Rescuing the Remains of Sallust's *Historiae*:

From Petrarch to Perotti

By Patricia J. Osmond*

After the last known copy of Sallust's Historiae (covering the period 78–67 BC) perished in the early Middle Ages, little was remembered of this "plenissima" and "perpetua" history. But we see a reawakening of interest in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: in Petrarch's praises of the work; in the efforts of humanists, especially Pomponio Leto, to preserve and publish the larger fragments (the speeches and letters from Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3864); and in the growing attention, especially by Valla and Perotti, to the smaller fragments from the indirect tradition, important sources for the study of the Latin language.

In the preface to a commentary on Sallust's *De coniuratione Catilinae* attributed to Lorenzo Valla at the time it was printed in Venice in 1491 (but circulating anonymously in manuscript since the 1460s), the author laments how little had survived of Sallust's work.[i] The two monographs, on the Conspiracy of Catiline and on the Jugurthine War, he states, were mere preliminary exercises or *progymnasmata* written in preparation for his "very complete history", which embraced not only Roman affairs but those of foreign nations.

> Quod si tantorum uirorum [*scil*. Quintilian and Martial] testimonio primum in historia locum obtinet, summa nos ope niti decet [*cf*. *Cat*. 1,1] ut praeclara 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 gotthicis temporibus factam fuisse constat, paucissima quaedam uestigia, ne fragmenta dicam, ac illa ipsa pene euanescentia ex locupletissima Crispi ornatissimaque historia ad haec tempora peruenere et quod iniquius ferat aliquis fuerunt haec progymnasmata quaedam, ut graeco utar uerbo, castissimae illius Mineruae, 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, uerum a Catilinae coniuratione, quasi ingenii experientiam daturus, eam uideri potest auspicatus, quod et ipsum operis proemium haud dubie demonstrat, cui ad stili consummationem credibile est Iugurthae bellum subiecisse. Sed quanti illa momenti fuerint, quae prorsus interiere, ex iis quae hodie exstant facilis est coniectura, quippe cum nulla possit uirtus in historia elucere, quum non in hac uel illa meditatione facile recognoscas, sed quo eius sunt uirtutes altiores minusque uulgo proxime, eo maiore nobis studio, ut dixi, est nitendum, ne illae nostra uel inertia uel negligentia diutius in obscuro sint.[1]

But if by the testimony of such great men [*scil*. Quintilian and Martial] he [Crispus] holds the first place in history, it is fitting that we strive with all our might so that his splendid literary works, if any survive until now, not only we ourselves may learn with zeal, but, if that can even be done, they may be known in part to as many as possible through our effort. And this above all must be strenuously carried out for this reason, that after such a great loss to our letters – how great it was during the Gothic times is evident – very few remains, as it were, lest I say fragments, and those indeed nearly vanishing, have reached these times out of the very eloquent and rhetorically embellished history of Crispus and, what someone may feel even more adversely, these were certain preliminary exercises, to use the Greek word, of that most chaste Minerva, relics that the injustice both of time and of men has made for us. For the fact that Crispus wrote a very full history, which encompasses not only Roman affairs but those of foreign nations, is abundantly clear; however, he can seem to have started this with the conspiracy of Catiline, as if to give a trial of his talent – as even the proem of his work undoubtedly shows – to which work, in order to perfect his style, he attached the Jugurthine War.

---

*This essay reconsiders and elaborates upon a paper presented at the XXV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Umanistici, Sassoferrato, 30 June–3 July 2004, at the kind invitation of Marianne Pade and Geoffrey Eatough. I am grateful to Marianne for many stimulating and fruitful discussions in the past years on Sallust and the Pomponiani, and to Robert Ulery and the Editors of this volume for their helpful comments and contributions. – Sallustius Crispus 1491. The incipit reads: "Laurentii Vallensis in C. Crispi Sallustii Catilinarium Commentarii". On the question of Valla's authorship, see Osmond 2005. On the publisher of the 1491 edition, Antonio Moretto (or Moreto), see Monfasani 1988, especially 16–17 and Appendix II, Osmond and Sandal 2008, 231–250 and Pade 2021.

[1] In this and the following transcriptions of Latin passages I have retained the spelling but capitalized proper nouns and regularized the punctuation. The text follows that published in the Appendix to Osmond 2005, based, with minor editorial changes, on that in Osmond and Ulery 2003, 237–238 ("Version A").

Other humanists of the Quattrocento were also deploring the loss of Sallust's history. In the preface to his Paris *c*. 1477 edition of Sallust, Beroaldus the Elder complains of the great misfortune that the Latin language has suffered from the loss of these books: "Et magnam profecto iacturam passa est latina lingua deperditis Salustii libris quibus gesta Romanorum complectebantur" (And indeed the Latin language was greatly diminished when Sallust's books containing the history of the Romans were lost).[2] Paolo Pompilio, pupil of Pomponio Leto and later fellow teacher at the Studium Urbis, remarks in the proem to his commentary on the *Catilina* (*c*. 1481) that Sallust had written a "perpetua historia" ("continuous history") but that this had been lost due to the fault of the times.[3]

Sallust's two monographs, the *De coniuratione Catilinae* (or *Bellum Catilinae*) and *De bello Iugurthino* (or *Bellum Iugurthinum*), had been a fixed part of the arts curriculum from late antiquity through the Middle Ages, and they remained part of the canon of Latin texts throughout the Renaissance, and beyond. In the course of the fifteenth century the number of manuscripts of these two monographs grew to more than 500.[4] The *Historiae*, however, composed of five books in annalistic format, covering the period from 78 BC (following the abdication of Sulla) to 67 BC (the Gabinian Law), survived only in fragments of varying length and provenance. The parts saved through direct manuscript tradition include a set of orations and letters in a late ninth-century florilegium (now BAV, Vat. lat. 3864), originally copied at Corbie; parts of eight leaves from the fifth-century Fleury manuscript (now divided between BAV, Reg. lat. 12838, Orléans, Médiathèque municipale 192 and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, lat. 4º 364); the fourth-century Vienna fragment (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, P. Vindob. L 117); and two second/third(?)-century papyrus fragments (Manchester, The John Rylands Library, Papyrus III 473 and Oxford, Sackler Library, P. Oxy. 68 6B.20/L (10-13)a). Far more numerous, though often quite small, are the remains transmitted indirectly through some 500 quotations and references in *c*. 46 authors, of whom the most important are grammarians and commentators of the fourth to sixth centuries: Nonius, Servius, Arusianus Messius, Donatus and Priscianus.[5]

[2] Sallustius Crispus [not after 1478].

[3] Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 1351; see Osmond & Ulery 2003, 244–245. On Pietro Paolo Pompilio, see Gottschalck 2020 and for his *Vita Sallustii*, Osmond 2015, 45–46 and Appendix, 55–56.

[4] Reynolds 1983, vii and Sallustius Crispus 1991, vi.

[5] See in particular Sallustius Crispus 1992, 610, and for a fuller discussion of the various sources of the indirect tradition and survey of the editions of the *Historiae*, La Penna 2015, "Prolegomena", 1–42.

During the Middle Ages the very knowledge of the *Historiae* nearly vanished. Most of the *accessus*, including a popular thirteenth-century introduction to a commentary later attributed to Ognibene da Lonigo, mention only the monographs.[6] On the few occasions in which the work is cited, little or no reliable information is offered. The *accessus* to Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14477 (part I), dated to the eleventh century, states simply that Sallust, having decided to abandon a public career, took up the writing of history: "retraxit se ad studium et complures historias composuit. De quibus tamen non utimur ulla, nisi catilinaria et iugurthina" (he returned to his studies and composed several histories, concerning which, however, we don't use any other than the Catilinaria and Iugurthina). The author of the *accessus* to BAV, Vat. lat. 9991, dated to the second half of the twelfth century, tells us that the work contained the complete history of the Romans in 10 volumes: "Et comprehendit omnes historias Romanorum decem uoluminibus." But this number was multiplied tenfold in the *accessus* to a thirteenth-century manuscript, Munich, BSB, Clm 19480, which reports that the *Historiae* had contained 100 (!) books, and that it was, in fact, its prolixity (along with our own laziness) that accounts for the loss of the work: "omnes romanorum historias in centum uoluminibus inscripsit, quod ob prolixitatem operis et pigriciam nostram non transtulimus".[7]

We have to wait until the mid-fourteenth century for Petrarch to open the way – as he did in so many areas of classical studies – to a renewed interest in the *Historiae*. Recalling St. Augustine's own praise of Sallust as "nobilitatae veritatis historicus" (historian of ennobled truth; *Civ.* I, 5), Petrarch included him in the summary of illustrious men of antiquity introducing his *Rerum memorandarum libri*, calling attention to his careful research in North Africa before writing the Jugurthine War and the polished style of his Conspiracy of Catiline. Yet he also noted regretfully that he was more famous for his *Histories* than for any other book, renowned indeed among the ancients but lost to the present age and surviving only in name: "Sed nullo famosior quam Historiarum libro, qui etati quoque nostre […] amissus est: ueterum quidem testimonio illustris et apud nos solo iam nomine superstes"[8]

[6] On this commentary, attributed in the printed edition of Venice, 1500 to Omnibonus Leonicenus, see Ulery 2005.

[7] Cf. Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° ms. 544, a miscellany from the fifteenth century, see Daniel & Schott & Zahn 1979, 62. The transcriptions of this and the previous *accessus* have kindly been provided by Robert Ulery.

[8] Petrarch 1941, I, XVII. For an overview of Sallust's reception in the Renaissance, see Osmond 2020, and on the several *vitae Sallustii*, Osmond 2015.

Although, as Petrarch believed, Sallust's most important work existed by then only in name, it was perhaps during his lifetime that the Corbie manuscript arrived in Italy or at least became known to some of his contemporaries: the florilegium containing the four speeches and two letters from the *Historiae* – the *orationes* of Lepidus, Philippus, Cotta and Macer, and the *epistulae* of Gnaeus Pompeius and Mithridates – as well as speeches and letters from the two monographs.[9] Petrarch's friend Guglielmo da Pastrengo refers to codices of the *Historiae* in his brief entry on Sallust in the *De viris illustribus* (completed in the 1350s): "Salustius Crispus, Romanus ex nobili Crisporum familia, Romanas eleganti stilo scripsit hystorias, sed harum codices apud nos non ad plenum habentur" (Salustius Crispus, a Roman from the noble family of the Crispi, wrote Roman histories in an elegant style but we do not have the complete codices of these). [10]

Whether or not Guglielmo da Pastrengo actually saw the Corbie manuscript, however, and if so in Verona or elsewhere, we do not know.[11] The first reference to the copying of any of the excerpts occurs only much later, between 1435 and 1439, when Pier Candido Decembrio transcribed the *Epistula Pompei*, found, he says, in a very old codex belonging to Francesco Pizolpasso, archbishop of Milan, which he mistook at the time for a genuine letter of Gnaeus Pompeius to the Senate. Sometime afterwards, in Milan, or perhaps while serving in the chancellery of Nicholas V in Rome (1450–1455), he copied this into another notebook along with the speeches of Lepidus and Philippus (Milan, Venerabile Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R 88 sup., fols 64v, 98r–99v).[12]

It is in Rome, in any case, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century that the excerpts in BAV, Vat. lat. 3864 are first printed and subsequently included in the corpus of Sallust's opera, and it is in the circles of Niccolò Perotti and Pomponio Leto that the modern history of identifying and recording fragments from the indirect transmission of the *Historiae* also begins. Precisely when and how the Corbie manuscript entered the Vatican is, like

[9] On the transmission of the excerpts in BAV, Vat. lat. 3864, as well as the *folia* of Orléans, Médiathèque municipale, 192, see Sallustius Crispus 1991, xviii–xix, with earlier bibliography.

[10] Guglielmo da Pastrengo 1991, 205. Pier Candido Decembrio also had access to a (now lost) manuscript in the collection of archbishop Francesco Pizolpasso; see Sallustius Crispus 1991, xix and nn. 12.

[11] See Osmond & Ulery 2003, 197 and n. 68, citing the studies of Remigio Sabbadini, Antonio La Penna, and B. L. Ullman.

[12] Sabbadini 1903, 267–269. Cf. Sallustius Crispus 1991, xviii–xix.

the time and circumstances of its earlier arrival in Italy, uncertain,[13] but it was clearly in the papal library by the summer of 1475, and in September of that same year Arnold Pannartz printed the first edition of the excerpts: *Ex libris Historiarum C. Crispi Salusti*.[14] Shortly afterwards, a slightly different edition was produced in Mantua by Johann Schall, printer at the court of Federico I Gonzaga.[15]

There is no preface to Pannartz's 1475 edition of the excerpts, and we do not know who edited the texts. One possible candidate, of course, is Pomponio, who, alone or in collaboration with Bartolomeo Platina and/or Niccolò Perotti, could have advised Pannartz on the desirability of printing this as-yet-unpublished work of Sallust and helped see it through the press. Clearly he had the opportunity to examine the florilegium, for we know that on 17 June 1475 the newly appointed librarian of the Vatican, Bartolomeo Platina, recorded his name in the register of books on loan: "Ego Platyna commodavi Pomponio Commentaria Caesaris litteris antiquis ex albo, die XVII iunii 1475".[16] It is puzzling, nevertheless, that when Pomponio published his edition of Sallust's opera, including the excerpts from the *Historiae,* at the Rome press of Eucharius Silber in 1490, he made no mention of the *princeps* – either to take credit for his own pioneering work (if indeed he had been involved in the earlier publication) or to call attention to his emendations to the text.[17] Nor has a collation of sample passages in the three redactions (Romae 1475, Mantuae 1475 and Romae 1490) yielded any clues,

[13] On the Maffei brothers who came to Rome from Verona in or before 1473, and Pomponio's dedication copy of his 1490 edition of Sallust, see Ullman 1973 and especially Pade 2011a.

[14] Sallustius Crispus, Gaius 1475. The colophon reads: "Impressus Romae: In domo nobilis viri Petri d(e) Maximis Per .M. Arnoldum pannartz alamanum. Anno Salutis. M.CCCC.LXXV. Die XXV. mensis septembris. Seden(te) Syxto IIII. Pon(tifice) Max(imo) Anno eius Quinto. Deo Laus".

[15] Sallustius Crispus [after Sept. 1475]. As L.D. Reynolds pointed out, a number of manuscripts from the latter part of the Quattrocento containing the speeches and letters "were neither independent nor copied from V but rather from one or other of the early printed editions," as demonstrated by Hauler 1895, 104–121, including BAV, Vat. lat. 3415, written in 1484 by a student of Pomponio, which is dependent upon the Rome 1475 edition, while BAV, Urb. lat. 411, written by Federico Veterani for Federico da Montefeltro between1478 and 1482 derives from the 1475 Mantua edition. See Reynolds 1983, 349-350 and Sallustius Crispus 1991, xix and n. 4. On Schall see n. 22.

[16] Bertola 1942, 3, who adds in n. 6: "Pomponio Leto. Il cod. chiesto è il Vat. lat. 3864 […] Pomponio se ne servì per l'edizione di Sallustio del 1490 (HAIN, no 14217)". Cf. Sallustius Crispus 1991, xix and n. 3.

[17] Sallustius Crispus, Gaius 1490. In his dedicatory letter to Agostino Maffei, Pomponio says that he has emended the texts, but there is no specific reference to the excerpts from the *Historiae*. On this letter and Pomponio's editorial criteria, see Pade 2011b, 110-112.

as readings in the 1490 edition do not follow consistently either of the two previous versions.

In the early 1470s we know that Niccolò Perotti was also collaborating with Pomponio and Pannartz. With Pomponio he had worked on Statius (1469–1470) and Martial (1473), and Pannartz, while still in business with Sweynheym, had published their edition of Martial's *Epigrammata* (30 April 1473) and, in the same years, Perotti's edition of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, his translation of Polybius' books 1–5 and his *Rudimenta grammatices*.[18] Indeed, as Marianne Pade has pointed out, it was Pomponio – in the words attributed to Perotti's nephew Pirro in the proem to the *Cornu copiae* (BAV, Urb. lat. 301) – who had urged Perotti to produce an emended text of Martial "pro communi studiosorum utilitate" (for the common benefit of scholars), a project that in the years 1477–1480 would turn into a monumental commentary on the entire Latin language.[19]

The absence of a preface to the edition of the Sallustian excerpts of 1475 might also point to Perotti's role, or influence, in the publication of this work, for he had complained in his letter of 1470 to Francesco Guarnieri about defiling the texts of famous authors with extraneous material ("quid enim turpius videri potest, quid magis indignum quam are cloacam iungere" (for what can seem more disgraceful, what more unworthy than to attach a sewer to an altar).[20] It would also be interesting to know more about the persons and circumstances connected with preparations for the ms. BAV, Urb. lat. 411, which contains the excerpts from the *Historiae* copied from Schall's 1475 Mantua edition by Federico Veterani, librarian and scribe at the court of Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, to whom Perotti's *Cornu copiae* was dedicated.[21]

It may seem surprising – even considering the absence of prefaces in editions printed by Pannartz for Perotti and Platina – that, as far as we know, there was no overt response to the appearance of this *editio princeps*. Today,

[18] Martialis 1473, Plinius Secundus 1473. In this same period Perotti also published his *Rudimenta grammatices* (Perotti 1473), and his translation of Polybius, books 1–5 (Polybius [1472]). The *Rudimenta grammatices* was republished by Pannartz in 1474 (Perotti 1474) and again in c. 1476 (Perotti 1476). On the collaboration between Pomponio and Perotti on various authors, see Pade 2008 on Martial, Ramminger 2017 and 2018b on Perotti's *Commemoratio vitae M. Valerii Martialis*, and Pade 2014 and 2015b on the *Vitae Statii*.

[19] Pade 2014, 73.

[20] On the letter, see Monfasani 1988 and Charlet 2003. On prefaces to editions of early printed books see Farenga 1994.

[21] On BAV, Urb. lat. 411 see the entry in the catalogue of the Vatican Library and Martelli 2007, who identifies the copyist with Federico Veterani, librarian and scribe to Duke Federico da Montefeltro, dating it to the period 1478–1482. On Johann Schall, physician and printer at the court of marchese Federico Gonzaga, see Canova 2014, 14–15, 24–25 and de Viesti 2014, 36–37.

we recognize that BAV, Vat. lat. 3864 is (almost entirely) the unique witness to the set of speeches and letters in Sallust's *Historiae*, which in turn have proved essential to reconstructing the chronological scope, content and aims of the work. But at a time when there was still hope of turning up lost works, these excerpts may have seemed like a modest affair.[22] Pomponio himself, when he refers to the excerpts in his *C. Crispi Sallusti Vita* appended to his 1490 edition of Sallust's *opera*, describes them in a rather off-handed way as "quaedam contiones e libris bellorum civilium" (certain speeches from the books of the civil wars).[23] His own interest in Sallust focused chiefly on the historical and antiquarian, rather than on the literary or rhetorical, aspects of his work and the copious manuscript notes in his personal copy of the 1490 Sallust (BAV, Inc. Ross. 441), as in other annotated copies of this edition, cover only the two monographs.[24]

As Robert Ulery and I observed in our article on Sallust in the *Catalogus translationum et commentariorium* 8, Sallustian scholarship in the heroic age of the early Renaissance was more a case of cumulative progress than of dramatic rediscoveries.[25] While the humanists of the latter part of the fifteenth century succeeded in preserving and printing the larger fragments and restoring them to the corpus of Sallust's work and of Latin literature in general, their successors in the sixteenth century from Josse Bade (1504) to Antonio Zeno (1569) and Federico Ceruti (1589) produced new editions and commentaries, especially for use in the schools and as models – like the speeches and letters of the monographs – in the teaching of rhetoric. From the 1560s and '70s Aldo Manuzio the Younger, Antonio Riccoboni, Ludovico Carrio and others not only edited and annotated the texts but gradually began integrating them into the broader historical context they were reconstructing with their growing collections of fragments from the indirect tradition as well as the even wider historiographical tradition of the Roman annalists.[26]

[22] As an anthology of speeches and letters, the excerpts also possessed a completeness of their own that could set them apart from the category of lost works, cf. Dionisotti 1997.

[23] On the *vita*, see Ullman 1973, Osmond 2015, including an edition of Pomponio's *vita* at pp. 36–37 and Pade 2011b. Pietro Crinito also characterizes the set of speeches and letters as "quaedam reliquiae" (certain remains, Crinito 1503, a[v]r) in his *Vita Sallustii*, first published at the Giunti press in Crinito 1503, but shows more interest than Pomponio in the content of the work, Osmond 2015, 46–47, 56–59.

[24] Osmond 2003, 2010, 2011, 2011b, 2014. See also Farenga 2003, Ulery 2003, and Pade 2011b.

[25] Osmond and Ulery 2003, 197.

[26] For brief descriptions of these editions and commentaries from the early sixteenth to the early seventeenth century, see Osmond & Ulery 2003, 302–315. On the efforts from the sixteenth century on to read and interpret Sallust's *Historiae* within the literary and intellectual tradition of his own times, see Santangelo 2020. For a review of modern scholarship and an analysis of the structure and themes of the *Historiae*, see La Penna 1968,

The painstaking task of ordering, editing and analyzing the hundreds of fragments transmitted indirectly in the course of several centuries thus belongs to this later, post-1560 stage in the history of Sallustian scholarship, which – considering its scope and complexity – deserves a further, separate study. Meanwhile, though, we can see that even among the humanists of the mid- to late 1400s, particularly in Rome, the groundwork was being laid for later collections and editions of the smaller or "lesser" fragments, as scholars began scouring the works of grammarians, lexicographers and scholiasts to explain the significance and etymology of a word, illustrate specific points of orthography, syntax and prosody, or gather information on Roman civil and military history. Among the ancient witnesses, in fact, one name especially stands out: Nonius Marcellus, author of the *De compendiosa doctrina*, of uncertain date but probably of the fourth or early fifth century.[27] It is also a name that brings us back to the beginning of this essay and to a slightly different (manuscript) version of the preface to the *Catilina*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. XIV 179 (=4488), which not only laments the loss of the "continuous" *Historiae* but cites Nonius as a source of many of the surviving fragments.

> […] Quamobrem cum tanta eloquentia fuerit Salustius ut tantis scriptoribus tam graecis quam latinis non modo possit comparari sed et praeferendus esse uideatur, magna incitatione ad hunc librum perdiscendum commoueri debemur. Sed animaduertendum est quod quom ambitione deterritus aliisque malis se ab rei publicae administratione remouisset 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 uideamur.[28]
>
> Therefore, since Sallust's eloquence was so great that not only can he be compared with so many writers both Greek and Latin but he even seems to be worthy of higher esteem, we ought to be moved by [such a] great incentive to acquire a full knowledge of this book. But it must

247–311, partially translated in Batstone & Feldherr 2020, 350–370, and the introductions and notes in the recent editions by McGushin (Sallustius Crispus 1992–1994), La Penna & Funari (Sallustius Crispus 2015a) and Ramsey (Sallustius Crispus 2015b).

[27] Paolo Gatti dates the work to the early fifth century: Gatti 2014, xiii.

[28] "Praefatio", BNM, lat. XIV 179 (= 4488), fol. 149r, edited in Osmond & Ulery 2003, 240–241 (Version B).

> be observed that when deterred by ambition and other evils he had withdrawn from public life and devoted his leisure to writing, at first he undertook certain, as it were expository preludes, namely, the seditions of Catiline and the war of Jugurtha, then wrote a continuous history of the Latins, Greeks and foreigners. But the greatest detriment to the Roman language is that we have lost the books of his continuous history, which are much commemorated by Nonius Marcellus and others who write something of distinction. That which is left us, however, we must learn thoroughly, so that, despite the loss of so much of Sallust's eloquence on account of our negligence, we may persevere, lest, in this which is given to us, we seem to be negligent.

The reference to Nonius, I believe, provides an important indicator of the direction that studies of Sallust's *Historiae* would subsequently take. Whether or not Valla was the author of this preface (as claimed in the Venice 1491 edition), he was among the first to draw upon quotations from Sallust's lost books in the *De compendiosa doctrina* to illustrate lexical and grammatical usage in his *Elegantie* and other writings.[29] Pomponio Leto edited Nonius' *De proprietate latini sermonis* at the request of Georg Lauer (*c.*1470 or 1474–1476), collating earlier copies of the text with the assistance of Antonio Volsco.[30] Perotti, of course, made even more extensive use of Nonius, as evident in his *Cornu copiae* – and clearly documented in the important Sassoferrato edition – as well as in the many publications by the team of scholars working on this project.[31] According to Revilo P. Oliver, of the 28 genuine references to passages in Sallust's books 1–5 or the *incerta*, 19, that is, more than half, come from Nonius – nearly a third of the total number of Nonius fragments reported by Patrick McGushin.[32] As for the unidentified "new fragments" that have not been found in our editions of Nonius and have led to the question of a Nonius *auctus* or *plenior*, we can perhaps best describe the debate by quoting a statement by Jean–Louis Charlet of some years ago but still valid today:

> la valeur des citations de Perotti peut être très variable, toutes les citations non identifiées ne sont peut-être pas authentiques […] mais

[29] A more detailed discussion of the citations from Nonius in Valla, Pomponio, Perotti and others must await further study. It is important to note, however, their frequent borrowing of material from grammatical works and from each other's commentaries. See, for instance, Pade 2000 and Charlet 2001 on Perotti's debts to Valla.

[30] Nonius Marcellus [1474–1476]. The work was reprinted in several editions with Festus and Varro between 1480 and 1500 (see GW and ISTC). On Lauer see Veneziani 2008 and Ramminger 2018 on Pomponio's prefatory letter to Gaspare Biondo.

[31] Perotti 1989–2001.

[32] Oliver 1947, 400–405; Sallustius Crispus 1992, 8. See also the Index to the references to Sallust's *Historiae* in the Sassoferrato edition (Perotti 1989–2001) of the *Cornu copiae* 8.

> toutes ne sont peut-être pas non plus fausses […]. Reste à identifier ses sources et à en déterminer la valeur.[33]
>
> the value of Perotti's citations can vary greatly ; all the unidentified citations are perhaps not authentic […] but neither perhaps are they all false […]. It remains to identify his sources and determine their value.

In the fifteenth century there is as yet no deliberate plan to collect the fragments of Sallust's *Historiae* so as to reconstruct as much as possible of his missing work. Nevertheless, as Antonio La Penna writes in his "Prolegomena" to the first volume of *C. Sallusti Crispi Historiae*:

> Nella seconda metà del Quattrocento […] c'è la coscienza che l'opera più importante di Sallustio è andata perduta e che solo attraverso le citazioni degli antichi se ne può avere una conoscenza, per quanto limitata; benché non ci sia il disegno di raccogliere e ordinare i frammenti, affiora, però, il bisogno di una tale impresa filologica.[34]
>
> In the second half of the Quattrocento […] there is the awareness that the most important work of Sallust has been lost and that only through the citations of the ancients can one have a knowledge of it, however limited; although there is no plan to collect and order the fragments, there emerges, however, the need for such a philological enterprise.

In particular, I would say that the later scholarship on the *Historiarum fragmenta* owes much to the the humanist circles in Rome. It is the efforts of these Roman humanists to identify and transcribe passages—quotations and references in *veteres scriptores*—to illustrate correct usage, as W. Keith Percival has pointed out in his article on the role of Perotti's *Rudimenta grammatices* in the history of Latin grammar, to explain the meanings and spelling of words, syntax and style, as Jean-Louis Charlet has described the complementary work of Valla, Tortelli, and Perotti, or to provide, in the *Cornu copiae*, as Marianne Pade has observed, not only a commentary on Martial but an encyclopedia of the classical world, a source of material on all aspects of ancient civilization, embracing the humanist pedagogical ideals of both *rerum scientia* and *litterarum peritia.*[35] Just as the Roman humanists sought to preserve and publish the set of speeches and letters in Vat. lat. 3864, restoring them to the Sallustian corpus, so they realized the importance of recording the scattered remains, however small and seemingly random, of Sallust's *plenissima* and *perpetua historia*, opening the way to the more

[33] Charlet 1991, quoted in Bertini 2005, 39. Most modern editors also remain skeptical but still include these fragments among the "fragments of uncertain reference". On Perotti and Nonio see also Bertini 1981.

[34] Sallustius Crispus 2015a, 34.

[35] Percival 1979, Charlet 2001, Pade 2005a.

conscious and systematic collecting, editing and annotating of these *reliquiae* in the following century.

Bibliography

Abbamonte, Giancarlo 1999, "Niccolò Perotti, Pomponio Leto e il commento di Seruius auctus alle Georgiche", *Studi umanistici Piceni* 19, 25–37.

Abbamonte, Giancarlo 2012, *Diligentissimi uocabulorum perscrutatores: lessicografia ed esegesi dei testi classici nell'umanesimo romano di XV secolo*. Pisa.

Accame Lanzilotta, Maria 1990, "Il commento varroniano di Pomponio Leto", *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* XV, 309–45 & tavv. I–VI.

Accame Lanzilotta, Maria 1998, "Le annotazioni di Pomponio Leto ai libri VIII–X del *De lingua Latina* di Varrone", *Giornale italiano di filologia* 50, 41–57.

Batstone, William W. & Andrew Feldherr (eds.) 2020. *Sallust*, Oxford (*Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*).

Bertini, Ferruccio 1981, "Niccolò Perotti e il 'De compendiosa doctrina' di Nonio Marcello," *Res publica litterarum* 4, 27–41.

Bertini, Ferruccio 2005, "La fortuna di Nonio dal Medioevo al Perotti", *Prolegomena Noniana* V, 5–43.

Bertola, Maria 1942, *I due primi Registri di prestito della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*: *codici Vaticani Latini 3964, 3966*, [Città del Vaticano] (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi: Series maior* 27).

Canova, Andrea & Pasquale Di Viesti (edd.) 2014, *La tipografia a Mantova nel Quattrocento,* Mantova.

Canova, Andrea 2014, "I libri 'in cuna' della Teresiana e la tipografia a Mantova nel Quattrocento", Canova & Di Viesti 2014, 11-28.

Charlet, Jean-Louis 1993, "État présent des études sur N. Perotti", *Umanesimo fanese nel Quattrocento: Atti del Convegno di Studi nel V Centenario della morte di Antonio Costanzi (Fano, 21 giugno 1991), XII Congresso di studi umanistici, Sassoferrato 19-23 giugno 1991*, edd.: Anonimi, *Quaderni di nuovi studi fanesi* 1, 69–110

Charlet, Jean-Louis 2001, "Tortelli, Perotti et les 'Élégances' de L. Valla", *Res Publica Litterarum* 24, 94–105.

Charlet, Jean-Louis 2003, *Deux pièces de la controverse humaniste sur Pline, N. Perotti, Lettre à Guarnieri, C. Vitelli, Lettre à Partenio di Salò : Édition critique et commentaire*, Sassoferrato.

Charlet, Jean-Louis 2016, "La restauration du latin au Quattrocento: Valla, Tortelli, Perotti", *Giovanni Tortelli primo bibliotecario della Vaticana:*

Miscellanea di studi, eds.: Antonio Manfredi, Clementina Marsico & Mariangela Regoliosi, Città del Vaticano (*Studi e testi* 499 & *Studi e documenti sulla formazione della BAV* 8), 249–264.

Crinito, Pietro 1503, "Vita Sallustii", *C. Crispi Sallustii Liber de coniuratione Catilinae, De bello Iugurthino, In M. T. Ciceronem invectiva, M. T. Ciceronis in Crispum Sallustium responsio*, Florentiae, a[iv] – v[vii]v.

Daniel, Natalia, Gerhard Schott & Peter Zahn 1979, *Die Handschriften aus der Folioreihe: Zweite Hälfte,* Wiesbaden (*Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München* 3).

Dionisotti, Anna Carlotta 1997, "On Fragments in Classical Scholarship", *Collecting fragments = Fragmente sammeln*, ed.: Glen W. Most, Göttingen (*Aporemata* 1), 1–33.

Farenga, Paola 1994, "Il sistema delle dediche nella prima editoria romana del Quattrocento", *Il libro a corte*, ed.: Amedeo Quondam, Roma (*Biblioteca del Cinquecento* 60), 57–87.

Farenga, Paola 2003, "In the Margins of Sallust, Part I: Di un incunabulo non del tutto sconosciuto e del commento di Pomponio agli *Opera* di Sallustio", Miglio 2003, 1–11.

Gottschalck, Rasmus 2020, "Pietro Paolo Pompilio", Pade, Abbamonte, Bianca, Gaisser, Modigliani, Osmond & Ramminger 2007, www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/pompilio.htm, 3 January 2022.

Guglielmo da Pastrengo 1991, *De viris illustribus et de originibus*, ed. : Guglielmo Bottari, Padova (*Studi sul Petrarca* 20 [=21]).

Hauler, Edmund 1895, "Junge Handschriften und alte Ausgaben zu Sallust," *Wiener Studien* 17, 104–121.

La Penna, Antonio 1968, *Sallustio e la "rivoluzione" romana,* Milano (*I fatti e le idee* 181).

Martelli, Cecilia 2007, "The Production of Illuminated Manuscripts in Florence and Urbino", *Federico da Montefeltro and his Library*, ed.: Marcello Simonetta, Milano & Città del Vaticano, 40–50.

Martialis, Marcus Valerius 1473, *Epigrammata*, Romae, GW M21265 & ISTC im00299000.

Miglio, Massimo (ed.) 2003, *Antiquaria a Roma: Intorno a Pomponio Leto e Paolo II*, Roma (*Roma nel Rinascimento inedita saggi* 31).

Modigliani, Anna, Patricia Osmond, Marianne Pade & Johann Ramminger (eds.) 2011, *Pomponio Leto, tra identità locale e cultura internazionale: Atti del convegno internazionale (Teggiano, 3–5 October 2008)*, Teggiano (*Roma nel Rinascimento inedita saggi* 48).

Monfasani, John 1988, "*The First Call for Press Censorship: Niccolò Perotti, Giovanni Andrea Bussi, Antonio Moreto, and the Editing of Pliny's* Natural History", *Renaissance Quarterly* 41, 1–31.

Nonius Marcellus [about 1474–1476], *De proprietate latini sermonis*, Romae, GW M27226 & ISTC in00263000.

Nonius Marcellus 2014, *Nonio Marcello*, *De compendiosa doctrina* 1, edd.: Paolo Gatti, Rosanna Mazzacane & Emanuela Salvadori, Firenze (*Millennio medievale* 104, 1).

Oliver, Revilo P. 1947, "'New Fragments' of Latin Authors in Perotti's *Cornucopiae*", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 78, 376–424.

Osmond, Patricia J. 2003, "In the Margins of Sallust, Part III: Pomponio Leto's Notes on 'Ars Historica'", Miglio 2003, 36–49.

Osmond, Patricia J. 2005, "The Valla Commentary on Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*: Questions of Authenticity and Reception", Pade 2005, 29–48.

Osmond, Patricia J. 2010, "Pomponio Leto's unpublished commentary on Sallust: five witnesses (and more)", *Early printed books as material objects: Proceedings of the Conference organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section*, *Munich, 19-21 August 2009*, eds.: Bettina Wagner & Marcia Reed, Berlin & New York (*IFLA publications* 149), 135–149.

Osmond, Patricia J. 2011a, "*Lectiones Sallustianae*. Pomponio Leto's annotations on Sallust: a commentary for the Academy?", Pade 2011, 91–108.

Osmond, Patricia J. 2011b. "Testimonianze di ricerche antiquarie tra i fogli di Sallustio", Modigliani, Osmond, Pade & Ramminger 2011, 179–198.

Osmond, Patricia J. 2015, "Pomponio Leto's Life of Sallust: between *vita* and *invectiva*", Pade 2015, 35–62.

Osmond, Patricia J. 2020, "*Princeps Historiae Romanae*: Sallust in Renaissance Political Thought"[2], Batstone & Feldherr 2020, 401–444.

Osmond, Patricia J. & Ennio Sandal 2007, "La bottega del libraio-editore Antonio Moretto: Editoria e commercio librario a Venezia, c.1480-1518", *The Books of Venice: Il libro veneziano*, eds.: Lisa Pon & Craig Kallendorf, Lido di Venezia & New Castle, DE (*Miscellanea Marciana* 20), 231–250.

Osmond, Patricia J. & Robert W. Ulery, Jr. 2003, "Sallustius Crispus, Gaius", *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries* 8, ed.: Virginia Brown, Washington, D.C., 183–326.

Osmond, Patricia J. & Robert W. Ulery, Jr. 2014, "Sallustius Crispus, Gaius. *Addenda et corrigenda*", *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum:*

Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries 10, ed.: Greti Dinkova-Bruun, Toronto, 375–391.

Pade, Marianne 2000, "*Valla e Perotti*", *Studi Umanistici Piceni* 20, 72–85.

Pade, Marianne (ed.) 2005, *On Renaissance Commentaries*: *Noctes Neolatinae*. Hildesheim.

Pade, Marianne 2005a, "Niccolò Perotti's *Cornu copiae*: Commentary on Martial and Encyclopedia", Pade 2005, 49–63.

Pade, Marianne 2007, "Un nuovo codice pomponiano? Appunti sulle relazioni tra Niccolò Perotti e Pomponio Leto", *Pomponio Leto e la prima accademia romana*, edd.: Chiara Cassiani & Myriam Chiabò, Roma (*Roma nel Rinascimento inedita saggi* 37), 25–40.

Pade, Marianne, Giancarlo Abbamonte, Concetta Bianca, Julia H. Gaisser, Anna Modigliani, Patricia Osmond & Johann Ramminger (eds.) 2007, *Repertorium Pomponianum*, www.repertoriumpomponianum.it, 7 January 2022.

Pade, Marianne 2008, "London, British Library, King's 32", Pade, Abbamonte, Bianca, Gaisser, Modigliani, Osmond & Ramminger 2007, www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/mss_et_inc/bl_kings_32.htm, 3 January 2022.

Pade, Marianne (ed.) 2011a, *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 (*Analecta Romana Instituti Danici: Supplementum* 42).

Pade, Marianne 2011b, "*Lectiones Sallustianae*: The 1490 Sallust Annotations, the Presentation Copy", Pade 2011a, 109–122.

Pade, Marianne 2011c, "Pomponio Leto e la lettura di Marziale nel Quattrocento", Modigliani, Osmond, Pade & Ramminger 2011, 95–114.

Pade, Marianne 2014, "The Material Fortune of Niccolò Perotti's *Cornu Copiae* in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", *Neo-Latin Philology: Old Tradition, New Approaches*, ed.: Marc van der Poel, Leuven (*Humanistica Lovaniensia: Supplementa* 25), 72–87.

Pade, Marianne (ed.) 2015a, Vitae Pomponianae, *Biografie di autori antichi nell'Umanesimo romano / Lives of Classical Writers in Fifteenth-Century Roman Humanism: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the Danish and American Academies of Rome, 23–24 April 2013)*, *Renæssanceforum* 9.

Pade, Marianne 2015b, "The *Vitae Statii*. Niccolò Perotti and Pomponio Leto", Pade 2015a, 139–155.

Pade, Marianne (ed.) 2017, "Pomponius Laetus, Papinii Statii vita"[2], Pade, Abbamonte, Bianca, Gaisser, Modigliani, Osmond & Ramminger 2007,

www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/textus/leto_vita_statii.htm, 3 January 2022.

Pade, Marianne 2021, "The paratexts to the printed editions of Niccolò Perotti's *Cornu copiae*: commissions, patronage and intended readership", *I paratesti nelle edizioni a stampa dei classici greci e latini XV–XVIII sec.*, eds.: Giancarlo Abbamonte, Marc Laureys & Lorenzo Miletti, Pisa, 231–251.

Percival, W. Keith 1979, "Renaissance Grammar: Rebellion or Evolution?", *Interrogativi dell'Umanesimo: Atti del X Convegno internazionale del Centro Studi Umanistici, Montepulciano 1973* 2, ed.: Giannangiola Tarugi, Firenze, 73–90.

Percival, W. Keith 2010, "Pomponio Leto's Grammatical Writings", Pade & Abbamonte & Bianca & Gaisser & Modigliani & Osmond & Ramminger 2007, www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/themata/grammatical_writings.htm, 3 January 2022.

Percival, W. Keith 2018, "Nicolaus Perottus, *Vita Martialis*", Pade, Abbamonte, Bianca, Gaisser, Modigliani, Osmond & Ramminger, www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/textus/perotti_vita_martialis.htm, 3 January 2022.

Perotti, Niccolò 1473, *Rudimenta grammatices*, Romae, GW M31241 & ISTC ip00300000.

Perotti, Niccolò 1474, *Rudimenta grammatices*, Romae, GW M31231 & ISTC ip00302000.

Perotti, Niccolò 1476, *Rudimenta grammatices*, Romae, GW M31232 & ISTC ip00305500.

Perotti, Niccolò 1989–2001, *Cornu copiae seu linguae Latinae commentarii* 1–8, edd.: Jean-Louis Charlet, Giancarlo Abbamonte, Monique Furno, Pernille Harsting, Marianne Pade, Johann Ramminger & Fabio Stok, Sassoferrato 1989–2001, Pade, Abbamonte, Bianca, Gaisser, Modigliani, Osmond & Ramminger 2007, www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/textus/perotti_cornu_copiae.htm, 6 January 2022.

Petrarca, Francesco [1945], *Rerum memorandarum libri*, ed.: Giuseppe Billanovich, Firenze (*Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca* 5, 1).

Plinius Secundus, Gaius 1473, *Historia naturalis*, Romae, GW M34308 & ISTC ip00789000.

Polybius [1472], *Historiae*, tr.: Niccolò Perotti, Romae, GW M34818 & ISTC ip00907000.

Ramminger, Johann (ed.) 2017, "Nicolaus Perottus, Preface of the commentary to Statius' *Silvae*", Pade, Abbamonte, Bianca, Gaisser,

Modigliani, Osmond & Ramminger 2007, www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/textus/perotti_pref_silv.htm, 3 January 2022.

Ramminger, Johann (ed.) 2018a, "Pomponio Leto, Letter to Gaspare Biondo", Pade, Abbamonte, Bianca, Gaisser, Modigliani, Osmond & Ramminger 2007, www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/textus/leto_gasp_biondo.htm, 4 January 2022.

Ramminger, Johann (ed.) 2018b, "Nicolaus Perottus, *Vita Martialis*", Pade, Abbamonte, Bianca, Gaisser, Modigliani, Osmond & Ramminger 2007, www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/textus/perotti_vita_martialis.htm, 3 January 2022.

Reynolds, Leighton Durham (ed.) 1983, *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, Oxford.

Sallustius Crispus, Gaius 1475, *Ex libris Historiarum orationes et epistolae*, Romae, GW M39607 & ISTC is00091000.

Sallustius Crispus, Gaius [after Sept. 1475], *Ex libris Historiarum orationes et epistolae*, [Mantuae], GW M39670 & ISTC is00092000.

Sallustius Crispus, Gaius [not after 1478], *Opera*, Parisiis, GW M39651 & ISTC is00065000.

Sallustius Crispus, Gaius 1490, *Opera*, ed.: Pomponio Leto, Romae, GW M39655 & ISTC is00075000.

Sallustius Crispus, Gaius 1491, *Opera*, ed.: Pomponio Leto, Venetiis, GW M39607 & ISTC is00076000.

Sallustius Crispus, Gaius 1991, *C. Sallustii Crispi Iugurtha, Historiarum Fragmenta Selecta, Appendix Sallustiana*, ed.: Leighton Durham Reynolds, Oxford (*Oxford Classical Texts*).

Sallustius Crispus, Gaius 1992–1994, *Sallust, The Histories* 1–2, ed. & tr.: Patrick McGushin, Oxford.

Sallustius Crispus, Gaius 2015a, *C. Sallusti Crispi Historiae* 1: *Fragmenta 1.1–146*, eds.: Antonio La Penna & Rodolfo Funari, Berlin (*Texte und Kommentare* 51).

Sallustius Crispus, Gaius 2015b, *Sallust, Fragments of the Histories: Letters to Caesar*, ed. &tr.: John T. Ramsey, Cambridge, Mass. (*Loeb Classical Library* 522*)*.

Santangelo, Federico 2020, "Sallust and the Annalists from Manuzio to Peter", *L'historiographie romaine, morphologie, thématique et postérité d'un genre littéraire : Hommages à Martine Chassignet*, éds.: Alban Badou, Mouna Essaidi & Yves Lehmann. Turnhout (*Recherches sur les rhétoriques religieuses* 33), 197–213.

Sabbadini, Remigi o 1903, "*Spogli Ambrosiani latini*", *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 11, 165–388.

Ulery, Robert W., Jr. 2003, "In the Margins of Sallust, Part II. The Sources and Method of Commentary", Miglio 2003, 13–33.

Ulery, Robert W., Jr. 2005, "Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* in the Edition of Venice, 1500: The Medieval Commentary and the Renaissance Reader", Pade 2005, 7–28.

Ullman, Berthold Louis 1973, "The Dedication Copy of Pomponio Leto's Edition of Sallust and the 'Vita' of Sallust", *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*[2]. Rome (*Storia e letteratura: Raccolta di studi e testi* 51), 365–372.

Veneziani, Paolo 2008, "Georg Lauer", Pade, Abbamonte, Bianca, Gaisser, Modigliani, Osmond & Ramminger 2007, www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/lauer.htm, 3 January 2022.