

**WHO EDITED AND WHO TRANSLATED THE ANONYMOUS
COMMENTARY TO PTOLEMY'S *TETRABIBLOS*
AND (PS.-)PORPHYRY'S *ISAGOGE* (BASEL 1559)?**

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ABSTRACT

It is shown against recently advanced doubts that both works were edited and translated by the humanist Hieronymus Wolf. Moreover, the true authorship of the prefaces to both works, which has been an issue of confusion, is ascertained. The evidence comes mostly from Wolf's letters and autobiographies which were hitherto unknown to classical philologists and historians of astrology. These texts elucidate the reasons that account for the lack of clarity and certain deceptive features of both prefaces in the 1559 edition. Moreover, Wolf's hitherto unknown autograph of an earlier attempt at revising Giorgio Valla's rough Latin translation of the anonymous commentary is presented, and it is shown that Wolf wished to publish also a Latin translation of the third Greek text that tries to facilitate the understanding of Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, namely the so-called Proclus paraphrase, and why that additional plan eventually failed.

KEY WORDS: ANONYMITY, AUTOBIOGRAPHY, *CENTILOQUIUM*, COMMENTARY, GIORGIO VALLA, GIROLAMO CARDANO, HEINRICH PETRI, HERMES, HIERONYMUS WOLF, HOROSCOPE, JOHANN JAKOB FUGGER, JOHANNES OPORINUS, LETTER, PARAPHRASE, PORPHYRY, PROCLUS, PTOLEMY, *TETRABIBLOS*, TRANSLATION, *TYPOGRAPHUS*.

**¿QUIÉN EDITÓ Y QUIÉN TRADUJO EL COMENTARIO ANÓNIMO AL *TETRABIBLOS*
DE TOLOMEO Y LA *ISAGOGE* DE PORFIRIO (BASILEA 1559)?**

RESUMEN

Este trabajo se posiciona frente a las dudas recientemente planteadas de que ambas obras fueron editadas y traducidas por el humanista Jerónimo Wolf. Además, la verdadera autoría de los prólogos de ambas obras, que ha sido un tema de confusión, está acreditada. La evidencia procede sobre todo de las cartas y autobiografías de Wolf que han sido hasta ahora desconocidas para filólogos clásicos e historiadores de la astrología. Estos textos clarifican las razones que contribuyen a la falta de claridad y a ciertas peculiaridades engañosas de ambos prefacios en la edición de 1559. Por otra parte, ofrecemos un autógrafo de Wolf hasta ahora no conocido sobre un anterior intento de revisar la ruda traducción latina hecha por Giorgio Valla del comentario anónimo y demostramos que Wolf quería publicar también una traducción latina del tercer texto griego tratando de facilitar la comprensión del *Tetrabiblos* de Tolomeo, a saber, la llamada paráfrasis de Proclo, y explicar por qué este plan adicional fracasó eventualmente.

PALABRAS CLAVE: ANÓNIMO, AUTOBIOGRAFÍA, *CENTILOQUIUM*, COMENTARIO, GIORGIO VALLA, GIROLAMO CARDANO, HEINRICH PETRI, HERMES, HIERONYMUS WOLF, HORÓSCOPO, JOHANN JAKOB FUGGER, JOHANNES OPORINUS, CARTA, PARÁFRASIS, PORFIRIO, PROCLUS, TOLOMEO, *TETRABIBLOS*, TRADUCCIÓN, *TYPOGRAPHUS*.

1. Introduction

The two works named in the title above were first published by Heinrich Petri (1508–1579) in Basel in September 1559 (VD16 P 5250)¹. For both of them, this remained the one and only early modern edition. While Porphyry’s (largly spurious) introduction to Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos*² received a second, modern edition by Boer and Weinstock (1940), the much larger and more important anonymous commentary still lacks a modern edition which is, however, in preparation by Raúl Caballero-Sánchez, to be published in the Teubner series³. Until recently, classical scholars and historians of astrology used to consult the anonymous commentary rarely, usually prompted by their interest in Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos* (i.e., not by interest in the commentary itself), and using the only available edition (1559), if they managed to get hold of a copy. During such superficial consultations it was difficult to discern, judging from the early modern edition itself, which historical scholar had taken care of which part of that enterprise. Therefore recent scholars are usually content with uncritically repeating the *communis opinio*, namely that the editor of both commentaries to Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos*, and maybe also their Latin translator, was the humanist Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580)⁴. Our earliest source for these attributions, and possibly their origin⁵, is Bouché-Leclercq who wrote in his very influential monograph *L’astrologie grecque* (1899, p. XII): “Nous possédons encore deux commentaires anciens de la *Tétrabible*, attribués l’un à Proclus, l’autre à Porphyre, et imprimés ensemble à

¹ For basic information on Heinrich Petri, cf. GRIMM 1969 and esp. RESKE 2015: 74–76.

² For the most recent discussion of its authenticity see LÁZLÓ 2021.

³ It is to be hoped that this meritorious project, which started about a decade ago, will be brought to completion soon. In four already published philological *prodromoi* to his edition (CABALLERO-SÁNCHEZ 2013a, 2013b, 2019a, 2019b), the Spanish editor has thoroughly examined the complex manuscript tradition and the history of the text, edited the methodological scholia to book I, analyzed the historico-philosophical context of this commentary and investigated the question why the commentator calls Ptolemy ὁ παλαιός. Several more articles by Caballero-Sánchez on the date of composition and other aspects of the commentary are forthcoming.

⁴ The best detailed survey of the life and works of this humanist is that of BECK 1966. See also SCHMIDBAUER 1963: 55–75 (contains various *errata*), and the more succinct dictionary entries by JAUMANN 2004: 708, and ZÄH 2011. The most complete bibliography is in ZÄH 1998: 305–398 (305–375: printed works by Wolf; 376–386: literature on Wolf). See also LUDWIG 2020 and the survey of Wolf’s biography with copious bibliographical references at <https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/jancke-quellenkunde/verzeichnis/w/wolf/index.html>.

⁵ Admittedly, we did not bother to investigate further.

Bâle en 1559, avec traduction latine, par H. Wolf'. This early modern edition, whose quire formula is a–b6, A–R6, Aa–Ee6, Ff8 (with additional pagination starting on fol. <a1>^r), comprizes altogether three texts: (I) the anonymous Greek commentary, (II) (Ps.-)Porphiry's *Isagoge*, and (III) a Latin translation (through a Greek intermediary) of Abū Ma'shar's *De revolutionibus nativitatum* with erroneous ascription to Hermes⁶. The exact titles as given on the front page (fol. <a1>^r) are:

I: Εἰς τὴν Τετράβιβλον τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐξηγητῆς ἀνόνημος. In Claudii Ptolemaei Quadripartitum enarrator ignoti nominis, quem tamen Proclum fuisse quidam existimant (pp. 1–180).

II: Πορφυρίου φιλοσόφου εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Ἀποτελεσματικὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου. Porphyrii philosophi introductio in Ptolemaei opus de effectibus astrorum (pp. 181–204).

III: Hermetis philosophi de revolutionibus nativitatum, incerto interprete (pp. 205–279)⁷.

These three editions are preceded by the title page (fol. <a1>^r), an epigram (fol. <a1>^v), a preface by the *typographus* (fol. a2^{r-v}, erroneously signed “a3”), an *Index rerum et verborum memorabilium* to all three works (fol. a3^r–<b5>^v), and *Errata* (fol. <b6>^r). A second, very short preface by the same *typographus* to part II is on p. 180, a prefatory letter to part III, signed by Hieronymus Wolf, is on pp. 207–210.

Only recently a colleague⁸ challenged both attributions, that of the edition and that of the Latin translation, of both Ptolemaic commentaries (parts I and II) to Wolf. As he pointed out, Wolf's name occurs only once in the whole book, as the author of

⁶ The Arabic original (*Kitāb Tahāwīl sinī l-mawālīd*, “On the Revolutions of the Years of the Nativities”; cf. BURNETT 2009: 22–29), is a work on anniversary horoscopes for individual persons in nine books of which the first five were translated into Greek in the tenth century (this Greek version has been edited by PINGREE 1968) and thence into Latin in the thirteenth, probably by Stephen of Messina (1262). Another partial translation of the same work which contains most of book I and the first chapters of book II was made directly from Arabic, probably by John of Seville. The unpublished fragments are extant in at least ten MSS, as D. Juste kindly informs me (e-mail 26.08.2020). The Arabic original and the two translations are being prepared for publication by Ch. Burnett.

⁷ That the Latin text was translated from a Greek version (which had, in its turn, been translated from Arabic) is explicitly stated in the incipit on p. 211: *Incipit brevis compilatio Hermetis philosophi de revolutionibus nativitatum liber primus translatus de graeco in Latinum*. This correct reconstruction of the translation history of this text is the merit of Wolf (preface to part II, p. 207) who did not see either Greek or Arabic manuscripts of the text but based his conjecture on internal criteria.

⁸ In an e-mail to S. Heilen.

the aforementioned prefatory letter to part III; therefore, he argued, this volume must rather be the initiative of the publisher (Petri) or one of his associates, as suggested by the prefaces to parts I and II. As to the Latin translation, he pointed out – with reference to the words *anonymo interprete* in the title of part I (p. 1) – that the publisher himself did not know who the translator was, with the consequence that the date of the translation is likewise unknown.

In view of such plausibly advanced doubts, which may easily trouble other readers, too, it will be useful to demonstrate that the traditional attributions of both the editorship and the Latin translation of both commentaries to Wolf are correct. Moreover, the opportunity will be used to present various, partly surprising new insights regarding that early modern editorial enterprise, and to correct some erroneous assumptions in recent secondary literature. The focus will be much more on the anonymous commentary (part I) than on (Ps.-)Porphyry's *Isagoge* (part II)⁹.

2. The editor and the translator of part I are identical

A first, very helpful load of evidence comes from the preface on fol. a2^{r-v}, which is dated 1st September 1559¹⁰. Despite its anonymous and – at least to modern readers – misleading presentation (fol. a2^r: *Typographus lectori astrologiae studioso salutem*)¹¹, its speaker must be Petri, the publisher (i.e., not the typesetter), because the speaker presents himself as the owner of the business (f. 2^v): *Arbitror enim con-*

⁹ Compared to Zäh's edition (2013), our quotations from Wolf's letters are here systematically modified in the following respects in order to ease understanding: the punctuation and the use of *u* and *v* are adapted to the standard in modern editions of classical Latin texts, all accents are omitted, *ij* is transcribed as *ii* (but in compounds of *iacere* as a single *i*), *æ* and *ę* as *ae*, *œ* as *oe*. As to the genesis of the present article, it was initiated, conceptually structured and written by S. Heilen. It was only after having analyzed the hitherto overlooked internal evidence of the 1559 edition for Wolf being the editor and translator (see n. 22) that Heilen came into contact with H. Zäh, the leading expert on Hieronymus Wolf. The ensuing correspondence turned out to be most beneficial because Zäh contributed many important pieces of information as well as photographs of unpublished documents, examined various books in the BSB München and the Augsburg public library, and accompanied the writing of this article with detailed critical feedback. In retrospect, the presentation of the internal evidence of the 1559 edition, which comes from the third preface and is plausible but not compelling, could have been omitted in view of the definitely compelling external evidence found later, but it seemed desirable to preserve the section on the internal evidence, thus reviewing the available evidence completely.

¹⁰ For the complete text of this preface, see Appendix I below.

¹¹ Regrettably, the word *typographus* is not treated by Rizzo 1984. For its meaning 'publisher', cf. n. 33 below and the title of Wolf's letter quoted in n. 33 below.

*stare iam viris doctis et candide iudicantibus typographiam meam bonarum artium conservationi et propagationi servare magis quam rei familiari*¹².

We learn from the preface that Petri had recently come across the Latin translation of the anonymous commentary published posthumously in Venice in 1502 under the name of Giorgio Valla (1447–1500)¹³. His first excitement quickly vanished when he realized that the Venetian edition contained nothing more than a rough translation, teeming with omissions and unemended errors. Therefore Petri managed to get hold of one Greek manuscript of the commentary and asked an erudite friend to check Valla's translation against the Greek original in order to emend what Valla had left unfinished due to his premature death. The unnamed friend agreed, but already on the first page he found such a plethora of mistakes that Petri asked him to provide a complete new translation of the anonymous commentary. With much hesitation, his friend agreed to this request, too. Once he had finished the task, he complained that he had never in his life done a more tedious and difficult job, but he claimed to have reliably corrected many passages of the heavily corrupt Greek manuscript by means of clever conjectural criticism, and that he had done his best regarding the remaining textual problems. This friend had asked explicitly that his name not be attached to the printed edition, not out of contempt for the anonymous commentary, in which he had found many 'useful and delightful' details, but out of fear that contemporary humanists might reproach him for not having invested that time in the study of a 'better author'. Petri respected this request for anonymity¹⁴. Since he finishes his preface without returning to the Latin translation which he had commissioned, the only plausible conclusion is that his friend accomplished both the critical edition and the Latin translation that we find on pp. 1–180.

¹² Therefore the speaker of the short preface to part II, with the title *Typographus lectori salutem* (p. 180), must equally be Petri.

¹³ For full bibliographical data, see the entry 'Anon. comm. 1502' in the bibliography below. Cf. David JUSTE, 'Ed. Venice, Simon Bivilaqua, 1502' (update: 21.05.2019), *Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus. Early Prints*, URL = <http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/print/55>. That website provides images of all pages of this rare book.

¹⁴ This is, then, the subtle reason why the translator of part I is called 'anonymous' (p. 1 tit.: *anonymo interprete*), unlike the translator of part III, who is called 'uncertain' (p. 205 tit.: *incerto interprete*) because his identity was actually unknown. In an earlier publication S. Heilen touched briefly on the edition of 1559 and, erroneously assuming that the first preface's speaker was Wolf (not Petri), concluded that we do not know the identity of the unnamed friend mentioned in the preface (HEILEN 2010: 66, with n. 160 on p. 86). That conclusion is now obsolete.

3. Identification of the editor/translator of parts I and II

The decisive clue to establishing the editor's and translator's identity comes from the prefatory letter to part III of the same work. It is a letter written by Hieronymus Wolf on the 1st of January 1558 to the Augsburg patrician Paul Hainzel (1527–1581) who was already then, together with his brother Johann Baptist (1524–1581), a promoter of the sciences, especially astronomy (including Tycho Brahe during his stay in Augsburg)¹⁵. The letter in question, which Zäh 2013 edited as letter 142 of Wolf's altogether 508 extant letters¹⁶, is, in the 1559 edition, more than three folio pages long (pp. 207–210) and deserves a somewhat more detailed presentation. We learn from it that Hainzel had somehow come across an anonymous Latin translation of *Hermes on revolutions of nativities*, that he made a copy of that text and tried hard to emend its numerous corruptions; since this effort was only partially successful, he sent his copy with all its annotations and conjectures to Wolf with the request for further emendation. This Wolf did, and the letter is meant to accompany the manuscript which he is sending back to Hainzel. Moreover, Wolf remarks that while the translation must have been made from a Greek version, the work must ultimately go back to a non-Greek, presumably Arabic, original¹⁷. If he had had access to the Greek version, Wolf continues, he could have polished and improved the Latin translation further, but even so the result is now, in Wolf's own judgement, fairly satisfactory (*ut pauca in hoc libro desiderentur*). Therefore it is now time to make this text 'most worthy of being read by all astrologers' available to the public, and Wolf asks Hainzel to take care of this task (*Nunc serio a te postulo, ut Hermetem omnium astrologorum lectione dignissimum in publicum edas*, p. 208).

It is clear that both Hainzel and Wolf take great interest in astrological literature, which is not surprising because Wolf had been a student of Melanchthon (1538–1539)¹⁸. Wolf actually speaks of astrology as *divina Mathesis* and *nostris amoribus* (p. 208), of *nostra astrologia* (p. 209) and Paul's love and commitment for her (ibid.:

¹⁵ Its title reads: *Ornatissimo viro Paulo Haintzelio patricio Augustano Hieronymus Wolfius salutem plurimam dicit* (p. 207, erroneously signed '217'). On the Hainzel brothers see KEIL 1998. Both brothers served as mairs of Augsburg, Johann Baptist from 1558 to 1567, Paul from 1568 to 1580. On Paul Hainzel see further KEIL – ZÄH 2004a: 51–52, and KEIL – ZÄH 2004b: 146–148.

¹⁶ Online at <http://mateo.uni-mannheim.de/cera/wolf1/142.pdf>.

¹⁷ He was right; see nn. 6 and 7 above. It is clear that Wolf had not seen the Greek version.

¹⁸ ZÄH 2011: 526; on the importance of astrology in Wolf's life, cf. ibid.: 527.

tuos autem, Paule, sui amore et cultura diligenti vehementer delectatur, si Hermetem alumnum suum e tenebris in lucem atque in oculos hominum produxeris), but he also emphasizes that this love for astrology remains impeccably within the limits allowed by Christian orthodoxy¹⁹. Wolf's competence as a practicing astrologer is confirmed by the fact that he adorns his letter, after the final greeting to Paul, with a fully elaborated chart of the morning when he wrote that letter²⁰.

Moreover, the letter implies that Hainzel, after receiving his manuscript back, forwarded it together with Wolf's letter to Heinrich Petri for publication. Wolf himself promises to negotiate with Petri in order to obtain his consent for publication of Hainzel's astrological text, 'so that instead of your one Hermes [i.e., the manuscript] a thousand Hereses may proceed into the world and be honored by all peoples etc.'²¹. Then comes the sentence which is decisive for our purpose²²:

¹⁹ 208–209, with a rather long polemic against the detractors of astrology whose silly objections the divine art does not care about, just like a magnanimous horse is full of contempt for a bunch of barking small curs: [...] *quos ASTROLOGIA instar magnanimi equi cum contemptu tanquam baubantes caniculos praeterit*.

²⁰ The central field contains the following data: *Figura Coeli Anno || 1558. Calend. Ianuar. || H. M. || 10. 15. ante Meridiem. || Dies ☿ Hora ☉ || Polus 48.8.*, i.e.: 'Celestial chart of the year 1558, 1st of January, 10:15 AM, Saturday, an hour ruled by the Sun, geographical latitude 48° 8'. The weekday is correct, and so is the information on the hour-ruler because 10:15 AM is part of the eleventh hour and counting down from Saturn to the Moon (7 planets) and then once more from Saturn to the Sun (4 planets) makes a total of eleven planetary hours. Hieronymus 1997, vol. II, p. 862, curiously misinterprets the abbreviation *H. M.* (which means *Horis minutis*) as meaning *Hermes Megistos* and the diagram as being the birth chart of that Hermes: "Worauf er das Horoskop des 1. Januars 1558, 10 Uhr und fünfzehn Minuten vormittags – vermutlich der Zeit des Abschlusses dieses Briefes – als das der Geburtsstunde des 'H.M.' – des Hermes Megistos – mit der Breite Augsburgs 48° 8' (richtig nach heutiger Messung: 48° 20–25') folgen lässt." As to the geographical latitude, it is worth adding that after Tycho Brahe constructed (in 1570) the so-called Augsburg quadrant, then the largest sky observation device in Europe, Paul Hainzel was able to determine the latitude of Augsburg with unprecedented accuracy as 48° 22', about two kilometers off the true figure. Regrettably, this instrument was destroyed by a storm in December 1574. Other horoscopes cast by Wolf are extant, for example, in his autobiography (Zäh 2013, http://mateo.uni-mannheim.de/cera/wolf1/Wolf_Hieronymus_Commentariolus_ed_Zaeh_2013.pdf, pp. 14, 15, 16, 18, 22, 74).

²¹ [...] *ut pro uno tuo mille Hermetes novo cultu exornati in publicum prodeant seque tuo beneficio et vivere et valere et amari et coli ubique gentium magnopere praedicent et immortalis voce testentur* (pp. 209–210).

²² The typographer's lapsus *qualescunque* was corrected in the *Errata* (ed. 1559, fol. <b6>). Once S. Heilen had (before getting into contact with H. Zäh) found this decisive passage in the preface to part III, he ran a google search for "*sedulo etiam in Ptolemaicis*" in order to check if any earlier

<p><i>Quod dum fit, sedulo etiam in Ptolemaicis commentariis laborabo, ut haud longo intervallo secuturi, quale[s]cunque de iis praeiudicium factum sit, non tam sua quam librariorum incuria et interpretum vitio se iam diu neglectos in tenebris et pulvere iacuisse ostendant.</i></p>	<p>Meanwhile [<i>i.e.</i>, while the pseudo-Hermetic treatise will be published], I shall work earnestly on the Ptolemaic commentaries, too, so that they may follow soon and show that, whatever previous judgement on them has been made²³, they had long been neglected and lying in dust and dark not because of their own defects but because of their copyists' lack of care and their translators'²⁴ shortcomings.</p>
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Since there are no other documented activities, manuscripts or publications of Wolf to which this sentence could refer, the only plausible explanation is that he is referring to what was later printed as parts I and II of the 1559 edition. This sentence also shows that Wolf was, on the date of this letter, assuming that the pseudo-Hermetic treatise would be published before the two Ptolemaic commentaries which he expected to follow

scholarly references to this passage can be retrieved. The search yielded a single hit, namely LUNA ET AL. 2012: 1643–1644, where the anonymous commentary is discussed as one of the works wrongly attributed to Proclus, and where (p. 1644) the words *sedulo* – *ostendant* are quoted as evidence that Wolf edited parts I and II of the 1559 edition, too (“cela permet d’affirmer que Wolf est aussi responsable des deux autres textes”). However, Luna and Segonds did not discover this piece of evidence themselves; they refer to the discussion of the edition of 1559 by HIERONYMUS 1997, vol. II: 860–863 (nr. 285), who concludes his paraphrase of the preface to part III (in which the Latin words *sedulo* – *ostendant* are not quoted verbatim but rendered as “In der Zwischenzeit werde er fleißig an Ptolemaeus-Kommentaren arbeiten”) thus (ibid. p. 860): “Aus dieser Widmung dürfen wir wohl auch darauf schließen, daß Wolf auch der anonym bleibende Übersetzer und Herausgeber der vorangehenden Ptolemaeus-Kommentare ist.” Frank Hieronymus’ book seems to have been overlooked by all those who worked on the anonymous commentary so far. We owe him only one insight (see n. 25 below). On the whole his discussion of the edition of 1559 contains very little information relevant to our propose, and readers may wish to use his pp. 860–863 with caution in view of some mistakes (cf. ex. gr. n. 20 above and n. 32 below as well as Hieronymus’ own erroneous first footnote). An earlier treatment of the same 1559 edition appeared in HIERONYMUS 1992: 412–414, nr. 282 (online: <https://ub.unibas.ch/cmsdata/spezialkataloge/gg/higg0282.html>).

²³ Wolf is here alluding to a recent negative judgement by Cardano; more on this n. 49 below.

²⁴ Wolf must be thinking of Giorgio Valla; on the Venetian edition of 1502 see n. 13 above.

(*secuturi*)²⁵. It is likely that he was also not expecting that Hainzel would eventually publish this letter which contains relatively long digressions, a horoscope and other details that give it the appearance of being an elaborate private letter to a friend rather than an official preface. Be this as it may, it is clear that Wolf did not foresee in early 1558 that the present letter would allow the reader of the preface to part I to identify the ‘erudite friend’ and thus thwart Wolf’s plan to stay anonymous.

Further evidence regarding the editor’s and translator’s identity comes from Wolf’s autobiography (*Commentariolus de vita sua*)²⁶. This work’s existence seems to have escaped the attention of all those who worked on the anonymous commentary so far. Wolf started working on it in 1564 and brought it to completion in early 1571. The autograph is lost, but an indirect 18th c. copy is extant²⁷. After a first printed edition was made by Reiske in 1773 and translated four times into German²⁸, the authoritative modern edition (with German translation) was made by Zäh²⁹. In chapter 23 (§ 27) Wolf reports³⁰:

²⁵ This was rightly observed by HIERONYMUS 1997, vol. II, p. 862, who speaks of the Hermetic text “der dann doch nicht mehr, wie von Wolf erwartet, vor, sondern mit dem Ptolemaeuskommentar zusammen erschienen ist”.

²⁶ Cf. the description of this work by ZÄH 2011: 527.

²⁷ This MS is Copenhagen, The Royal Danish Library, Ny kgl. Saml. 359, fol. It was used by Reiske for his edition (1773) and found its way to Copenhagen together with Reiske’s library. The Copenhagen MS was copied from a copy that David Hoeschel, Wolf’s successor in both his professional functions (i.e., as head of the Gymnasium of St. Anna and municipal librarian of Augsburg), had made from Wolf’s autograph. Hoeschel’s copy and Wolf’s autograph are lost. The Copenhagen MS presents numerous scribal mistakes.

²⁸ REISKE 1773: 772–876 (many editorial mistakes), translated by KOSEGARTEN 1801: 137–286, PASSOW 1830, SPRING 1982–1985, and BECK 1984.

²⁹ For the revised online version (2013), see http://mateo.uni-mannheim.de/cera/wolf1/wolf_autobiographie.html. An earlier version was published as a microfiche (ZÄH 1998) which, in its turn, is based on Zäh’s Munich doctoral thesis (1992). The autobiography takes the form of a long letter (86 pp. in Zäh’s online edition) to Johannes Oporinus (1507–1568, the name is latino-hellenized from this publisher’s birth name ‘Hans Herbst’) who published most of Wolf’s editions. Wolf’s model is the autobiography of Libanius. The full title reads thus: *Hieronymi Wolfii Oetingensis Rhaeti ad clarissimum virum optimeque et de se et de republica literaria merentem Ioannem Oporinum Basiliensem commentariolus coeptus quidem scribi anno 1564 sed aliquot annis post demum absolutus de vitae suae ratione ac potius fortuna*.

³⁰ ZÄH 2013 (mateo.uni-mannheim.de/cera/wolf1/Wolf_Hieronymus_Commentariolus_ed_Zaeh_2013.pdf), p. 77; cf. the German translation *ibid.* (mateo.uni-mannheim.de/cera/wolf1/Wolf_Hieronymus_Commentariolus_transl_Zaeh_2013.pdf), p. 90.

<p><i>Commentarios Ptolemaicos et Porphyrianam Isagogen in Fuggerana bibliotheca conversa edidit Basileae Henricus Petri cum Hermete de revolutionibus anno 1559, quorum ob infinitas depravationes me interpretem perhiberi puidit.</i></p>	<p>The commentaries to Ptolemy and Porphyry's introduction, which I had translated in the Fugger library³¹, were published in Basel by Heinrich Petri together with Hermes' work on revolutions in the year 1559. And it filled me with shame to be named as the translator of these [<i>i.e., the first two works</i>] because of their countless corruptions.</p>
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Since Wolf speaks of himself as the *interpres* and the whole relative clause matches exactly what Petri reports in his preface (fol. a2^r), it is now certain that Wolf edited and translated both the anonymous commentary and (Ps.-)Porphyry's *Isagoge*³².

Additional evidence is found near the end of a letter to the publisher Eusebius Episcopus (dated 23 August 1570), which is part of Wolf's 1572 edition of Demosthenes³³. The relevant passage refers to both the anonymous commentary and (Ps.-)Porphyry's *Isagoge* with the expression *scholia Ptolemaei*³⁴, and it emphasizes how much Wolf's competence in the field of textual criticism contributed to the elucidation of these texts. It reads thus:

- ³¹ Where the Greek manuscript was. The participle *conversa* is beyond doubt a cryptoactive reference to Wolf himself, as his following words about his shame prove. Cf. Zäh's German translation: "die ich in der Fuggerschen Bibliothek (ins Lateinische) übersetzt hatte".
- ³² This definitive piece of evidence was unknown to HIERONYMUS 1997 (see n. 22 above). The autobiography contains two further passages where Wolf mentions in passing his translation of the anonymous commentary (but not that of [Ps.-]Porphyry's *Isagoge*), namely ch. 23, § 17 (p. 72): *Cum ergo in Fuggerana bibliotheca Demosthenem et Isocratem recognovissem, Aeschinem, commentarium Ptolemaicum, Zonaram et Choniaten convertissem, [...]* and § 47 (p. 84): *Reliquae conversiones [scil. meae] semel editae sunt, Epicteti, Suidae, Commentarii Ptolemaici, Astrologicum item, 4 Ciceroniana opuscula, specimen et Gnomologiae Demosthenicae.*
- ³³ Basel 1572, vol. VI: 201–202, ed. ZÄH 2013 (letter 380). The title reads: *Hieronymi Wolfii ad Eusebium Episcopium industrium et magnificum typographum in varias lectiones Demosthenicas praefatio*. Besides this instance, Wolf uses the term *typographus* several more times in his letters in the entrepreneurial meaning 'publisher', but sometimes also in the technical meaning 'typographer': for the former, cf. e.g. his letter 15 (13 January 1548, to the mairs of Nürnberg) in which he remarks on his publisher Oporinus *qui [...] inter laudatos typographos non postremum locum tenet* as well as letter 145 (26 January 1558, to Oporinus) in which he speaks of *typographia tua*; for the latter meaning, cf. e.g. his letter 45 (28 August 1552, to Oporinus): *Emendari autem errata typographi non minus interest quam scriptoris*. In one instance (letter 64) that will be quoted below (cf. p. 112 below) Wolf alternates between both meanings within just a few lines.
- ³⁴ The word *scholia* is not treated by Rizzo 1984. In his preface to part II of the 1559 edition (p. 180), Heinrich Petri speaks of *duo hi libelli sequentes, Isagoge Porphyrii et collecta ex Demophilo scholia*.

Atque haec mea adiumenta fuerunt in iis autoribus interpretandis, quorum aut singulos tantum aut plures consentientes codices habui, neque coniecturas meas, quae et rationem grammaticam et sententiae veritatem et dictionem autoris sollicite consectantur, atque diuturnum in Graecis literis (in quibus aetatem consumpsi) usum et iudicium cum multis cariosis exemplis (etsi hoc invidis et imperitis arroganter dictum videbitur) commutata vellem. Neque hoc a me temere iactari docere poterunt Isocrates, Plutarchus, Epictetus, Suidas, Byzantina historia, scholia Ptolemaei, Ulpianus, alia complura, et hic ipse Demosthenes, quem non pluribus locis tot tam diversa exempla quam divinationes nostrae καὶ γνώμη ἐπιτυχῆς correxerunt.

And these were the resources on which I drew in my translations of those authors of whom I had either a single or several manuscripts that agreed with each other. And I would not wish to have my conjectures, which follow the grammatical rules and the truth of the sentence and the style of the author with painstaking care, and my longtime practical experience in Greek literature (in which I spent my life) and my critical competence based thereon replaced with many rotten handwritten copies (although this statement will seem arrogant to ill-disposed and unexperienced readers). And the fact that I am not bragging haphazardly in this respect will be proven by [*my editions of*] Isocrates, Plutarch, Epictetus, the Suda, the Byzantine history³⁵, the scholia to Ptolemy, Ulpianus³⁶ and several others³⁷ as well as by this very Demosthenes, whose text was corrected in quite a number of passages not by so many so discordant manuscript copies but rather by my [*philological*] intuitions and successful judgement.

At this point it would be nice if we could pull the proverbial rabbit out of the hat by presenting even the autograph of Wolf's Latin translation to the reader. What became of it? Wolf must have sent it to Petri in 1559 to be used as the exemplar of the printed edition. If the manuscript was not discarded afterwards, it was probably returned to Wolf. In later years (1572) he sold his conspicuous collection of printed books to the 'Gymnasium illustre' in Lauingen from where they were first transferred to the Jesuit college in Neuburg (1624) and eventually (1822) to what is now the *Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau*³⁸. But those were printed books only. After Wolf's death on 8 October

³⁵ Wolf edited Joannes Zonaras, Nicetas Choniates, Nicephorus Gregoras and Laonicus Chalcocondyles.

³⁶ Ulpianus' *Enarrationes* to 18 speeches of Demosthenes.

³⁷ Wolf translated and explained no less than 16 ancient authors.

³⁸ See <https://www.sbnd.de/historische-sammlungen/bestandsbeschreibung/>. This library's collection *Bibliotheca Wolfiana* comprises 1.241 printed books in 647 volumes. The year of Wolf's sale of the library is in many sources erroneously given as 1578; for the correct date, see ZÄH 2005. Moreover,

1580 in Augsburg, his entire handwritten *Nachlass* passed on to his brother Heinrich in Nürnberg³⁹ who died soon afterwards (1581). In the year 1606 Georg Rem (1561–1625), a native of Augsburg and professor at Altdorf, inquired with Heinrich Wolf's sons in law regarding the papers of Hieronymus Wolf. The news that he reported to Augsburg was disappointing: Due to decennial neglect the papers were in totally wretched condition, and it was only a question of time until they would have rotten away. Hence, we must assume that they perished at the latest during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

What we do, however, have is Wolf's Greek manuscript. It has been identified as BSB München, Cod.graec. 59, fol. 210^r–312^v (the anonymous commentary) and 313^r–327^r (the introduction attributed to Porphyry)⁴⁰. The relevant codicological unit of this miscellaneous manuscript, namely unit III (fol. 210^r–327^r), was written in Venice around 1550⁴¹, bound together with the other units (I, II, IV) in the Venetian workshop of Johann Jakob Fugger⁴², and sent to Augsburg where it belonged to the same Fugger's library no later than 1557. This is clear from the call number *Stat. VI 30* written on the inner side of the back cover by Hieronymus Wolf⁴³ who served as Fugger's librarian and private secretary from 1551 to 1557⁴⁴. On fol. 210^r–327^r (= unit III), Wolf made several Greek annotations to book I of the anonymous commentary (corrections and variants, both marginal and interlinear), but he did not leave any Latin annotations in this manuscript⁴⁵.

4. *When did Wolf work on the two commentaries?*

Besides his long, already published autobiography, Wolf wrote a much more concise and unpublished list of *Eventus insigniores meae geneseos* on interleaves in

some sources report that Wolf was forced by poverty to sell the library, but this is exaggerated: while he did also mention financial reasons, he was never really poor. With a yearly salary of 300 guildars he was rather among the best paid public employees of Augsburg.

³⁹ Hieronymus Wolf was never married and had no children.

⁴⁰ Cf. the codicological description by MOLIN PRADEL 2013: 49–56, esp. 52–53. That Wolf worked from the Cod.graec. 59 was already understood by BOER – WEINSTOCK 1940: 189.

⁴¹ MOLIN-PRADEL 2013: 49 and 55.

⁴² *Ibid.*: 55.

⁴³ HAJDÚ 2002: 25 and 43–45; cf. n. 76 below.

⁴⁴ These insights regarding the Greek manuscript from which Wolf worked are correctly reported by CABALLERO-SÁNCHEZ 2013a: 174–175 (with one typo on p. 174 in “*hacia la mitad del XV*”: correct “*XV*” to “*XVI*”). See also CABALLERO-SÁNCHEZ 2019b: 982.

⁴⁵ Wolf's Greek handwriting in Cod.graec. 59 as reported by MOLIN PRADEL 2013: 55, is confirmed by H. Zäh's autopsy and comparison with securely attributed Greek autographs of Wolf. For Wolf's Greek handwriting in other manuscripts, cf. HAJDÚ 2003 (with plates on pp. 43, 47–50, 53–55).

his personal copy of Cyprian Leowitz, *Ephemeridum novum atque insigne opus ab anno domini 1556 usque in 1606 accuratissime supputatum*, Augsburg: Ulhart 1557 (VD16 L 1263)⁴⁶. In this chronologically arranged list of autobiographical notes he writes, regarding the year 1554, that he completed his translation of ‘the commentaries to Ptolemy’ (i.e., that of the anonymous commentary and that of [Ps.-]Porphry’s *Isagoge*) on 9 March: *9 Martii absolvi conversionem commentariorum Ptolemaei, qui anno 1559 Septembri sunt editi*. It comes as a surprise that Wolf did this translation about four years earlier than one would have expected. The reason becomes clear when we take into account two letters from the fall of the following year, both directed to his publisher and friend Oporinus. On 9 November 1555 he writes, among other things (letter 96):

Proclum miror cur non Latini reddendum curaris. Anno superiore Henrico Petri verti ἀνώνυμόν τινα Πτολεμαίου ἐξηγητήν, et mendas Graeci codicis complures aut sustuli aut indicavi. Id opusculum haud incommode adiungi potuisset, etsi Graeculi illius loquacitas et mendae plurimae, ne nomen meum profiterer, me deterruerunt; deterrent eadem fortassis H. Petri ab excudendo, praesertim cum Cardani etiam praeiudicium accesserit. Habet tamen locos aliquot utiles, ob quos lectione dignus videtur. Me certe legisse non paenitet, vertisse paenitet, neque denuo legere dubitarem, si haberem, et cum Proclo isto conferre. ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἔξω τῆς ὑποθέσεως⁴⁷ καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς Ὀπωρινόν. Vale [...].

I wonder why you did not have Proclus translated into Latin. Last year I translated a certain anonymous commentator on Ptolemy for Heinrich Petri, and I either eliminated or indicated several defects of the Greek manuscript. That small work could comfortably have been added [*to a translation of Proclus*], although that [*anonymous*] Greekling’s loquacity and his countless [*copying*] mistakes deterred me from stating my name openly; maybe the same [*shortcomings*] deter H. Petri from having [*it*] printed, especially because in addition there is also Cardano’s [*negative*] prejudgement. Nevertheless [*the anonymous commentary*] has a number of useful passages which make it seem worth reading. I certainly do not regret that I read [*it*], [*but*] I regret that I translated [*it*], and I would not hesitate to read it once more, if I had [*it*], and to compare it with your Proclus. But that is beyond the proposed subject [*of the present letter*] and ought not to bother Oporinus. Farewell [...].

⁴⁶ H. Zäh is preparing an edition of this text. Wolf owned a copy of Leowitz’ work because he had made contributions to it (see n. 62 below). Wolf’s copy is now in the *Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau* (shelfmark 01/2 B.W. 5).

⁴⁷ Borrowed from Isocrates whom Wolf mentions twice in this letter and whose *opera omnia* he had edited twice in 1553 (Basel and Paris, and several more times in later years; already in 1548 Wolf had, as his first work, published a Latin translation of Isocrates). Cf. Isocr. or. 7.63 Βούλομαι δ’,

The ‘Proclus’ Wolf is talking about is the Greek paraphrase of the *Tetrabiblos* which was first printed in 1554 by Oporinus in Basel together with a preface by Melanchthon (and a second time in 1635 by the Elzevirs in Leiden, then for the first time accompanied by a Latin translation which had been made by the Greek scholar Leon Allatios)⁴⁸. It seems that Wolf is here for the first time informing Oporinus that he worked critically through the Greek text of the anonymous commentary and translated it into Latin, and that he did so in 1554. Apparently Wolf had a more or less official agreement with Heinrich Petri regarding the publication of that Latin translation (probably together with the Greek text), hence the dative *Henrico* (‘for Heinrich’), and we learn that Wolf had already then the desire to remain anonymous in view of the anonymous commentary’s weaknesses. Wolf envisages the possibility that Petri may eventually withdraw from that project, partly for the same reasons, partly because Cardano had expressed a negative judgement which might cast a damp over the demand among astrologers and other clients. The judgement alluded to is in Cardano’s commentary to the *Tetrabiblos*, which was first published in March 1554 by Petri, where Cardano qualifies the anonymous commentary as *sane satis frigida*, ‘really quite trivial’⁴⁹. This means that Wolf had had the bad luck, so

εἰ καὶ τινὲς με φήσουσιν ἔξω τῆς ὑποθέσεως λέγειν, δηλῶσαι καὶ διελθεῖν ὅσον αὐτῆ τῆς τότε διήνεγκεν and Isocr. or. 12.161 Ταῦτα δὲ διήλθον οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι λέγειν τινὲς τολμήσουσιν ὡς ἔξω τῆς ὑποθέσεως τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ἐχρησάμην.

⁴⁸ Λέων Αλλάτιος, latinized: Leo Allatius; c.1586–1669, keeper of the Vatican library. For the two editions, cf. the bibliography below s.v. ‘PROCLUS 1554’ and ‘PROCLUS 1635’. It is important not to confuse the paraphrase attributed to Proclus (on which see HEILEN 2010: 62–65, and D. JUSTE, ‘Proclus (?), *Paraphrasis in quatuor Ptolemaei libros De siderum effectionibus*’ (update: 19.05.2022), *Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus. Works*, URL = <http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/work/105>) with the anonymous commentary which is at the center of our attention and whom some unspecified medieval or early modern scholars attributed to Proclus, too, as the title of part I in the 1559 edition has it (see p. 95 above).

⁴⁹ CARDANO 1554 (see the bibliography below), p. 2 (in the *Prooemium expositoris*): *Mirum est autem, quod a tam paucis tam celebris utilisque liber sit expositus, ut vix praeter authorem ignotum, qui Graece scripsit quenque Georgius Valla vertit impudenter illius commentaria sane satis frigida sibi ascribens, quae Emarus Ronconetus nobis largitus est, apud quem etiam Graecus codex, ut vidi, extabat, et Haly Heben Rodoan Arabem alium sciam, qui prodierit in lucem tanto authore dignus. Is vero si veram mentem Ptolemaei verborum translatione explicatam habuisset, forsitan nos hoc labore liberasset. Nunc vero, cum neque per se clarus sit liber hic ob brevitatem neque aliorum expositio, quae in lucem nondum prodierit, utilis sit, nec quae prodierit Haly ut dixi perfecta sit, cogor utilitatis publicae causa tum Ptolemaei gloriae ad hunc novum laborem descendere.* For the metaphorical meaning of *frigida* intended here cf. OLD s.v. *frigidus* 8b: “(of arguments, measures, etc.) failing to produce the effect intended, making no appeal, feeble, flat, lame, frigid, etc.” Cardano’s severe

to speak, of completing his own translation of the anonymous commentary in the same days when an authoritative negative judgement on this text was published by the same Petri with whom Wolf had been planning to publish his translation.

At the end of the above quotation from the letter of 9 November 1555, Wolf mentions his willingness to compare the anonymous commentary with Proclus' paraphrase, a reasonable idea since both works try to elucidate the same ancient text. The meaning of the conditional clause *si haberem* is not clear at first sight. The immediate context suggests that its unexpressed object is the Greek original text (clearly not the Latin translation) of the anonymous commentary, but that seems impossible because Fugger's Greek manuscript, from which Wolf had been translating before 9 March 1554, continued belonging to Fugger's library and was therefore easily available to Wolf⁵⁰. Hence, the unexpressed object of *haberem* is more likely to be Proclus' paraphrase, to be understood from the following words *Proclo isto*. Although this explanation implies a strange word order, it gains strong support from the following fact: a few lines earlier in the same letter, Wolf had mentioned that Oporinus' agent Burtenbach⁵¹, who had just delivered a load of books, had – allegedly by mistake – removed some books from the total consignment that he sold to Fugger (who was very upset about this incident), one of those missing books being a 'Proclus'⁵². This circumstance and the pronoun *isto* both indicate that Wolf had not yet seen the Proclus paraphrase (of which Fugger did not own a manuscript), with the consequence that this work must actually be the object of *si haberem*. It appears that Wolf committed a lapsus, maybe due to haste. He either meant to write *neque denuo legere dubitarem et cum Proclo isto conferre, si haberem*, or (more

criticism of Valla's 'impudent appropriation' of the anonymous commentary was caused by the title of the edition of 1502 which reads: *Georgii Vallae Placentini in Ptolemaei ad Syrum Apotelesmata commentarium* (fol. A2; cf. the slightly different text on the title page quoted in the bibliography below s.v. 'Anon. comm. 1502'). Cardano's criticism seems to be the unexpressed reason why Valla's reputation is so eagerly defended at the beginning of the preface to part I.

⁵⁰ This is virtually certain for a variety of reasons. Cf. also Wolf's words from early 1558 that he will now work earnestly on the Ptolemaic commentaries (cf. p. 100 above); this once more implies that the Greek manuscript of the anonymous commentary was available to him.

⁵¹ Hans Burtenbach (died 1569), son of the important book carrier Leonhard Burtenbach (died 1554). Cf. HÄBERLEIN 1998: 92.

⁵² Letter 96: *Libros abs te missos herus et ego gratis animis accepimus, sed non omnes. Burtembachius enim nobis per errorem, ut ait, subtractos vendidit 1 Proclum, 1 Methodum Montani, 1 Exceptiones forenses, 1 Disputationes Ribitti. Eam κατηλείαν dominus aegerrime tulit.*

likely, only *et* being misplaced) *neque denuo legere dubitarem et, si haberem, cum Proclo isto conferre*⁵³.

One month later Wolf returns to the same issue. On 8 December 1555 (letter 99), he writes (among other things):

De Proclo bene est. περὶ τοῦ ἀνωνύμου ἐξηγητοῦ nihil scribis. Verum si Latinum Proclum excuderis, velim illum Latinum etiam adiungi, dissimulato etiam Latini interpretis nomine, idque te ab Henrico Petri facile impetraturum arbitrator. Est ille quidem nugacitate Ulpiano fere par, sed habet nonnulla, quae Cardanus non habet quaeque cognovisse operae precium fuerit. Verum haec arbitrato vestro curabitis. Mihi enim isthic neque seritur neque metitur⁵⁴, nisi quod nihil esse negligendum arbitrator in literis τὸ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν δυνάμενον⁵⁵. Alioqui ne Proclum quidem magni aestimarem, qui in ipso limine operis παραφρονῆσαι μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἢ παραφράσαι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον.

As to Proclus, that's fine. You write nothing on the anonymous commentator. However, if you [*decide to*] have the Latin Proclus printed, I would wish that the former [*i.e., the anonymous commentator*] also be added in Latin, and that the Latin translator's name also be concealed, and I assume that you will easily have that [*request*] granted by Heinrich Petri. The former [*i.e., the anonymous commentator*] is, admittedly, about equal to Ulpianus in terms of idle talking, but he has some details that Cardano does not have and that might be worth the effort of acquiring a knowledge of. This, however, [*you and Petri*] you will take care of at your discretion, because it makes no odds to me⁵⁶ except that I think that in literature even what has the potential of being [*only*] a little useful to us ought in no way to be neglected. Otherwise I would hold not even Proclus in high esteem, who, at the very opening of his work, appears to be raving rather than paraphrasing Ptolemy⁵⁷.

⁵³ Cf. e.g. the word order in letter 29 (13 April 1550, to Thomas Grynaeus): *Non putavi [...] te iter aliquod suscepturum et, si quod suscepisses, ante discessum meum rediturum*; letter 110 (8 July 1556, to Oporinus): *Respondi id quod res est me spem habere Zonarae intra mensem hunc absolvendi et, si eius voluntas ferret, paratum nos habere typographum*; letter (4 July 1561, to Oporinus): *Vale et, si videbitur, ea de re quam primum ad Petrum Victorium scribito*.

⁵⁴ This is a quotation from Plaut. Epid. 265.

⁵⁵ Freely quoted from Isocr. Nicocl. 10.

⁵⁶ Lit.: 'for me there is neither sowing nor harvesting', a Plautine proverb (see n. 54 above).

⁵⁷ The pun in the Greek original (παραφρονῆσαι / παραφράσαι) seems impossible to render in English.

The first words must mean that the missing copy of the Proclus paraphrase had, in the meantime, been delivered to the Fugger library⁵⁸.

It seems that Oporinus reacted positively to the idea of publishing a Latin translation of Proclus' paraphrase in addition to its already published Greek text. Therefore Wolf makes the proposal of adding his own Latin translation of the anonymous commentary (apparently without the Greek text) in order to make the prospective new book more substantial. Wolf assumes that Oporinus could easily obtain Petri's consent to such a plan (this consent would be necessary because Petri already had a prerogative based on the earlier agreement between Wolf and him). Once more Wolf emphasizes that he wishes to have his name concealed. He finishes pointing out that the anonymous commentary and Proclus' paraphrase are of comparable, relatively low quality yet not worthless: hence, one should either publish both of them together or none of them. Since this is Wolf's first extant judgement on the Proclus paraphrase⁵⁹, the missing book⁶⁰ had apparently been supplied by Burtenbach soon after 9 November (the date of the previously quoted letter), and we find our aforementioned conjecture, namely that the words *si haberem* (letter 96) refer to that paraphrase, further substantiated.

(Ps.-)Porphyry's *Isagoge* seems to have played no role in this early correspondence of the year 1555. Wolf is clearly much more interested in the anonymous commentary. And Oporinus was apparently not interested enough in pursuing Wolf's proposal further, with the consequence that the 16th century did not see a Latin translation of Proclus' paraphrase published and Wolf eventually returned to his original plan of publishing the anonymous commentary with Petri.

5. Further surprises

As we shall see, it is not a waste of time to return once more to the edition of 1559 and ask who authored the anonymous epigram on fol. <a1>^v. It reads thus:

⁵⁸ This copy is now BSB München, A.gr.b. 3026. See the bibliography below s.v. 'PROCLUS 1554' with hyperlink to the digital images which include the original 16th c. front cover on which Wolf wrote the call number followed by *Proclus in Ptolemaei iudiciales* [this word is barely legible] *libros de syderum effectibus*. Wolf did not leave any handwritten annotations in the book.

⁵⁹ We found only one other (later) critical remark on Proclus' paraphrase in Wolf's letter 136 (15 May 1557, to Camerarius the Elder): *Quoties Proclus eius interpretes sententias non declarat, sed pervertit et obscurat?* ('How many times does his [*i.e.*, Ptolemy's] expositor Proclus not elucidate the sentences but obscure them?'; *interpretes* cannot mean 'translator' here). Wolf does not mention this work in his autobiography (*Commentariolus*).

⁶⁰ Cf. n. 52 above.

In anonymum Ptolemaei commentarium
Quas tibi relliquias dedimus, studiose Mathesis,
Accipe. Barbaries non meliora sinit.
Omnia sunt mendis corrupta, nec Oedipus ipse
solverit hos griphos, aequior esto mihi.
Forsitan effodies tamen hoc e stercore gemmas:
Nullus enim liber est, quin aliquando iuuet.

The author can hardly be any other person than Wolf, because the poet speaks, in the second distich, of himself as the one who tried to solve the riddles of the heavily corrupt text of the anonymous commentary, a task that even Oedipus, the greatest solver of riddles ever⁶¹, would not have been up to. Therefore the addressee is invited to be all the more well-disposed towards the poet (v. 4: *aequior esto mihi*) who did his best: the words *barbaries non meliora sinit* (v. 2, ‘the barbarism [of the incompetent copyists] does not allow anything better’) are echoed by the publisher’s (i.e., Petri’s) report that his friend (i.e., Wolf) claimed that he did what he could (preface, fol. a2^r: *id praestitisse quod potuerit*). Wolf’s authorship gains further support by the fact that he wrote other, partly long Latin poems, too⁶².

At closer inspection, however, one notes some curious details. Firstly, the metaphor *effodere e stercore gemmas* (v. 5) recurs in the publisher’s prefaces to parts I and II⁶³. While it is theoretically possible that Petri knew the metaphor thanks to his own education and happened to employ it independently of Wolf’s poem, it seems significant that all three occurrences in the edition of 1559 speak of gems (*gemmae*), while the extant ancient sources of this metaphor, which report an anecdote about Vergil’s use of Ennius, speak of gold (*aurum*)⁶⁴. This indicates a common origin of all three occurrences. More-

⁶¹ He solved the riddle posed to him by the sphinx and thus liberated Thebes.

⁶² For example, he inserted a poetic account of the origin of his family in 102 distichs in his autobiography (ZÄH 2013 [as n. 30 above]: 5–12, and trans. pp. 6–11). He also contributed a poem of 165 lines to Leowitz, *Eclipsium omnium ab anno Domini 1554 usque in annum Domini 1606 accurata descriptio et pictura* (1556), another poem of 134 lines (plus a short epigram) to Leowitz, *Ephemeridum novum atque insigne opus ab anno Domini 1556 usque in 1606 accuratissime supputatum* (1557). He also contributed one Greek and one Latin poem to Regiomontanus, *Tabulae directionum et projectionum* (1551/52).

⁶³ Preface I, fol. a2^r: *Vale, candide lector, et Vergilii exemplo e stercore hoc est e depravato codice gemmas, hoc est, utilem doctrinam et praeclaras sententias colligito*; preface II, p. 180: [...] *cum Vergilium non piguerit ex Ennianis stercoreibus gemmas colligere* [...].

⁶⁴ Cf. Cassiod. inst. 1.1.8: *Vergilius, dum Ennium legeret, a quodam quid faceret inquisitus respondit:*

over, those ancient sources agree in using the verb *colligere*, which we find employed in our prefaces to parts I and II, too, while Wolf was, in his epigram, forced by metrical reasons to replace this verb with *effodere* (v. 5)⁶⁵. All this suggests that either Petri was inspired by Wolf's poem to use the same metaphor twice in his prefaces, keeping Wolf's innovation *gemmae* instead of *aurum* yet replacing Wolf's innovation *effodere* with the ancient sources' verb *colligere* (he would then be a truly erudite publisher), or that the true author of both prefaces is Wolf, writing in Petri's name.

While this suspicion may, at first sight, seem far-fetched, it is corroborated by two kinds of arguments that we discovered while rummaging through Wolf's 508 letters. On the one hand, they contain two slightly modified attestations of the same metaphor, which seems to have been one of Wolf's favorites⁶⁶. More importantly, however, we found one letter, written in early 1553, in which he complains about the huge burden that his publisher Oporinus laid on him by asking that Wolf substantially enlarge the draft of a preface written by Oporinus. Wolf judges this expectation as 'indecent' and criticizes the fact that supplementing the draft in question would have taken Oporinus himself far less time than it actually did take Wolf⁶⁷.

'*Aurum in stercore quaero.*' Cf. the interpolation in Donat. auct. vita Verg. p. 31 Brummer: *Quom Ennium in manu haberet rogareturque quidnam faceret, respondit se aurum colligere de stercore Ennii. Habet enim poeta ille egregias sententias sub verbis non multum ornatis.* More on this anecdote in PRINZEN 1998: 213.

⁶⁵ Unlike *effodies*, *colliges* is not suitable for dactylic hexameters.

⁶⁶ Cf. the last sentence of letter 54 quoted in n. 67 below as well as letter 457 (5 December 1576, to Bonaventura Vulcanius): *Mittimus ad te, vir doctissime, onomasticon Pollucis et opusculum ad patrem Cosmam nescio quem. Opuscula sunt mutila, obsoleta, et, ut vereor, ἀνθρακες ὁ θησαυρὸς* ['the (expected) treasure turned out to be (a load of) coals; a saying employed several times by Lucian in the 2nd c. CE, cf. e.g. his *Zeuxis* 2: τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἀνθρακες ἡμῶν ὁ θησαυρὸς ἦσαν]. *Tu tamen pro tua solertia fortassis ex istis sterquiliniis gemmulam unam atque alteram effodies.*

⁶⁷ Letter 54 (19 January 1553): *Grave mihi ac permolestum onus imposuisti supplendae praefationis tuae et meos pannos tuae purpurae assuendi, quod etsi neque decet, neque ego possum: tamen quia tu ita voluisti, cui nihil negare debeo, conatus sum magno labore aliquid [...]. Sed quicquid in hac re peccatum est, eius tu culpam omnem sustines, qui bovi clitellas, hoc est homini infanti et sterili id opus mandaritis, quod nemo te rectius facere potuisset, idque duabus horis, quod ego nec decem diebus. Antequam enim ego animum ad cogitandum institui, tu rem absolvere potuisses. Recipe igitur gemmas tuas Wolfiano luto contaminatas easque Oporiniana spongia extergito, nisi sordere mavis.* In these reproachful sentences Wolf compares his textual additions to Oporinus' original draft first to rags sewn on a purple-dyed cloth and then – this is relevant to our context – to mud (*lutum*) staining gems. The preface in question was meant to accompany the edition of CUSPINIANUS 1553 (see the bibliography below). The plan was to dedicate this massive folio volume to Johann

Half a year later we find evidence of a second, apparently much shorter preface written entirely by Wolf for the same Oporinus, his then publisher of Isocrates. This letter (nr. 64, of 6 August 1553) contains a long list of corrections of typos that Wolf had found in the proof, and at the end, after Wolf's complimentary close (*Vale cum omnibus tuis ...*) and his signature, follows a postscript which had not been explained or announced anywhere in the preceding text of the letter. This postscript reads thus:

Typographus lectori.

Errata haec serius ad nos missa ab autore hic subicere quam praestantissimum oratorem minus castigatum edere maluimus. Erit autem candoris tui, optime lector, sicubi litera pro litera, accentus pro accentu, distinctio pro distinctione posita fuerit, aut alia minutiora errata occurrerint, ea boni consulere atque emendare⁶⁸. Tale enim est typographicum chaos⁶⁹, ea operarum importunitas, ut nec Argus perspicere nec Hercules cohercere possit delicta omnia. Vale.

These lines are obviously meant to be printed by Oporinus, the publisher (*typographus*), as an explanation to the reader, and so they were verbatim on top of the list of *errata* in Isocrates 1553, fol. <Tt6>^r-<Tt7>^{v70}. If Wolf provided two prefaces to one publisher (Oporinus) in 1553⁷¹, he may well have provided two other prefaces

Jakob Fugger by means of a prefatory letter written by the editor Nikolaus Gerbel and the publisher Oporinus. These two had asked Wolf for a critical reading of their draft because Wolf in his quality as Fugger's secretary and librarian was in their eyes an expert advisor. Wolf replies to their request in his long letter 50 of 27 November 1552: he criticizes that the draft's praise of Fugger's moral and scholarly qualities is too brief and too faint, writes several pages on the many facets of Fugger's praiseworthy character, and finishes inviting Gerbel and Oporinus to revise their draft along these lines because 'it would not be appropriate for him [i.e. Wolf] to sew any rags on their purple-dyed cloth' (*neque enim decuit pannos meos vestrae purpurae assui* (this metaphor, which Wolf would reuse in letter 54 [see above], is a variation of Horace, *Ars poetica* 14–16). It was only natural enough that Oporinus replied by asking Wolf that he personally take care of enlarging their draft based on his previous substantial suggestions. This Wolf grudgingly did. He returned the revised draft to Oporinus on 11 February 1553, as is clear from his accompanying letter (nr. 57). In other words, the unwelcome task had taken him more than two months. When the book appeared, the preface was not in Oporinus' name but in Gerbel's only.

⁶⁸ Cf. the last sentence of preface II quoted in appendix II below.

⁶⁹ Note that this postscript alternates, within a few lines, both meanings of *typographus* (and its lexical derivatives) described in n. 33 above.

⁷⁰ See <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb10994352?page=1055>. There is only one minor change in the printed version which replaces letter 64's words *ab autore* (in the first sentence) with *ab interprete Wolfio*.

⁷¹ One partly written by Wolf, one entirely.

to another publisher (Petri) in 1559. Numerous verbatim echoes between the prefaces to parts I and II of 1559 with Wolf's letters, his autobiography, and the above quotation from 1553 indicate that this is exactly what he did. These echoes will be specified in the notes to Appendices I and II below.

If we go beyond the similarities at the level of language, we find other arguments at the level of content. The speaker of the first preface sets out praising Ptolemy as the prince of astrology and declares himself convinced that those who study the art of astrology expect most eagerly whatever may serve to elucidate Ptolemy's astrological works. He then briefly reviews respective commentaries that are available in print: those by Giovanni Pontano and George of Trebizond on the pseudo-Ptolemaic *Centiloquium*, that by 'Alī ibn Riḍwān on both the *Tetrabiblos* and the *Centiloquium*, and that by Giorgio Valla which gives him the opportunity to explain the origin of the new editions contained in the book of 1559. If these lines were written by Petri, one would more seriously miss a proud reference to Petri's important publication of Cardano's commentary on the *Tetrabiblos* (1554) than if they were written by Wolf.

Moreover, the speaker reports that he was truly delighted (*vehementer exhilaratus*) when he came across a printed copy of Valla's Latin translation of the anonymous commentary (1502) because he expected to learn a great deal from this book (*nam a tanto viro nihil non eximium expectabam*). This expectation seems strange if expressed by Petri whom we can hardly imagine as being ignorant of Cardano's negative judgement on Valla's edition as 'really quite trivial' (*sane satis frigida*)⁷². And since we know that Petri had much earlier, namely before March 1554, been corresponding on the edition of the anonymous commentary with Wolf⁷³ who, in his turn, had even earlier found Valla's edition to be very disappointing and doubtlessly communicated this negative judgement to Petri, it cannot be true that Petri had come across Valla's edition 'recently' (*nuper*), as the preface pretends.

All these oddities disappear if we assume that these lines describe not Petri's but Wolf's first encounter with Valla's translation sometime before the year 1554, at a time when he was still unaware of, and his expectation not influenced by, Cardano's negative judgement which Petri published in March 1554. This would also explain the preface's silence regarding Cardano's commentary (with the consequence that at

⁷² Cf. n. 49 above.

⁷³ Cf. p. 105 above.

least the beginning of preface I was probably written when Wolf edited and translated the anonymous commentary, i.e. before 9 March 1554). Furthermore, these initial lines of the preface express the typical expectation of a scholar like Wolf, but it is less obvious why Petri as a publisher should have been so very delighted – he would more understandably be delighted if he found the manuscript of an unpublished text which might be a promising new title for the book market.

Let us then investigate which other historical circumstances speak in favor or against Wolf's coming into contact with Valla's edition and the Greek manuscript without Petri as an intermediary. The obvious road to pursue is to focus on the Fugger library whose librarian Wolf was from 1551 to 1557⁷⁴. That library came to form the original nucleus of the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* in Munich, which owns no less than four copies of Valla's edition⁷⁵. Hence, it is worth checking each one of them for writing traces that Wolf may have left, especially on the first page because the preface of 1559 reports that the 'erudite friend' stopped his collation after that first page because he had already found so many corruptions that the narrow margins did not suffice to contain all the necessary corrections.

We actually find the corresponding traces in the copy Res/2 A.lat.b. 164. There is not the slightest doubt that this copy once belonged to the Fugger library and that the handwriting of the notes on fol. <A1>^r–A2^v is that of Wolf.⁷⁶ He stopped collating when he had reached the middle of the second page (fol. A2^v)⁷⁷, as figures 2–3 below show. It must have been after his collation that he wrote, on top of fol. <A1>^r: *Hae commentationes sunt a Valla ex Graeco quodam anonymo conversae vel perversae potius, quanquam graecus sane codex etiam multis in locis est depravatus* (cf. fig.

⁷⁴ It is unlikely that Wolf personally owned a copy of Valla's edition, partly because there is no such copy in the *Bibliotheca Wolfiana* in the *Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg an der Donau* (cf. n. 38 above). Certainty is, however, impossible because, as ZÄH 2005 has shown, the Neuburg collection preserves what is probably less than half of Wolf's library, maybe no more than a third.

⁷⁵ Their shelfmarks are Res/2 A.lat.b. 164, Res/2 A.gr.b. 1014, 2 A.gr.b. 1015, 2 Inc.c.a. 3920. Digital images of the first three copies are available online.

⁷⁶ This is the result of H. Zäh's examination of this book in Munich. The original binding underwent restauration in 1971. The front cover still bears the title written in several lines by Wolf; the inner side of the back cover still bears the shelfmark written by the same Wolf. For digitized images of this copy of the 1502 edition see the bibliography s.v. 'Anon. comm. 1502'. It does not contain any further handwritten annotations on fol. A3^r–<G4>^r. Valla's translation ends on fol. <G4>^r.

⁷⁷ Fol. A2 is erroneously signed 'A'.

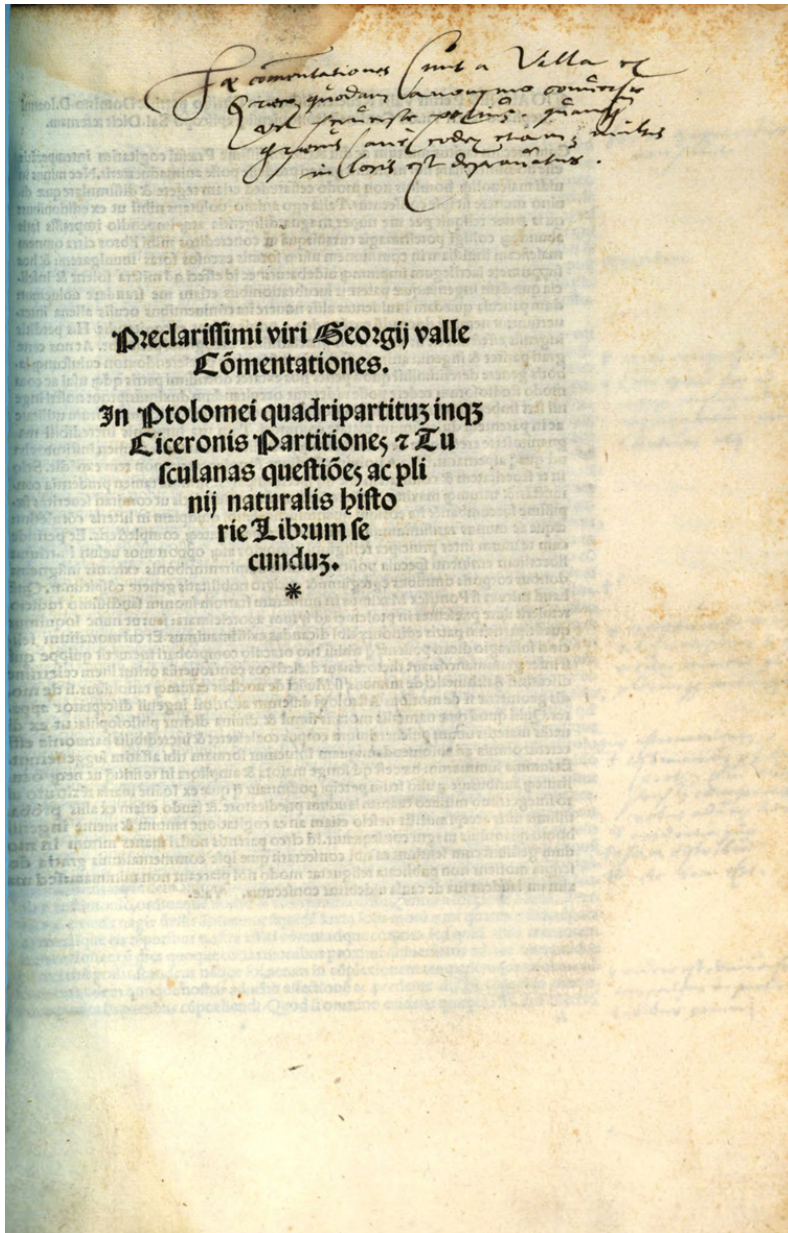


Fig. 1: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/2 A.lat.b. 164#Beibd.2 [= Anon. comm. 1502], fol. <A1>r, <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10140534-6>

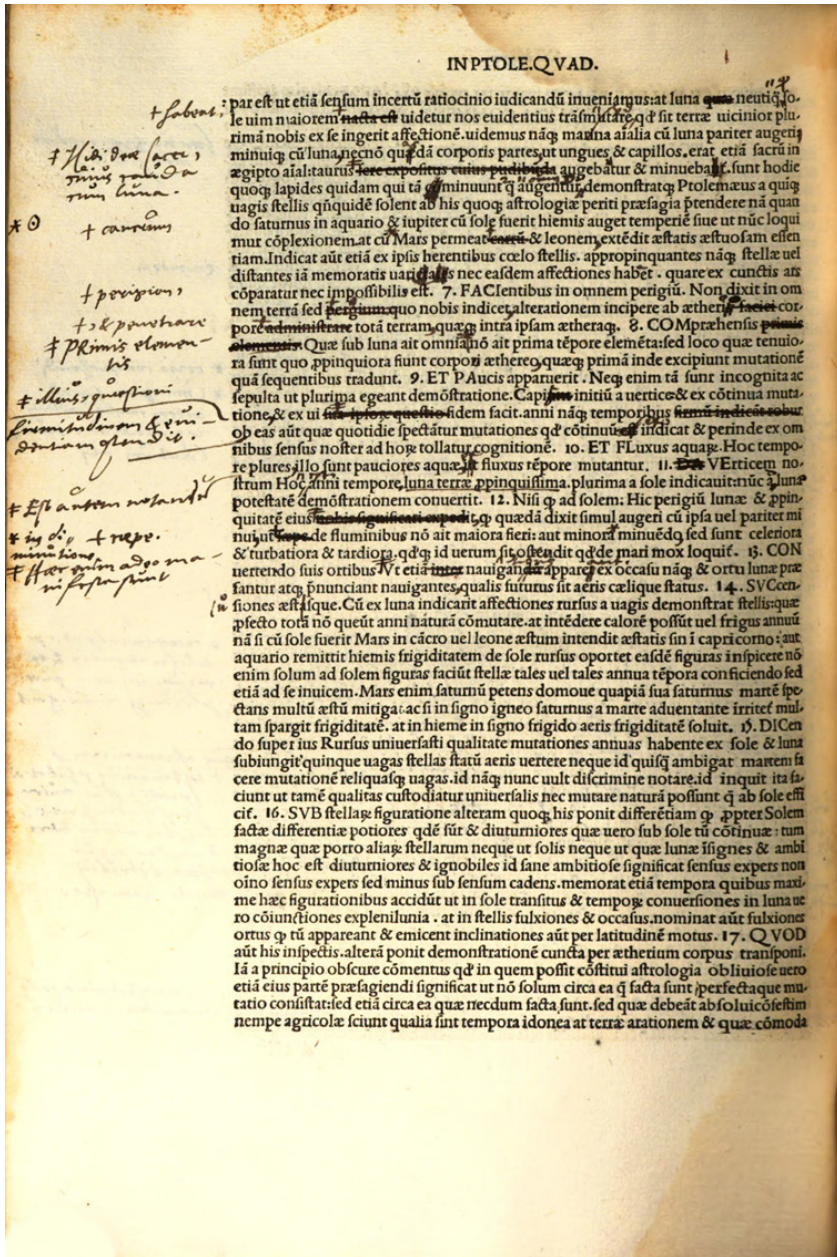


Fig. 3: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/2 A.lat.b. 164#Beibd.2 [= Anon. comm. 1502], fol. A2^v, <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10140534-6>

1). His first marginal note to Valla's translation reads: *haec in graeco codice non sunt* (fol. A2^r). This proves that he was comparing the printed Latin text with a Greek manuscript, and this must have been the current BSB München Cod.graec. 59 which features numerous Greek annotations from Wolf's hand. Since both books that Wolf used – the printed copy of Valla's translation and the Greek manuscript – were in the 1550s part of the Fugger library at Augsburg, whose librarian Wolf was, it was probably he, not Petri, whose first encounters with Valla's translation and with a Greek manuscript the preface describes. This assumption is further substantiated by the consideration that if it was really Petri in Basel who managed to get hold of a Greek manuscript of the anonymous commentary, this manuscript would then have to be the Fugger manuscript in Augsburg which Wolf used beyond doubt⁷⁸. We doubt that *nactus sum* can, without implying physical contact, simply mean that Petri learned about the existence of a Greek manuscript in the Fugger library. Yet even then we would still have to hypothesize that Petri came across a copy of Valla's edition in Basel (that is of course possible, even if not documented)⁷⁹ and reacted with that unlikely euphoria described in our first preface.

6. Conclusions

In sum, the following series of events seems likely: At some point between his appointment as Fugger's librarian on 1 July 1551⁸⁰ and his completion of the translation of both Ptolemaic commentaries on 9 March 1554, and probably in the first half of this time-span (i.e., 1551/52), Wolf happened to discover Valla's printed translation in Fugger's library⁸¹. Due to his deep interest in astrology (certainly deeper than Petri's),

⁷⁸ The preface to the edition of 1559 clearly implies that the Greek manuscript of which Petri allegedly 'got hold' (*nactus sum*) is the same that his 'erudite friend' later used and on which the edition is based. Throughout the preface we hear of only one Greek manuscript, and this one and only witness is consistently, even in the farewell sentence at the end, qualified as *depravatus*.

⁷⁹ The Basel university library owns three copies of Valla's printed translation of 1502. One of them once belonged to Jacques Bongars (1554–1612). The other two are, according to the library catalogue, of unknown provenance. Maybe one of these two is identical with the copy that HIERONYMUS 1997, vol. II: 862, n. 2, mentions as being now in Basel and having once belonged to Amerbach (i.e., Basilius Amerbach, 1533–1591).

⁸⁰ Among the autobiographical notes in his personal copy of Leowitz' *Ephemerides* (see n. 46 above), Wolf writes, regarding the year 1551: *Cal. Iulii Ioannis Iacobi Fuggeri bibliothecae sum praefectus*.

⁸¹ The alternative view that Wolf's attention was directed to Valla's translation by either Fugger or Petri would require that we interpret *incidissem* (pref. I), which implies chance, as untrue.

he was first delighted and started reading eagerly; then came his disappointment. Not much later he somehow came into contact with the Greek manuscript that is now BSB München Cod.graec. 59 and once belonged to the Fugger library. The easiest explanation is that this manuscript arrived in Augsburg as one of those hitherto unpublished Greek texts that were systematically copied for Johann Jakob Fugger in his Venetian workshop⁸², that Petri somehow learned about this new arrival, saw the chance for a new well-selling publication, and commissioned the edition and translation of the two commentaries on fol. 210^r–312^v to Wolf⁸³. Petri probably knew Wolf from the years the latter had lived in Basel (1548–1550). Such an initiative taken by Petri would also explain why Wolf did not approach his usual publisher, Oporinus.

Once Wolf had brought his task to completion on 9 March 1554, the publishing plan was delayed, probably because Petri had, in the meantime, learned about the significant amount of obscure and corrupt passages in the Greek text⁸⁴. Wolf, in his turn, had an understandable interest in having the results of his painstaking efforts published; his only condition seems to have been that his name be concealed. In 1555 he recognized (apparently too late) that his edition of the Greek text of the anonymous

⁸² One of Wolf's duties as Fugger's librarian was to go systematically through Conrad Gessner's *Bibliotheca universalis* (GESSNER 1545, arranged alphabetically by authors' names), marking those works that were already represented in Fugger's library and creating a list of those that needed to be ordered to achieve Fugger's goal of making his collection as complete as possible. Interestingly, Gessner mentions (Ps.-)Porphyry's commentary, with the additional information that one manuscript is available in Venice (fol. 569^{r-v}): *Porphyrius. [...] Commentaria Graeca in Quadripartitum Ptolemaei, extant Venetiis manuscripta*. Gessner does not mention the anonymous commentary in any part of his massive work. Therefore it seems likely that this work was copied in Venice either because Wolf took the initiative and asked the head of the Venetian workshop (with Fugger's permission) to watch out for this work and, if possible, have it copied or (less likely) because that Venetian agent noticed the presence of another rare work in the same manuscript that contained (Ps.-)Porphyry's commentary and inquired with Wolf whether Fugger wanted the anonymous commentary to be copied, too.

⁸³ One may wonder if Petri had first thought of adding Valla's translation to the Greek text but gave up this idea when Wolf reported on the insufficient quality of Valla's translation. This seems possible, but the preface's account of the first encounter with Valla's edition would then either be entirely fictitious (if he who came across the edition was Wolf, as we believe) or open to the objections outlined on pp. 114 and 118 above (if the person in question was really Petri). If, however, Petri had really first thought of adding Valla's translation to the Greek text, this would probably imply that the original editorial plan was either limited to the anonymous commentary or that Wolf was envisaged as translator of the following *Isagoge*.

⁸⁴ Cf. Wolf's guess *deterrent eadem fortassis H. Petri ab excudendo* (letter 96, quoted on p. 105 above).

commentary⁸⁵ could have been printed together with the Greek paraphrase attributed to Proclus which Oporinus had published in 1554. Wolf kept thinking for a few weeks about switching from Petri to Oporinus and sent a second letter to the latter inviting him to publish the Latin translation of the anonymous commentary, too⁸⁶. For some reason, however, Oporinus did not follow these proposals and requests.

We do not know why the two Greek commentaries were eventually published by Petri⁸⁷, but it seems legitimate to conjecture that Wolf had given up on publishing such works with Oporinus and was, instead, able to raise Petri's interest by the prospect of having a third hitherto unpublished work (the pseudo-Hermetic treatise) added to the Ptolemaic commentaries. Therefore Wolf resumed in 1558 working on the two already completed editions and translations of the two commentaries⁸⁸, probably in the hope of fixing some of the remaining textual problems. Maybe Wolf managed to obtain Petri's consent by proposing that he would also provide a nice preface to the anonymous commentary. Be this as it may, it seems very likely that Wolf wrote both prefaces (to parts I and II) for Petri, and he may have drawn on an earlier draft from 1554 or even earlier for the first preface (this would neatly explain the perspective endorsed by the speaker in its first part). Clear traces of Wolf as the true author of these prefaces remain, especially regarding the difficulties he had to deal with⁸⁹. It is a *desideratum* for future

⁸⁵ He speaks only of this work, although we know for sure (cf. the quotation from his unpublished autobiographical notes on p. 105 above) that he had edited and translated (Ps.-)Porphyry's *Isagoge*, too. The *Isagoge* must have played a minor role in Wolf's thoughts, probably both because it is much shorter and because it almost entirely consists of definitions of astrological technical terms unrelated to Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*.

⁸⁶ Cf. letter 96, quoted on p. 105 above.

⁸⁷ Regrettably, the correspondence between Wolf and Petri is completely lost.

⁸⁸ Cf. his letter to Hainzel, quoted on p. 100 above: *sedulo etiam in Ptolemaicis commentariis laborabo*.

⁸⁹ We thus find that Caballero-Sánchez was, without knowing any letters or autobiographical texts by Wolf, in principle right when he suspected that the first preface was a fiction devised by Wolf. But he misjudged the nature of the fiction: this is not Wolf writing *in propria persona* and pretending to have asked a non-existing friend for help but rather Wolf pretending to be Petri. Cf. CABALLERO-SÁNCHEZ 2013a: 84–85: “[...] me atrevo a añadir una sospecha, quizás irrelevante, sobre la autoría de la traducción latina. No estoy nada seguro de que debamos tomar en serio a Wolff cuando, en el prefacio, confiesa haber delegado la versión latina en un erudito amigo suyo que prefirió quedar en el anonimato para no atraerse las justas iras y reproches de algunos por no ocuparse de autores más dignos. Veo en estas palabras más un juego literario dirigido a lectores desprevenidos que un ejercicio de sinceridad. Pero, por el momento, no puedo demostrar mi impresión subjetiva de que la traducción

research to examine further contemporary documents such as Oporinus' letters⁹⁰ in order to find additional evidence regarding the relationships between Wolf, Oporinus, and Petri in the context of this publishing enterprise⁹¹.

Appendix I: preface to part I (fol. a2^{r-v})⁹²

In order to corroborate our claim that this preface was actually written by Wolf (not by Petri, as the title suggests, yet in Petri's name), references to similar expressions in Wolf's letters will be given in the footnotes where literal correspondences will be underlined.

Typographus lectori astrologiae studioso salutem.

Cum Cl. Ptolemaeus astrologorum princeps habeatur, non dubito, quin eius artis studiosi avidissime expectent omnia, quae ad tam illustrem authorem rectius intelligendum facere videantur. Ac centum eius sententiae sunt a doctissimis viris Pontano et Trapezuntio enarratae⁹³. Haly etiam

latina publicada en Basilea en 1559 es también obra de Jerónimo Wolff, quien solo reconocía haberse cuidado de la edición del texto griego." These lines originate from the misapprehension that the official speaker of the first preface (*typographus*) is Wolf; hence also the final, incorrect assertion that Wolf expressly acknowledged his editorship. On the other hand, this passage is important because Caballero-Sánchez, who is doubtlessly more familiar than anyone else with the Greek and Latin texts on pp. 1–180 of the 1559 edition, expresses his 'subjective impression', which he felt unable to prove then (2013), that the translation is by the same person who edited the Greek text.

⁹⁰ They are now in the university library of Basel.

⁹¹ Four years after the publication, Wolf donated a copy to the Augsburg public library whose director he was from 1557 to his death (1580). It was on the occasion of the construction of the new building of that library in 1563 that Wolf decided to donate one copy of each of his works, both those already published and those to be published in later years, and each one magnificently bound in brown leather, to the public library. The donation that is here at issue comprises Wolf's first edition of Isocrates (1548) to which the Ptolemaic commentaries of 1559 were attached. It bears the shelfmark 2 LG 210 of what is today the *Staats- und Stadtbibliothek* in Augsburg. This library owns a second copy of Wolf's edition of 1559 (shelfmark 2 LG 69a) whose provenance is the same 16th c. public library; this second copy is bound together with Cardano's commentary (Basel 1554, see n. 49 above).

⁹² HIERONYMUS 1997, vol. II, pp. 860–863, gives useful yet not entirely reliable German paraphrases of the prefaces to parts I and II.

⁹³ Giovanni Pontano's commentary to the pseudo-Ptolemaic *Centiloquium* was printed no less than 21 times in the early modern period, twelve times before 1559, twice by Heinrich Petri before 1559 (1541 and 1551, then again in 1566), and once by Oporinus (1553). For details, cf. David JUSTE, 'Pseudo-Ptolemy, *Centiloquium* (tr. Giovanni Pontano)' (update: 16.06.2022), *Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus. Works*, URL = <http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/work/48>. The commentary by George of Trebizond was

Quadripartitum declarare conatus est una cum centum illis sententiis⁹⁴, qui tamen, ut Arabs et Graecae linguae minus peritus, si quando a scopo aberravit, non est mirandum⁹⁵. Nuper etiam, cum in commentationes in Cl. Ptolemaei Quadripartitum Venetiis anno 1502 editas et Georgio Vallae inscriptas incidissem, vehementer fui exhilaratus. Nam a tanto viro nihil non eximium expectabam. Sed cum paulum progressus fuisset legendo, facileprehendi id opus et Vallae falso esse inscriptum et ab ipso haudquaquam emendatum, sed e Graeco transcriptum duntaxat esse. Itaque Graecum codicem nactus rogavi doctum quendam amicum, ut Vallae conversionem cum eo conferret atque emendationem adhiberet, quam Vallae immatura haud dubie mors negasset. Nec enim in doctissimum virum tantae vel inscitiae vel negligentiae suspicionem cadere <velim>⁹⁶. Quod is pro sua humanitate et erga me benevolentia et astrologiae amore non recusavit. Sed cum primam paginam contulisset, tantum depravationis reperit, ut marginum angustiae correctionum necessariorum duntaxat frequentiam non caperent. Quo cognito rogavi, ut ipse de integro illas enarrationes converteret. Annuit, quanquam gravatim, quod se nullam ex commentario laudem sperare posse affirmabat hactenus gravioribus scriptionibus occupatum, et opus ingenti taedio devorato tandem absolutum mihi obtulit conquestus se per omnem aetatem nullum cepisse laborem molestiorem⁹⁷. Nam et scripturam Graecam esse pessimam lectuque difficillimam et authoris atque interpretis verba saepissime confusa et ipsum opus plurimis locis adeo depravatum et mutilum, ut nulla ex eo certa sententia possit elici. Se tamen solerti divinatione multa loca citra temeritatem

published three times in the Renaissance: in 1540 by Valerius and Fredericus Doricus (Rome), in 1544 by Johannes Gymnicus (Cologne), and in 1550 by Jacobus Parcus (Basel). Cf. David JUSTE, ‘George of Trebizond, *Commentarii et expositiones in aphorismis Libri fructus Ptolomei*’ (update: 02.07.2022), *Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus. Works*, URL = <http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/work/46>.

- ⁹⁴ For the widely used incunabulum (1493) of these commentaries, see the bibliography below s.v. ‘Ptol. quadr. / Ps.-Ptol. cent. 1493’.
- ⁹⁵ This is not meant to be disparaging: in letter 142 (see n. 16 above) Wolf speaks of the Arabs as an *acutissima et diligentissima gens*.
- ⁹⁶ *velim* addidi (as a ‘diagnostic conjecture’, P. Maas). Wolf is here implicitly defending Valla against Cardano’s severe criticism (see n. 49 above). For the whole sentence, cf. letter 255 (7 March 1564, to Johannes Oporinus): [...] *ne meorum κακογραφία negligentiae aut inscitiae meae imputetur*.
- ⁹⁷ Cf. letter 25 (before 1 March 1550, to Johann Jakob Fugger): [...] *Quae etiam causa fuit, ut molestissimum laborem hunc capere non sim gravatus et summum devorare taedium, quod quantum fuerit, ii demum intelligent, qui mendas Graeci codicis in singulis fere paginis infinitas observabunt* (n.b.: *quod – observabunt* has a close parallel in the second preface, cf. appendix II below).

*correxisse et distinxisse*⁹⁸; *in caeteris id praestitisse, quod potuerit, atque optare, ut suus labor studiosis sit utilior quam sibi iucundior*⁹⁹. *Ac ne nomen quidem suum voluit adici, quod aliquorum reprehensionem vereatur, qui non in meliore scriptore elaborarit. Non quod hos commentarios contemnendos esse putet (inesse enim multa, quae studiosis haud dubie utilia et iucunda sint), sed quod turpe videatur ab equis quodammodo ad asinos descendere*¹⁰⁰. *Ad quam existimationis suae [fol. a2^v] imminutionem vitandam dedicationis etiam emolumento et gratia, quanquam [read: tanquam?]¹⁰¹ in re parum lauta, carere maluit editionisque omnem eventum mei arbitrii esse voluit. Ego vero nec illius verecundiae adversandum nec studiosorum utilitatem deserendam ratus hoc opus astrologiae amatoribus communico, qui quo uberiores ex eo fructus ceperint, eo minus me sumptuum et operae poenitebit. Arbitror enim constare iam viris doctis et candide iudicantibus typographiam meam bonarum artium conservacioni et propagationi servare magis quam rei familiari*¹⁰². *Vale,*

⁹⁸ Cf. letter 25 (as n. 97): *Codicem igitur Graecum, ubi id mihi citra temeritatem atque adeo vere posse facere videbar; [...] locis plus bis mille correxi*; letter 32 (19 August 1550, to Ludwig Carinus): [...] *qui permulta depravata correxerit, ambigua distinxerit, obscura illustrarit [...]*; letter 251 (1 January 1564, to Karl Villinger): [...] *si depravata correxerit, obscura declararit, mutilata expleverit, ambigua distinxerit [...]*; letter 491 (1 March 1580, to Joachim Camerarius the Younger): *Sicubi te ἡ λεπτογραφία καὶ τὰ ἐξίτηλα γράμματα fefellerint, videor mihi sagaci divinatione et erudita facile correcturus.*

⁹⁹ Cf. letter 60 (23 March 1553, to Johannes Oporinus): [...] *cum alii Latina dumtaxat, alii Graeca legenda censeant, alii, quamvis utraque ament, tamen sibi causas esse putent, cur seorsim vel utiliora vel iucundiora videantur.*

¹⁰⁰ Cf. letter 25 (as n. 97): *Nemo igitur opinor hoc factum reprehendet, praesertim cum ita tractatus sit Vlpianus, ut ab enarrationibus ad annotationes, tanquam ab equis ad asinos, devolutus videri possit*; letter 194 (7 March 1561, to Johann Baptist Hainzel): *hi perinepte meo iudicio facerent, si ab equis ad asinos, quod aiunt, descenderent*; letter 282 (20 March 1566, to Johannes Oporinus): *Invitus itaque ab equis ad asinos descendi. Sed hic asinus mihi nunc equitandus est, nisi ipse ultro me excusserit [...]*; letter 465 (13 January 1578, to Johannes Schenck): *Alii dicent, itane Wolfus a suis illis doliis ad urceolos, hoc est, ab equis ad asinos?*

¹⁰¹ H. Zäh tends to keep the transmitted *quanquam*; he translates: ‘in order to avoid this belittlement of his reputation, he also preferred to renounce to the benefit and credit of a dedication, even if in an anyway not particularly great matter’. S. Heilen tends to conjecture *tanquam*, i.e., ‘in the same way as if (or: on the ground that) he had participated in an activity that was not sufficiently respectable’; cf. OLD s.v. *tamquam* 4a and 7b and, for example, Livy 40.14.7: *tamquam in re dubia*, Lorenzo Valla, *De erratis Bartolomei Paccii* 2.1: *nullum subieci exemplum, tanquam de re parum dubia*, ... and some other parallels for *tanquam/tamquam in/de re parum* followed by an adjective (fem. abl. sg.) that can be retrieved by means of a web search.

¹⁰² Cf. letter 206 (7 October 1561, to Joachim Camerarius the Elder): *Libenter tibi parebo, quem vere et candide iudicare scio*; letter 380 (as n. 33 above): [...] *qui multis egregiis voluminibus editis fidem*

candide lector, et Vergilii exemplo e stercoribus, hoc est e depravato codice, gemmas, hoc est utilem doctrinam et praeclaras sententias, colligito. Basileae Cal. Septembris anno MDLIX.

Appendix II: preface to part II (p. 180)

Typographus lectori salutem.

Duo hi libelli sequentes, Isagoge Porphyrii et collecta ex Demophilo scholia¹⁰³. quantum interpreti negotii facesseri<n>t propter pessimam et depravatissimam scripturam, is demum vere indicabit [read: iudicabit], qui codicem Graecum, quo utendum fuit, inspexerit¹⁰⁴. Etsi autem loci aliquot sunt, quos ille se propter ignotos characteres plane ignorare fatetur, tamen cum Vergilium non pigerit ex Ennianis stercoribus gemmas colligere, ipse quoque hanc molestiam devorare non recusavit, ut Astrologiae studiosi veterum Graecorum de locis quibusdam nunc controversis iudicium cognoscerent. Tuum erit, candide lector, eam operam (qualiscunque est) aut boni consulere aut navare meliorem¹⁰⁵. Vale.

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Anon. comm. 1559: see p. 95 above (title I).

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tuam atque industriam omnibus candide iudicantibus approbasti; letter 478 (19 February 1579, to Christoph Peutingen): Molestias meas et illud minuit, quod ut non multi, aliqui tamen e palaestra nostra prodeunt, quorum et vitae integritas et ingenii dexteritas et dicendi agendique facultas a bonis et candide iudicantibus probetur.

¹⁰³ This refers to the *Annotationes ex Demophili scriptis excerptae* (p. 193, lin. 1–17) which Wolf edited as part of Porphyry’s *Isagoge* from BSB München, Cod.graec. 59, fol. 319^v, lin. 19–27 (cf. MOLIN PRADEL 2013: 53).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. the close parallel in letter 25, quoted in n. 97 above (esp. *quod – observabunt*).

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the sentence *Erit autem – emendare* in Wolf’s preface of 1553 quoted on p. 112 above.

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PROCLUS,

- Πρόκλου τοῦ διαδόχου τῶν ἀσαφῶς εἰρημένων Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ δυσπαρακολουθήτως ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ Τετραβίβλῳ ἐπὶ τὸ σαφέστερον καὶ δυσπαρακολούθητον [read εὐ-, not δυσ-] μεταχείρισις. *Procli paraphrasis in quatuor Ptolemaei libros de siderum effectionibus. Cum praefatione Philippi Melanthonis*, Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1554 [VD16 P 4958; Fugger’s copy is now BSB München, A.gr.b. 3026, online at <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10170641-5>].
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