LIVIUS, TITUS

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Preface

Fortuna

Editions

Commentaries:

1. Nicolaus Trevet
2. Henricus Loritus Glareanus
3. Carolus Sigonius
4. Gullelmus Godelevaeus
5. Franciscus Modius

Ab urbe condita libri cxlii

Preface

There is no evidence for an ancient commentary on Livy. His history was authoritative and comprehensive, and for the Roman reader it needed only occasional annotation; for school use or ready reference its material was digested into 'epitomae' or shorter derivative accounts. Nor is there any evidence for a medieval commentary on Livy. The scholars who read his original text were interested in the earlier Decades, and they simply annotated the work; the general study of Republican Rome was based upon the shorter accounts, such as those of Florus and the Christian historians.

The first commentary on Livy for which we have evidence is that of Nicholas Trevet in the early 14th century, and he knew only Bks. I-X, XXI-XXX. He applied the method of medieval exegesis to give an elementary explanation of the text. For the early Humanist readers, including those at the Papal court in Avignon, Livy proved a difficult author.

Thereafter for two centuries we have to follow the activities of Landolfo Colonna, Petrarch and his circle, and their Renaissance successors. During this period, when Bks. XXXI-XLV were discovered, the text of Bks. I-X, XXI-XLV was continually edited and annotated. Though this study was primarily textual it involved wider comment on the subject-matter and more independent historical criticism. This development led to the commentary of Glareanus, followed by that of Sigonius, in the middle of the 16th century; Sigonius, in particular, was able to use the new chronological evidence of the Fasti Capitolini. With Glareanus and Sigonius we have passed from marginal, though often important, annotation to the method of regular commentary. It is not always easy, in the case of Livy, to distinguish a major textual annotator from one who might, within parts of Livy's work, be regarded in effect as a minor commentator. The later commentators, e.g. Godelevaeus and Franciscus Modius, supplemented their own notes with reprints of the earlier Renaissance annotations.

We have kept a strict distinction; but the editing and discussion of Livy's text from the 14th to the 16th century provided basic material for the subsequent commentaries. The draft of Livy's fortuna is therefore elaborated in text and footnotes appropriately to give the setting.¹

¹ With reference to these problems the author wishes to express his gratitude to the editorial
Fortuna

1. Roman antiquity through the Middle Ages to Nicholas Trevet.

Livy’s history of Rome from the foundation of the city to the Augustan period (753-9 B.C.) in 142 books was arranged strictly under the official Roman years in ‘annalistic’ form. While Livy elaborated his narrative in rhetorical and dramatic style, he designed it basically to give standard historical information, and it did not call for a commentary. On the contrary, it became the chief source of information about Republican Rome for other authors. The collectors of historical exempla, e.g. Valerius Maximus, and the poets of the Empire treating Republican subjects, e.g. Lucan and Silius Italicus, used Livy’s text. 2

At the same time the length of Livy’s history, so far as it was consulted for general reference, demanded systematic abbreviation. The poet Martial mentions an ‘epitome’ of the first century: ‘pelibus exiguis artatur Livius ingens’ (XIV, 190). An Oxyrhynchos papyrus of the third century preserves a summary of Bks. XXXVII-XL, XLVIII-LV. The Periochae of the work date from the fourth century; these are ‘chapters of contents’, and they are transmitted in their own MSS. 3 The Roman historians of the Empire drew upon Livy’s narrative in sketching the Republican background to their own work: Florus, Granius Licinianus, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Festus, Orosius. 4 For school use their popular

ry made it unnecessary to study the full text of Livy.

The general readers of Livy’s full text, in Italy and the provinces, probably belonged to the upper classes, and they were interested in the early Decades and parts of the later narrative where Livy idealized the ancient Roman traditions. The pagan senators at the turn of the fourth to fifth centuries appealed to his history in their final struggle against the influence of Christianity. Their work included the copying, correction and some glossing of his text; the readers were familiar with the conventional Roman terms of the narrative. The period is marked by the scholarship of Q. Aurelius Symmachus and the Nicomachi. As Symmachus wrote in 401 A.D.: ‘Munus totius Liviani operis, quod spo pondi, etiam nunc diligentia emendationis moratur’; and it would appear that his editing was well advanced into the later Decades. The importance of the Symmachi and Nicomachi is attested by the subscriptiones in one group of MSS. of the First Decade. 5 We also have evidence for interpolated glosses and ‘dittographies’ from this period. 6

The movement of the uncial MSS. of this period which contained the earlier Decades may serve to introduce the medieval study of Livy’s history. The MSS. were written in Italy; the MSS. themselves or copies of them were taken to France and later to Germany. For instance, the oldest copies of the text of the Symmachi and Nicomachi for the First Decade are French. For the Third Decade the Puteanus, corrected in Italy, went to France to be copied at Tours, and another line of textual tradition left


a copy at Chartres Cathedral; the derivative MSS. are French. For the Fourth Decade one line led to a MS. in Mainz, another to copies at Chartres and Speyer, while the archetype of the latter line about 1000 A.D. was taken from North Italy to Bamberg and copied there. An uncial MS. of Bks. XLIX-XLV reached the Rhine. The evidence suggests that Livy's text spread from Italy to the great French monasteries before it was taken up by the cathedral schools of France and Germany; in such circumstances one would not expect more than occasional glossing.  

From the MSS. of the later Decades only the 'Sertorian' fragment of Bk. XCI (fourth century) has survived. For further evidence we have to follow the grammarians' citations, so far as they seem to have drawn directly on Livy's text. For instance, Servius on Vergil quotes Livy and, while Cassiodorus used an excerpt, Priscian may have had the text. In the seventh and eighth centuries, the age of 'palimpsests', the later Decades were probably neglected and their MSS. re-used or lost. In any event the Middle Ages, as far as one can tell, knew no later Livy, and Renaissance scholars could conjecture that the Emperor Caligula or Pope Gregory the Great had ordered the destruction of those books. Yet the hope of recovering the 'lost books' has persisted into recent times. 

We shall rather consider the evidence for medieval annotation in our surviving MSS. In the ninth century Lupus of Ferrières


glossed Bks. VI-X, in MS. Paris, BN, Lat. 5726, but not systematically; he was reading for his own interest. In the tenth century we have to note the annotations of the First Decade in MS. Florence, Laur.Plat. LXXIII, 19; the scribe Leo Diaconus copied marginal notes from a late Roman exemplar, to which were added contemporary annotations. These reflect the comments that Ratherius, bishop of Verona, was likely to have made, and we may assume that he handled the MS. It does not follow that his study influenced any wider reading of Livy's text at that time. When the Fourth Decade text was taken to Bamberg and copied there in the 11th century, Mainard of Bamberg and Lampert of Hersfeld read it. 

2. Landolfo Colonna and Petrarch to the first printed editions of Livy.

In general the readers of the early Humanist period needed a systematic commentary on Livy; Nicholas Trevet provided them with one in the early 14th century.

In his commentary Nicholas Trevet handled the First and Third Decades of Livy. When Pope John XXII ordered the work, he did so as the leader of the Humanist circle at Avignon, which included Nicholas of Prato, Simon of Arezzo, Raymond Subirani, the Roman prelate Landolfo Colonna, and the youthful Petrarch; the presence of these men illustrates the central position of Avignon between Italy and the West. 


12. Titi Livii a. u. c. (O.C.T.) I xiii-xvi; Tite-Live, Histoire romaine (Budé) I lxxxii, ch-chv; but now, on Ratherius, see Billanovich, 'Dal Livio di Raterio', op. cit. 104-134.

13. Billanovich, 'Petrarch and... Livy', op. cit. 185 n. 2 (cf. Guido Billanovich, Lamperto di Hersfeld e Tito Livio [Padua 1945]).

14. See now Billanovich, 'Petrarch and... Livy', op. cit. 194-198; idem, 'Dal Livio di Raterio',

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Landolfo Colonna (c. 1250-1331) spent 30 years as a canon of Chartres cathedral. He wrote on topical questions, e.g. *Tractatus brevis de pontificiali officio*, dedicated to Pope John XXII; he was also interested in general history and compiled a *Breviarium historiarum*. At Chartres he found a MS. of Livy ('Vetus Carnotensis') containing Bks. XXVI-XL (except Bks. XXXIII and XL, 37,3 to the end), and he took a copy to Avignon in 1328. There he had the text re-copied, with his notes, and added Dictys Cretensis, Florus, and Livy's First and Third Decades to form the MS. Paris, BN, Lat. 5690; his notes on Livy Bk. I include material from Tretvet's commentary. This MS. also gave chapter headings, which were collected later in the 14th century in the *Tabula de libris* of Donato degli Albanzani (notably preserved in the MS. London, BM, Burn. 198) to provide a Renaissance summary of the surviving Decades.

Petrarch was at Avignon when Landolfo Colonna arrived there from Chartres, and in 1328-9 he joined him in his study of Livy. Petrarch already had the First and Third Decades. The First Decade he glossed from a copy of MS. Florence, Laur.Plut. lxiii, 19; the Third Decade in Bks. XXI-XXV he glossed, apparently from Colonna's MS. of these books, then in Bks. XXVI-XXVIII from the copy of Colonna's 'Vetus Carnotensis'.

From the 'Vetus Carnotensis', too, he had the Fourth Decade copied to complete his text of Livy. The composite work survives in the MS. London, BM, Harl. 2493. Only the absence of Bk. XXXIII disturbed the numbering of books in the Fourth Decade. Petrarch's notes from this period helped to establish the mid-14th century text of Livy which Bersuire translated into French and Boccaccio into Italian. Petrarch came into possession of Landolfo Colonna's MS. Paris, BN, Lat. 5690. He also continued to revise his own text, it would seem, to compose a 'third MS.' of his own; the results are probably best judged from the text and annotations of the MS. London, BM, Burn. 198 at the turn of the 14/15th centuries.

In the early 15th century Livy's text was extensively studied and copied at Florence. The Florentine MSS. of this period show elaborate 'contamination' of readings, and the scribes developed the 'Humanistic script'. About 1435 the scholars in Cardinal Prospero Colonna's circle turned their attention to Livy; we have evidence for the work of Poggio Bracciolini. At this time, too,

20. *Titi Livi a.u.c. (O.C.T.)* V xxxi-xxxii; B. L. Ullman, 'Poggio's Manuscripts of Livy and other Authors', op. cit. (supra, n. 10), 307-319; *Idem*, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic
Alfonso V of Aragon made his court at Naples a centre of scholarship; as regards Livy we have to note the rivalry of Panormita and Facio on one side with Laurentius Valla on the other. It was probably in 1444 that Cosimo de’ Medici presented Alfonso with a MS. of Livy, the *Codex Regius*, to mark the association of Florence and Naples in Livian studies; the common activity brought Valla also into conflict with Poggio. During this period the comparison of MSS. and a rhetorical approach to style, predominantly (it would seem) under Florentine influence, led to the preparation of the first printed text about 1469.

In terms of critical method and skill Valla’s annotation of Livy, limited though it was in scope, was definitely superior to the unsystematic treatment of Livy’s text by Panormita, Poggio and the Florentine circle, and the early printed editions. In his *Disputatio* on Lucius and Aruns Tarquin (Livy I, 46) Valla used historical logic to challenge Livy’s authority. In his *Emendationes in T. Livium XXI-XXVI* (1446/7) he applied the same acute analysis and a gift for stylistic correction to clarify the text; our present editions still prove his success. Yet, for all his independence, he still stood in the line of Renaissance study; for he seems to have based his *Emendationes* on the reading and annotation of Petrarch’s


21. On these relations, superseding earlier work, see Billanovich-M. Ferraris, ‘Le *Emendationes in T. Livium* del Valla e il Codex Regius di Livio’, *Italia medioevale e umanistica* I (1958) 245-264 [Codex Regius = MSS. Besançon 837, 839].

22. For the Fourth Decade see *Titi Livii a.u.c.* (O.C.T.) V xxxi-xxxii.


MS. London, BM, Harl. 2493. The scholarly polemics of the period reduced Valla’s immediate influence; but his notes were reprinted in the mid-16th century commentaries.

At the same time the Humanistic interest in Roman history called for an attempt to supplement the loss of Livy’s Second Decade; Polybius’ text was available. The chancellor and historian of Florence, Leonardo Bruni Aretino, reconstructed an account of the First Punic War from Polybius, Bks. I-II, while Niccolò Perotti translated Polybius, Bks. I-V.

The *editio princeps* of Livy (Rome, c.1469), edited by Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Bishop of Aleria, printed a plain text containing the First, Third and Fourth Decades (except Bk. XXXIII) with the *Periochae*. The ‘con-


27. N. Perotti (1429-80); G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di N.P.* (Studi e Testi 44, Rome 1925); R. P. Oliver, *N. P.’s Version of the Enchiridion of Epictetus* (Urbana, Ill. 1954); see infra n. 42.
tamination' of MSS. during the preparation of the text obscured the variety of previous annotation that had followed the work of Petrarch and his friends. In his Preface Giovanni Andrea Bussi could refer only vaguely to Petrarch: 'Nec tacebo Franciscum Petrarquam, quod fando accepi. . .non mediocris tempestate sua in Liviana historia vigilasse’; also he neglected to use Valla’s Emendationes in establishing Livy’s text. 28 In fact, the text of the ed.pr. represents a special study in the mid-15th century which gained the influence of print and established itself as a ‘definitive’ text; it provided the basis of the other early editions. Though the editors corrected their reprinting of the ed.pr., they did not return to a comparison of the Humanistic MSS. 29

3. Sabellicus to Glareanus, Sigonius, and their Successors to 1600 A.D.

The edition of Livy by Marcus Antonius Coccio Sabellicus in 1491, with its textual notes, marks a fresh period of Livian studies. Sabellicus had written a history of Venice and he was preparing a ‘universal history’ in the Humanistic style of historiography. 30

His work on Livy reflects the wide interest which scholars were now showing in Roman history as well as the dissatisfaction they felt about the state of the printed text. ‘Quaes res [sc. printing] incredibili celeritate non Italiam modo sed totam paene Europam mira librorum referitis opulentia. . .Ceterum eorum [sc. printers] vel incuria vel neglegentia ita accidit, ut nunc quoque multi velut am fractus passim lectoribus occurrant; quibus sublatis facilior omnino conatus fuerat ad bonarum artium studia capessenda. . . Huic igitur multorum sive querelae sive sollicitudinum occurrencium ratus Bernardinus Heraclius Novocomensis. . .a me. nuper petit, qua potissimum ratione Livium in integrum posset restituiere’. 31

Sabellicus’ notes do not amount to a commentary, but he re-opened the process of annotation. His first notes (treated briefly textual points throughout Decades I, III-IV; they influenced the text of Alexander Minutianus at Milan in 1495 and 1505, and they were reprinted immediately in other editions. 32 We have to observe the part that J. Badius Ascensius played from 1511 in publishing Livy, with Sabellicus’ notes, even if Ascensius’ own notes on Livy’s style and vocabulary are of minor importance. 33 In 1543, after the evidence of new


31. 1491, Venice: s.n.t. (catalogues give [Herasmius], [M. Capesca], or [J. Rubes]; preface in Drakenburch, op. cit. VII 256.


Editions including Sabellicus’ notes (t) as well as Ascensius’ own notes: 1510-1511, 1513, Paris:

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MSS. and further editing had superseded Sabellicus’ first work, we shall find the publication of another selection of fuller notes (ii) on Bks. I-III, XXI-XXII; it was this second series that the later commentators reprinted. 34

From the last decade of the 15th century to the first half of the 16th we may note the praetextiones of courses on Livy and Silius Italicus that were given at Bologna by Philippus Beroaldus the Elder, Johannes Baptista Pius, and Jacobus de Cruce (see the article on Silius that will appear in volume III). But the interest in Livy at the opening of the 16th century was not simply literary. His subject-matter was treated as relevant to Humanistic political thought; in Florence, for instance, Bernardo Rucellai and his circle were discussing similar problems. 35 Against this background we have to set Machiavelli’s preparation and his method of composition of the Discorsi [sopra la prima Deca di Tito Licinio], especially during the years 1513-1519. Did he begin this work as a political commentary on Livy’s First Decade, including reference to the rest of his history, and then adapt the evidence to a systematic treatise in terms of Humanistic political thought? 36


For Ascensius’ preface to all his editions see Drakenborch, op. cit. VII 259-260 (Drak. has noted changes made in the 1530 ed.); for a second preface to the 1513 and 1516 editions, Drakenborch, op. cit. VII 260.

34. 1543, 1552, Paris: M. Vascosanus, A. Parvus; 1553, Lyons: J. Frellonius, A. Vincentius; see also under ‘Editions’.


37. Clough, op. cit. 105 n. 255, 110 n. 269: ‘Certainly we need to know more of the printed texts and manuscripts of Livy, as they existed during the Renaissance’. The case, in terms of scholarly technique, is a sound one, as Billanovich has shown from the MSS. of the Medieval and early Humanistic period.


Decade and (n) a Speyer MS. of Bks. XXVI-XL (lacking Bks. XXXIII and XL, 37,3 to the end). From these MSS. Beatus Rhenanus provided textual notes on Bks. I-VI, XXVI-XXX, Gellenius for Bks. VI-X and the Fourth Decade; Gellenius also revised Carbach's readings from the Mainz MS. The work completed the manuscript evidence for Livy's text in the 16th century.

At Venice the Aldine edition of 1518-1521, 1533, edited by Franciscus Asulanus, incorporated the new parts of Livy's text; it also reprinted N. Perotti's Latin version of Polybius, Bks. I-V and included a list of Roman magistrates by J. Malatesta Mantuanus. A 1520 Venice edition reprinted Leonardo Bruni's De primo bello Punico. In 1531 the Basel edition printed H. Loritus Glareanus' first Chronologia (i), a yearly list of the Roman magistrates (with notes) to the reign of Tiberius and Livy's death. The 1535 Basel edition printed his second Chronologia


41. Billanovich, 'Petrarch and...Livy', op. cit. 180-183. In 1615 the discovery of MS. Bambergensis (Bamberg, ms. Class. 35), containing Bks XXXI-XXXVIII, 46, 4, supplemented Bk XXXIII, 1, 1-17,6; see Titi Livii a. c. (O.C.T.) V xii-xiv.


43. 1520, Venice: M. Sessa, P. de Ravanis.

(n), in which, following Gregorius Halander, he extended the dating as far as Justinian. The reprinting of Perotti and Bruni supplemented the loss of Livy's Second Decade, while the chronological lists related the work to the general study of Roman history. These are the stages that led to fuller treatment of Livy's subject-matter in Glareanus' Annotationes of 1540, which may rank as a regular commentary. It was now, too, that editors of Livy began to reprint Valla's Disputatio and Emendationes.

The discovery of the Capitoline Fasti at Rome in 1546 provided new epigraphic evidence for Roman dating, with reference to Livy's chronology, and in 1550 Carolus Sigonius discussed the fragmentary inscription. In three editions, successively revised, between 1555 and 1562 Sigonius then edited Livy's text, with the Periochae, and added Scholia in which he annotated not only the text and chronology but the general subject-matter; the work represents a major commentary. During this period the controversy between Glareanus and Sigonius


Chronologia (ii) 1535: 'Chronologia sive temporum supputatio in omnem Romanam historiam ab Troia capta ad milesimum ducentesimum octagesimum tertium ab Vrbe condita annum'. See editions of Livy: 1535, Basel (supra n. 40); 1537, Lyons: M. and G. Trechsel; 1539, 1543, 1549, Basel: J. Hervagius; 1541, Venice: heirs of L. A. Giunta; see also under 'Editions'.


46. C. Sigonius, Fasti consulares ac triumphi acer a Romulo rege usque ad Ti. Caesarem (Modena 1550); [see now A. Degrassi, ‘Fasti Consulares et Triumphales’, Inscriptiones Italicæ XIII 1, Rome 1947].
enlarged the scope of critical comment on Livy, and editions printed not only previous Renaissance notes but some minor studies; one need only list these Opuscula. It was in these circumstances that Wilhelm Godleveaus composed his Annotationes ex varis doctorum lucubrationibus collectae (1568). In its material the work was largely derivative; in selection and in application to Livy’s text it may count as a regular commentary. Franciscus Modius’ notes were composed in the same way, viz. Francisci Modii Brug. in T. Livium notae, partim ab eo scriptae, partim ex Lipsii, Brisonii etc. eruditisissimis ingenii monimentis exscriptae (1588). In their formal arrangement these editions brought the various annotations of the Renaissance period into direct relationship with the individual passages of Livy’s text. This recalls, at a simple level, Nicholas Trevet’s exegesis and, more significantly, the development of the modern commentary on an ancient text.

It only remains to list the minor notes on Livy which were printed in the editions of the late 16th century. In 1545 Johannes Velcurio (Johann Feldkirch) had annotated Bks. I-II. In 1547 Johannes Saxonius had annotated Bks. XXI-XXII. Peterus Nannius (d. 1557) had included notes on Books I and II of the First Decade in his Συμμετοχὴ sive Miscellaneorum decas una (Louvain, 1548). His comments on Book III circulated in manuscript form until they were published in part by Drakenborch (see his comments, op. cit. VII, l-1xi). The Chronologia of Joachim Grellius, based on the work of Glareanus and Sigonius, was included in editions from 1568. At the end of the century Fulvius Ursinus, the antiquarian, bibliophile and student of Polybius, wrote notes on Livy, while Marcellus Donatus commented on Livy among other Roman historians. Finally we may note the influence of Justus Lipsius and Brisonius, as well as Pitheous, upon these later commentaries.

**Editions**

Composite Editions of Livy with more than one commentary (along with reprinted annotations):

49. J. Velcurio, Explicationes in Liv. I-II (Strasbourg 1545). These notes are reprinted in the editions: 1552, Paris; 1553, Lyons; 1555, Basel; cf. supra n. 47; see also under ‘Editions’.

50. J. Saxonius, Commentari ad Liv. XXI-XXII (Basel 1547); see under ‘Editions’.

51. On Nannius, see A. Polet, Une gloire de l’humanisme belge, Petrus Nannius (Louvain, 1936).

52. J. Grellius, Chronologia in T. Livii historiam accommodata ad tabulas Capitol. Verrii Flaecci; for preface, Drakenborch, op.cit. VII 284-287; see under ‘Editions’.

53. F. Ursinus, Notae in T. Livium — in frag. historicorum collectis (Antwerp 1595); see under ‘Editions’: 1608 (ed. J. Gruter); P. de Nolhac, La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini (Paris 1887); J. M. Moore, The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius (C.U.P. 1965) 144, 161 seq.


55. On Lipsius and Brisonius, see Drak., op. cit. VII, xlvi, lx-lxi; on Pitheous, see Catalogus Translationum I, 236.

1568, Francofurti ad Moenum (Frankfurt a/M): G. Corvinus, Sigism. Feierabend; [ed. W. Godelevaeus]. With comm. of Glareanus, Sigonius, Godelevaeus; notes of Valla, Sabellicus (ii), Rhenanus and Gelenius, J. Velerio, J. Saxonius; Opuscula of Grynaeus, Marlianus, [ps.]Messala Corvinus, Sexstus Rufus, Caelius Curio, Pomponio Laetus, [ps.]-P. Victor; Chronologia of J. Grellius. Drak. VII 338; Schweiger II 531; BM; BN; Adams.

Reprint: 1578. Drak. VII 338; Schweiger II 532; BM; BN; Adams.


1608, Francofurti ad Moenum (Frankfurt a/M): J. Saurius, for heirs of P. Fischer; [ed. J. Gruter]. With comm. of Glareanus, Sigonius, Godelevaeus, Franc. Modius; notes of Valla, Sabellicus (ii), Rhenanus and Gelenius; also Fulvius Ursinus, Marcellus Donatus. Drak. VII 339; Schweiger II 532; BM; BN.

Reprint: 1612; BM.


Commentaries

1. Nicolaus Trevet

Commentary on the First and Third Decades of Livy (Bks I-X, XXI-XXX), written in the early 14th century, probably between 1316 and 1319. A letter of Pope John XXII to his Nuncio in England, Rigaldus de Asserio, dated 18 Jan. 1318, instructs him to pay ‘Nicolaus Treverinus’ (sc. Trevet) for a litterale opus’ which was composed ‘bieniali labore’. If the term litterale opus refers to the Livy commentary rather than to one of Trevet’s Biblical commentaries, we may date it as above, following his commentary on Seneca’s Tragedies (Ruth J. Dean, ‘The Earliest Known Commentary on Livy is by Nicholas Trevet’, Medievalia et Humanistica 3 [1945] 86-98; 4 [1946] 110). In any event the work was used by Landolfo Colonna at Avignon in 1328-29 (supra n. 15).

Commentary: Decades I, III.

Dec. I: Tit. (MS. Paris, BN. lat. 5745, s.XIV): Incipit prologus super apparatum libri Titi Livii ab urbe condita.

[Inc.]: Titum Livium virum eloquentissimum fuisset Ieronimus in epistola ad Paulinum testatur de eo sic scribens: ‘Ad Titum Livium lacte eloquentiae fonte. . .’

Hunc Titum libri huius, qui est de gestis Romanorum sive de rebus Romanis, autorem designat titulus hic prae scriptus. Distinctit autem hunc librum in duas partes, quorum prima dicitur ‘ab urbe condita’, ut ex titulo patet, secunda ‘de bello Punico’, utraque vero pars in decem libros distenditur. . .

Prima vero parte quae est de Romana re (Paris MS BN, lat. 5745; re om. Lisbon MS) ab urbe condita praemittit prologum. In quo more prohemiali tria facit. . .

[Expl.]: (ad X, 47, 7). . . ipsa Esculapii lapide advexerunt.
LIVIUS, TITUS

[Col.]: Et in hoc terminatur prima pars historiae quam conscripsit Titus Livius ab urbe condita, continentia distincta. Titii Livii ab urbe condita liber decimus explicit feliciter. Explicit liber decimus.

Dec. III [Inc.]: (MS. Lisbon, BN, MSS. Illum. 135, s. XV): In parte scripturus Titus Livius de bello Punico proelium quendam praemittit.

Primo autem haec praemittit, secundo ad haec probationes indicit, ibi ‘nam neque’. Quantum ad primum dicit ‘licet michi’, id est licet est mihi, ‘prefari’, id est praedicere in parte operis mei. Dictur enim de gestis Romanorum scripsisse triginta decades, id est xxx volumina quorum quodlibet decem libros continet, quorum unum iam exposuit ut urbe condita usque ad m in LX annum, a quo anno usque ad secundum bellum Punicum fluxerunt anni circiter LXXXIII. Quia secundum Orosium libro quarto Hannibal Saguntum cepit anno ab urbe condita vesso annum, cuius occasione motum est bellum Punicum. Quot volumina de his scripsit Titus, quot etiam de annis qui post secundum bellum Punicum ad actatem suam fluxerunt, incertum mihi est. Sed inter alia hoc voluten decem librorum computatur quod hic vocat partem operis sui.

[Expl.]: (ad xxx, 44, 6). ...apparet hunc risum quem increpatis non esse cordis laeti sed magis amentis prope.

[Col.]: Et sic terminatur expositioni viginti librorum Titi Livii quos biennali labore exposuit frater Nicholae Treveth de ordine predicatorum, ex mandato et iussu sanctissimi patris et domini, domini Johannis pape xxII ad honorem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, cui honor est et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

(See Dean, op. cit. 90).

Manuscripts:


London, Lambeth Palace, 10.C.9, s. XIV ex.: one sheet, Decade I [ad III, 2,7,3,4: Quae ubi Romani sunt...ab Algido Quintius consul redierat Romam]; ΕΘ 29, pasted in Oeconomia Bibliorum (1571), cf. * H 890.


Paris, BN lat. 5690, s. XIV. Contains marginal notes that are excerpted from Treveth’s commentary. (R. Dean, Medievalia et Humanistica 3 [1942] 93-94).

Edition:


Biogr.:

Nicholas Treveth (Triveth) was b. c. 1258. He entered the Dominican Order and was in the Oxford Convent by 1297, sharing in Oxford ‘disputations’ 1303-07. He studied at Paris between 1307 and 1314 and then returned to Oxford; but he was known in Avignon and wrote his commentary on Boethius in Italy. By 1324 he was in the London Convent; he was still living in 1334.

Works: Treveth’s Commentary on Genesis and Exodous was approved by his Order in 1307; later he treated Leviticus, and he sent a revised version on Genesis to Pope John XXII. He finished a commentary on Psalms between 1317 and 1320, and wrote on
 Chronicles. He also commented on Augustine, De civitate Dei, and on Boethius, De consolatione philosophiae. By c. 1314 he had treated the Declamationes of the Elder Seneca. At the request of Nicholas of Prato he wrote a commentary on Seneca’s Tragedies, and Pope John XXII ordered his commentary on Livy.

The will of Maestro Simone, a notary of Arezzo, dated 12 August 1338, refers to the commentaries on Boethius, the two Seneca’s, and Livy (U. Pasqui, Archivio Storico Italiano, Ser. V 4 [1889] 250-255). Guglielmo da Pastrengo, in De Viris Illustribus (c. 1350), also notes these works (R. Weiss, Dominican Studies 1 [1948] 263). Albertus Castellanus Venetus, in Brevis et Compendiosa Chronica Ordinis Predicatorum (Venice 1516, f. 170v) records Trevet’s works (as set out above), along with commentaries on Juvenal, Ovid and other poets (T. Kaeppele, Arch. Frat. Praedic. 29 [1959] 200 n. 1); but the reference to the Latin poets may be false (on Juvenal, see Eva M. Sanford, Catalogus Trans. et Comm. I 237-38).

From 1320 Trevet wrote history: Annales sex regum Angliae A.D. 1135-1307; also Chronicles (in French) which were rendered in Latin as Historia ab origine mundi ad Christum natum.


2. Henricus Lortius Glareanus

Annotationes on the scale of a commentary, published 1540. The work followed
his study of Roman dating, viz. Chronologia, first published in the 1531 Basel edition of Livy, then revised and extended in the 1535 Basel edition of Livy (supra n. 44).


Haud sum nescius, Invictissime Imperator Carole, quam multorum hominum, etiam eximie doctorum, grave judicium sim subitus, quod authorem tam praecelarum... emendandum mihi desumpsimum... [reference to Sabellicus, Laurentius Valla, Beatus Rheanus and Gelenius, and an appreciation of Livy]. ...Ad te, invictissime Caesar, redeo, cui nostrum laborem dedicare volui... Deus Opt. Max. maiestatem tuam ad ipsius gloriam et Christianae reipublicae salutem quam diutissime incolumem conservare dignetur. Friburgi Briscogae, anno a Jesu Christi natali MDXL Calen. Maiis.

[Inc.]: In T. Livii librum I Henrici Glareani Loriti annotationes.

Praefat. Facturusne operae pretium sim. Quidam immодimo studio ac affectata diligentia (ut fit) huic praefationi plus obscuritas quam lucis attulisse mihi videntur.

XXX, 45, 5) Omnique deininde vita, ut dignum erat liber. Libro 8 sequentis decados diversas auctorum opiniones de hoc Terentio narrabit. Sed in hanc decada satis dubitatum existimamus, ideoque iam receptui canimus.

Scipionum quorum mentio apud Livium, Ciceronem, Plutarchum, ceterosque classicos scriptores, genealogia per Henricum Glareanum, P.L.

Qui temporum rationem in primis ad historicam maiestatem pertinenti arbitrai sunt, hi mihi a vero scopo nihil aberrasse videntur... Reliqua ex typo, sed magis ex auctoribus sciri possunt. [Then the stemma: 'De Cornelia gente fratres'].

XXXI, 1, 4) Quam occuparet quadringlenti LXXXVIII annis a condita Urbe. Legendum LXXXVIII annis. Nam...


Editiones.

1540, Basileae (Basel): M. Isingrini. Drak. VII 336; Schweiger II 552 (s.v. Glar.); Renouard, Badius III 16; BM; BN.

1542, Lugduni (Lyons): Seb. Gryphius. Drak. VII 336; Schweiger II 530; Baudriër VIII 163; Renouard, Badius III 17; BM.

1543, Parisii (Paris): M. Vascosanuus, A. Parvus. Drak. VII 336; Schweiger II 530; Renouard, Badius III 17; BM; Adams.

1552, Lutetiae (Paris): M. Vascosanuus, A. Parvus. Drak. VII 337; Schweiger II 530; Renouard, Badius III 17-18; BM; Adams.

1553, Lugduni (Lyons): J. Frellonius, A. Vincentius. Drak. VII 337; Schweiger II 530; Baudriër V 228; Renouard, Badius III 18; BM; BN; Adams.

1554-1555, Lugduni (Lyons): Seb. Gryphius. (The comm. of 1555, cf. the 1542 Lyons ed., is generally connected with the 1554 text). Drak. VII 337; Schweiger II 530; Baudriër VIII 272, 276; Renouard, Badius III 20; BM; BN.

1555 (Sept.), Basileae (Basel): J. Hervagius [ed. Caelius Secundus Curio]. Drak. VII 338; Schweiger II 531; Renouard, Badius III 19-20; BM; Adams.

Also Composite Editions: 1568 (reprint 1578), Frankfurt; 1573, Paris; 1588, 1608 (reprint 1612), Frankfurt.

Biogr.:

Henricus Loritus Glareanus (Heinrich Loriti), the Swiss humanist, was b. Mollis 1488 (in the canton Glarus, hence his Latin name); d. Freiburg i.Br. 1563. He studied at Berne and Cologne. A scholar and poet ('Poeta Laureatus' in 1512), with interests in music, geography and history (especially in reference to his own country: Helvetiae descriptio), he made his name as a teacher in Basel. After some years in Paris and again in Basel, he became in 1529 professor of literature and history at Freiburg. Here he wrote on the theory of music in Λωδεξαχωρίων and applied independent criticism to the chronology and narrative of Livy's history.

After the publication of the Fasti Capitolini Glareanus and his supporters were engaged in controversy with Sigonius; see Glareanus letter to Hervagius, the Basel printer: D. Johann Hervagio, typographo ac civi Basiliensi, Glareanus s.d. Perhumaniter ac benigniter mecum egisti, sauvissime D. Hervagi, quod ad me miseris illius Glarean-

Works: Helvetiae descriptio; Isagoge in musicem; Dodecachordon; De geographia; De sex arithmeticae practicae speciebus; De asse; De ratione syllabarum. He edited Boethius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (in Latin), Donatus, Eutropius, Valerius Maximus, and annotated Caesar, Horace, Justinius, Livy, Lucan, Ovid, Sallust, Suetonius, Tacitus, Terence and Valerius Maximus.

Bibl.: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie 9, (1879) 210-213 (L. Geiger); Schottenloher 1.7118-7147; 5.46500-46504; 7.54776-54781.

Drak. VII, xxxvii, 272-7; J. H. Schreiber, H. Lorti Glareanus (Freiburg, 1837); O. F. Fritzche, Glarean (Frauenfeld, 1890); D. Van Berchem, 'Tito Livio nella Sviszer da del Rinascimento,' Quaderni Liviani I (Rome, 1943).

3. Carolus Sigonius

Scholia on the scale of a commentary, published in Sigonius' 1555 Aldine edition at Venice, along with a Chronologia (and its notes), and revised successively in his Aldine editions of 1566 and 1572. The work followed his commentary on the Fasti Capitolini (Fasti consulares ac triumphi acti a Romulo rege usque ad Ti. Caesarem, Modena 1550).

[Dedic.]: (ed. 1555) Carolus Sigonius Bernardino Lauredano Andreae f. patricio Veneto s.d.

Omnes artes, Bernardine iuvenis ornatisse, quae maiorum nostrorum vel excellenti ingenio partae, vel summo labore traditae existimantur, duabus potissimum de causis eximio quodam a nobis (ut opinor) studio celebrantur; quorum una est utilitatis, altera volup- tatis . . .[praise of Roman history, criticism of the state of Livy's text]. . .Quas labes nec Valla, nec Sabellicus, nec Rhenanus, nec Gelenius, nec Glareanus. . .certe locu-
.../. . . Livianam apud quenque obtinere debent auctoritatem.

In Epitomen libri primi. Sylvi. Item, Tyberis. Siliu et Tiberis scribendum esse ex manuscriptis exemplaribus Graecisque libris constat. .../...Itaque praeter alia Sex. etiam Tarquinii filii dolo (inquit) Gabios in suam potestatem redegit.

In liberum primum [Praef. 5]. Ut me a conspectu malorum. . .[9] velut dissidentes primo mores sequatur animo. . . tum ut ire coeperint praeceptile. Probo doctorum quorumdam hominum coniecturam, qui desidentes legunt.


(XLV, 44, 19) Polybius eum regem. . . obviam ire legatis solitum libertinumque etc. Haec ex Polybio fortasse sumpta sic edit Appianus in Mithridatico.


Editiones:
1555, Venetiis (Venice): P. Manutius; ed. C. Sigionius, with comm. (Scholia) and Chronologia. Drak. VII 338; Schweiger II 531; Renouard, Alde 166 (15); BN; Adams.
1566, Venetiis (Venice): P. Manutius; ed. C. Sigionius, with revised comm. and Chronologia, second edition. Drak. VII 338; Schweiger II 531; Renouard, Alde 202 (19); BN; Adams.
1572, Venetiis (Venice): in aed. Manutianis; ed. C. Sigionius, with revised comm. and Chronologia, third edition. Drak. VII 338; Schweiger II 531; Renouard, Alde 215 (10); BN; Adams.

Reprint: 1592. Drak. VII 339; Schweiger II 532; Renouard, Alde 249 (12); BN; Adams.

Also Composite Editions: 1568 (reprint 1578), Frankfurt; 1573, Paris; 1588, 1608 (reprint 1612), Frankfurt.

Also reprinted in Signionis’ Opera omnia III (Milan, In aedibus Palatinis, 1733), col. 641-980.


In liberum Fr. Robortellii de convenientia supputationis. Livianam annorum ab urbe condita summam cum Capitolina discrepare demonstratur, et Liviani loci multi a turpissimis eius expositionibus et correctionibus vindicantur. Quod scripsi . . mihi repetendum videtur. . .

Ad epistolam Glareani: Mea in Liviana annorum summam constituenda opinio defensa, et ut ille sine causa in ea re me inhumanitatis arguerit. . .[notes on Bks. I, II, III, VII, XXVI-XXVII; Epit. XLIX, L]. . .Atque hi quidem sunt mille illi et sescenti Livii loci, quos me corrupisse Robortellus insinulavit, quosque primum ille, deinde Glareanus adversus me protulit, de quibus aliorum esto, non nostri iudicium. (See Drak. op. cit. VII, 93-118).

Biogr.:
Carolus Sigionius (Carlo Sigionio) was b. Modena 1524; d. Ponte Basso, near Modena, 1584. He studied in Modena, Bologna and
Pavia, and returned to teach at Modena in 1546; he succeeded Robortellus as professor of humanities in Venice (1552-59); then he moved to Padua (1560-63) and finally established himself in Bologna.

**Works:** *De regno Italice* (570-1200), published 1574; *Historiae de occidentali imperio* (on the late Roman Empire to 556), published 1578; *Historiae de rebus Bononienibus* (to 1257, ed. 1604); *De antiquo iure civium Romanorum, Italicorum, Provenciarum* (1560); *De republica Atheniensium* (1564); *De republica Hebraearum* (1583); *De nominibus Romanorum* (1553-56); *Fragmenta et libris deperditis Ciceronis collata* (1559-1560); *Fasti Capitolini.* He wrote many other works, biographical and antiquarian works, composed orations, invectives, letters, and a few poems, translated Demosthenes and Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*, commented on Livy and Sulpicius Severus, and defended the forged *Consolatio* attributed to Cicero. His *Opera omnia* were published in 6 vols. by L. A. Muratori and F. Argellati (Milan, 1732-37).

**Bibl.:** *Enciclopedia Italiana* 31 (1936) 761 (G. Bertoni); G. Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca Modenese* 5 (1784) 76-119.


4. Guliemus Godelevæus

Commentary in his 1568 edition of Livy (Frankfurt a/M): *Annotationes ex variis doctorum lucubrationibus collectae*, with the *Chronologia* of Joachim Grellius.


non tamen propertea me deterreri passus sum . . . Si quae grata tibi officia a me praestari quaeunt, nulli nec fidei nec diligentiae nec operae, ut ea declarentur, pariciturum me esse. Vale feliciter. Datum Midenae, xv Januarii. Anno 1568.

[Inc.]: Praef. (4) *Festinantibus ad haec nova*. Respexisse videtur ad illud Homericum Odisseae I. . .quos sic Erasmus Latine reddidit.

Eod. (6) *Quae ante conditam*. Magnae magnorum virorum super hoc loco contentiones fuerunt, idque non sine causa, ut Petrus Nanniou lib. 5 Συμμέτων sive Miscellaneorum referit.


**Editions:**

See *Composite Editions:* 1568 (reprint 1578), Frankfurt; 1573, Paris; 1588, 1608 (reprint 1612), Frankfurt; also 1589, Londinii (London): Edmund Bolliant. Drak. VII 339; Schweiger II 532; BM.

**Biogr.:**

Wilhelmus Godelevæus was a German philologist and historian of the second half of the sixteenth century. He was a nephew of Simon Schard, the noted jurist and historian, and he speaks of Schard as the patron of his studies. In addition to his commentary on Livy, Godelevæus wrote an account of
the abdication of the Emperor Charles V (Historiola de Abdicacione seu Renunciatione Imperii et Regnorum a Carolo V Imperatore faeta anno 1555; this was published in 1574 in the second volume of S. Chardius, Histoireum Opus); and he translated from French into Latin A. Geuffroy, Aulae Turcicæ Othomannicæ imperii descriptio (1573).

Bibl.: Joecher II (1750) 1034; the Prefaces of Godelevaeus; Drakenborch VII, xliii, 287-289.

5. Franciscus Modius

Commentary in his 1588 edition of Livy (Frankfurt a/M), following the model of Godelevaeus' Annotationes, with the notes of earlier commentators as well as his own notes.

[Tit.]: Francisci Modii Brug. in Titum Livium Notae, partim ab eo scriptae, partim ex Lipsii, Brissonii etc. eruditissimis ingenii monumentis exscriptae.

[Dedic.]: Illustriissimo iuventutis Belgicæ principi, Carolo comiti Egmondano, Franciscus Modius Brugensis s.p.d.


[Inc.] Præf. (8) Utcumque animadversa . . . ponam disserimine. Quia Lipsius hunc primum Livii librum seorsum alius edidit, additis ad finem variantibus lectionibus, lubet eas, cum nostrorum codicum auctoritate pleraeque omnes confirmetur et stabiliantur, huc transcribere. Igitur haec sunt notae Lipsianae.

(XXXIV, 2, 4) Ab nullo genere non aequè summam periculum est. Tò aequè perinde hic a Sigonio insertum est ex vet. ut ait libro, quod aequè tamen rursus tam a scriptis manu quam typis monimentis nostris Moguntiniumibus abest: et recte meo iudicio. [But Modius knew the Mainz MS. only from the notes of Carbach and Gelenius].

[Expl.]: (XLI, 18, 10) Ibi adhortantem eum pro contione milites . . . ominatum ferunt se eo die Letum capturam esse. Ita auctor est Plinius lib. 15 capite 19 Grasso navim adversus Parthos conscendenti omen fecisse vocem praedicantis venales Cauneas, quasi hac ei voce denuntiaretur, Cave ne eas.

Editions:

See Composite Editions: 1588, 1608 (reprint 1612), Frankfurt.

Biogr.:

Franciscus Modius (de Maulou; the forms Mod- or Mud-, sometimes found, are incorrect) was born in Oudenburg near Bruges on August 4, 1556; he died in Aire near St. Omer on January 22, 1597.

Modius studied philology at Bruges under A. Hoius and at Louvain under Cornelius Valeriis; he studied law at Douai under Jean Vendeuil and Boetius Epo. Modius planned to practice law in Belgium, but the troubled situation of the Netherlands in 1579 forced him to leave the country. He spent most of the rest of his life in Germany, sometimes in the service of notables such as the Count of Egmont; from 1585-87 he worked for the printer Feierabend in Frankfurt a. M. Modius several times undertook to return to Belgium; on one such occasion, he was at Bonn on December 22, 1587 when the city was pillaged by General Martin Sehenk. Modius was wounded, thrown into prison, and only released after several months. In 1594 he was in Denmark, once more with the Count of Egmont. Eventually he became Canon at Aire, in Artois, and here he continued active in scholarship until his death. Both his old teacher Hoius and Justus Lipsius encouraged him in his work.

Works.: Of his philological works, the most important was the Novantiquae lectiones (1584); he also edited or commented upon a large number of Latin authors, including Cassiodorus, Quintus Curtius, Frontinus, Justin, Livy, Silius Italicus, and Vegetius. His other writings include Latin poems;
a history (*Continuatio historiae Byzantinae a capta Constantinopolii ad nostra usque tempora*), a large treatise on ceremonies (*Pandectae triumphales* . . 2 vols. 1586); and a number of works on jurisprudence. His ms. *Notae in Livium* (1592) were once in the Episcopal Library in Gurk, but cannot be located now.