Anienem ad iii milia passuum. Deinde reducta oratione *Menenius Agrippa* tunc primum tribuni pl. creati. Tempus secessionis fuit post Aequinoctium autumnale. Creati fuere tribuni [pl. iiiii] Iduum Decembris. Anno A.V.C. cc xlii rediit plebes e Sacro Monte in Auentinum et ibi leges de tribunis pl. rogatae. Scribunt quidam [etiam] primam secessionem in Aventinum factam . . . / . . . [Expl., fol. 113v] *illorum magis quam sua retulisse* (111.1). (bottom marg.) *illorum*, hoc est [Populi Romani]. Ita tibi agendum est, o rex, ut magis pro Romanis quam pro te fecisse videaris. Rettulisse est a verbo illo quod tantum est vocis tertiae personae. Refert cui est simile interest. Haec verba iuncta gignendi casum adciipiunt semper . . . Ceterum in quinque femineis vocibus pronominum aliter ingeminunt, auferendi casibus nituntur, ut puta ea, tua, sua, nostra, vestra; in praesentia utrunque intueri licet ut *illorum* rettulisse et sua. (fol. 115r) *Illique et deinde omnes Romani* (114.2). (right marg.) Romani ceteris gentibus pro gloria certabant, cum Gallis pro salute. *Marius Consul* (114.3) in epigrammate monimenti *C. Marii* quod erat via Flaminia et nunc in colle Quirinali in aedibus Pomponi legitur de Mario CONSVL APSENS CRE-ATVS. Apsens per p(opulum) creatus et non factus.

Biography:

See I.15a above.

Bibliography:

See I.15a above.

V. ORATIO IN M. TULLIUM CICERONEM
(AND ORATIO IN C. SALLUSTIUM CRISPUM)

COMMENTARIES

p. 321a14ff. Add:

4a. Andreas Helmontanus

The scholia of Andreas Helmontanus on the *Orationes invectivae duae Sallustii in Ciceronem & Ciceronis in Sallustium* were first printed in Paris in 1553 together with the commentary of Franciscus Sylvius Ambianus (see CTC 8.321–23). They focus on the rhetorical nature and construction of the speeches and, like Sylvius' own commentary, were probably destined for the schools. Explanations and illustrations of concepts, figures of speech, and idiomatic phrases are drawn from the literary and historical works of Latin and Greek authors, including Cicero, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Quintilian, Publius Rutilius Lupus, Homer, and Plutarch.

a. *Oratio in Ciceronem*

Commentary. C. Crispi Sallustii in M. Tul. Ciceronem *Invectiva oratio* (Parisiis. Ex typographia Matthaei Davidis, 1553). [*Inc.*]: (p. 6) *Graviter et iniquo animo* (1). Abruptum est προοίμιον et vehemens, bene accommodatum *Invectivis*. Prorumpit in multifariam indignationem, qua amplificat adversarii crimen, quod idcirco ἐπιφωνηματικῶς attolit, ut prius auditorum animos commoveat, quam ille calumniam plenis faucibus revomat. Quod orationis genus Fabius [Quintilianus] cap. 4. lib. 1 [*Inst.* 4.1.10?] scribit vehementissime repungere . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 17) *Oro te, Romule Arpinas* (7). Sententia est: Cum sis Arpini natus, noli te alterum Romulum iactare. Illo enim hemistichio, natam me consule Romam, innuit se alterum veluti Romulum, hoc est, Romae conditorem. *Paulos, Scipiones, Fabios* (7). Articulus, color Rhetoricus, haec nomina propria intervallis distinguit . . . / . . . *Aliud stans, aliud sedens* (7). Proverbio isto notamus homines inconstanti ingenio, quasi qui tantillo intervallo suam sententiam mutant. Similem animi inconstantiam significat Homerus ille versiculus *Iliados* N [13.281] ἀλλὰ μετοκλάζει καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους πόδας ἵζει. *Transfuga* (7). Dicitur qui abscedit ab eo, quod tuendum suscepit, ducta metaphora a re militari.

b. *Oratio in Sallustium*

Commentary. M. T. Ciceronis in Crispum Sallustium *invectiva oratio* (Parisiis. Ex typographia Matthaei Davidis, 1553). [*Inc.*] (p. 19) *Ea demum* (1). Totius responsionis κρινόμενον convitiolorum relatio est quae plane nullo artificio sed solito more summam verborum syntomiam, calumniae semina in hostem

respargit. Tota vehemens est, acris, et amara: prooemium fere interrogationem interponit, ne iacens ac depressa videatur oratio . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] (p. 35) *Neque piguit* (20). Circumductio sententiae est, quam solet libenter Cicero repetere ad maiorem amplificationem. *Comeso, sed devorato* (20). Sumptum a lurconibus, et mensarum asseclis. Simili metaphora dixit Sallustius *Comesa matrimonia* [*sic*]. *Par tui* (20). Par ad mores cum genitivo. *At Hercule* (21). παρέκβασις est ironica. . . . / . . . *Desine* (22). Conduplicatio haec verborum ideo per singula κόμματα repetitur, ut gravior sit sententia. Rutilius hanc, ni fallor, ἐπαναλλαγήν vocat (1.11.1 ἐπανάλγησις). *Finem dicendi faciam* (22). Absolvit orationem ne affectus languescat. Consimilibus finiendi formulis in aliis quoque orationibus utitur. *Mihi ratio habenda est* (22). Modesta et verecunda praeteritio, et a sua persona. FINIS.

Editions:

1553, Parisiis (Paris): ex typographia Matthaei Davidis. In the copy examined at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (PA6304.O6 1552) the work is bound with Cicero's *Ad Marcum Brutum Orator* (1552) and *Ad C. Caesarem, pro Marco Marcello Oratio*, the commentaries of F. Sylvius Ambianus and Barptolomaeus [*sic*] Latomus and the *Paraphrasis* of Philippus Melanchthon (1553), and the *Pro Rege Diotaro Oratio*, with the commentaries of F. Sylvius Ambianus and Barptolomaeus Latomus (1556). The scholia of Helmontanus (and of Sylvius) are preceded by Sylvius' *In duas sequentes orationes argumentum* and *De compositionis genere* and by Sicco Polenton's *In easdem invectivas argumentum*. Another copy of the 1553 edition is in Special Collections at the library of the Universiteit Leiden (20643 C 1:9).

Other editions: Parisiis (Paris): Richardus, 1554 (copy at BSB, 4 A.lat.b. 110#Beibd.4.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

Biography:

The author, André van Helmont (also Helmontanus or Helmondanus), was a humanist born in Grave (Brabant). No other works of his have been reported in the biographical dictionaries: BNB 9.11; BW (new ed.) 8.1.495.

