

XENOPHON

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FORTUNA*

Xenophon was born about 428 B.C. in the Athenian deme of Erchia and raised in an aristocratic milieu which gave him early training in horsemanship and fostered his interest in philosophy. He was an admirer, if not a student, of Socrates, whom he later commemorated in his *Memorabilia*, *Apologia Socratis*, *Oeconomicus*, and *Symposium*. In politics, Xenophon was conservative and a Spartan sympathizer, and after the democratic restoration of 403, he apparently found life in Athens difficult and left the city. In 401, at the invitation of his Boeotian friend Proxenus, he joined an army that had been mustered by the younger Cyrus in an attempt to win the Persian throne. When Cyrus was killed, Xenophon was elected general and led the difficult retreat of the Greek forces through Kurdistan and Armenia to the Black Sea, an event he later narrated in his *Anabasis*. His subsequent service with the Spartan king Agesilaus (including the battle of Coronea in 394, in which he fought against Athens) resulted in his exile from his native city; but Sparta offered him an estate near Olympia, where he remained until 371, when Elis laid claim to the region. Together with his wife, Philesia, and two sons, Gryllus and Diodorus, Xenophon went to Corinth and soon

settled in the Isthmus. Around 368, his exile from Athens was revoked; and when Corinth expelled its Athenian residents some two years later, Xenophon returned to Athens, where he died around 354.

The range and variety of Xenophon's writings are remarkable. His primary reputation in antiquity was as a Socratic philosopher: his *Memorabilia*, *Apologia Socratis*, *Oeconomicus*, and *Symposium* give a picture of Socrates' world which makes a vivid alternative to that portrayed in Plato's dialogues, and his original dialogue *Hiero* reveals his debt to Socratic discussion. His accounts of the great historical struggles of his time, the *Anabasis* and *Hellenica*, won him praise as a pragmatic historian; and his interest in horsemanship and hunting makes his treatises *De equitandi ratione*, *De equitum magistro*, and *Cynegeticus* valuable sources for our knowledge of ancient practices in those fields. His sympathy for Sparta is evident in the panegyric of Agesilaus, and his authorship of a treatise on the constitution of Sparta led readers from Diogenes Laertius through the Renaissance to ascribe to him a fifth-century treatise on the constitution of Athens. The versatility of Xenophon's thoughts on political questions can be seen in his composition of works as diverse as the brief economic proposals in *De vectigalibus* and the lengthy idealized biography of Cyrus the Great, the *Cyri institutio* (often called the *Cyropaedia* after its Greek title).

In antiquity, Xenophon was admired as a stylist who represented the purest Atticism, although modern analysis reveals Hellenistic fea-

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tures that anticipate the *koiné*. His combination of piety and common sense in moral reflections held a particular appeal for Roman readers. Cicero translated the *Oeconomicus* (the version survives in only a few fragments) and rendered part of Cyrus' deathbed speech in his *De senectute*. Latin writers of the Silver Age, including Tacitus in the *Agricola* and Pliny the Younger in the *Panegyric of Trajan*, imitated Xenophon's *Agesilaus*. Among Greek writers, Xenophon's popularity culminated during the Second Sophistic, when grammarians excerpted Xenophon as a model of pure Atticism and writers imitated his simple style. Dio of Prusa (= Dio Chrysostomus) commended him as the best "among the Socratics" (*Oration XVIII*), and the historian Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander* and treatise on hunting won him the title of "a second Xenophon". Among the Greek Fathers, Xenophon was a favorite of the Neoplatonist Synesius of Cyrene (fl. 400), who especially valued the *Cyri institutio* and wrote a treatise (now lost) on hunting.

During the Middle Ages, Xenophon was unknown in the Latin West, and his fortune declined in the Greek East. In the ninth century, the *Bibliotheca* of Photius indicates that the learned patriarch of Constantinople had read some Xenophon. Although Greek grammarians continued to cite Xenophon for examples of Attic usage, from Suidas onward such citations were often copied from compilations such as the *De thematibus* of the tenth-century emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, a manual that quotes principally from the *Anabasis* and *Cyri institutio*. By the eleventh century, Xenophon's popularity as a model of the simple style had declined considerably: Psellus found Xenophon's style lacking in beauty and preferred Herodotus. Yet if Byzantine grammarians and rhetoricians seldom read Xenophon firsthand, his variety of information on Greek life made him a useful source for historians and polymaths. In the twelfth century, both Johannes Zonaras in his *Chronicles* and Johannes Tzetzes in his *Chiliades* quoted extensively from the *Cyri institutio*; and the *Miscellanea philosophica et historica* of Theodorus Metochites (d. 1332) includes a chapter praising Xenophon's vigorous style and soldierly virtue. In the fifteenth century, Michael Apostoles excerpted various Xenophontean apophthegms,

but his inaccuracies suggest an indirect knowledge of the text.¹

The text of Xenophon arrived in Italy before that of Apostoles himself; and as the knowledge of Greek spread among Italian humanists, Xenophon's works soon became a basic text for the teaching of classical Greek. The first generation of Italians to learn Greek began to translate Xenophon into Latin. Foremost among this group was Leonardus Brunus Aretinus (Leonardo Bruni), who translated the *Hiero* by 1403. Extant manuscripts of Bruni's translation, titled *De tyranno*, number nearly 200; and Bruni's version became standard in printed editions until Erasmus' translation appeared in 1530. Not long afterward, Bruni translated the *Apologia Socratis*, which likewise enjoyed wide diffusion in manuscripts and printed editions. Bruni also used Xenophon's *Hellenica* as the basis for his 1439 *Commentaria rerum graecarum*, a prose compendium dedicated to Angelo Acciaiuoli. Bruni paraphrases Xenophon's history, beginning with the battle of Arginusae (*Hellenica* I.6) and abridging the original by about a third.²

Courtly interest in hunting and horsemanship prompted the translations of the *Cynegeticus* by Omnibonus Leonicensis (Ognibene da Lonigo) and *De equitum magistro* by Lopus Castelliunculus (Lapo da Castiglionchio). Franciscus Philelphus (Francesco Filelfo) translated the "Spartan"

1. For Xenophon's influence in antiquity, see K. Münscher, *Xenophon in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*, *Philologus*, Supplement XIII (1920). For the Byzantine period, the classic survey of K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1897), is now supplemented by H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1978). For Photius, see K. Ziegler, "Photios 13," *PW*, XX (1940), 667-737; for Photius' knowledge of Xenophon, see W. T. Treadgold, *The Nature of the "Bibliotheca" of Photius* (Washington, D.C., 1980), 7. For Metochites' judgment of Xenophon, see N. G. Wilson, *Scholars and Byzantium* (Baltimore, 1983), 262.

2. [*Inc.*]: Athenienses simul ac Mitylenam obsideri a Lacedaemoniis nuntiatum est . . . [*Expl.*]: et nos huc usque modo brevem praetexere voluimus, cuius hoc loco finis esto. The work is printed in *Historia rerum gestarum in Graecia, succincta interpretatio librorum Xenophontis a Leonhardo Aretino exposita*, ed. Valentinus Papa (Leipzig, 1546); *Leonardi Aretini Historiarum Florentinorum libri XII*, ed. Sixtus Bruno (Strasbourg, 1610); and J. Gronovius, *Thesaurus graecarum antiquitatum*, 12 vols. (Leiden, 1697-1702), VI, cols. 3389-3418; preface only in *Leonardo Bruni Aretino, Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, ed. H. Baron (Leipzig and Berlin, 1928; rpt. Wiesbaden, 1969), 146-47.

works *Agesilaus* and *Lacedaemoniorum respublica* as part of a cultural program that asserted the superiority of Milan over the self-proclaimed "New Athens" of Florence. Interest in the origins of Platonic thought moved Cardinal Bessarion to translate the *Memorabilia* around 1442. (Bessarion's version is titled *De dictis et factis Socratis*; the current title *Memorabilia* originated with Johannes Levvinklaius.) Curiously, the *Symposium* attracted no translators until the following century, perhaps because no Platonic sublimity redeems its frank depiction of Greek homosexuality.

Of greatest appeal to Renaissance readers was the idealized biography of Cyrus the Great. In antiquity, Cicero praised this *speculum principis* both as his own vademecum (*Familiares* IX.25) and as that of Scipio Africanus (*Ad Quintum fratrem* I.1.23), and he freely translated Cyrus' deathbed speech in *De senectute* 22. Poggius Florentinus (Poggio Bracciolini) was the first humanist to undertake a complete translation (ca. 1446), but he claimed to follow Cicero's example in making a paraphrase rather than a strictly literal translation: his Latin version reduces Xenophon's eight books to six. Poggius' translation enjoyed fairly wide circulation—some thirty manuscripts survive—but it was never printed, and a more faithful version by Philelphus (1467) became standard in printed editions until 1561. Nevertheless, Poggius' text provided the basis for Italian translations by his son Jacopo Bracciolini (ca. 1476) and Matteo Maria Boiardo (ca. 1470) and for a French translation by Vasque de Lucène (1470).³

3. See R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, 1954), 435 on Latin translations, 492–94 on manuscripts of Xenophon in Renaissance Italy, and 524–25 on vernacular translations. Bolgar's information is not always accurate: see C. Dionisotti, "Tradizione classica e volgarizzamenti," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, I (1958), 427–31.

On Jacopo di Poggio Bracciolini (1442–78), see DBI, XIII (Rome, 1971), 638–39 (C. Vasoli). His *Della vita di Cyro re de' Persi* was published in Florence in 1521 (Panzer VII 35, 186) and in Venice and Toscolano in 1527 (Panzer VIII 506, 1433, 334, 12).

On Boiardo (1441–94), see DBI, XI (Rome, 1969), 211–23 (F. Forti). Boiardo's version survives in a manuscript in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Est. ital. 416 (Alpha G 5,1): see Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 375. Boiardo's translation dates before August 1471 since the dedication does not address Ercole as duke; but it must date after 1467 since Boiardo mentions Filelfo's version. On Boiardo's translation, see G. Reichenbach, *Matteo Maria Boiardo* (Bologna, 1929), 64–73. The preface is printed there, 69–72, and (with some corrections) in A. Zottoli, *Tutte le opere di Matteo M. Boiardo*, 2 vols.

Xenophon first appeared in print in Latin translations: Leonardus Brunus' version of the *Hiero* (Venice, ca. 1471, H 16228; Padua, ca. 1475, H 15983; Rome, ca. 1476, H *15987) and Philelphus' rendering of the *Cyropaedia* (Milan, ca. 1477, H 16227; Goff X–5). The first collection of Xenophon's works in Latin was printed at Milan (H 16225) in an edition which D. E. Rhodes has recently attributed to Alessandro Minuziano, ca. 1501–1502.⁴ This volume includes Omnibonus' *Cynegeticus*, Leonardus Brunus' *Apologia* and *Hiero*, and Philelphus' *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum*, *Agesilaus*, and *Cyropaedia*. It also contains the spurious *Aequivoca*, a forgery published in the 1498 *Commentaria antiquitatum* of the Dominican Johannes Annius Viterbiensis (Giovanni Nanni). This work appeared twice in 1498 (Rome, HC 1130; Venice, H 12527) and was reprinted some ten times during the next century, including an Italian translation.⁵ The works printed in the Milan edition also appeared (without the *Aequivoca*) in Beroaldo's Bologna edition of 1502 and in Lyons editions of 1504 and 1511.

The first edition of a Greek text by Xenophon was the *Hiero* edited by Janus Lascaris and published in 1495 or 1496 by Laurentius de Alopa in Florence. Other Greek editions followed in the early sixteenth century. Aldus Manutius printed the *Hellenica* at Venice in 1503, and Philippus Junta published an edition at Florence in 1516, which lacks only the *Agesilaus*, *Apologia Socratis*, and *De vectigalibus*. At Hagenau in 1520, Johannes Reuchlin published a Greek

(Milan, 1936–37), II, 717–18.

On Vasque de Lucène, see D. Gallet-Guerne, *Vasque de Lucène et la Cyropédie à la cour de Bourgogne (1470): Le traité de Xenophon mis en français d'après la version latine de Poggio* (Geneva, 1974); and see n. 17 below. Manuscripts of this version are London, British Library, Royal 16 G IX and 17 E V (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 197, 204), Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 11703 (Catalogue, I, 235; Kristeller, *Iter*, III 100), Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, français 75 (Kristeller, *Iter*, V).

4. D. E. Rhodes, "The First Collected Latin Edition of Xenophon," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, LVI (1981), 151–53.

5. Editions of the *Commentaria antiquitatum* include five Paris editions between 1509 and 1515, an Antwerp edition of 1545, a Lyons edition of 1554, a Heidelberg edition of 1599, and a Wittenberg edition of 1612. The Italian translation was printed at Venice in 1583. Johannes Annius will be treated in a future *Catalogus* volume; see now A. Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton, 1990), ch. 4.

edition of the *Hiero*, *Agésilas*, and *Apologia Socratis* (the *editio princeps* of the last two texts). Two editions of the Greek text lacking only the *Apologia Socratis* were published by Franciscus Asulanus (Venice, 1525) and Philippus Junta (Florence, 1527). The first complete edition of the Greek text was that of Peter Brubach (Schwäbisch Hall, 1540), with a dedicatory epistle to Melanchthon.⁶ Editions of single works published in the sixteenth century include the *Oeconomicus* and *Cyri institutio* (Louvain, 1527), the *Memorabilia* published by Rutgerus Rescius and Johannes Sturm (Louvain, 1529), the *Symposium* edited by Vincentius Obsopoeus (Hagenau, 1531), and the *Oeconomicus* published by Jacobus Bogardus (Paris, 1544).⁷

Sixteenth-century complete editions of Xenophon in Latin include those of Cratander (Basel, 1534), Brylingerus (Basel, 1545, 1555, 1568), Isingrinus (Basel, 1545, 1551), Castellio (Basel, 1551, 1553), Gryphius (Lyons, 1551), Stephanus (Geneva, 1561, 1581), and Levvenklaius (Basel, 1569; Frankfurt, 1594–96).⁸

Editions of Xenophon naturally included commentaries of various sorts. Yet the only commentaries that discuss the cultural and historical background of Xenophon's writings were those of Joachim Camerarius (Leipzig, 1543, 1556; Paris, 1572) and Franciscus Portus ([Geneva], 1586).⁹ With the exception of Camerarius

and Portus, most sixteenth-century commentaries aimed principally at the constitution of the text. Thus Johannes Brodaeus' *Annotationes in omnia Xenophontis opera* (Basel, 1559; 1568) consist of fifty pages of brief textual observations: its subtitle "tam graecae quam latinae annotationes" indicates that, like other sixteenth-century commentaries, it offers readings in Greek and their interpretations in Latin.¹⁰

Henricus Stephanus' *Annotationes in Xenophontem* offer the first comprehensive attempt to collate the readings, translations, and conjectures of previous editors; in the 1561 edition they consist of forty-three double-column pages of textual remarks on the Greek text.¹¹ This edition began a dialogue (or dispute) between Stephanus and the other great editor of Xenophon, Johannes Levvenklaius. In his first edition of Xenophon's complete works (1569), Levvenklaius used Stephanus' edition to revise what had been a youthful exercise of Levvenklaius' own. Hence, when Stephanus published his second edition of the Greek text in 1581, he noted with pride that Levvenklaius had profited from his notes and conjectures. Around 1580, Levvenklaius had sent Stephanus a translation of *De equitandi ratione*, which Stephanus never published and which for many years he claimed had been destroyed. Exasperated by Stephanus' behavior, Levvenklaius complained in his (posthumous) edition of 1594 that Stephanus had exaggerated his own contribution to Xenophon scholarship. After death had ended the duel of the rival Xenophon scholars, Aemilius Portus stepped in to defend Levvenklaius' reputation. His notes are largely textual, but they adduce

6. *Xenophontis opera* (Venetiis, apud Aldum, 1503; Panzer VIII 363, 199); *Cyri pedias libri VIII etc.* (Florentiae, in aedibus Philippi Iuntae, 4 cal. Iunii 1516; Panzer VII 44, 243); *Apologia Socratis, Agésilas, et Hiero*, ed. Reuchlin (Hagenoae, ex off. Anshelmiana, Iulio [1520]; Panzer VII 90, 180); *Xenophontis omnia quae extant* (Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi et Andreae Asulani soc., Apr. 1525; Panzer VIII 490, 1286); *Xenofontis omnia quae extant* (Florentiae, per haered. Philippi Iuntae, 1 Dec. 1527; Panzer VII 44, 243); *Opera omnia* (Halae Sueuorum, 1540).

7. *Oeconomicus* and *Cyropaedia* (Lovanii, Theod. Martin., 1527; Panzer VII 266, 79–80); *Apomnemonematon libri IV* (Louanii, industria & impensis Rutgeri Rescii ac Ioannis Sturmii, Septembr. 1529; Panzer VII 267, 86); *Symposium*, ed. Obsopoeus (Hagenoae, Joh. Secerius, 1531; Panzer VII 108, 329); *Oeconomicus* (Parisiis, Jac. Bogardus, 1544).

8. A full description of these editions is given under Composite Editions (pp. 88–90 below). Levvenklaius' text and translation were often reprinted during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As late as the edition of Jean-Baptiste Gail (1755–1829), Levvenklaius remained a point of reference for Xenophon in both Greek and Latin.

9. Camerarius' commentaries on various works appeared between 1539 and 1572. Franciscus Portus' commentaries appeared in 1586, edited by his son Aemilius, who later

referred to his father's work in his own notes on Xenophon. See Composite Editions below.

10. There are two editions of *Joannis Brodae Turonensis in omnia Xenophontis opera . . . annotationes nunc primum in lucem editae*: Basel, 1559; apud Nicolaum Brylingerum (NUC. Vatican Library; [CtY; OC]); and Basel, 1568; apud Nicolaum Brylingerum (BN [no. 30]). There is also an extant manuscript in Berne, Burgerbibliothek: 187, cart. XVI, 81 fols. (H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium. Bibliotheca Bongarsiana* [Berne, 1875], 240, no. 187).

11. Stephanus' *Annotationes* first appeared with a preface in vol. I of his two-volume 1561 *Opera omnia*: see F. Schreiber, *The Estiennes: An Annotated Catalogue of 300 Highlights of Their Various Presses* (New York, 1982), 136, no. 148; and see Composite Editions below. They were later revised and expanded in his 1581 edition, in which Stephanus acknowledges his debt to Camerarius and Levvenklaius.

other ancient authors and criticize previous editors and translators.¹²

Like other ancient authors, Xenophon naturally attracted anthologizers, and speeches from his historical works were the most frequently anthologized. Johannes Sambucus printed twelve speeches from the *Cyri institutio* and *Hellenica* in his *Δημηγορίαι* (Basel, 1552), and Henricus Stephanus included some ninety speeches from the *Anabasis*, *Cyropaedia*, and *Hellenica* in his 1570 anthology, *Conciones sive orationes ex graecis latinisque historicis excerptae*. In a similar vein, Xenophon's moralizing tone inspired the chrestomathy of Thomas Beconus titled *Xenophontis Gnomologiae, eiusdem parabolae sive similitudines* (Lyons, 1558), in which the English clergyman arranged under alphabetical categories more than 160 Latin excerpts from Xenophon drawn from printed translations.¹³

Two texts enjoyed great popularity in the sixteenth century and beyond. The *Oeconomicus* was printed at least eighteen times between 1506 and 1603 in the version of Raphael Maffei Volaterranus (Raffaele Maffei) and was also translated by Lampus Biragus, Bernardinus Donatus, Joachim Camerarius, Jacobus Lodoicus Strebaeus, and Johannes Levvenklaius. Even more popular was Prodicus' tale of Hercules at the crossroads (*Memorabilia* II.1.21–34), a passage that was translated into prose by Saxolus Pratensis, Philippus Melanchthon, Gulielmus Budaeus, and Vincentius Obsopoeus and into verse by Johannes Spangenbergus and Johannes Stigelius. The popularity of this moral apologue in Germany extended well into the Enlightenment, and in 1733 it provided the subject of Bach's cantata "Hercules auf dem Scheideweg",

12. Aemilius Portus' notes first appeared in the 1594 Frankfurt edition of Levvenklaius' Xenophon. In the 1595 Frankfurt edition, Portus added a dedication to Henry IV of France, dated at Heidelberg on September 1, 1595. See Composite Editions below.

13. See Composite Editions below, p. 89. Beconus' excerpts, which begin with "Abstinencia" and end with "Uxor", are too numerous to identify and list singly. Yet since his "Agricoltura" cites the *Oeconomicus* in Maffei's version, which appeared in complete editions of Xenophon printed in 1545, 1551, and 1553, it is likely that he used one of these three editions. (Beconus would not have used Cratander's 1534 edition, which lacks Xenophon's minor works.)

from which the composer borrowed extensively for his *Christmas Oratorio* of 1734.¹⁴

Most of the vernacular translations of Xenophon date from the sixteenth century. In Italy, the versions of *Cyri institutio* by Boiardo and Jacopo Bracciolini found no successors until the mid-1500s, when Venetian presses published several Italian versions from Xenophon. A Tuscan version of the *Oeconomicus* by the Siene archbishop Alessandro Piccolomini (1508–78) appeared in 1540. Lodovico Domenichi (1515–64) published a series of translations: the *Anabasis* in 1547, the *Cyri institutio* in 1548, and the *Memorabilia*, *Agesilaus*, *Hiero*, *Apologia Socratis*, and *Lacedaemoniorum respublica* in 1558. Domenichi also edited a version of the *Hellenica* titled *Delle guerre de' Greci* by Francesco di Soldo Strozzi, which was printed in 1550 and reprinted in 1562. Marcantonio Gandini published an Italian version of Xenophon's complete works in 1588.¹⁵

Only two French translations of Xenophon date from the fifteenth century—the *Cyri institutio* of Vasque de Lucène based on Poggio's version (see p. 81 above) and *La tyrannie* of Charles Soillot made around 1460 and based on Bruni's version of the *Hiero*.¹⁶ Numerous versions were produced in the sixteenth century. Claude de Seyssel based his translation of the *Anabasis* on a Latin translation made at his request by Janus Lascaris; it was published at Paris in 1529. Geoffroy Tory (ca. 1480–1533) pub-

14. See E. Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheideweg und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1930); M.-R. Jung, *Hercule dans la littérature française du xvi^e siècle* (Geneva, 1966), esp. 132–36.

15. Piccolomini's version appeared as *La economica di Xenofonte* (Venice, 1540). The translations by Strozzi and Domenichi were printed in Venice "appresso Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari": Francesco di Soldo Strozzi's *Le guerre de' Greci* in 1550; Domenichi's *Della vita di Ciro re de' Persi* in 1548, *I fatti de' Greci* in 1548 and 1558, and *I sette libri della impresa di Ciro Minore* in 1558. Gandini's *Opere di Senofonte* was published in Venice in 1588 "presso Pietro Dusinelli". Gandini's dedication is dated at Treviso on September 12, 1587, and his preface to the reader indicates that he used the editions of Xenophon printed by the Basel publishers, by Aldus, Stephanus, and Levvenklaius, and that he consulted Italian translations by Bracciolini, Domenichi, and Strozzi.

16. For French translations of Xenophon in the Renaissance, see P. Chavy, *Traducteurs d'autrefois. Moyen Age et Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Paris and Geneva, 1988), 1465–70. For Soillot (1434–87), see Chavy, 1319; for Vasque de Lucène, 897–99, and see n. 3 above.

lished a translation of the *Oeconomicus* in 1531, and François de Ferris published his version of the same text in 1562. The *Cyri institutio* was rendered in French by Jacques de Vintimille (ca. 1512–82) and published in 1547. Other French translations include the *Hiero* by Jacques Miffant, published at Dieppe in 1550; the *Lacedaemoniorum respublica* by Claude Pinart, published in 1579; and the *Memorabilia* by Jean Doublet (1528–80), published at Dieppe in 1582. To a translation of works by Isocrates published in 1551, Louis Le Roy added the *Agésilas* and the first book of the *Cyri institutio*. He also included excerpts from the latter in his 1568 volume *Enseignements d'Isocrates et Xenophon auteurs anciens tres excellens pour bien regner en paix et en guerre*; and to his translation of Plato's *Phaedo* published in 1553, Le Roy added his version of Cyrus' deathbed speech (*Cyri institutio*, VIII.7). Montaigne aided in the 1571 posthumous publication of *La mesnagerie*, a version of the *Oeconomicus* by his friend Etienne de la Boétie (1530–63); and in the 1580 edition of his *Essais* (II.4), he expressed the wish that Amyot, the French translator of Plutarch, would make a French version of Xenophon's works. But Amyot never undertook the project, and the first complete French translation of Xenophon was made by the Genevan pastor Simon Goulart (1543–1628). The work was published by Pyramus de Candolle at Cologne in 1613 and printed again at Yverdon in 1619.¹⁷

The first German translations of Xenophon date from the sixteenth century: around 1503, Adam Werner von Themar made a translation of the *Hiero*; in 1525, Wolfgang Stöckel of Dresden published Hieronymus Emser's version of the *Oeconomicus*; and in 1540 Heinrich Steiner of Augsburg published Hieronymus Boner's German version of the *Cyri institutio*,

17. Besides Chavy, see J. Irigoin, "Les éditions de Xénophon. Etude historique d'après les collections conservées à la Bibliothèque Nationale," *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, CCXXVIII (Paris, 1979), vi–vii; W. L. Gundersheimer, *The Life and Works of Louis Le Roy* (Geneva, 1966); and Gundersheimer, *French Humanism, 1470–1600* (London, 1969). Manuscripts of Seyssel's *Anabasis* include London, British Library, Royal 19 C VI (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 198), and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 701 (formerly 7410), and fr. 702 (formerly 7141). A manuscript of Le Roy's excerpts from the *Cyri institutio* survives in London, British Library, Royal 16 E XXXII (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 197).

Anabasis, and *Hellenica*. Boner, who also translated Plutarch's *Lives* and several ancient historians, based his translation on Cratander's Latin edition of 1534.¹⁸

Spanish translations of the sixteenth century were printed both in Spain and in the Low Countries. Francisco Thámara's translation of the *Oeconomicus* was published in Antwerp in 1546 and again in 1549, together with his versions of Cicero's *De officiis*, *De amicitia*, and *De senectute*. For an edition printed at Salamanca in 1552, Diego Gracián de Alderete translated the *Cyri institutio*, *Anabasis*, *De equitum magistro*, *De equitandi ratione*, *Lacedaemoniorum respublica*, and *Cynegeticus*. The *Recopilación de . . . autores griegos y latinos* of Alonso Suárez, published at Toledo in 1564, contains the *De equitandi ratione*, which appears as the essay *Del arte militar de la cavallería* of "Capitán Xenophon." A manuscript in Madrid preserves an anonymous Spanish version of the *Hiero*, based on the Latin of Leonardo Bruni and perhaps on a lost Italian version by Pier Candido Decembrio.¹⁹

In England, Gentian Hervet (1499–1584) published a translation of the *Oeconomicus* in 1534, and William Barker (fl. 1572) the *Cyri institutio* in 1552 and 1567. The "translator-general" Philemon Holland (1552–1637) translated the *Cyri institutio* in 1620, although the

18. On sixteenth-century German translations of Xenophon, see F. J. Worstbock, *Deutsche Antikerezeption 1450–1550, Teil I: Verzeichnis der deutschen Übersetzungen antiker Autoren* (Boppard am Rhein, 1976), 160–62, on the Heidelberg jurist Adam Werner von Themar, (ca. 1470–1537), see K. Hartfelder, *Werner von Themar: Ein Heidelberger Humanist* (Karlsruhe, 1880), and *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XLII (1897), 39–41. Werner's translation of the *Hiero* survives in Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek Pal. germ. 298, fols. 80–100 (Worstbock, 160–61). On Hieronymus Emser's version of the *Oeconomicus*, see Worstbock, 161 (there is a copy in Tübingen). On Hieronymus Boner, see *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, III (1876), 120–21 (Merzdorf) and G. Wethly, *Hieronymus Boner: Leben, Werke, und Sprache* (Strasbourg, 1882). For Boner's translations from Xenophon, see Wethly, 34–36; Worstbock, 161–62 (copy in Tübingen); and N. Holzberg, *Willibald Pirckheimer: Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland* (Munich, 1981), 370–71.

19. See T. S. Beardsley, Jr., *Hispano-Classical Translations Printed between 1482 and 1699* (Pittsburgh, 1970), for Thámara (nos. 45 and 55), Gracián de Alderete (no. 64), and Suárez (no. 70). The anonymous version of the *Hiero* is found in Madrid, Academia de la Historia, Colección San Román, 2 ms. 39 (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 516–17).

work was not published until 1632.²⁰ Even though Xenophon's popularity declined in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English scholars showed interest in his works, especially the *Cyri institutio* and *Memorabilia*. In the 1690s, Edward Wells (1664–1727) began publication at Oxford of a Greek and Latin edition which was completed in 1703. Wells relied heavily on the Greek text of Stephanus and Levvenklaius and on the latter's Latin translation. The interest of British philologists in Xenophon is also manifest in the editions of Thomas Hutchinson (1698–1769), Bolton Simpson, and Edward Edwards.²¹

On the Continent, the most important edition in the first half of the eighteenth century is the *Memorabilia* edited by Johann August Ernesti (1707–81) and published in 1737. Simpson used Ernesti's work in his 1741 Oxford edition of the *Memorabilia*, and his fifth edition (Leiden and Leipzig, 1772) includes the *Animadversiones* of David Ruhnken (1723–98) and the *Adnotationes* of L. C. Valckenaer (1715–85). Johann Carl Zeune (1736–88) published Xenophon's complete works, and his edition of the *Hellenica* (Leipzig, 1791) contains a letter to the reader by the founder of *Altertumswissenschaft*, Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824).

In colonial America, Xenophon was often a basic school text. The *Memorabilia* were valued for their moral instruction, and Thomas Jefferson advocated the reading of Xenophon's historical works, the *Hellenica* and *Anabasis*. The Choice of Hercules was a popular allegory and appealed especially to members of the Adams family. In 1776, John Adams proposed the theme (in an engraving by Gribelin) for the national seal, and his

son John Quincy Adams seems to have shared his father's enthusiasm for this symbol of moral philosophy and education.²²

In France, J.-B.-G. d'Ansse de Villoison (1753–1805) transcribed notes of Stephanus and Henri de Valois which were published in 1804 in the sixth volume of Weiske's edition. The most dedicated student of Xenophon was J. B. Gail, an abbé who devoted more than forty years to his favorite author, culminating in a nine-volume edition of the complete works, which includes the Greek text, critical notes, and Latin and French translations (Paris, 1797–1824). Gail relies heavily on printed editions, especially those of Stephanus, Levvenklaius, and Zeune. The only other complete edition published in nineteenth-century France is that of Frédéric Dübner, which appeared in 1838 as part of the Collection Didot series.

The nineteenth century witnessed a revival of Xenophon studies on the Continent. The editions of Schneider and Schaefer were soon followed by those of Ludwig Dindorf (1805–71), whose lifelong work on Xenophon began with an edition of the *Symposium* and *Agesilaus* printed in 1822, when he was seventeen years old. In 1824, Dindorf inaugurated the Bibliotheca Teubneriana with an edition of the *Anabasis*. Adamantios Korais (1748–1833) published an edition of the *Memorabilia* in the Didot series (Paris, 1825). Cobet contributed to Xenophon studies in his *Prosopographia Xenophontea* (1836), *Variae lectiones* (1854), *Novae lectiones* (1858), and school editions of the *Anabasis* and *Hellenica* (1859–62).²³

As classical scholarship became more specialized in the nineteenth century, the variety of Xenophon's writings inevitably caused his repu-

20. G. Hervet, *Xenophon's Treatise of Housholde* (London, 1534, 1537, 1544, 1559, 1573); W. Barker, *The VIII bookes of Xenophon, containinge the Institution, schole, and education of Cyrus* (London, 1552, 1567; modern-spelling edition by J. Tatum: New York and London, 1987); P. Holland, *The Cyropaedia of Xenophon* (London, 1632). On Hervet, see CTC, I, 109–10; on Barker, see DNB, I (1885), 1133 (T. Cooper); on Holland, DNB, IX (1891), 1045–47 (S. Lee).

21. *Memorabilia* and *Apologia Socratis*, ed. E. Wells (Oxford, 1690); *Agesilaus, Hiero, Lacedaemoniorum respublica, Atheniensium respublica*, and *De vectigalibus*, ed. B. Simpson (Oxford, 1754). The *Cyri institutio*, ed. T. Hutchinson, enjoyed remarkable success—some twelve London editions between 1727 and 1812 and an American edition printed at Philadelphia in 1806.

22. See M. Reinhold, *The Classick Pages: Classical Reading of Eighteenth-Century Americans* (University Park, Pa., 1975), 65–68; Reinhold, *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States* (Detroit, 1984), 26–28, 39, 150–54.

23. Important nineteenth-century editions of Xenophon include *Opera*, ed. B. Weiske (Leipzig, 1798–1804); *Opera*, ed. J. G. Schneider (Oxford, 1810–17); *Xenophontis quae extant*, ed. G. H. Schaefer (Leipzig, 1811–19); *Opera*, ed. L. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1824–26); *Agesilaus, Cyri institutio, Hiero, Hellenica, Memorabilia*, and *Oeconomicus*, ed. L. Breitenbach (Gotha and Leipzig, 1842–80); *Opera*, ed. G. Sauppe (Leipzig, 1865–66); *Anabasis, Apologia Socratis, Memorabilia, Oeconomicus*, and *Symposium*, ed. K. Schenkl (Berlin, 1869–76).

tation to suffer. He was judged inferior to Thucydides as a historian and to Plato as a thinker and stylist. The twentieth century has seen a new appreciation both of Xenophon's originality and of his limitations. His political and religious views and even his prose style provide a key to the emergence of Hellenistic culture, while his expertise as soldier and cavalry officer makes him invaluable to students of Greek warfare.

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Note. For Xenophon and other Greek authors, I use the abbreviations of the Liddell and Scott *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. by H. S. Jones (Oxford, 1925-40); for Latin authors, I use those of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford, 1982).

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1545, Basileae (Basel): apud Nicolaum Brylingerum. 2 vols. in fol. 678 pp. (Gr.-Lat.), ed. Albanus Torinus (Alban Thorer, 1489–1550). Contains *Cyr.*, tr. Philelphus; *An.*, tr. Amasaes; *HG*, tr. Pirckheimerus; *Mem.*, tr. Bessarion; *Oec.*, tr. Maffei; *Ages.*, tr. Philelphus; *Ap.*, tr. Leonardus Brunus; *Hier.*, tr. Erasmus; *Vect.*, tr. Ribittus; *Eq.*, tr. Camerarius; *Eq.*

mag., tr. Ribittus; *Cyn.*, tr. Omnibonus; *Smp.*, tr. Ribittus; *Lac.*, tr. Philelphus; and *Ath.*, tr. Castellio. Adams X-7. NUC. BL; (CU; CtY; IEN; MH; NN; NNC).

1545, Basileae (Basel): apud Mich. Isingrinium. 2 vols. in 8°. 421 pp. Contains (vol. I) *Cyr.*, tr. Philelphus; *An.*, tr. Amasaes; *HG*, tr. Pirckheimerus; (vol. II) *Lac.* and *Ages.*, tr. Philelphus; *Mem.*, tr. Bessarion; *Ap.*, tr. Leonardus Brunus; *Cyn.*, tr. Omnibonus; *Oec.*, tr. Maffei; *Hier.*, tr. Erasmus; *Eq.* tr. Camerarius; and *Eq. mag.*, *Smp.*, *Ath.*, and *Vect.*, tr. Ribittus. Adams X-18. NUC. BL; (CU; IU; NN; NNC).

1551, Basileae (Basel): apud Mich. Isingrinium. 2 vols. in 8°, ed. Sebastianus Castellio. Contains *Cyr.*, tr. Philelphus; *An.*, tr. Amasaes; *HG*, tr. Pirckheimerus; *Vita Xenophontis*, tr. Maffei; *Lac.* and *Ages.*, tr. Philelphus; *Mem.*, tr. Bessarion; *Ap.*, tr. Leonardus Brunus; *Cyn.*, tr. Omnibonus; *Oec.*, tr. Strebaeus; *Hier.*, tr. Erasmus; *Eq.*, tr. Camerarius; *Ath.*, tr. Castellio; and *Eq. mag.*, *Smp.*, *Vect.*, tr. Ribittus. NUC. BN (no. 56); (CU; NcD).

(*)[1551?], Basileae (Basel): apud Mich. Isingrinium. Contents the same as in the preceding entry except for *Oec.*, tr. Maffei and *Ath.*, tr. Ribittus. BN (no. 58).

1551, Lugduni (Lyons): apud Sebastianum Gryphium. 2 vols. in 16°. 701, 859 pp. Contains (vol. I) *Vita Xenophontis*, tr. Maffei; *Cyr.*, tr. Philelphus; *An.*, tr. Amasaes; (vol. II) *HG*, tr. Pirckheimerus; *Lac.* and *Ages.*, tr. Philelphus; *Mem.*, tr. Bessarion; *Ap.*, tr. Leonardus Brunus; *Cyn.*, tr. Omnibonus; *Oec.*, tr. Maffei; *Hier.*, tr. Erasmus; *Eq.*, tr. Camerarius; and *Eq. mag.*, *Smp.*, *Ath.*, and *Vect.*, tr. Ribittus. Baudrier VIII 256–57; Adams X-19. NUC. BL; BN (no. 55); Vatican Library; (CU-A; CtY; OCIW).

1552, Basileae (Basel): ex officina Ioannis Oporini. *Δημηγορίαι, hoc est Conciones aliquot ex libris Xenophontis de Paedia Cyri, breviores et selectiores, versae pro tyronibus Graecae linguae, a Ioanne Sambuco Tirnaviensi Pannone. Additae sunt duae orationes contrariae Critiae et Theramenis ex libro secundo de rebus gestis Graecorum*. (Gr.-Lat.) NUC. (MH).

1553, Basileae (Basel): apud Mich. Isingrinium. 2 vols. in 8°, 819, 450 pp. Contents as in Isingrinus' 1545 Basel edition. Adams X-8. NUC. BM; BN (no. 57); (CtY; NN).

1555, Basileae (Basel): apud Nicolaum Brylingerum. (Gr.-Lat.) Contents the same as in Brylingerus' 1545 Basel edition, except for *Oec.*, tr. Strebaeus. Adams X-9. NUC. BN (no. 30); (CtY; MH; NNH).

1556, Lipsiae (Leipzig): in officina Valentini Papae. *Hippocomicus, quae est Disputatio de curandis equis . . . auctore Ioachim Camerario . . .* 342 pp. in 8°. Contains Camerarius' treatises on horsemanship and ancient coins; *Eq.*, *Lac.*, *Ath.*, and *Eq. mag.*, tr. Camerarius; Camerarius' *Annotationes* on *Ath.*, *Lac.*, and *Eq. mag.*; and various dedications. NUC. BN (no. 115); (MH; IEN).

1558, Lugduni (Lyons): apud Clemen. Balduinum, excudebat Nicolaus Edoardus Campanus. *Xenophontis Gnomologiae, eiusdem parabolae sive similitudines*, ed. T. Beconus. 276 pp. in 16°. Dedication to Rodolphus and Leonartus Vurcuppus, dated at Marburg on July 19, 1558. Contains some 160 Latin excerpts from Xenophon's works in printed translations, including *Mem.*, tr. Bessarion; *Oec.*, tr. Maffei; *Ages.*, *Cyr.*, *Lac.*, tr. Philelphus; *An.*, tr. Amasaenus; *HG*, tr. Pirckheimerus; *Cyn.*, tr. Omnibonus; *Eq.*, tr. Camerarius; *Eq. mag.*, *Smp.*, and *Vect.*, tr. Ribittus; *Ap.*, tr. Leonardus Brunus; *Hier.*, tr. Erasmus: see p. 83, n. 13 above. Baudrier V 26; Adams X-44. BN (nos. 183-84); Vatican Library.

1561, Genevae (Geneva): excudebat Henricus Stephanus. 2 vols. in fol. 587, 428 pp. (Gr.-Lat.) Contains (vol. I) Stephanus' *Prolegomena*, Greek text of Xenophon and *Annotationes in Xenophontem*; (vol. II) Latin translations edited by Stephanus: *Cyr.*, tr. Philelphus; *An.*, tr. Amasaenus; *HG*, tr. Pirckheimerus; *Ages.* and *Lac.*, tr. Philelphus; *Ath.*, tr. Castellio; *Ap.*, tr. Leonardus Brunus; *Oec.*, tr. Strebaeus; *Smp.*, tr. Ribittus; *Hier.*, tr. Erasmus; *Vect.*, tr. Ribittus; *Eq.*, tr. Camerarius; *Eq. mag.*, tr. Ribittus; *Cyn.*, tr. Omnibonus; and *Ep.*, tr. Gesnerus. Renouard 119, nos. 4-5; Moeckli 50; Hoffmann III, 576; Adams X-10; Schreiber 136, no. 148. NUC. BL; BN (no. 60); (CSt; CtY; ICN; MH; NIC; NNC).

1568, Basileae (Basel): apud haeredes Nicolai Brylingereri. 678 pp. in fol. (Gr.-Lat.) Contents as in Brylingerus' 1555 Basel edition, with the addition of Brodaeus' 1559 commentary. NUC. BN (no. 30); (OC).

1569, Basileae (Basel): per Thomam Guar-

num. 790 pp. in fol. (Gr.-Lat.) Contains (vol. I) Prooemium to Joannes Casimirus; *Narratio de vita Xenophontis*, epistle of Chio, dedicatory poems to Levvenklaius; *Cyr.*, *An.*, and *HG*, tr. Levvenklaius; (vol. II) Prooemium to Georgius, Erpachii Comes; *Ages.*, *Lac.*, *Ath.*, *Ap.*, *Mem.*, *Oec.*, *Smp.*, *Hier.*, *Vect.*, tr. Levvenklaius; *Eq.*, tr. Camerarius; *Eq. mag.*, tr. Ribittus; *Cyn.* and *Ep.*, tr. Levvenklaius; Levvenklaius' *Annotationes* and index. Adams X-11. NUC. BL; BN (no. 31); (CU; CtY; ICU; NNC). The "Basileae, 1669" listing in NUC (PPL) refers to this edition (verified by Phil Lapsanski of the Library Company of Philadelphia).

1570, Parisiis (Paris): Henricus Stephanus. *Conciones sive orationes ex graecis latinisque historicis excerptae*. 194 pp. in fol. Contains 92 speeches from Xenophon: *Cyr.*, tr. Stephanus (2 speeches), Philelphus (32), and Veratius (3); from *An.*, tr. Amasaenus (28); and from *HG*, tr. Franciscus Portus (27). Renouard 133, no. 3; Moeckli 74; Schreiber 154, no. 176. NUC. (CtY; ICU; MH; MiU; NNC; NjP).

1572, Basileae (Basel): per Thomam Guarinum. 790 pp. in fol. (Gr.-Lat.) Contents as in Basel ed. of 1569. Adams X-13. NUC. BL; BN (no. 32); (IU; NjP; MH; NNC; CtY).

(*1572, Basileae (Basel): per Lazarum Zetnerum. 790 pp. in fol. (Gr.-Lat.) Contents the same as in the preceding entry. BL.

1572, Parisiis (Paris): apud Andream Wechelium. 492 pp. in 4°. Contains *Vita Xenophontis exposita aliquando prooemii loco ante explicationem quorundam illius libellorum* by Camerarius; *Cyr.*, *Vect.*, *Eq.*, *Lac.*, *Ath.*, and *Eq. mag.*, tr. and comm. Camerarius. Adams X-26. NUC. BN (no. 475); (CSt; CtY; MH).

1581-1596, Genevae (Geneva): excudebat Henricus Stephanus. A second printing of the 1561 Stephanus edition. 2 vols. in fol. 584, 428 pp. Contains (vol. I, 1581) dedication to James of Scotland, preface to reader, epistle of Chio, Greek text of Xenophon, and *Annotationes in Xenophontem*. Adams X-14; BN (nos. 16-20); (vol. II, 1596) preface to Camerarius, Stephanus' oration *De coniungendis cum Marte Musis*, epistle of Chio in Latin, and Latin translations as in 1561 edition. Adams X-22. NUC. BL; BN (nos. 61-62); (CU; CtY; MA; MH; NNC; NjP).

1586, [Geneva?]: excudebat Johannes Le Preux. BL gives the place of printing as Geneva

(?); BN gives Lausanne (?); a handwritten entry in the Harvard copy gives Morges (?). *Francisci Porti Commentarii in varia Xenophontis opuscula*. 535 pp. in 4°. Contains dedication by Aemilius Portus to Johannes Septimius Baro a Lichtenstein et Nicolspurg, and commentaries of Franciscus Portus on *HG*, *Lac.*, *Ath.*, *Mem.*, *Oec.*, *Hier.*, *Vect.*, *Cyn.* Adams P-1979. NUC. BL; BN; Vatican Library; (MH).

1592, [Geneva]: excudebat Henricus Stephanus. *Herodoti Halicarnassei Historiarum libri IX . . . editio secunda*, ed. Henricus Stephanus. (Gr.-Lat.) in paired columns. Renouard 155, no. 3; Moeckli 134; Hoffmann II, 230; Schreiber 180, no. 222. NUC. BN; (CtY; IU; MH; NNC).

In revising his 1566 edition of Herodotus, Stephanus included several passages concerning the Persians drawn from Xenophon (pp. 698–713). For the longer excerpts, he cited the versions included in his 1561 edition, but he made his own translations of several short passages. Contained in both the 1592 and 1594 editions are *An.* I.8.26–27 (tr. Stephanus, p. 689; tr. Amasaeus, p. 700); *Cyr.* I.2.3–16, V.2.17, VII.1.39, VIII.1.33–44, and VIII.8.1–27 (tr. Philelphus, pp. 698–710); *Cyr.* I.1.8, I.1.11, I.3.2, I.3.4., V.2.17, VII.5.67, VIII.1.30, VIII.1.39, and VIII.8.8 (tr. Stephanus, p. 710); *Ages.* IX.3–4 (tr. Stephanus, p. 711) and VIII.6 (tr. Philelphus, p. 711); and *Oec.* IV.4–9 (tr. Strebaeus, pp. 712–13).

1594, Francofurti (Frankfort): apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium et Ioan. Aubrium. *Herodoti Halicarnassei Historiae libri IX . . . et quaedam de Persarum legibus et institutis ex Xenophonte et aliis laudatis autoribus collecta*, ed. Henricus Stephanus. Contains Herodotus, together with passages concerning the Persians, in the Latin translations of Stephanus' 1592 edition, with a preface by F. Sylburgius. The passages from Xenophon are found on pp. 319–34; Stephanus' commentary retains the page numbers of the text as printed in the 1592 edition. NUC. BL; BN; (Cty; NNC; ICN).

(*)1594, Francofurti (Frankfort): apud hered. Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium et Ioan. Aubrium. 2 vols. in fol. 1013 pp., 1014–1159 cols. (Gr.-Lat.) The complete works of Xenophon with revised Latin trans. of Levvenklaius. Adams X-15. NUC. (CtY; NcU).

1594–96 (vol. I, 1596; vol. II, 1594), Fran-

cofurti (Frankfort): apud Andreae Wecheli heredes, Claudium Marnium and Ioan. Aubrium. 2 vols. in fol. 1013 pp. (Gr.-Lat.) The complete works of Xenophon, with Latin translation of Levvenklaius, dedication by F. Sylburgius to Karolus Baro Zerotinus, and notes by Aemilius Portus. Adams X-16. NUC. BL; BN (no. 34); (ICN; CtY; PPL; PV).

1595, Basileae (Basel): per Lazarum Zetznerum. 2 vols. in 1. 790 pp. in fol. Contents same as in Zetznerus' 1572 Basel edition. NUC. BL; (NjP). The "[Strassburg], 1595" listing in NUC (MiD) refers to this edition (verified by Janet Whitson of the Detroit Public Library).

1595, Francofurti (Frankfort): apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium et Ioann. Aubrium. 2 vols. in 8°. 698, 402 pp. The complete works of Xenophon in the Latin trans. of Levvenklaius. Contains (vol. I) the dedications of Aemilius Portus to Henry IV of France (Heidelberg, September 1, 1595) and of F. Sylburgius to Karolus Baro Zerotinus (Heidelberg, August 28, 1594); Levvenklaius' *Narratio de vita Xenophontis; Cyr.*, *An.*, and *HG*, tr. Levvenklaius; (vol. II) *Ages.*, *Lac.*, *Ath.*, *Ap.*, *Mem.*, *Oec.*, *Smp.*, *Hier.*, *Vect.*, *Eq.*, *Eq. mag.*, *Cyn.*, and *Ep.*, tr. Levvenklaius; and an appendix containing a chronology, Chio's epistle, Hermogenes and Cicero on Xenophon's style, and Levvenklaius' early version of the *Eq.* Adams X-20. NUC. (NjP; NNC).

(*)1596, [Geneva]: excudebat H. Stephanus. Xenophon's complete works, ed. H. Stephanus. 428 pp. in fol. See 1581–96 above. Adams X-21. BN (no. 61).

1625, Lutetiae Parisiorum (Paris): typis regiis, apud Societatem graecarum editionum. (Gr.-Lat.) Xenophon's complete works, ed. Antonius Stephanus, with Latin translation by Levvenklaius, and textual notes by Levvenklaius and Aemilius Portus. Renouard 217, no. 11; Brunet V 1490; Hoffmann III, 578; Schreiber 231, no. 285. NUC. BN (nos. 35–39); (CtY; CU; IU; MH).

(*)1691, Oxonii (Oxford): Ἐκ θεατροῦ ἐν Ὀξωνίᾳ. *Scripta minora*, ed. H. Aldrich (1647–1710). (Gr.-Lat.) Contains *Ages.*, *Hier.*, *Lac.*, *Ath.*, and *Vect.*, with Latin translation of Levvenklaius. BL.

(*)1693, Oxonii (Oxford): Ἐκ θεατροῦ ἐν Ὀξωνίᾳ. *Scripta minora*, ed. H. Aldrich. (Gr.-Lat.) Contains *Eq.*, *Eq. mag.*, and *Cyn.*, with Latin translation of Levvenklaius. BL.

(*)1691–1703, Oxonii (Oxford): e theatro Sheldoniano. 5 vols. (Gr.-Lat.) The complete works of Xenophon, ed. Edward Wells (1667–1727), with Latin translation of Levvenklaius and a chronology by Henry Dodwell (1641–1711). NUC. BL; BN (no. 40); (NjP; NIC).

(*)1700–1704, Oxonii (Oxford): e theatro Sheldoniano. 5 vols. (Gr.-Lat.) Contents as in the preceding entry. NUC. (IU; CtY; NIC; PPL).

(*)1754, Oxonii (Oxford): e typogr. Clarendoniano. (Gr.-Lat.) Contains *Ages.*, *Hier.*, *Lac.*, *Ath.*, and *Vect.*, ed. B. Simpson, with Latin trans. of Levvenklaius. BL; BN (no. 104).

Doubtful Editions:

(*)[1467, Milan] in 4°. H 16226; Pol. 11846. BN (no. 110). Contains *Cyn.*, tr. Omnibonus Leonicens; *Lac.* and *Ages.*, tr. Franciscus Philelphus; *Ap.* and *Hier.*, tr. Leonardus Brunus; *Aequivoca* (see above, p. 81 and n. 5); and *Cyr.*, tr. Franciscus Philelphus. As early as Fabricius (BG II, 11), a more exact date of 1495–1500 was given for this edition. The incorrect date of 1467 derives from the colophon to Philelphus' translation of the *Cyri institutio*: "Franciscus Philelphus . . . extremam imposuit manum Mediolani ad XI Kal. Octobris anno MCCCCLXVII." See the article by Rhodes cited in the next entry.

(*)[1474?, Venice: Bernardinus Venetus de Vitalibus.] D. E. Rhodes, "The First Collected Latin Edition of Xenophon," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, LVI (1981), 153, n. 15, suggests that this was the 1501–1502 Milan edition, and he dismisses as unreliable the attribution in Brunet V 1497 (which was itself secondhand). Goff X-3, lists a copy at Williams College, but Robert Volz of the Chapin Library reports that this volume is not found in the Williams College collections. Although Goff lists a quarto edition, the Brunet reference he cites is to a folio edition.

GENUINE WORKS OF XENOPHON

I. AGESILAUS

This piece was commended to humanists by Cicero's praise of it in a letter to Lucius Lucceius (*Fam.* V.12.7): "Nec minus est Spartiates Agesilaus ille perhibendus, qui neque pictam neque fictam imaginem suam passus est esse . . . unus enim Xenophontis libellus in eo rege laudando

facile omnis imagines omnium statuasque superavit."

TRANSLATIONS

I. Franciscus Philelphus

This translation followed that of the *Lacedaemoniorum respublica* (see p. 158 below); both were completed in Florence by July 7, 1432. It is dedicated to Cardinal Niccolò Albergati, bishop of Bologna and titular of Santa Croce: see E. Pásztor. A dozen manuscripts of the work survive, and it became the standard translation in printed editions until it was supplanted by that of Levvenklaius in 1569. On Filelfo's theory and practice of translating, see Resta (p. 93 below).

Dedication (Hanover, N.H., Dartmouth College Library, 002002). Ad sapientissimum ac sanctum virum dominum Nicolaum sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalem Francisci Philelphi praefatio in Xenophontis orationem de regis Agesilai Lacedaemoniorum laudibus. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 20) Admonuit me superior Lacedaemoniorum respublica, quam a sapientissimo Lycurgo illo constitutam Socraticus Xenophon immortalitati litterarum commendarat, ut et Agesilai laudationem, quam idem disertissime ac paene divine scriptitasset, ad latinos traducerem; idque cum ob alias a me rationes factum est, humanissime pater, tum ob eam potissimum, ut quod ipse perspicue noscis, ceteri non ignorent, solere ex bonis et institutis et legibus viros etiam effici meliores clarioresque. Itaque Agesilaus ipse Spartiatarum rex cum Lycurgi instituta die noctuque animo volutaret atque singula eius non facta modo, verum etiam dicta, crebra meditatione studioque tractaret, id est pro singulari suum sapientia tum animi magnitudine consecutus, ut et patriae maximopere prodesset et aeternitatis nomen suo nomini vendicaret. Accedit ad rem quod rebus te priscis delectari illisque clarissimis non me praeterit. Etenim ingenuus animus et excelsus magnarum item illustriumque rerum suavitate perfunditur; maiorum quidem laudationes praemia sunt virtutis, et recte faciendi proposita posteris exempla quaedam. Quis enim omnium est qui cum summam iusticiam, insignem prudentiam, sapientiam singularem, egregiam praeterea animi gravitatem, constantiam, modestiam, continentiam, humanitatem, magnificentiam, comitatem, gratitudinem, pietatem, ac omnis denique virtutum cetus

in Agesilao floruisse perspexerit, non et illum vel mortuum mirifice diligit, eamque mente voluptatem percipiat, qua nulla sit prope iocundior, nulla maior? Quod cum omnibus [auditu] pergratum sit, longe iis tamen et gratius arbitror et suavius, qui veluti tu, pater modestissime, immortales virtutes suas in aliorum virtutibus memorari simul et laudari cognoverint. Nos vero qui probitatem, nomen atque splendorem quasi tyrones appetimus, perinde ac [si] ideam aliquam, et intuemur vos tales viros et imitari cogimur. Sed in hac traductione id mihi molestum fuit quod non huiusmodi divina haec oratio apud nostros appareat qualis apud Graecos effulget et tanquam sol aliquis irradiat. Quis enim musam Atticam (ita namque Xenophontem prisci cognominarunt) dicendo apud nostros expresserit? Quis talem hanc Agesilai laudationem, quam ipse etiam eloquentiae deus Cicero pluribus in locis et unice laudavit et maiorem in modum admiratus est, ulla dicendi arte, ullo ingenio, ulla demum exercitatione pro dignitate interpretari se posse vel crediderit vel sperarit? Et si quis fortasse id se posse dixerit, hoc certe de me fateri facinus esse dixerim. Proinde omnes norint sensa modo, si quid aliud limatius politiusve apparuerit, Xenophontis illius esse, dictionem autem nostram; et ingenium et peritiam interpreti potius quam fidem et diligentiam defuisse. Vale.

Agesilaus. [Inc.]: (fol. 21v) Quamquam nescius certe non sum Agesilai tum virtutem tum gloriam non facile scribendo laudari pro dignitate posse, nihilominus id mihi muneris aggrediendum existimavi . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 45) Monumenta is quidem virtutis suae per totum terrarum orbem assecutus ac regiam in patria sepulturam nactus.

Manuscripts:

(*)Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library), Clmae 422, mbr. XV, 58 fols., 15v–37, with preface (E. Bartonek, *Codices latini medii aevi* [Budapest, 1940], 382, no. 422, formerly Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 178; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 295).

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 63.34, mbr. XV, 138 fols., 24–57, with preface (Bandini, *Catalogus*, II, 707).

———, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 159 (N II 18), cart. XV, 230 fols., 82–104v, without preface, and fragmentary at the end. [*Expl.*]: eaque

vincente demonstravit ut hoc (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 189).

(*)Fribourg, Couvent des Capucins, Z. 105 (E2), misc. XV, fols. numbered irregularly, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 108).

(photo) Hanover, N.H., Dartmouth College Library, cod. 002002, mbr. XV, 107 fols., 20–45, with preface (R. L. McGrath, *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Dartmouth College Library* [Hanover, 1972], p. 23, no. 33; new shelfmark verified by Dr. Philip N. Cronenwett, Curator of Manuscripts; formerly no. 3 in the library of Arthur L. Gale of New York City; De Ricci, II, 1673; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 262, 349).

(*)The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 129 B 11, mbr. XV, fols. 181–193v (*De Oranje Nassau-Boekerij* [Haarlem, 1898], 14; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 344; seen by P. O. Kristeller).

(*)Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9120 (Aa 29), mbr. XV, 258 fols., 31v–49v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 562).

(*)Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 132 inf., cart. XV, fols. 30–42, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 319).

(*)New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Yale 63, cart. XV, fol. 102v, excerpt (De Ricci II 2253; B. A. Shailor, *Catalogue of the . . . Beinecke Library*, I [Binghamton, N.Y., 1984], 88; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 278).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6074, cart. XV, 57 fols., 12–28v, with preface (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, IV, 201; G. Mazzatinti, *La biblioteca dei re d'Aragona in Napoli* [Rocca San Casciano, 1897], 72, no. 184).

———, lat. 8751D, cart. XV–XVI, 186 fols., 118–119v, with preface but text fragmentary at end [*Expl.*]: atqui fortitudinis quoque (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, IV, 535).

(*)Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Palatinus 41, mbr. misc. XV, fols. not numbered, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 34).

(micro.) Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, J 120, cart. XVI, fol. 81 (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 61): three excerpts (VIII.8, X.2, X.3): [*Inc.*]: Perpulchrum equidem videtur muros parere inexpugnabiles. [*Expl.*]: Quid vero a lamentatione longius abest quam et aevum gloriosum et spetiosa mors?

(*)Savignano sul Rubicone, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Rubiconia dei Filopatridi, 36, cart. XV, 138 fols., 61–79v, with preface (Mazzatinti, I, 92–93; Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 570).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi J VI 215, cart. XV, 214 fols., 69–80, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 484).

Editions:

[ca. 1501–1502], 1502, [1504], 1505, 1511, 1534, 1545 (Basel: Brylingerus and Isingrinus), 1551, 1553, 1555, 1558. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC, I, 215. Add to the *Bibliography*: R. G. Adam, *Francesco Filelfo at the Court of Milan (1439–1481): A Contribution to the Study of Humanism in Northern Italy* (Rome, 1979); G. Benadduci, “Prose e poesie volgari di Francesco Filelfo raccolte e annotate. Contributo alla biografia di F. Filelfo,” *Atti e memorie della reale Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie delle Marche*, V (1901), 1–261, 459–535; A. Calderini, “Intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filelfo,” *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, XX (1913), 204–424, esp. 405–06; Calderini, “I codici milanesi delle opere di Francesco Filelfo,” *Archivio storico lombardo*, XLII (1915), 355–73; E. Garin, “La cultura milanese nella seconda metà del XV secolo,” in *Storia di Milano*, VII (Milan, 1956), 541–64; G. Gualdo, “Francesco Filelfo e la Curia pontificia. Una carriera mancata,” *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, CII (1979), 189–236; J. Kraye, “Francesco Filelfo’s Lost Letter ‘De Ideis’,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLII (1979), 236–49; Kraye, “Francesco Filelfo on Emotions, Virtues, and Vices: A Re-examination of His Sources,” *Bibliothèque d’humanisme et Renaissance*, XLIII (1981), 129–40; R. P. Oliver, “The Satires of Filelfo,” *Italica*, XXVI (1949), 23–46; E. Pásztor, “Albergati, Niccolò,” *DBI I* (Rome, 1960), 619–21; G. Resta, “Francesco Filelfo tra Bisanzio e Roma,” in *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte* (Padua, 1986), 1–60, esp. 33–43; D. Robin, “A Reassessment of the Character of Francesco Filelfo,” *Renaissance Quarterly*, XXXVI (1983), 202–24; Robin, “Unknown Greek Poems of Francesco Filelfo,” *Renaissance Quarterly*, XXXVII (1984), 173–206; Robin, “Humanist Politics or Vergilian Poetics? (Filelfo’s *Odes* 2.2 and 3.4),” *Rinascimento*, XXV (1985), 101–25; C. de’ Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo da Tolentino*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1808); L. A. Sheppard, “A

Fifteenth-Century Humanist: Francesco Filelfo,” *The Library*, XVI (1935), 1–26; G. Zippel, “Il Filelfo a Firenze (1429–1434)” (Rome, 1899; rpt. in *Storia e cultura del Rinascimento italiano* [Padua, 1979], 215–53).

2. Baptista Guarinus

The dedicatee Hermolaus Barbarus is not the famous humanist but his cousin, a noted prelate who was bishop of Verona from 1453 to 1471 (see E. Bigi). The translation, which dates from 1457–58 (Piacente, 153), was erroneously printed in the 1470 Rome edition of Plutarch’s *Lives*.

Dedication (ed. of Rome, 1470, corrected with the help of Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, ms. A III 28). Baptistae Guarini ad Reverendum Dominum Hermolaum Barbarum episcopum Veronensem dignissimum, in Agesilai vitam in Latinum a se conversam prohoemium incipit. [*Inc.*]: Soleo plerumque mecum tacitus admirari, humanissime praesul, inanem spem falsamque nonnullorum hominum opinionem, qui dum ex libris a se compositis gloriam aliquam venari student, eos virorum opibus quidem aut imperio pollentium, sed a litteris prorsus alienorum nomini dedicant, ex(is)timantes scilicet sola eius libri inscriptione gloriosos se et in vita et post mortem futuros. Sed ea in re meo iudicio vehementer falluntur. Quid est enim per Deum immortalem cur doctrinae gloriam apud eos qui nullam doctrinae partem attigerunt consequi se posse sperent, cum vel proverbio illo quod vulgo apud Graecos, ut nosti, iactitari solet, erroris sui facile admoneri [*ed.* admoveri] possint? Ego vero longe aliter sentio, et eam maiorum sane laudem existimo quae a viro magis doctrina quam potestate praestanti proficiscitur, cuius etiam sententiae Naevianum illum Hectorem esse video, qui non tantum laudari vult sed addat “a laudato viro” [*Cic. Fam. V.12.7*]. Quod si forte ab eo laus ipsa pervenerit, qui caeteros virtutis pariter et potestatis splendore antecellat, ego illam tanti facio ut nullam digniorem, nullam excellentiorem inveniri posse mihi facile persuadeam. Quocirca si inter varias occupationes fortasse aliquid ingenioli mei vires excuderint, nemo miretur velim si id excellentiae tuae nomini destinaverim. Non enim video cur dignitatem in te requirat quispiam, quem Tarvisina prius et ecclesia et universa civitas non dicam pastorem sed parentem optimum cognovit, ita ut

nemo fuerit qui te discedentem lachrimis non sit prosecutus. Accessisti deinde ad huius nostrae civitatis ecclesiasticam gubernationem tanquam ad maius dignitatis fastigium eVectus, quam ita pie iuste sancte liberaliterque administrasti et administras, ut omnes te quasi numen quoddam caelitus a(d) se missum arbitrentur, et in dies magis magisque non modo diligant sed, ut par est, observent colant venerentur. Nec sane immerito, cum te pupillis viduisque tutorem et protectorem, altercantibus aequissimum arbitrum, egenis atque mendicis certissimum refugium, omnibus denique parentem, ac postremo parietibus ipsis iam vetustate ruentibus instauratorem praestiteris et assidue praestare non desinas. Unde cum universi laudes tuas vulgo praedicent, parietes ipsi easdem taciti testantur. Quid autem de doctrina tua loquar, cum omnibus plane notum sit te a teneris primis annis sub parentis mei institutione (neque enim mihi verendum est ut apud te loquens, qui tali praeceptore palam gloriari consuevisti, arrogantiae crimen incurram) ac deinde sub patruo tuo, Francisco Barbaro, qui non tantum senatus Veneti sed et totius Italiae splendor extitit, tam graecis quam latinis litteris apprime eruditum fuisse, et maturiori deinde aetate in florentissimo Patavinae urbis studio tam accuratam pontificio iuri operam indulsisse, ut quam brevi tempore doctoris insignibus ornari omnium iudicio et consensu dignus habitus fueris. Cuius quidem tam variae multiplicisque doctrinae cum praeter caeteras animi tui dotes plurima multis in locis vel scribendo vel scriptorum nodos interpretando testimonia praebuisses, effectum est ut celeriter quidem, non tamen pro virtutibus tuis immaturas dignitates istas sis consecutus. Tuam igitur excellentiam, humanissime praesul, cum a meis omnibus tum a me ipso propter eximia tua in nos merita maximi fieri (etsi pluribus iam argumentis te et cognoscere et credere existimem) tamen eiusdem rei indicium cum alias, ut spero, praebiturus sim, tum hoc ipsum impraesentiarum omnibus certissimum constituere volui, quod te ex omnibus delegi cuius nomini meorum graecae linguae studiorum primitias dedicarem. Nam cum a quotidianis lectionibus aliisque rei familiaris occupationibus nonnihilo ocii nactus essem, decrevi Agesilaum virum sane immortalitate dignum nostratibus pro mea virili cognitum facere, non equidem ea causa quod mihi ipsi persuadeam,

posse me accepta a graecis meliora facere—Ciceronis [*Tusc.* I. 1] auctoritatem secutus, qui latinos ait aut per se invenisse sapientius quam graecos, aut accepta ab illis meliora fecisse (non enim is sum qui sperem Xenophontis eloquentiam, quem prisci Musam Atticam cognominaverunt, a me exigui sane ingenii homine posse superari)—sed meum semper fuit iudicium idque quantum aetas mea patitur re in plerisque expertus sum, linguam graecam, quibus ea aut naturalis non sit aut longo iam usu perquam [*insuper quam ed.*] familiaris, nisi assiduo studio confovetur [*conservetur ed.*], memoria facile delabi. Itaque cum ab amantissimi parentis mei fontibus nonnullam litterarum graecarum cognitionem hauserim, ne ea prorsus effluat, libellum hunc in latinum convertere aggressus sum. Id enim optimum in ea lingua proficiendi genus et existimo et a peritis, ut tu quoque nosti, iudicari video. Quem quidem oro [*ore ed.*] pro innata tibi benignitate in omnes, hilari (ut caetera consuevisti) fronte suscipias meumque in re tenui erga tuam excellentiam contempleris animum. Delectaberis, ut spero, eius libri lectione, cum hominem omnibus (ut aiunt) virtutis numeris accumulatum intueberis, et Xenophontis elegantiam in illius vita describenda percipies, ita ut plane verum videri possit, quod ad Lucceium [*Lucerium ed.*] scripsit Cicero [*Fam.* V.12.7], Agesilaum noluisse quidem aliquam sui corporis imaginem neque fictam neque pictam relinquere, sed tamen unum Xenophontis libellum in eo rege laudando facile omnes imagines hominum statuasque superare. Valeat excellentia tua, cui me plurimum commendo.

Agesilaus. [Inc.]: Non sum equidem nescius difficillimum esse Agesilai virtuti et gloriae parem commendationem inveniri posse, verumtamen aggrediendum esse censeo . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: virtutis quidem suae monumenta per totum terrarum orbem adeptus, regale autem in patria sepulchrum consecutus.

Manuscripts:

(*)Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria, E VII 24, mbr. XV, fols. 215–227, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 244; II, 523).

(*)Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, 187 C 9–10 (formerly mbr. fol. 16), 2 vols., mbr. XV, I, 569–591, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 347).

(micro.) Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, A III

28, cart. XV, fols. 1–8v, with preface (Giustiniani 33; Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 271).

(*)Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5830 (Giustiniani 33).

(*)Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1881, mbr. XV, 260 fols., 127–138v, with preface (*Cod. Vat. lat.*, III, 332; Giustiniani 33).

Editions:

1470, Romae (Rome). Plutarchi *Vitae* (H 13125). 2 vols., vol. II, fols. g1r–g8v, with preface. NUC. BL; BN (no. 541); (ICN; MWiW-C; NjN).

1982, Rome, ed. Piacente pp. 163–89: see below.

Biography:

CTC, I, 214; II, 107. Add to the *Bibliography*: T. Ascari, “Sul ‘De ordine docendi ac studendi’ di Battista Guarino,” *Atti e memorie dell’Accademia di scienze, lettere e arti in Modena*, 5th ser., XII (1954), 145–52; R. Avesani, *Verona nel Quattrocento. La civiltà delle lettere, Verona e il suo Territorio*, IV, ii (Verona, 1984), 78–79, 106–107; G. Bertoni, “Di Battista Guarini e d’una sua orazione,” *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, C (1932), 32–37; Vito R. Giustiniani, “Traduzioni latine di Plutarco nel Quattrocento,” *Rinascimento*, I (1961), 33; E. Bigi, “Barbaro, Ermolao,” *DBI VI* (Rome, 1964), 95–96; W. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara: The Style of a Renaissance Despotism* (Princeton, 1973); G. Pette, “Per il testo del ‘De ordine docendi ac studendi’ di Battista Guarini,” *Studi urbinati di storia, filosofia, e letteratura*, LII (1978), 351–65; L. Piacente, ed., *Battista Guarini, De ordine docendi ac studendi: Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione, e note* (Bari, 1975); Piacente, “Due traduzioni latine di Battista Guarini: a. L’ *Agesilao* di Senofonte. b. Cassio Dione 44, 36–49,” *Quaderni dell’Istituto di lingua e letteratura latina, Facoltà di Magistero di Roma*, II (1982) 153–214; Piacente, “Tirocinio ed attività esegetica dell’umanista Battista Guarini,” *Giornale italiano di filologia*, XIII (1982), 67–82; D. E. Rhodes, “Battista Guarini and a Book at Oxford,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVII (1974), 349–53; R. Sabbadini, ed., *Guarino Veronese, Epistolario*, 3 vols. (Venice, 1915–19; rpt. Turin, 1966), III, 504.

3. Henricus Stephanus

a. Revision of Philelphus’ translation

In his 1561 bilingual edition of Xenophon’s complete works, Stephanus made a thorough revision of Philelphus’ translation. His objection to Philelphus seems to have been stylistic, for in his dedication to Camerarius, he makes no mention of inaccuracies but laments Philelphus’ consistent inelegance (“ubique nimium sui similem esse comperi”) and Camerarius’ refusal to help with the translation. The revision was reprinted in the 1581–96 edition. In the preface to this second edition, Stephanus mentions that he has revised the text, aided by the observations of Camerarius and Levvenklaius. He adds that he has expanded his textual observations but says that he is deferring the composition of a detailed commentary, which in fact he never produced.

1561 Dedication (ed. of Geneva, 1561). Ioachimo Camerario Henricus Stephanus S. D. [*Inc.*]: En tibi Xenophontem latinum, Ioachime carissime, qui cum tuam opem saepe meis verbis imploraverit, quod a te repulsam passus sit, mihi quidem et omnibus lectionis illius studiosis dolendum, tibi vero fortassis erubescendum est . . . Cum igitur frustra Xenophontem auxilium a te expectare animadverterem, πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον πλοῦν animum adieci, et meam saltem opellam illi minime denegandam existimavi: meque ad hoc opus (quamvis crebro refricans quartana pristinum animo vigorem non concederet, quamvis negotia typographica me ad alias curas avocarent, quamvis infirmae vires a suscipiendo tanto onere deterrent) primo quoque tempore accingere, et quicquidfurtivi otii corradere possem ei impendere non dubitavi. Ac primum (ut par erat) Paediae Cyri interpretationem a Philelpho editam in manus sumpsi, eamque paulo meliorem tolerabilioremque alicubi textu ipso (ut vulgo loquimur) emendato, alicubi emendatione margini adscripta, reddere conatus sum. An autem operae pretium fecerim, aliorum esto iudicium. Hoc certe fateor, me ad locos nonnullos ob temporis angustias connivere coactum fuisse, eosque ad annotationes reservasse, quosdam etiam (ut fit) properantes oculos fefellisse. Cum autem et longioris temporis et maioris laboris emendationem huiusmodi esse viderem, quam ut eam in toto reliquo opere persequi possem, cum Francisco Porto, ut natione

graeco, ita etiam graecae linguae cognitione apprime instructo, de recognoscenda Hellenicōn interpretatione egi. Quod officium ab eo (alioqui tamen officiosissimo) extorsi verius quam exoravi. Nam cum alias occupationes, tum eas quas graecarum litterarum professio ei afferebat, causabatur, inter quas tamen cumulatissime petitioni meae satisfacit. Non solum enim Bilibaldi interpretationem infinitis propemodum in locis recognovit, sed in multis ne vestigia quidem eius ulla reliquit, novamque pro veteri nobis dedit, quod ex collatione facile cognosci poterit. Iam vero cum de praestanda in reliquis omnibus Xenophontis libris eadem diligentia sollicitus essem, ἡδε δέ μοι κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή [*Od.* IX.424], interpretationes eas quarum auctores superstites essent intactas relinquere, si forte ipsimet eas vellent recognoscere, in reliquis corrigendis tantum studii et operae ponere quantum ad lectores aliqua oneris parte levandos satis esse posset. A Paedia itaque ad Cyri Anabasin me contuli, eleganter quidem ubique sed alicubi non satis fideliter a Romulo Amasaeo versam. Ab ea ad Agesilaum, a quo ad libellum de Lacedaemoniorum republica veni; in quorum utroque iterum mihi negotium cum Philelpho fuit, quem interpretem ubique nimium sui similem esse comperi. In Apologia Socratis ab Aretino reddita, multa in margine, nec pauca in ipso etiam textu (ubi videlicet manifesti errores erant) emendavi. In quattuor libris Ἀπομνημονευμάτων parcius textum ipsum attingi, quod aliqua interpretis Bessarionis reverentia moverer, sed marginibus non peperci. Idem et in Oeconomico, quem Strebaeus Latio donavit, facere statueram, sed cum emendationes omnes marginibus capi non possent, earum partem in ipsum textum recipi necesse fuit. Veruntamen a me habitus est hac in re delectus, ut in eo graviora duntaxat et evidentiora errata corrigerentur. Ioh. Ribitto suum Convivium (id consilium cuius antea memini sequutus) totum reliqui. In Hierone (cuius Erasmus fuit interpres) aut nihil aut pauca praeter ea quae in margine annotavi, me recognoscere memini. Libellum De vectigalibus, sicut De magistri equitum officio, eidem Ribitto, opusculum autem De re equestri tibi integrum et illibatum servavi. At Omniboni interpretationem libelli De venatione Conradum Gesnerum, virum de litteris et litteratis iam a multis annis optime meritum, ut ex omnimala omnibonam faceret rogavi. Qua in re

operam praestare non recusavit. Habes iam totam nostri circa hoc volumen laboris veluti seriem. . . . Non tam illam tuam interpretationem recognosci (ut ingenue fatear) quam annotationes a te illi adiungi postulo. Nam (ut plane consilium meum intelligas) quia in huius voluminis margine lectorem ad annotationes saepe remittens, fidem meam nimium imprudenter obstrinxi, qui vicarius meo muneri succedere velit measque partes suscipere, nancisci misere cupio. Quod si nullam a te spem mihi ostendi videro, ut saltem collatitiae quaedam annotationes edi possint, symbola a quibus par est exigere, et Francisci Porti annotationes in Hellenica, Conradi Gesneri in librum De venatione, tuas in opusculum De re equestri (iam enim eas mihi polliceor) cum illis quas in libros a me recognitos scripsero, coniungere decrevi. Quibus quidem in annotationibus non eos tantum locos exponam qui ad eas lectorem remittunt, sed alios quoque multos, quorum falsam interpretationem a me fuisse silentio praeteritam, tunc demum animadverti cum hunc authorem iuvenibus quibusdam praelegere coepi. Tunc enim (ut nosti) multo attentius et accuratius singula examinari solent. Sed de his hactenus. Meam de coniungendis cum Marte Musis orationem quo risu exceperis, certior me facias velim. Vale.

1581 Dedication (ed. of Geneva, 1581–96). Sereniss. Scotorum Regi Iacobo Sexto. [*Inc.*]: Fore equidem et scio et laetor, rex serenissime, ut mihi apud te in huius dicatione libri non idem usuveniat quod apud plerosque alios reges . . . / . . . [Xenophon is well known to the cultured King James, and the edition will prove welcome in Scotland because the Scot Henry Scrimger had emended the Greek text in Stephanus' first edition.] [*Expl.*]: Hoc igitur regni tui ornamentum caeteraque omnia quibus eius gloriam quam longissime proferas, utinam tibi Deus optimus maximus largiatur, faxitque ut in te Cyri illius quem Xenophon noster tam graphice depinxit, expressam nostris temporibus imaginem orbis universus admiretur. Nam et ille populum Dei tot iam annos exulantem in patriam reduxit, quemadmodum tibi adhuc puero concessum est profligatam Christianam religionem in regnum tuum revocare. Ex museo nostro. Serenissimae tuae Maiestati addictissimus Henr. Stephanus.

1581 Preface (ed. of Geneva, 1581–96). Henricus Stephanus lectori lectionis Xenophontis studioso. [*Inc.*]: Quemadmodum mercatores plerique omnes lubenter eo suas merces impor-

tant ubi esse *εὐπαλλάκτους* (ut in Xenophonte Xenophonteo utar vocabulo [*Eq.* III.1]) experti sunt, ita qui suos labores litterarios benigno vultu a litteratis exceptos viris et quam decebat gratiam de iis habitam sibi fuisse vident, est certe cur et alia postea aut etiam eadem, sed magis elaborata et lima exactiore polita, in eundem reipublicae litterariae mercatum lubenti animo afferant . . . / . . . [Stephanus debates whether Xenophon was a lover of the court.] Vides, lector, et miraris fortasse me nihil fere illorum quae mea prior editio sub prolegomenon habebat nomine attigisse, sed alia potius omnia persecutum esse. Quid? an illa pro derelictis vis haberi? Non equidem, sed locum alibi aptiorem habitura spero, in quadam nimirum ad Xenophontis lectionem non parum profutura commentatione, cui tamen animus vacare meus non poterit donec omnes aulicorum *περιπτωμάτων* reliquias *ἀποκαθαρθῆ* vel (si mihi de aula loquenti aliquid aulicae audaciae usurpare in sermone licet) donec omnino *ἐξαυλισθῆ*. Interim vero pignus meae in Xenophontem vel potius in Xenophontis lectores propensae voluntatis, meas in eius libros annotationes haec quoque tibi suppeditabit editio, et quidem eiusmodi ut multo eas maiore cum fructu sis lecturus. Cum enim multi eas per otium examinarint (utpote a multis iam annis editas) prelo iterum non committere nisi a me quoque meis ponderibus examinatas valdeque locupletatas officii mei esse existimavi. Nam ut nonnullos de illo labore meo ingratos, ita etiam quosdam gratos expertus, diligentiam ingratis quoque gratam futuram Xenophontis praestare libris quam ingratorum odio gratos pariter eo beneficio privare malui. Is certe qui beneficium serit, his non illis serit; ideoque ea quam ex his metit gratia contentum esse par est. Sed ingratorum parcere nominibus decrevi, ut bene de iis, qui de me male, merear; primum autem inter gratos locum tenere debent summa doctrina summoque praediti iudicio viri Cameraarius et Levvenklaius, quorum ille Paediam Cyri et alios huius scriptoris quosdam libros, hic omnes fere est interpretatus, et meas emendationes, etiam quas ex coniectura duntaxat attuleram, praeterquam paucissimis in locis (ubi vel *εὐστοχώτερος* fuit, vel se quoque tanquam in salebris haerere non dissimulavit) ita approbavit ut eas margini editionis interpretationis suae apposuerit, atque adeo ad eas interpretationem suam accommodarit. Sed et veterum exempla-

rum autoritate plerasque confirmari etiam Iulium Gabrielium testari comperi. Fecit quidem certe tam felix eorum quos in prima editione contuleram laborum exitus, ut iis quae olim laboraveram lubenter aliquid adlaborarem. Atque hoc tibi ostendent loci complures in hac posteriori editione, non item in priori, emendati, partim in ipso contextu (praesertim ubi veterem quempiam librum autorem habebam) partim in margine, et quidem alicubi littera Π, quae significat *Πότερον*, coniecturae meae praefixa. Sed nec quaedam ex aliis addere dubitavi (idque tanquam ex aliis sumpta) vel ibi vel in annotationibus, ubi et de diversis diversorum interpretationibus meum nonnunquam iudicium interposui. Catalogus vocabulorum quae *ποιητικά* vel saltem *ποιητικώτερα* sunt, aptius in illa quam dixi commentatione collocatum iri existimavi. Interim vero, sicut prior editio mea quasdam voces exhibuit quae tibi novae fuerunt (exempli gratia, *ἀπολυτικῶς* [*HG* V.4.25] et *φιλαπόδημος* [*HG* IV.3.2], item *ἡδυσώματος* et *ἡδυγνώμων* [*Smr.* VIII.30], ita haec quoque quasdam quae tibi novae apud hunc scriptorem erunt, est exhibitura. Ad coniecturas autem quod attinet quas ultra praecedentes hic accipies, in his quoque (id est, in harum bona parte) *ἀλαοσκοπιῆν οὐκ ἐσχεκέναι* spero futurum ut comperiar. Spem hoc facit quod nonnullas paulo post a locis in quos incidi confirmari vidi . . . / . . . [He gives three examples of his conjectures confirmed by manuscript readings.] Habeo alia quae de hac editione dicam, sed ea in promptu non habeo, et volo te plura quam quorum spem fecerim in ea invenire. Vale et, si laboribus meis lubenter frueris, mihi vitam magis quietam a Deo optimo maximo precare.

Agesilaus (ed. of 1581–96; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: Quamquam nescius certe non sum Agesilai tum virtutem tum gloriam non facile scribendo laudari pro dignitate posse, *nihilo tamen minus* id mihi muneris aggrediendum existimavi . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: monumenta is quidem virtutis suae per totum terrarum orbem assequutus ac regiam in patria sepulturam nactus.

Editions:

1561. 1581–96. See Composite Editions.

b. Excerpt of 1592

In his 1592 edition of Herodotus, Stephanus translated brief passages from Xenophon which discuss Persian customs. From the *Agesilaus*, he

cited Philephus' translation for *Ages.* VIII.6, but he made his own for *Ages.* IX.3–4. In 1594, Fridericus Sylburgius reprinted the Latin portions of Stephanus' edition in Frankfort.

Dedication (ed. of Paris, 1592). Nobiliss. prudentiss. et egregiis dotibus ornatissimis viris, illustrissimi Friderici IIII electoris Palatini septemviri Imperii consiliariis intimis Georgio Lud. Hutteno, Otthoni a Grunrad, Volrado a Plessen Henricus Stephanus s. d. [*Inc.*]: Herodotus, cui patria fuit Halicarnassus, pater nomine Lyxes, mater Dryo fuisse feruntur (cum alioqui meminerit ipse et Herodoti filii Basilidis) ex officina mea, in quam velut postliminio redierat, discedens spatiosissimum illud totius orbis theatrum percurrere iterum velle significavit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Valete et vestri amantissimum redamate.

Preface. Henricus Stephanus lectionis Herodoti studiosis S. D. [*Inc.*]: Herodoti editionem secundam diu a te, contra quam cupiebam, desideratam atque exspectatam tandem accipis . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Sed ea quidem quae huic Herodoti libro praefixa sunt, partim mea, partim Ioachimi Camerarii fuerunt tantum locupletata et quidem ea in parte quae mea est et quae subiuncta de legibus et institutis tam Persicis quam Aegyptiacis ex variis scriptoribus sumpta nunc primum adiecta est. At poterant (inqui) ex aliis etiam alia quaedam sumi. Poterant, fateor, sed iis quae praecipua videbantur esse contentus volebam. Quoniam autem nonnullos versibus partim Graecis, partim Latinis de Herodoto a me scriptis et priori editioni praefixis delectatos esse scio, ne peior sit eorum conditio quorum in manus posterior haec veniet, non solum illos sed plures etiam proponendos hic tibi censui.

Agesilaus (IX.3–4). [*Inc.*]: Habet enim rex Persarum qui totum orbem circumeant, quaeritantes potum qui suavis illis sit futurus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: oportere ab extremis terrae finibus ea secum trahere quae delectationem sint allatura.

Editions:

1592, 1594. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC, III, 48. Add to the *Bibliography*: J. A. Gruys, *The Early Printed Editions (1518–1664) of Aeschylus* (Nieuwkoop, 1981); M. Mund-Dopchie, "Le rôle des humanistes dans l'histoire du texte eschyléen," in *Acta conventus neo-latini Turonensis* (Paris, 1980), 7–14; Mund-Dop-

chie, *La survie d'Eschyle à la Renaissance: éditions, traductions, commentaires et imitations* (Louvain, 1984); F. Schreiber, *The Estiennes: An Annotated Catalogue of 300 Highlights of Their Various Presses* (New York, 1982).

4. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. *First version*

In his postscript to an early version of *De equitandi ratione* published posthumously in 1594 (see p. 139 below), Levvenklaius (d. 1593) divides his work on Xenophon into three phases—his efforts as a young man, his improvements as a grown man (the 1569 edition), and his recension as a mature scholar (the 1594 edition). With the exception of the *De equitandi ratione*, however, he does not elaborate on the names or number of works translated during the three phases nor does he supply information regarding the circumstances prompting the translations. Levvenklaius' postscript is paraphrased by Fridericus Sylburgius, the editor of the 1594 edition, who refers to this edition as the third stage (*tertia lucubratione . . . tertiam curam*) of Levvenklaius' Xenophon studies.

The first version of the *Agesilaus* appeared in the second volume of Levvenklaius' 1569 Latin translation of Xenophon's complete works, with the following dedication.

Dedication (ed. of Basel, 1569). Ad illustrem ac generosissimum dominum Georgium Eberharti F[ilium] iuniorem, Erpachii Comitem, Braubergae Dominum, in Xenophontis librorum tomum alterum Prooemium. [*Inc.*]: Diversa semper hominum, Georgi Comes generosissime, de nostris hisce litteris fuere iudicia, contententibus aliis totam in eis vitam esse conterendam, aliis vero probantibus quidem illas et amplectentibus, sed ita tamen ut negarent propter eas alia prorsus esse vel abiicienda vel negligenda . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Accipe igitur hilari fronte Xenophontem nostrum, meumque conatum in optimam partem interpretare; denique apud illustrem comitem Georgium patruum in gratia me ponito studiosum ab aliquot iam annis familiae vestrae, quam uti per te Deus optimus maximus longe lateque amplificet religiosus animi votis exopto.

Agesilaus. [*Inc.*]: Scio equidem non esse facile, laudationem Agesilai virtute ac gloria dignam scribere; nihilo tamen minus id mihi conandum erit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Monumenta

quidem virtutis suae per universum terrarum orbem consequutus, et sepulturam regiam in patria nactus est.

Editions:

1569, 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. Revised version

This revision first appeared posthumously in the Frankfort edition of 1594. In his dedication to Baron Karl von Zierotin (1564–1636), dated at Heidelberg on August 28, 1594, Sylburgius describes this as Levvenklaius' third revision of his text and translation: see Levvenklaius' postscript to his version of *De equitandi ratione*, p. 139 below.

Epistola dedicatoria (ed. of Frankfort, 1595). Generoso et illustri viro Karolo Baroni Zerotino, Namesti, Rossitzae, Brandisii, Lumnitzaeque domino, Moravici exercitus pro Caes. M. in Ungariam praefecto summo, litterarum litteratorumque patrono benignissimo Fridericus Sylburgius s. f. q. p. p. [*Inc.*]: Grave sane accidit humano ingenio cum vel coniugem tenellosque liberos vel insigne aliquod ac reipublicae consecratum opus velut in medio instituti cursu subito fati nutu destituere cogitur, non quod triste sit Deum ad meliora vocantem sequi, sed quod orbis amicorumque iuvandorum studium a natura insitum aegre deponi possit. Ita quamquam non dubito quin et Leunclavio nostro perquam iucundum fuerit a laboriosa aerummosaque statione sibi divinitus assignata ad beatam quietem transire, verumtamen quoniam studia sua maxima ex parte ad reipublicae posteritatisque utilitatem converterat, prius eum quae a se inchoata affecta et propemodum perfecta erant, ad finem perducere cupivisse, naturae ac rationi consentaneum est. In primis hoc satagebat ut, cum longinquis diuturnisque profectionibus bonam orientalis imperii partem peragrasset, ea quae de rebus Turcicis partim e Graecorum partim e nostratium partim etiam ex ipsorummet Turcorum scriptis magno labore accurato studio supra superiores editiones congesserat, quam exactissime ad posteritatem sua opera transmittentur. Praeter Laonicum Chalcocondylen et praetorem Graeciae, transcripserat etiam Constantini Imperatoris ad Romanum filium de summa totius imperii, de sociorum omnium foederibus, de hostium viribus rationibus et consiliis, copiosissimos luculentissimosque commentarios, graece latineque illos editurus. Tum ad

ius Graecorum civile canonicumque (quod praeclarissimum et quantivis pretii opus ante aliquot annos e diversis Europae bibliothecis a se collectum et absolutum clarissimo viro Marquardo Frehero consiliario Palatino discedens crediderat) magis ac magis augendum et illustrandum additamenta quaedam ab eodem Frehero acceperat, quae magno illi corpori inserenda et ipsa Latio donaret. Nec dubium est quin eo tempore quo ista omnia secum habuit pro indefesso litterarum propagandarum studio eadem vel omni vel maiori saltem ex parte absolverit. Xenophontem certe, qui nunc tertia eius lucubratione in lucem prodit, ceteris sui partibus consummatum, solo titulo ac praefatione orbem reliquerat, ut nonnumquam nobilis architectus, splendida basilica aliove magnifico aedificio, cetera quam accuratissima diligentia elaborato, solo frontispicio non omnibus numeris expolito, inexpectato fati iussu manum ab operis consummatione abstrahere cogitur. Tertiam porro curam ei auctori propterea impenderat quia cum annos XVIII Xenophontem secundo a se recensitum Henrico Stephano clarissimo typographo recudendum dedisset, isque iusto diutius pressus tandem plane periisse putaretur, ne laborem semel cum gloria exantlatum subterfugere videretur, tertio eum ita repetiit ut ipse in eo se plane superaverit; eo nimirum omni virium contentione sibi adintendum ratus ut quanto maior est Xenophon, vir armorum [amorum *ed.*] variaeque eruditionis gloria celeberrimus, tanto tersiore pallio praetextaque cultiore a se in Quiritium coetum emitteretur . . . / . . . [Sylburgius cites Levvenklaius' praise of Xenophon from his proem to Casimirus: see p. 107.] Quocirca ut et Leunclavio noster pro sua virili nonnihilo ad hoc opus conferret, et Xenophontis tam utiles libri a diversis etiam hominibus cum fructu legerentur, non solum graeca exemplaria multis a mendis repurgavit, sed interpretationem quoque novam adiecit quae tum seorsum legi sine fastidio posset ab iis qui graeca non desiderant, tum studiosis litterarum hominibus utramque linguam inter se quasi conferre cupientibus serviret. Novam etiam appendicem attexuit qua ceu face Xenophontae lectionis studiosis praeluceret . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Nos interea Deum optimum maximum precabimur ut tecum in aliis laudatissimis institutis tum in litterarum religionisque adversus barbaros defensandae ac propagandae infatigabili studio magis magisque corroboret, lucu-

lentisque tandem tantorum laborum praemiis coronet. Heidelbergae, V Kalend. Septembr. Anno Christi 1594.

Agesilaus (ed. of Frankfort, 1595). [*Inc.*]: Licet equidem sciam non esse facile laudationem Agesilai virtute ac gloria dignam scribere, nihilo tamen minus erit mihi hoc conandum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Monumenta quidem virtutis suae veluti per universum terrarum orbem consequutus fuit, ita sepulturam in patria regiam obtinuit.

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfort), 1625, 1691, 1691–1703, 1700–1704, 1754. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC, II, 89. Add to the *Bibliography*: F. Babinger, "Herkunft und Jugend Hans Lewenklaws," *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, I (1949), 112–27; Agostino Pertusi, *Storiografia umanistica e mondo bizantino* (Palermo, 1967), 69–71; H. E. Troje, *Graeca leguntur* (Cologne and Vienna, 1971), 110–14, 264–74; *Neue deutsche Biographie*, XV (1987), 95–96 (D. Metzler).

5. Johannes Caselius

Caselius' dedication is dated July 1, 1577, which suggests that this translation dates from the period when Caselius began to translate books from the *Cyri institutio*: see p. 132 below.

Dedication (ed. of Rostock, 1577). Illustrissimo Principi Eberhardo, praesuli Lubecensi, designato Verdensi, Abbati Luneburgensi, Domino suo Clementissimo S. D. Ioannes Caselius. [*Inc.*]: Ex quo tempore, Eberharde praesul, ultro et me benevolentia prosequi cepisti, et beneficii afficere non dubitasti, quas tibi et debere me gratias facile intelligerem, et profecto etiam haberem, egi etiam per litteras. Vix enim alius meae in te summae observantiae testificandae, et grati animi declarandi locus erat relictus . . . / . . . [Caselius expresses gratitude to his patron.] Visum autem mihi fuit ex antiquis aliquid Latine interpretari, quod etsi legisses ante et forte etiam meminisses, relegere tamen sine tua molestia posses; immo cum voluptate singulari, si ea legeris, quae partim non esses oblitus, partim moribus et consiliis tuis in vita privata et in administratione reipublicae feliciter praeclareque repraesentares. Quem enim ad te fero Xenophontis Agesilaum, eius te virtutum domesticarum aemulum si dicam, non mentiar, si hoc

explicem hac epistola, neque multum a te gratiae fortasse ineam, quod ut ab Euripide scriptum memini, boni in os laudati quodammodo oderunt eos, a quibus praedicantur, et aliis a quo me abhorreere ante dixerim, id studiose neque sine reprehensione facere videri possim. Quapropter hac commemoratione supersedebo. Cum autem ille fortissimus quoque imperator fuerit, neque de te ullum dubium est, quin patriae tali suo tempore, neque ipse, si tua virtus requiratur, minime defuturus sis; quae laus tuae gentis ita propria est, ut illam tecum, vel te non postulante communicet. Quod ad Xenophontis purum et mellitum sermonem attinet, memoriae proditum est, ipsius ore Musas locutas fuisse, et ipse ob succum orationis et dulcedinem apud Attica dici meritus fuit. Neque alienum mihi ab instituto videtur referre de Xenophonte iudicium scriptoris et bene docti et admodum disertis Dionis, qui eloquentia Chrystostomi nomen sibi invenit. Id extat in brevi quadam ipsius oratione quam exposuit de exercitatione oratoria [*Or.* XVIII]. Non sunt leviora quae de aliis optima notae scriptoribus ille tradidit, quae mitto, cum huc non pertineant; de Xenophonte autem in hunc paene modum (conabor enim interpretari): ad Socraticos, inquit, iam me convertam, quos recte dicendi cupidus maxime necessarios esse affirmo. Ut enim nullum sine sale obsonium gustatui gratum est, ita, mea quidem sententia, nulla forma sermonis suavis est auribus, quae gratiae Socraticae expertis sit. Reliquos longum fuerit praedicare, et haud vulgare illos cognoscere. Verum Xenophontem homini politico, etiam solum ex veteribus, sufficere posse arbitror, sive quis in bello imperans, sive rempublicam vel in populo vel in senatu gerens, ad dicendum prodire velit, non solum ut rhetor sed etiam ut politicus et regius homo, qui eiusmodi virum ad dicendum quae omnibus locis et hominibus conveniant, erudiat, omnium mihi optimus et utilissimus ad haec omnia videtur Xenophon. Ipsius enim animi concepta et perspicua sunt et simplicia, quaeque cuivis facilia esse videantur, forma vero elocutionis suavis et grata et probabilis, quae et sit valde ad persuadendum accommodata, et gratia atque acumine floreat, ut facultas ipsius non solum vires dicendi habeat, sed praestigiae quaedam esse videantur. Haec Dion generatim de scriptis Xenophontis. Meruerunt autem paene singuli ipsius libri sua atque singularia praeconia. Quam et vere et prolixè praedicat

libros ἀναβάσεως idem Dion? Quis de Cyro Xenophontis illustre testimonium ignorat? Scipionisne dicam, an M. Tullii? quorum hic iusti imperii effigiem esse iis libris expressam testatur [Cic. *Q. fr.* I.1.23], Africanus de manibus eos nunquam deponere solitus fuerat [*ibid.*]. Dionysius etiam Halicarnasseus, acer et ingeniorum et vitae hominum censor, appellat Κύρου παιδείαν εἰκόνα βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ καὶ εὐδαίμονος. De hoc libro idem Cicero praeclare scriptum reliquit. Nec minor, inquit [*Fam.* V.12.7], Spartiates Agesilaus ille perhibendus, qui neque pictam neque fictam imaginem suam passus est esse, quam qui in eo genere laborarunt. Unus enim Xenophontis libellus in eo rege laudando facile omnes imagines omnium statuasque superavit. An videor iam satis ornasse munus meum neque tamen pinxisse peregrinis coloribus? Immo et Xenophontem et huius Agesilaum ornavi; quod huius meum est perexiguum sane, nihilque praeter interpretationem latinam, eius te hominem doctissimum lectorem non solum esse, sed etiam censorem cupio: gaudebo, si quid laudabis, neque dolebo, sed corrigam, si quid reprehendes. Quin iudicandi potestatem eandem libens facio doctis, iisdem bonis viris, de ceterorum calculis nihil plane sollicitus. In quibus enim virtus non sit, neque hos ego ab invidia liberem; qui hoc morbo laborent verum iudicium nullum fecerint. Neque hoc munus in re litteraria tanquam praetorium delegabimus aliis quam viris doctis (si sint qui dicantur) potius quam doctissimis, qui hodie sic appellantur; quo tempore homines perinde alucinantur [*sic*] in plurimis, ut amatores in puellis quas depereunt. Liceat enim hoc exemplo uti erroris quem non solum poetae sed et divinus Plato exagitavit. Ego neque contendere cum iis qui in hoc genere laboraverunt volui, neque notare errata aliorum, quibus forte neque ipse caream, neque cuiquam invidebo, si quis haec melius me explicarit explicaturusve sit. Quod unum superest, in quo se haec terminabit oratio, magnopere a te, praesul amplissime, peto ut hanc mei in te et animi grati et summae observantiae testificationem aequo animo accipias; id quod mihi de te polliceor, et Musarum patrono liberali et principe mihi benevolentissimo. Illo nomine publicae utilitati, quam ante omnia (uti bono viro dignum est) et ipse meo loco adiuvere velim, gratulor; hoc mihi gaudeo, cum intelligam non parum me mihi meisque in te praesidii habere repositum. Te

autem rogo ut in utroque perseveres, et litteris patrocineris et me in tuis perpetuo habeas. Illae tibi cumulate gratias referent, cum tuum nomen illustre sempiternae memoriae consecrabunt; ipse etiam, ut coepi, te perpetua observantia, quibusque insuper possum studiis colam, efficiam omnino quo animadvertas me omni generi virtutum sic studere, ut in ea quae ceterarum nota certissima esse perhibetur, a nemine facile superer. Vale. Rostochio Kal. Quinctil. Anno M. D. LXVII.

Agesilaus. [*Inc.*]: Non ignoro quam difficile sit, virtutis et gloriae Agesilai laudes perscribere; id adgrediendum tamen est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: monimenta is suae virtutis in universo orbe paravit, regium vero sepulcrum in patria adeptus est.

Edition:

1577, Rostochii (Rostock): excudebat Iacobus Lucius. *Xenophontis Agesilaus Ioanne Caselio interprete, eiusdem Caselii nonnulla alia, quae studiosos litterarum non sine voluptate et aliquo cum fructu lecturos arbitramur.* 103 pp. in 4°. NUC. (MH).

Biography:

CTC, II, 124. Add to the *Bibliography*: H. Dritz, *Protestantischer Aristotelismus und absoluter Staat* (Wiesbaden, 1970); J. A. Gruys, *The Early Printed Editions (1518–1664) of Aeschylus* (Nieuwkoop, 1981), 108–12; W. Kühmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat: Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters* (Tübingen, 1982), 86–87, 97–101; M. Mund-Dopchie, “Histoire du texte d’Eschyle à la Renaissance,” *L’antiquité classique*, XLVI (1977), 169–79; Mund-Dopchie, *La survie d’Eschyle à la Renaissance: éditions, traductions, commentaires et imitations* (Louvain, 1984).

II. ANABASIS

TRANSLATIONS

1. Lampus Biragus (preface only)

Biragus’ translation of Xenophon’s *Anabasis* was dedicated to Borso d’Este together with versions of Chio’s epistle about Xenophon and Plutarch’s *Life of Artaxerxes*. Although the translations are no longer extant, Biragus’ preface survives in a single manuscript in the Am-

brosian Library in Milan. The dedicatee, Borso d'Este, was named duke of Modena and Reggio and count of Rovigo on May 18, 1452, a date which provides a *terminus post quem*. Miglio dates the translation to the papacy of Pius II (1458–64).

Dedication (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 69 sup.). Ad illustrissimum principem et excellentissimum dominum meum Borsium ducem Mutinae ac Regii Marchionem Estensem Rodigiique comitem, Lampi Biragi praefatio in Xenophontis libros. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 237) His septem libris Xenophontis de ascensu Cyri versis ex Graeco in Latinum sermonem, additaque eis vita Artaxerxis ex Plutarcho sumpta, quam hi libri quodammodo sibi poscere videbantur, hoc unum mihi visum est reliquum et maximum, ut virum aliquem dignum invenirem, cui haec editio dedicata laudi et honori esset, et ab eius ipsa nomine velut sole illustrata maiorem gratiam claritatemque susciperet. Nec ea mihi fuit longa inquisitio aut consultatio difficilis, cum tu statim occurreres, Borsi magnanime, huius aetatis decus, et in quo cum sit ea laudum materia, quam praecipue excoli litteris maximeque celebrari deceat, illud quoque ut in viro excellenti inest, ut et tu eas disciplinas diligas per quas nomen tuum clarescens fieri aeternum possit. Sunt enim in te omnia conspicua: illustre genus, maiorum gloria, principatus magnificus, dotes animi corporisque egregiae; honos autem is est domus tuae eaque antiquitas ut non solum nobilitatis eius sed nec insignis tituli vestri initium memoria ulla teneat, quasi vero a primordiis ipsis fuerint Marchiones Estenses et clari viri progenitores tui, quos tu etiam exuperans ducatus insignia et honorem regiae maiestati proximum familiae vestrae adiecisti, maius ipse decus posteris quam a maioribus acceperis redditurus. Ad virtutes autem tuas explicandas nequaquam satis amplius est hic locus, sed nec ad percurrendas saltem. Et quis enim aut prudentia aut iustitia par tibi? Quis clementia et moderatione? Quis magnitudine animi aut munificentia, et (quod est summa laude dignissimum) cui principi ea cura est populorum suorum, quae tuorum est tibi? Gaudent florentque te principe urbes oppida ager ipse regioque omnis tua pace fruitur dominatus tui, tuque tuis e converso carus adeo venerabilisque appares, ut incertum reddatur utrum tibi felicitas illorum an illis tua sit salus optatior, nec iam quicquam esse possit te aut illis beatus. Vellem

posse aequare ista oratione, sed unum tamen praestare nititur hoc munus meum, ut et tu veterum procerum nominibus, quos virtute aequas, immixtus et cum eis lectus una quoque celebreris, nec ut a me tu quidem sed ut a Xenophonte ipso, cuius preconium mereris, scriptus et laudatus quodammodo videare. Puto quoque haud caritaram fructu delectationeque esse huius historiae lectionem, in qua sane intueri liceat multam variamque rationem belli, multa fortiter, multa prudenter gesta, cohortationes orationesque egregias, ad novos semper casus exquisita consilia, labores huius exercitus, difficultatesque ac pericula quae virtute superarint hi viri domo ipsi tam procul, interque tot hostium millia tamque vastam regionem, quibus esset ignotum iter et immensa planities pedestri agmini insequente hostili equite peragrandam, superandi montes asperiri et insessi plerumque hostibus, traicienda flumina, saevae hyemes perpetiendae cum ignotis ferocissimisque gentibus pugnandum totiens, raptum vivendum semper, ut ego fere nesciam an ullum mihi occurrerit exemplum maius militiae, ex quo sane dici licet, nihil esse penitus tam arduum quod non dux fortis et providus strenuusque et compositus exercitus exuperet. Iuvabit quoque te, opinor, virtutes tuas in alienis laudibus agnoscentem, Cyri mores principis generosissimi vitamque perspicere, Clearchi robur, nec non huius philosophi ducisque praestantissimi, qui haec scripsit et ex magna parte gessit, doctrinam rerumque militarium peritiam admirari atque aliquid Latinis litteris tuo nomine adiectum iri. Iuvabit, puto, narratio illa itineris in ascensu sane longi; iuvabit forsitan noscere situs regionum plurium et fluminum, gentes varias, diversos mores, magnitudinemque Persarum regni et cum pleraque non inioconda, unum puto occurret animo obstupendum simulque miserandum: ita concidisse virtutem illam priscam et vires Graeciae (o ingentem commutationem!) tam florentis bonis artibus quondam et belli gloria, nunc tam desidis et tam calamitosae, tam contemnentis tunc barbaros, nunc tam ab eis pessundatae. Sed iam Xenophontem leges, et post eum Plutarchum, lecta prius brevi ac, ut mihi visa est, eleganti de his rebus Chionis philosophi epistola.

Manuscript:

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 69 sup., mbr. XV, 263 fols., 237–238v (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 334).

Biography:

Lampus Biragus (Lampugnino Birago) was probably born in Lombardy in the 1390s and is first mentioned in documents of 1441 as being in the service of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan. He participated in the short-lived Ambrosian Republic and was forced to flee Milan in 1450 when Francesco Sforza came to power. He soon joined the papal Curia in Rome, where he made various translations for Nicholas V, Pius II, and Paul II. His versions of Xenophon's *Anabasis* (now lost) and Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes* were dedicated to Borso d'Este of Ferrara.

Works: *Strategicon adversus Turcos* (1453–1455); translations of the *Oeconomicus* and *Anabasis* of Xenophon, the *Life of Artaxerxes* and several *Moralia* of Plutarch, the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and several homilies of St. Basil.

Bibliography: Jöcher II 2277; Cosenza V 28, 981–82; DBI, X (1968), 595–97 (M. Miglio); E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago-London, 1981), 328–29.

2. Janus Lascaris (lost)

Janus Lascaris translated Xenophon's *Anabasis* into Latin at the request of Claude de Seyssel (1450–1520), whose French version survives in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 702 (Emile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique, xv-xvi siècles* [Paris, 1885], II, clviii–clix) and in printed editions: see Claude de Seyssel, *Histoire du voyage que fist Cyrus . . .* (Paris, 1529), fol. iia: "Et avec moy si trouva messire Iehan Lascary. . . . Si priay ledit Lascary quil voulsist celle histoire me declairer & exposer en latin affin que ie la peusse de latin translater en françoys. Lequel la tresvolentiers fait." Lascaris' translation dates between 1500, when Seyssel made his request (Knös 97), and 1504–1505, when the French version was made (Chavy 1306). In 1511, Seyssel used Lascaris' translation of Diodorus Siculus for a French version.

No manuscripts or printed editions of Lascaris' Latin translation seem to have survived.

Biography:

Born in 1445, Lascaris was forced to flee from Constantinople in 1453 and came to Venice after stays in the Peloponnese and in Crete. Bessarion

sent him to Padua to study Latin, and, after Bessarion's death, he was invited by Lorenzo de' Medici to teach in Florence, where he stayed until the fall of the Medici in 1494. He then entered the service of France, acting as envoy to Venice from 1503 to 1508. When Leo X became the first Medici pope in 1510, Lascaris was invited to oversee a Greek college in Rome. In 1518 he returned to France and helped establish the library of Francis I at Fontainebleau, where he taught Budaeus. Under the second Medici pope, Clement VII, Lascaris returned to Rome for varying periods and died there on December 7, 1534 (Mercati).

Works: *Editiones principes* of five Greek texts—Euripides (four plays only), Callimachus, Apollonius of Rhodes, the Greek Anthology, Musaeus, and Lucian—and editions of the ancient scholia on Sophocles and the *Iliad*; translations of Diodorus Siculus (*Hist.* XVIII–XX), Plutarch (*Quaestiones platonicae*), Xenophon (*Anabasis*), Appian (*Hist. rom.*, in collaboration with Claude de Seyssel); various letters, orations, and *Epigrammata*.

Bibliography: Jöcher II 2280–81, *Suppl.*, III, 1308–1309; E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique des XV^e et XVI^e siècles* I (Paris, 1885; rpt. 1962), cxxxii–clxii; Michaud XXIII 295–96; Sandys II 78–79; *Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit* VI 147, no. 14536.

P. Chavy, *Traducteurs d'autrefois. Moyen Age et Renaissance*, 1 vol. in 2 (Paris-Geneva, 1988), 1306–8; D. J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); S. Gentile, "Giano Lascaris, Germain de Ganay e la 'prisca theologia' in Francia," *Rinascimento*, XXVI (1986), 51–76; J. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France and in the Netherlands to the Year 1800* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1946); B. Knös, *Un ambassadeur d'hellénisme: Janus Lascaris, et la tradition gréco-byzantine dans l'humanisme français* (Uppsala and Paris, 1945); G. Mercati, "Quando mori G. Lascaris," *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F., LXV (1910), 318; K. Müller, "Neue Mitteilungen über Janus Lascaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, I (1884), 337–412; H. Vast, *De vita et operibus Jani Lascaris* (Paris, 1878); J. Whittaker, "Parisinus Graecus 1962 and the Writings of Albinus," *Phoenix*, XXVIII (1974), 320–54; Whittaker, "Parisinus

graecus 1962 and Janus Lascaris," *Phoenix*, XXXI (1977), 239–44; Whittaker, "Janus Lascaris at the Court of the Emperor Charles V," *Θησαυρίσματα*, XIV (1977), 76–110.

3. Coelius Michael Gradius

A translation by the otherwise unknown Coelius Michael Gradius survives in a sole Berlin manuscript, described by Ursula Winter as dating from the early sixteenth century and presumably of Italian origin. There is no preface or dedication.

Anabasis (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1900). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1) Darius ex Parysatide Artaxerxem maiorem natu, et Cyrum minorem tulit liberos; is Darius aegritudine confectus deque vitae exitu suspicans utrosque in conspectum venire voluit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 140v) Profectionis ac reversionis annus ac trimestre spacium.

Manuscript:

(*)(verified by Ursula Winter) Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1900, Xenophontis de Cyri expeditione libri VII, Coelio Michaelae Gradio interprete (V. Rose, *Verzeichnis . . . der Meerman-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps* [Berlin, 1892], 452–53; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 368).

4. Romulus Amasaeus

In his preface dated Bologna, January 31, 1533, Amasaeus says that his first version of the *Anabasis* dates from more than twelve years before (1521 or earlier). He reworked it on the occasion of the visit to Bologna of Charles V (December 1532 to February 1533): in his preface (dated January 31, 1533), he says that it is the fiftieth day since the arrival of the emperor. The work is dedicated to Luis de Ávila y Zuñiga (1500–1564), chamberlain of Charles V and historian of his military exploits. Since Ávila had read about Xenophon's expedition in Plutarch's *Life of Antony*, Amasaeus offered to provide him with some material about it and dug the earlier translation out of his papers. When Ávila requested several copies of the work, Amasaeus had it printed rather than copied, even though he feared the unrevised text might harm his scholarly reputation. In the emperor's recent campaign against the Turks, Amasaeus sees a parallel to Xenophon's expedition, for both rep-

resent the struggle of European civilization against Asian barbarism.

Dedication (ed. of Bologna, 1533). Ludovico Avylae Caroli V. Imperatoris intimo cubiculario. [*Inc.*]: Ad amorem, Ludovice Avyla, in animis hominum excitandum, et si nihil est virtutis pulchritudine valentius, saepe tamen usu venire videmus ut ea amoris scintilla, quam virtutis ipsius splendor accenderit, nisi mutuis officiis et perspicuis benevolentiae indicibus foveatur, aut in ipsis amicitiae primordiis elanguescat, aut ad luminis claritatem segnius emicet. Quare a quo primum tempore tua me eximia indoles, suavissimi mores, incredibile optimarum artium studium, te ut quantum alium neminem amarem, impulerunt, ac mihi egregiam tuam erga me voluntatem tua multa et humanitatis plenissima officia declararunt, nihil mihi sanctius aut solemnius esse debere existimavi, quam ut orientis (ut ita dicam) mutui amoris nostri igniculos certa quapiam meae erga te observantiae significatione inflammarem, atque enixe operam darem, ut me qui a te constanter et perpetuo diligerer, non indignissimum duceres. Quo in genere, cum eos qui amant non ignorarem eos quos amant iis potissimum rebus munerari solere, quas ab illis maxime expeti intelligunt, tibi, quem litterarum cupidissimum cognoram, aliquid de studiorum meorum quasi penu depromere cogitabam. Verum cum de multis quae inchoata duntaxat atque informata habeo, unum aliquid cuperem deligere, quod et ad meum erga te studium testificandum esset appositum, et tibi aptum ac iucundum contingeret optatissimum tuus a Turcico bello cum Caesare (quem maiestatis causa nomen) Bononiam reditus facile omnem eius delectus mei dubitationem sustulit. Cum enim in primo congressu nostro tibi ego de secundissimis Caesaris eventis essem gratulatus, qui divina virtute sua immanissimum hostem praeproperam fugam facere coegisset atque e re nata inter nos mentio facta esset Alexandri, Themistoclis, Miltiadis, Agesilai, Luculli, Pompeii, et aliorum quorundam imperatorum, quorum fuissent maxime illustres de Asiae gentibus victoriae, quaesisti tu hoc loco, quaenam fuisset illa Graecorum expeditio, quam Plutarchus M. Antonio cum Parthis bellum gerenti admirationi fuisse scriptum reliquerit; et nunquid Xenophontis, quem ille auctorem nominat, de ea libri adhuc extant. Exposui tibi celebratae illius Graecorum monumentis historiae summatim argumentum.

Ac cum te eius subtilius cognoscendi cupiditate incensum animadverterem, in Xenophontis ipsius libris VII, quos inter iuveniles meas exercitationes in latinum sermonem conversos haberem, rem omnem ordine explicatam, prius quam hinc discederes, me tibi traditurum pollicitus sum. Ac statim e bibliothecae meae latebris, in quibus annos amplius XII rudes et informes paene contabuerunt, eductos ut in tuo nomine apparent in lucem, non magis emisi quam extrusi. Quid enim facerem? An qui in huiusmodi aliqua re tibi gratificari ardentissime cupissem, hoc a te gratiam ineundi tempus praetermitterem? praesertim cum tu postea saepius pro iure tuo me appellaris et tanquam aeris alieni submoueris. Ego vero, cum quandiu esset hic Caesar commoratus incertum omnino esset, malui festinata expolitione in obsequendo studium et fidem, quam emendationis maturitate curam et exactam quandam diligentiam tibi meam probare. Quin cum ex sermone etiam tuo suspicari potuissem, ita demum fore tibi hoc quidquid muneris est gratissimum, si posses absoluti iam operis uno tempore compluscula exemplaria habere, libros hosce non describendos (quod famae fuisset meae fortasse consultius) sed librariorum formulis exprimendos curavi. Neque illud omnino me deterruit, quod paratos videbam multos, qui aut hanc vertendi operam contemnerent, aut melius verti potuisse dicerent: illis enim quod respondeam in promptu est. Primum inique eos facere qui laborem eum vituperent, per quem maximas et gravissimas disciplinas facile qui non sit rerum omnium imperitissimus ab interitu vindicatas intelligere possit. Deinde non posse iure id operis reprehendi, e quo summam aliquando de veteribus ac recentioribus hominibus multi sibi laudem meruerint; quanquam attentius consideranti videri quodammodo possit, ea quae nunc legantur maiore ex parte ab aliis, vel quasi mutuo accepta, vel ex alia lingua in patrium sermonem conversa. Atque ut nulla vertentem laus consequatur, mihi bene et praeclare de hominum genere meriti illi videri solent, qui cum intelligerent operam suam aliis commodiorem quam sibi gloriosiore fore, non gravate suam paucorum laudem ut quam plurimorum utilitati condonata vellent sibi in animum induxerunt. Ad haec iure fortasse nonnullis mea haec editio sermonem dederit, si in hoc uno omnes vigiliae meae vertantur, ac non tam multa a me scripta domi delitescant, ut quae conversa in lucem pro-

dierint, illorum merito prolusiones veluti quaedam numerentur. Et profecto facile passurus sum meum hoc consilium reprehendi, si ii ipsi quibus id non probabitur, ostenderint aliquando se melius sua, quam qui verterunt aliena, pronunciasse. Quod si minimi fortasse negotii atque operae levissimae graeca in latinum transferre existimaverint, in hac cupio palaestra ut periculum faciant: intelligent profecto multa esse cogitantibus facillima, experientibus supra quam dici possit gravia ac laboriosa. Postremo hos homines exoratos velim, ne moleste ferant, me dum et incomparabili, quo tui incensus sum, amori indulgeo, et neglectae fidei crimen redimo, de laude mea non plurimum laborasse. Iam vero qui melius potuisse dicant, hi ut eadem, qua ipse cum eos verti fui aetate, a se aliquid melius conversum, ac non maiore ocio vel laxiore tempore elimatum ostendant, vehementer cupio. Hic est a Caesaris in hanc urbem adventu dies opinor quinquagesimus; ex his ipsis diebus, cum primorum aliquot lucem, partim in maximis reipublicae negotiis, partim in scholarum publico munere consumpserim, noctium et succissivis quidem horis totius operis castigationem elucubravi; reliqui dies librario dati sunt. At maturitatem, et potius cunctationem desiderant, hoc est, eodem revolvi. Meum, inquam, studium et benevolentiam tibi, adolescenti nobilissimo atque omnibus fortunae ac virtutis ornamentis praedito, quo uno ego in praesentia poteram, et tu maxime cupiebas modo, declaratam quam primum volui, non scienter vertendi facultatem longiore sumpto temporis spatio cuiquam ostentatam. Verum cum pluribus quam in animo habebam, cum haec ad te scribere exorsus essem, mei huius vel officii vel obsequii vituperatoribus, si quorum forte aculeos meus hic labor exacuerit, responderim; ad te iam, ornatissime Avyla, redeo. Munusculi certe huius mei prima erit ab autore commendatio, in quo te spero vel latine loquente, propter summam rerum prudentiam, Socratis discipulum; propter orationis copiam et iocunditatem, Atticam Musam; iam vero quod ea scripsit quibus non solum miles interfuit, verum etiam dux praefuit, et historiae fidem et summi imperatoris laudes agniturum. Illud enim hoc loco non dicam, multa te animadversurum inter legendum fidei, prudentiae, tolerantiae, ac reliquarum virtutum exempla, quae facile velis et possis imitari; multa item vitiorum, a quibus te semper abhorruisse laetere. Et illud

missum faciam, magnam tibi voluptatem afferre posse locorum et itinerum descriptionem, eventorum varietatem, illustrium praeterea hominum mirabiliter expressos mores, naturam, consilia, acta, casus. Non addam multas etiam castrenses conciones, graviter et ornate ac cum multa et plane Xenophontea iocunditate expositas, tibi facile declaraturas, vel inter armorum fremitus suum esse eloquentiae locum. Quae enim communes sunt totius historiae laudes, etsi in Xenophonte atque adeo in his eius libris multum eminent, eas tamen potes ex aliorum etiam scriptorum monumentis cognoscere. Quod vero praeter auctoris dignitatem ad munus meum apud te ornandum valde fore accommodatum duco, primum erit quaedam ac maxime germana similitudo illius Graecorum expeditionis cum hac, quae nuper Caroli Caesaris magnitudinem et felicitatem immortalitati consecravit. Utraque enim magno sane temporum intervallo, certissimo fuit documento, non copiarum numero sed militum virtute; consilio, non ducum temeritate; disciplina, non impetu, ad victoriam profici. Deinde vero, quod cum Graecos leges parva manu infinitum prope Asianorum numerum saepius fudisse, neque tantum hostium perfidiam periuria atque insidias valuisse, quin sola illi virtute freti, per ignota atque infesta loca, feras et immanes gentes evaserint, atque ad suos in patriam incolumes redierint, in minime dubiam spem adduci poteris, Caesaris aliquando minore multo negotio, vindicata Christiano imperio Peloponneso, extorto de impii hostis manibus Byzantio, in Asiam victrices aquilas illaturum. Atque utinam, mi Avyla, et cum haec spe atque cogitatione complectere, et cum inter illas gentes assiduus et fidus comes Caesaris sequere, mihi qui incredibilem meum erga te amorem hac editione indicare volui, animo vero ac voluntate summa, totum me in clientelam et fidem tibi tradidi, vel viventi, vel vitae iam muneribus perfuncto, aliquid suavitatis ac benevolentiae tuae impertiare. Vale. Bononia, pridie Kal. Febr. M.D.XXXIII.

Anabasis. [Inc.]: Darius ex Parysatide filios duos suscepit, maiorem quidem natu Artaxerxen, minorem vero Cyrum. Is cum gravi affectus morbo, extremum a se diem non longe abesse suspicaretur, utrumque filium cum e vita decederet interesse cupiebat. Aderat tunc quidem Artaxerxes. Cyrus e provincia, cui a patre praefectus fuerat, accersendus fuit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]:

Totius itineris spacium, quod aut progredientes aut regredientes confecerunt, fuere castra duccena quindena, parasangae MCL, quae summa stadia efficit tricies et quater mille CCLV, miliarium circiter quater mille et DC. Quo quidem in itinere annus et menses III consumpti.

Editions:

1533, Bononiae (Bologna): Io. Baptista Phaelus Bononiensis. in fol. Panzer VI 337, 157. NUC. BN (no. 309); (CU; MH; NNC). The listing in NUC (NNC) of a 1553 Bologna edition reflects an error in the Columbia University catalog.

1536, Lugduni (Lyons): apud haereditas Simonis Vincentii, excudebant Melchior et Caspar Trechsel fratres. 271 pp. in 8°. Baudrier XII 245; Adams X-29. NUC. BL; BN (no. 311); (DFo; NNC).

1534, 1545 (Basel), 1545 (Lyons), 1551, 1553, 1558. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC, II, 219–220.

5. Henricus Stephanus

a. Revision of Amasaes' translation

For his 1561 bilingual edition of Xenophon's complete works, Stephanus revised Amasaes' translation of the *Anabasis*, which he found elegant but occasionally inaccurate ("elegantem quidem ubique sed alicubi non satis fideliter": see p. 96). For purposes of comparison, I have quoted the *incipit* at greater length and italicized Stephanus' changes. In the *explicit* given here, there are no differences; but in the preceding paragraph Stephanus has changed Amasaes' *praetores* to *duces*.

Dedication (ed. of Paris, 1570). Pomponio Belleuraeo V. C. Regis Galliarum apud Helvetios legato Henr. Stephanus s. d. [*Inc.*]: Quum ego Titi Livii conciones ex omnibus, qui quidem ad tempora nostra pervenerunt, eius libris excerptas et seorsum editas nonnullis etiam viris quorum maximi (ut par erat) faciebam summo-pere placere comperissem, magnam me ab iis aliisque quamplurimis gratiam initurum speravi si, quod in uno unius linguae historico alii praestiterunt, ipse in multis et paene universis qui extant utriusque linguae historicis praestarem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quod vero illud sit indicarem, nisi illum ipsum librum una cum hoc ad te mittere statuisssem. Vale et me amare perge.

Preface (ed. of Paris, 1570). Henr. Steph.

lectoris s. d. [*Inc.*]: Habes a me, lector, opus optatissimum (ut spero) iis omnibus futurum qui flexanimae illius deae Suadae sacra vel iam colunt vel colere statuerunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Verum ut de caeteris taceam, quorum conciones omisi, si multas longissimas orationes quae apud Dionem extant his adiunxissem, haec omnia ὑπὸ μίαν Μύκωνον me posuisse multo iustius meo iudicio miratus fuisses. Vale.

Anabasis (ed. of Geneva, 1561; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: Darius ex Parysatide filios duos suscepit, maiorem quidem natu Artaxerxem, minorem vero Cyrum. Is quum gravi affectus morbo extremum a se diem non longe abesse suspicaretur, utrunque filium quum a vita decederet interesse cupiebat. Aderat tunc quidem Artaxerxes; Cyrum e provincia, cui *ipsum praefecerat, accersit* . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Totius itineris spatium, quod aut progredientes aut regredientes confecerunt, fuere castra ducena quindena, parasangae MCL, quae summa stadia efficit tricies et quater mille CCLV, milliarium circiter quater mille et DC. Quo quidem in itinere annus et menses III consumpti.

Editions:

1561, 1570, 1581–96, 1592, 1594. See Composite Editions.

1566, Genevae (Geneva): *Herodoti Halicarnassei Historia*, ed. H. Stephanus, p. 256: *An. I.8.26–27*. [*Inc.*]: Interea Cyrus regem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: in illis enim fuit partibus. NUC. BL; BN; (NIC; MH; CSt; NNC).

b. Excerpt of 1566.

This text (*An. I.8.26–27*) appears on p. 319 of Stephanus' 1566 edition of Herodotus; on p. 323, he cites the same passage in the version by Amasaes which he had revised in 1561.

Anabasis (I.8.26–27; ed. of Geneva, 1566). [*Inc.*]: Cum Cyrus una cum his esset, regem et globum qui illum circumstabat conspicatur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Cyrus autem et ipse occubuit et octo fortissimi eorum qui latus eius cingebant super illo iacebant.

Editions:

1566, Genevae (Geneva): excudebat Henricus Stephanus. *Herodoti Halicarnassei Historia*, ed. H. Stephanus. NUC. BL; BN; (NIC; MH; CSt; NNC).

1570, [Geneva]: excudebat Henricus Stephanus. *Herodoti Halicarnassei Historia*, ed.

H. Stephanus. NUC. BL; BN; Vatican Library; (MH; NNC; NjP; CtY; CLSU).

Dedication to Ioachim Camerarius (ed. of Geneva, 1570). [*Inc.*]: Post Herodotum Thucydidem, inquit M. Tullius [*De orat.* II.56] (in cuius dicti explicatione aut ego fallor, aut alii multi falluntur) at ego tibi contra, mi Camerari, Herodotum post Thucydidem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Caeterum quum te laudum eius tam studiosum esse animadvertissem, non dubitavi quin grata tibi lectio futura esset eorum quibus tumulum eius ornavi epigrammatum; quare adscribenda censui, tua vicissim (si qua scripseris) expectans.

Preface. Henricus Stephanus lectori S. D. [*Inc.*]: Cum inceptam a patre meo Roberto Stephano Graecorum historicorum editionem persequens et eum in illa persequenda ordinem tenens, non quem ratio temporum quibus quisque vixerat, sed quem offerentes se occasiones suadebant, Diodorum Siculum, mox Xenophontem, tandem et Thucydidem utrumque Graecum pariter et Latinum edidissim, a me Herodotum utraque itidem lingua loquentem expectari sciebam . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: sed potius quas habet inter vitia virtutes, et rosas inter aculeos carpendas esse cense. Vale et nostris laboribus fave.

1592, 1594 (Frankfort). See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 98 above.

6. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. First version

This version first appeared, together with the *Cyri institutio* and *Hellenica*, in the first volume of Levvenklaius' 1569 edition of Xenophon's complete works, preceded by the following dedication.

Prooemium (ed. of Basel, 1569). Ad illustrissimum principem ac dominum D. Ioannem Casimirum, Comitem Palatinum ad Rhenum, Boiorum Ducem etc. illustrissimi principis septemviri Friderici Filium in Xenophontis historiarum libros Prooemium. [*Inc.*]: Magnae quaedam, illustrissime princeps, ac graves in primis causae sunt, quamobrem ab omni hominum aetate ac genere Xenophontis monumenta studiose legi debeant. Nam et historiam scripsit, qua nihil esse iucundius potest; et optimarum rerum publicarum status depinxit, quo nihil praeclarius; et

doctrinam quae est de moribus ex sapientissimi viri Socratis scholis ac disputationibus illustravit, quo nihil ad hominum vitam utilius; et tuendae rei familiaris praecepta dedit, quod certe ad universos pertinet. Idem non eorum est ex philosophorum numero, qui alicubi in angulis et umbra culicis passus, ut ille quondam dixit, metiebantur, sed res amplissimas ipse gessit, et apud praecipuos sui saeculi reges, magistratus, imperatores summo in honore fuit. Quae una profecto causa movere nos debebat ut statueremus eius lectionem non privatis tantum hominibus, sed illis etiam qui loco supra mortales ceteros excelso sunt, inque reipublicae gubernatione versantur, utilissimam esse . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Atque equidem ut pro virili mea nonnihil ad hoc operae conferrem, ut Xenophontis nostri tam utiles libri a diversis etiam hominibus cum fructu legerentur, non solum exemplaria graeca multis a mendis repurgavi, sed interpretationem quoque novam adieci quae tum seorsum legi sine fastidio posset ab iis qui graeca non desiderant, tum studiosis litterarum hominibus utramque linguam inter se quasi conferre cupientibus serviret. Hunc vero laborem meum ut ad excelsitatem tuam mitterem, Ioannes Casimire princeps illustrissime, primum eo factum est quod quum anno superiore ad illustrissimum principem Christophorum, comitem palatinum ad Rhenum, Boiorum ducem, excelsitatis tuae fratrem, dominum meum clementissimum, aliquid mearum lucubrationum miserim, iam etiam ad excelsitatem tuam nonnihil mittendum putarem pro mea erga illustrissimam familiam vestram observantia. Deinde movebant me dignae tantis principibus utriusque vestrum virtutes, quibus iam magna sane cum omnium praedicatione augustorum avorum laudes ac famam feliciter non solum tuemini sed etiam amplificatis. Etenim tua excelsitas armorum gloria floret et egregie nuper in gravissima causa imperatorio munere functa est; frater autem excelsitatis tuae omnem honestam liberalemque doctrinam laudabili exemplo colit praeclarosque iam progressus fecit; uterque litteras earumque cultores singulari benevolentia complectitur. Quae sane res immortalem haud dubie nominis celebritatem utriusque pariturae sunt. Quod superest, oro te, clementissime princeps, studio subiectissimo ut Xenophonteam hanc lucubrationem benigne excipias et aliquid in illustri gratia tua mihi praesidii positum esse patiaris.

Anabasis (ed. of Basel, 1572). [Inc.]: Darii et Parisatidis filii duo fuere, quorum natu maior Artaxerxes, minor Cyrus erat. Quum autem Darius aeger vitae sibi finem addesse suspicaretur, filium utrumque adesse volebat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Temporis intervallum, quo et adscendimus et descendimus, annus unus ac tres menses.

Editions:

1569, 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. Revised version

This revision first appeared in the edition of 1594 (see p. 90 above) and was reprinted numerous times.

Anabasis (ed. of Frankfort, 1595; revisions italicized). [Inc.]: Darii et Parisatidis filii duo fuere, quorum natu maior Artaxerxes, minor Cyrus erat. Cum autem Darius aeger vitae sibi finem adesse suspicaretur, filium utrumque *ad se venire voluit* . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Temporis intervallum, *quo* adscendimus et descendimus, annus unus ac tres menses.

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfort), 1625, 1691–1703, 1700–1704. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

7. Anonymus Cantabrigiensis

Together with versions of the *Atheniensium respublica*, *Lacedaemoniorum respublica*, and *De vectigalibus*, this anonymous translation survives in a sixteenth-century Clare College manuscript, written in England. The translation ends with Book VI, to which are appended some ten lines, mutilated at the end, summarizing Book VII: [Inc.]: (p. 114) Septimus ostendit quomodo Anaxibius praefectus classis iussu regis Pharnabazi dolis conatus est Graecos ex Asia remove . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 114) a Lacedaemoniis accersiti in auxilium ibant et in itinere agmine Persico de victu dimicant, tandem duce Xenophonte . . .

Anabasis I–VI. [Inc.]: (p. 1) Dario et Parysatidi nati sunt filii duo, quorum senior quidem Artaxerxes, junior vero Cyrus appellatur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 114) et sexto die venerunt in Auripolim [*sic*] urbem Chalcedoniae, ubi dies septem manserunt spoliaque vendiderunt.

Manuscript:

(photo.) Cambridge, Clare College, 23, now G'3.5, cart. XVI, 120 pp., 1–114 (James, *Clare College*, 40; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 7).

COMMENTARY

a. Marcus Antonius Muretus

Marcus Antonius Muretus (Marc-Antoine Muret) produced a commentary on Xenophon's *Cyri institutio* and *Anabasis* based on the text of Stephanus' 1561 edition, which provides a *terminus post quem* for the work and suggests that it dates from his years in Rome (1563–85). On completion of this commentary, Muretus realized that many of his observations were already found in Stephanus. The autograph survives in Vat. lat. 11593, fols. 69–73, preceded by his commentary on the *Cyri institutio* (see p. 137 above).

Commentary (Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 11593). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 69) Ad primum librum τῆς Κύρου ἀναβάσεως. Cyrus, de quo in superioribus libris dictum est, filium habuit Cambysen secundum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 73) P. 248, v. 8. οὐς ἔλεγον malim, ὦν.

Postscript (Vat. lat. 11593 only). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 73) Multa, cum iam scripsissem, delevi, quod eadem ab Enrico [*sc.* Stephano] notata animadverti. In iis, quae sequuntur, ero cautior: daboque operam, ut ea tantum notem, aut quae ab ipso praetermissa sunt, aut in quibus meum iudicium ab eius iudicio discrepat.

Manuscript:

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 11593, fols. 69–73 (autograph) (*Cod. Vat. Lat.* [1959], 367).

Editions:

1602, Ingolstadii (Ingolstadt): ex typogr. A. Sartorii. M. Antonii Mureti presbyteri *Commentarii in Aristotelis X libros Ethicorum*. NUC. BL; BN; (NjP; CtY).

(*)1727–30, Veronae (Verona): apud J. A. Tumermanum. Muretus' complete works in 5 vols. NUC. BL; BN; (MB; CU; OCU).

1789, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): Marci Antoni Mureti *Opera omnia*, ed. D. Ruhnken, 4 vols., III, 589–614.

Biography:

CTC, I, 105; VI, 129.

III. APOLOGIA SOCRATIS

TRANSLATIONS

I. Leonardus Brunus Aretinus

Bruni's translation may date as early as 1407, which would make it a close sequel to his translation of the *Hiero*: in Padua ms. 1499, where his works are copied in chronological order, it follows a translation of Demosthenes' *De corona* dated April 25, 1407. There is no preface or dedication.

Apologia Socratis (Vatican Library, Reg. lat. 1321). Xenophontis Apologia ex graeco in latinum conversa per Leonardum Aretinum incipit feliciter. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 68) Socratis quoque dignum mihi videtur meminisse, cum in iudicium vocatus fuit, quemadmodum de sua defensione morteque cogitavit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 68v) Si quis autem ex iis qui virtutem sectantur utiliori aliquo sermone quam Socrates usus est, illum ego virum felicissimum duco.

Manuscripts:

(*)Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica, MA 350 (Delta VI 35), fols. 162v–166v; (Cremaschi, *Aevum*, XXIII [1959], 266; Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 8; V, 482).

(*)Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. fol. 495, mbr. XV, fragmentary at beginning (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 474).

(*)——, Lat. fol. 557, cart. XV, 233 fols., 198–201 (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 482–83).

(*)——, Lat. qu. 451, cart. misc. XV, 96 fols., 10v–15 (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 489).

(*)Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2649, XV (1453), fols. 59–64, dated February 16, 1453 (L. Frati, *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, XVII [1909], 81, no. 1392).

(*)Cambridge, University Library, Dd. 14. 27 (16), cart. XV, 40 fols. (*Catal. Univ. Cambridge*, I, 534).

(*)Carlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Reichenau Pap. 127, cart. XV (Holder, *Reichenauer Handschriften*, 284; reported by J. Hankins).

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. IX. 148, cart. XV, 341 fols., 12–15 (Mazzatinti XII 25).

(*)——, II. X. 45, mbr. XV, 61 fols., 52–61, with preface and fragmentary at end (Mazzatinti XII 42).

——, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 766, cart.

XV, 452 fols., 267v–270v (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 200).

———, 779, cart. XV, 444 fols., 412–413v (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 201).

———, 952, mbr. XV, 77 fols., 30–34v (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 211).

(*)Holkham Hall, 356, misc. XV, fols. not numbered (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 43).

(*)Liverpool, Athenaeum Library, Roscoe 31, misc. XV (reported by Martin Davies; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 671).

(*)London, British Library, Add. 11274, cart. XV (*Catal. Add. Mss. 1836–1840*, 46; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 91).

(*)Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, 1458 (L. 170), cart. XV, 63 fols., “extrema parte mutila” (A. Mancini, “Index codicum latinorum publicae bybliothecae Lucensis,” *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, VIII [1900], 221).

(*)Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, D² 15, cart. XV (1452), 125 fols., 114v–116 (Poggio Bracciolini, *Lettere*, ed. H. Harth, I [Florence, 1984], xxix; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 602).

(*)Macerata, Biblioteca Comunale, 365 (5, 3 C 26), mbr. XV, fols. 1–6v (Mazzatini C 89; Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 263).

(*)Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9120 (Aa 29), mbr. XV, 258 fols., 49v–53v (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 562).

(*)Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 102 sup., misc. XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 297).

(*)———, R 88 sup., cart. XV, fols. 86–87v (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 340).

(*)———, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 832, cart. misc. XV, now lost (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 361; reported by J. Hankins).

(*)Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII G 56, mbr. XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 405).

(*)New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Marston 250, fols. 117–126 (Bond 93, with incorrect identification; J. Hankins, “Bruni Manuscripts” [see Bibliography]; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 289).

(*)Oxford, Magdalen College, 39, mbr. XV, 151 fols., 97–100 (Coxe Colleges, *B. Mariae Magdalanae*, 24: mistakenly described as “e Platone”).

(*)Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1499, fols. 62v–63v, frag. (J. Hankins, *Plato* [see Bibliography]).

(*)Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2662, fols. 55v–59v (Lauer II 568).

(*)———, lat. 6729A, mbr. xv, 96 fols., 79–81v (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 219).

(*)San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Civica Guarneriana, 100, cart. XV (Mazzatini III 125).

(*)Świdnica (Schweidnitz), Gymnasialbibliothek 15, now lost (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 414).

(*)Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, 828, mbr. XV–XVI, 241 fols., 232–235 (*Catal. gen. Fr. Dept. quarto*, VII, 479).

(*)Trieste, Fondazione Scaramangà, E 32 (2618), cart. XV, 310 fols., 51v–54v (S. Cavazza, “Lettere e traduzioni di umanisti in un codice copiato a Trieste nel 1428,” *Quaderni giuliani di storia*, I [1980], 69–70).

(*)Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, H III 36, cart. XV, fols. 88–89v (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 181).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini lat. 42, cart. XV, 346 fols., 250–256 (S. Prete, *Two Humanistic Anthologies* [Rome, 1964], 58–72; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 457).

———, Chigi J VI 214, cart. XV, 184 fols., 84–86 (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 484).

———, Reg. lat. 1321, mbr. XV (1434), 134 fols., 68–71 (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 402).

———, Vat. lat. 1807, mbr. XV, 119 fols., 14–17v (*Cod. Vat. Lat.*, III, 278).

———, Vat. lat. 3348, mbr. XV, 196 fols., 190v–194v (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 360).

———, Vat. lat. 5126, cart. XV, 180 fols., 26–31v (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 369).

———, Vat. lat. 5131, cart. XV, 147 fols., 86v–89 (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 587).

———, Vat. lat. 5137, mbr. XV, 111 fols., 22–25v (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 331).

(*)Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Fondo Correr 314, cart. XV, fols. 6–11 (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 288).

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, CCXLI (202), cart. XV–XVI, 202 fols., 150–154v (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 296).

Editions:

[ca. 1501–1502], 1502, [1504], 1505, 1511, 1534, 1545 (Basel), 1545 (Lyons), 1551, 1553 (Basel, Paris), 1555, 1558. See Composite Editions.

(*)1553, Parisiis (Paris): apud Guil. Morelium. *Xenophontis Apologia Socratis*, Latine, Leonhardo Aretino interprete. in 4°. (Hoffmann III 595).

Biography:

Leonardus Brunus Aretinus (Leonardo Bruni) was born in Arezzo in 1370 and died in Florence in 1444, where he is buried in the church of Santa Croce. As a young man, Bruni came to Florence, where he joined the circle of Salutati and studied Greek with Chrysoloras (1398–1400). His first translations from Greek, Basil's *Homilia ad iuvenes* and Xenophon's *Hieron*, were made in the first years of the new century. Soon thereafter Bruni paid tribute to the greatness of Florence in his *Laudatio florentinae urbis* and *Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum*. From 1405 to 1415, he worked as apostolic secretary under Innocent VII, Gregory XII, Alexander V, and John XXIII; but events of the Council of Constance led him to return to Florence, where he was granted Florentine citizenship in 1416 and named chancellor in 1427. He remained chancellor of his adoptive city until his death in 1444. An assiduous translator, Bruni translated works of Plato (*Phaedo*, *Gorgias*, *Phaedrus*, *Apology*, *Crito*, *Symposium*, *Epistolae*), Aristotle (*Politics*, *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Economics*), Plutarch (*Mark Antony*, *Cato*, *Paulus Aemilius*, *Gracchi*, *Pyrrhus*, *Sertorius*, *Demosthenes*), Demosthenes (*De corona*, *Pro Diopithe*, *Olynthiaca*), Aeschines (*In Ctesiphontem*), and Xenophon (*Hieron*, *Apologia Socratis*). As a historian, Bruni made compendia of Polybius (*Commentaria de primo bello punico*), Procopius (*De bello italico adversus Gothos*), and Xenophon's *Hellenica* (*Commentaria rerum graecarum*); on this last, see *Fortuna*, p. 80 above. Bruni also composed two histories, the *Historiae florentini populi* and *Rerum suo tempore gestarum commentarium*, and wrote Latin biographies of Cicero and Aristotle. In 1436, he paid tribute to the "three crowns of Florence" by composing Italian lives of Dante and Petrarch and by rendering in Latin a tale from Boccaccio's *Decameron* (IV. 1).

Bibliography: Jöcher I 1422–23; Michaud VI 29–30; DBI, XIV (Rome, 1972), 618–33 (C. Vasoli).

M. Accame Lanzillotta, *Leonardo Bruni traduttore di Demostene: La 'Pro Ctesiphonte'* (Genoa, 1986); H. Baron, ed., *Leonardo Bruni Aretino, Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928); Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton,

1955; 2d ed., 1966); Baron, *Humanistic and Political Literature in Florence and Venice at the Beginning of the Quattrocento* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955); Baron, *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni: Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature* (Chicago, 1968); L. Bertalot, "Zur Bibliographie der Übersetzungen des Leonardus Brunus Aretinus," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, XXVII (1937), 178–95, and XXVIII (1938), 258–85 (rpt. in L. Bertalot, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, ed. P. O. Kristeller, 2 vols. [Rome, 1975]; for Xenophon's *Apology*, II, 266–67); E. Berti, *Il Critone latino di Leonardo Bruni e di Rinuccio Aretino* (Florence, 1983); E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago-London, 1981), passim; M. C. Davies, "The Senator and the Schoolmaster: Friends of Leonardo Bruni Aretino in a New Letter," *Humanistica lovaniensia*, XXXIII (1984), 1–21; E. Franceschini, "Leonardo Bruni e il 'vetus interpres' dell'Etica a Nicomaco," in *Medioevo e Rinascimento. Studi in onore di Bruno Nardi*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1955), I, 299–319; E. Garin, "Ricerche sulle traduzioni di Platone nella prima metà del secolo XV: V. Le traduzioni di Leonardo Bruni," *ibid.*, I, 361–67; Garin, *La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano* (Florence, 1961); H. Goldbrunner, "Leonardo Brunis Kommentar zu seiner Übersetzung der pseudo-aristotelischen Ökonomik: ein humanistischer Kommentar," in *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance*, ed. A. Buck and O. Herding (Boppard, 1975), 99–118; G. Griffiths, J. Hankins, and D. Thompson, *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1987); J. Hankins, "Bruni Manuscripts in North America: A Handlist," in *Atti del Convegno di studi Leonardo Bruni cancelliere della Repubblica Fiorentina* (Florence, forthcoming); Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1990); L. Mehus, ed., *Leonardi Bruni Aretini Epistolarum libri VIII* (Florence, 1741); A. Moulakis, "Leonardo Bruni's Constitution of Florence," *Rinascimento*, XXVI (1986), 141–90; D. Quint, "Humanism and Modernity: A Reconsideration of Bruni's *Dialogues*," *Renaissance Quarterly*, XXXVIII (1985), 423–45; J. E. Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism: The Union of Eloquence and Wisdom, Petrarch to Valla*

(Princeton, 1968); P. Trovato, "Dai 'Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum' alle 'Vite di Dante e del Petrarca': appunti su Leonardo Bruni e la tradizione trecentesca," *Studi petrarcheschi*, II (1985), 263–84; D. J. Wilcox, *The Development of Florentine Humanist Historiography in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969).

2. Johannes Reuchlin

This translation dates from 1473–74 (Christ 78–81) and is mentioned in a letter dated April 21, 1494, from Conrad Leontorius (1465–1511) to Jakob Wimpheling (1450–1528): see Geiger, *Reuchlin*, 94, n. 4. The translation survives in a single Karlsruhe manuscript, and the preface to Jacobus Hugo de Morsminster is found only in a codex now at St. Gall. Years later, Reuchlin edited the *editio princeps* of the *Apologia Socratis* and *Agésilas* (1520, Hagenau).

Dedication (St. Gall, Vadianische Bibliothek, 469). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 43) Non possum non admirari . . . ut orationem quam Xenophontis perhibent pro Socrate apud iudices, in qua prope studiorum meorum initia sumpsit, ex graeco tibi latinam utcumque potui, conficerem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 43v) ad celeberrimum virum Iacobum Hugonis de Morsminster Iohannes Reuchlin Phorcensis transtulit.

Apologia Socratis (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Reichenau Pap. 127). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 45v) Socrates haud indignum mihi videtur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 51v) ego eum virum beatificari dignissimum iudico.

Manuscripts:

(*)Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Reichenau Pap. 127, cart. XV, 111 fols., 45v–51v (*Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe. Die Reichenauer Handschriften: Die Papierhandschriften* [Karlsruhe, 1914; rpt. 1971], 283–84).

(*)St. Gall, Vadianische Bibliothek, 469, misc. XV–XVI, fol. 43r–v, preface only (Scherer 133; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 126).

Biography:

Born at Pforzheim in 1455, Reuchlin studied in Freiburg and Paris and took his master's degree in classical letters at Basel in 1477. He subsequently studied law at Orléans and Poitiers, becoming a licentiate in 1481. During trips to Italy, where he met Ficino and Pico, he developed an interest in cabbalistic literature, which

led to his study of Hebrew (begun around 1492) and his treatises on the subject. His championship of Hebrew texts against the fanatical persecution of Pfefferkorn, a converted Jew, demonstrated the tolerance that humanist learning could endorse. Yet his greatest accomplishment was the introduction of Greek studies into Germany, further promoted by his great-nephew Melanchthon and in turn by the latter's pupil Camerarius. From 1482 to 1496 he was in the service of Count Eberhard of Württemberg, and from 1499 to 1512 he held high judicial offices. In his last years he taught Greek and Hebrew at Ingolstadt and Tübingen. He died at Lieberzell in 1522.

Works: Vocabularius breuiloquus (1476); *De verbo mirifico* (1494); *De rudimentis hebraicis* (1506); *Clarorum virorum epistolae* (1514); *De arte cabalistica* (1517); *De accentibus et orthographia hebraeorum libri tres* (1518). He edited Xenophon and translated works of St. Athanasius and Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*.

Bibliography: Jöcher III 2027; Michaud XXXV 482–86; Sandys II 256–57.

J. Benzing, *Bibliographie der Schriften Johannes Reuchlins im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1955); K. Christ, *Die Bibliothek Reuchlins in Pforzheim*, Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, LII (1924); L. Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin, sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig, 1871; rpt. Nieuwkoop, 1964); Geiger, ed., *Johannes Reuchlins Briefwechsel* (Stuttgart, 1875; rpt. Hildesheim, 1972); M. Krebs, ed., *Reuchlin. Festgabe seiner Vaterstadt Pforzheim zur 500. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages* (Pforzheim, 1955); J. H. Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany* (Princeton, 1984); R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship, 1350–1850* (Oxford, 1976), 86–90; F. Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1964), ch. 4; Secret, ed., *J. Reuchlin, La kabbale (De arte cabalistica)* (Paris, 1974); C. Zika, "Reuchlin's 'De Verbo Mirifico' and the Magic Debate of the Late Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXIX (1976), 104–38.

3. Henricus Stephanus

For his 1561 edition of Xenophon's complete works, Stephanus thoroughly revised the translation of Leonardus Aretinus, making both mar-

ginal notes and correcting obvious errors in the text itself: see p. 82 above.

Apologia Socratis (ed. of Geneva, 1561; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: Socratis quoque mihi videtur dignum meminisse, cum in iudicium vocatus fuit, quemadmodum de sua defensione morteque cogitarit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Si quis autem ex iis qui virtutem sectantur *cum utiliori aliquo quam fuit Socrates conversatus est*, illum ego virum felicissimum iudico.

Editions:

1561, 1581–96. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 98 above.

4. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. First version

This version first appeared in the 1569 edition of Xenophon's complete works; see p. 89 above.

Apologia Socratis (ed. of Basel, 1569). [*Inc.*]: Equidem operae pretium esse duco, Socratis mentionem fieri, quo pacto etiam tum quum in iudicium vocatus esset, tam de purgatione sui quam vitae exitu consilium inierit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quod si quis eorum, qui virtutis studiosi sunt, cum aliquo versatus est, qui erat Socrate utilior, eum ego virum dignissimum iudico, qui beatus praedicetur.

Editions:

1569, 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. Revised version

This version first appeared in the Frankfort edition of 1594 (see p. 90) and was reprinted numerous times.

Apologia Socratis (ed. of Frankfort, 1595; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: Equidem operae pretium esse duco mentionem *a me* fieri quo pacto *tunc* etiam *Socrates*, quum in iudicium vocatus esset, tam de purgatione sui quam exitu *vitae consultaverit* . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quod si quis eorum, qui virtutis studiosi *sint*, cum aliquo versatus est, qui Socrate *fuerit* utilior, eum ego virum dignissimum iudico, qui beatus praedicetur.

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfort), 1625, 1691–1703, 1700–1704, 1754. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

IV. CYNEGETICUS

Since Valckenaer, this work has been considered spurious by the majority of scholars: see H. R. Breitenbach, "Xenophon von Athen," PW IX A2, 1913–14.

TRANSLATIONS

I. Omnibonus Leonicenus

This translation was standard in printed editions until Stephanus had Conradus Gesnerus revise it for his 1561 edition (see p. 96 above). Omnibonus dedicated it to John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester and an avid huntsman, whom he had met in Padua in 1459 or 1460.

Dedication (Vatican Library, Chigi J VI 215). Illustrissimo principi ac domino D. Joanni Vuocestriae comiti Vicorniensis Omnibonus Leonicenus salutem pl. dicit. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 87) Nuper legebam, princeps illustris, Xenophontis de venatione libellum, in quo magnus ille tum rhetor tum philosophus probare contendit venandi studium plus ad virtutem habere momenti quam cuivis credibile videatur. Quam ad rem multis rationibus utitur, sed illa nimirum potissima, quod apud Chironem huius instituti magistrum heroes ferme omnes, cum alias artes ingeniis maioribus dignas, tum vero prae caeteris venationem meditati, facile omnibus quos aetas illa melior tulit non laude solum sed admiratione etiam praestiterunt, cum fortissimi iidem fuerint ac religiosissimi viri. Id ex eo cognosci potest quod sibi patriaeque suae praesidio et ornamento fuerunt, quod diis carissimi omnes deorum etiam honores plerique meruerunt. Itaque magna me libelli cupido cepit latinae linguae tradendi. Haec enim eludant caeteri licet, quae de talibus viris memoriae produntur, et ea dicant fabulis similia esse quam veris, ego cum te vitaeque institutionem considero, dubitare non possum id optima ratione factum, ut hanc venandi meditationem, quae te in primis delectat, magni viri nihil ab honestioribus studiis alienam esse putaverint. Nihil enim tibi deest ad laudis et gloriae cumulum, quem non ut caeteros virtutibus praeditos videmus singulis fere singulos—fide Fabricium, pietate Regulum, continentia Catonem,

justicia Camillum, magnificentia Lucillum, humanitate Marcellum—sed omnibus pariter bonis ornatum videmus, quae hominibus vel natura tribuere potest vel industria comparare. Quo circa libellum hunc latinum facere tuoque ipsum nomini, princeps illustris, devovere constitui, opus, ut arbitror, aggressus nec tibi iniocundum (cuius enim rei exercitatione laetaris, eiusdem profecto lectione gaudebis) nec caeteris inutile. Nam quae Xenophon docet, tu cum ea facias, hinc auctoritate ducti iuvenes, hinc exemplo, hinc denique verum laborem vanis voluptatibus anteponeere incipient.

Cynegeticus. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 87) Venatio et canes, deorum inventio fuit Apollinis atque Dianae; hac vero propter iusticiam donarunt Chironem, quo ille accepto dono laetus utebatur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 98v) Nec viri solum studiosi venationis probi fuere, verum etiam feminae, quibus haec deus tradidit, ut Diana, Atlanta, Procris, et si qua alia fuit.

Manuscripts:

(*)Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9120 (Aa 29), mbr. XV, 258 fols., 1–19, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 562).

(*)New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Yale 149, cart. XV, 28 fols., with preface, wrongly attributed to Franciscus Aretinus (Bond and Faye, *Supplement*, 35; B. A. Shailor, *Catalogue of the . . . Beinecke Library*, I [Binghamton, N.Y., 1984], 199; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 278).

(*)San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Civica Guarneriana, 50, cart. XV, fols. 1ff., with preface (Mazzatinti III 117; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 567).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi J V 192, cart. XV, 241 fols., 33–55, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 483).

———, Chigi J VI 215, cart. XV, 214 fols., 87–98v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 484).

Editions:

[ca. 1500–1501], 1502, [1504], 1505, 1511, 1534, 1545 (Basel), 1545 (Lyons), 1551, 1553, 1555, 1558. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC, I, 209; III, 258. Add to the *Bibliography*: P. F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore and London, 1989), 133–35, 172–73; R. J. Mitchell, *John Tiptoft, 1427–1470* (London, 1938), 158; D. E. Rhodes, “The

First Collected Latin Edition of Xenophon,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, LVI (1981), 151; R. Weiss, *Humanism in England* (Oxford, 1957), 115.

2. Conradus Gesnerus

In the preface to his 1561 edition of Xenophon, Stephanus says that he asked Conradus Gesnerus to revise Omnibonus’ version and (punning on the latter’s name) to make a totally good version from a totally bad one: “ut ex omnimala omnibonam faceret” (see p. 96 above).

Cynegeticus (ed. of Geneva, 1561; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: Venatio et canes, deorum inventio fuit, Apollinis atque Dianae: hac vero propter iustitiam donarunt *ornaruntque* Chironem, quo ille accepto dono laetus utebatur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *Non autem* viri solum studiosi venationis probi fuere, verumetiam foeminae, quibus *diva Diana fuit propitia*, ut *Atalanta*, Procris, et *si quae* alia fuit.

Editions:

1561, 1581–86. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC, II, 307.

3. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. First version

Levvenklaius first published this version in his 1569 edition of Xenophon’s complete works: see p. 89.

Cynegeticus (ed. of Basel, 1569). [*Inc.*]: Venationes et canes, inventum sunt Deum, Apollinis ac Dianae, qui quidem Chironem eo donatum ob iusticiam ornarunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Non autem viri solum studiosi venationis probi fuere, verumetiam feminae, quibus Diana haec largita est, ut *Atalanta*, Procris, et si qua praeterea fuit.

Editions:

1569, 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. Revised version

This first appeared in the Frankfort edition of 1594 (see p. 90) and was reprinted numerous times.

Cynegeticus (ed. of Frankfort, 1595; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: Venationes et canes inventum sunt *deorum* Apollinis ac Dianae, qui Chironem eo donatum ob iusticiam ornarunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *Neque* viri *dumtaxat quotquot* venationum fuere studiosi *laudem praeclaram adepti*

sunt, sed etiam foeminae, quibus haec Diana largita est, ut Atalanta, Procris et si qua *praeter has alia* fuit.

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfort), 1625, 1691–1703, 1700–1704. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

COMMENTARY

a. Franciscus Portus

Franciscus Portus wrote commentaries on eight of Xenophon's works: *Atheniensium respublica*, *Cyneticus*, *Hellenica*, *Hiero*, *Lacedaemoniorum respublica*, *Memorabilia*, *Oeconomicus*, and *De vectigalibus*. They were published in 1586 by his son Aemilius Portus and dedicated to Baron Johannes Septimius of Liechtenstein and Nikolsburg in a letter dated at Lausanne on July 1, 1585. In his dedication, Aemilius Portus writes that, since his edition of Dionysius of Halicarnassus is delayed by the long absence of his printer Stephanus, he is following friends' advice and translating the *Roman Antiquities* into French. In the meantime, he is publishing an edition of his father's commentaries on the opuscula of Xenophon, an author he praises for his brevity, variety, and morality.

Dedication (ed. of [Geneva?], 1586). Illustri ac generoso Domino D. Iohanni Septimio Baroni a Liechtenstein & Nicolsburg, patrono ac mecoenati suo longe benignissimo. [*Inc.*]: Iam pridem, illustris ac generose Baro, meam fidem alacriter liberassem, meosque in Dionysium Halicarnasseum labores tui nominis claritati devotos tibi coram obtulissem, si quod opus ab Henrico Stephano feliciter olim fuerat inchoatum, idem ab eodem pari diligentia fuisset absolutum. Equidem non unum aut alterum sed plures annos longam operis intermissionem ab illo factam tuli patienter. Sed cum typographi diuturniorem absentiam aequo animo diutius ferre non possem, ut taedii dolorem aliquo modo lenirem et mearum vigiliarum iacturam minime dubiam aliqua ratione solarer, tempusque novis occupationibus implicitus maiore cum voluptate fallerem, viro- rum quorundam praestantium, quibuscum mihi maxima intercedit necessitudo, consilium rebus meis convenientissimum facile sum sequutus, atque rectis horum monitionibus et adhortationi-

bus impulsus Romanas antiquitates a Dionysio summa cura Graece conscriptas in Gallicum sermonem vertere sum aggressus . . . Interea tamen, illustris ac generose Baro, ne promissorum immemor viderer, neve merito vanitatis abs te arguerer, quod verba factis nondum responderent, hos mei parentis in varia Xenophontis opuscula commentarios tibi, cuius humanitati me plurimum debere fateor atque profiteor, censui dicandos. . . . Quamvis autem multis aliis de causis Xenophon hic amore tuo sit dignus, praecipue tamen tu, qui τῆς λακωνικῆς καὶ σεμνῆς βραχυλογίας es amantissimus, eum amare debes, quod paucis ea sit complexus, quae scriptores alii nimium prolixè sunt persecuti, quodque in tanta tot rerum brevitate nihil eorum praeterierit, quae ad hominum mores ac vitam decenter informandam necessaria videbantur. Nam de pietate, de iustitia, de temperantia, de fortitudine, liberalitate, magnificentia, modestia, comitate, et sexcentis aliis virtutibus, atque de vitiis, quae virtuti sunt contraria, passim egregie disserit, et modo γενικώτερον modo εἰδικώτερον homines ad illas impellit, ab his vero deterret.

Sed ut haec missa faciam, vis belli, vis pacis praeclaras artes discere? Quis alius aut de graecis aut de latinis auctoribus, quorum libros quotidie volvimus, huiusmodi rerum praecepta Xenophonteis meliora tradit? Cupis res privatas aut publicas recte gubernare, legitimis rationibus easdem amplificare, et bona semel parta constanter ac tuto conservare? Hic vero Xenophon huius scientiae peritiaeque laudem quasi per suos eloquentiae campos exultans ac triumphans aliis praeripuit. Quodsi quis ad honores, ad imperia, magistratus, splendorem, amplitudinem, et sublimem gloriae gradum aspirat, profecto nullum alium reperiat, cuius opera facilius et sanctius voti fiat compos. . . . Quare sive Xenophontis excellentiam ac variam utilitatem, quam omnes bonarum litterarum et honestarum disciplinarum studiosi ex eius doctissimis scriptis percipiunt, attente perpendas, hanc nostri munusculi tenuitatem tibi gratam fore confido; sive consilium animumque nostrum spectare velis, a te voluntatis nostrae candorem laudatum iri spero. Quare, illustris ac generose Baro, haec quae tibi nunc offeruntur, ne asperneris; sed qua mentis alacritate dantur, eadem tu quoque accipere ne recuses. Hoc si feceris, maximum et gratissimum beneficium in eos contuleris, qui

tuae dignitatis atque splendoris sunt observantissimi. Vale, praeclarum nobilitatis Germanae decus et ornamentum. Datum Lausannae, Cal. Julii, MDLXXXV.

Preface (ed. of [Geneva?], 1586). [*Inc.*]: Si quicquam sensus et animos delectet, venatio delectat: docet hoc usus, confirmat autoritas huius ipsius authoris, philosophi gravissimi . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Usus venandi Phoenices reperisse creduntur, auctor Eusebius in primo de praeparatione evangelica, quanquam Xenophon (ut videbimus) aliter sentit.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: Κυνηγετικός, λόγος δηλόνοτι. Λόγος ἀντὶ τοῦ σύνταγμα ἢ σύγγραμμα, opus, volumen . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Κακοθηείας. ἢ κακοθήεια, ut docet Aristoteles 2. Rhetor. [1389b20] ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ὑπολαμβάνειν ἅπαντα. Ingenii pravitatis latine dici potest.

Edition:

1586. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC, II, 198. Add to the *Bibliography*: M. Manoussakas, "L'aventure vénitienne de François Portus," *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*, XVII (1982), 299–314; M. Mund-Dopchie, *La survie d'Eschyle à la Renaissance: éditions, traductions, commentaires et imitations* (Louvain, 1984); Mund-Dopchie, "François Portus et les Tragiques grecs," *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreami* (Binghamton, N. Y., 1986), 597–603.

V. *CYRI INSTITUTIO*

TRANSLATIONS

I. Laurentius Valla (Book I)

Together with thirty-three Aesopic fables, Valla made this translation at Gaeta in the summer of 1438, while in the service of Alfonso of Aragon, to whom he dedicated it on December 1, 1438. Valla made the translation as a tribute to Alphonse's son Ferrante, who arrived in Italy from Spain in July of 1438 (Pontieri, 544). Accordingly, Valla translated only the first third of the first book, in which the young Cyrus receives his education at the court of his uncle Astyages, king of Media.

Dedication (Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, 2 Qq c 79). Alfonso Hispanie et Italie regi Lau-

rentius Valla salutem plurimam dicit. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 268v) Ex octo Xenophontis libris, quibus ille Ciri maioris vitam executus est, primum tibi e greco in latinum transtuli . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 268v) ut qui in ea etate tantam future virtutis indolem ostendit, iam nunc primum sentire laudis incipiat. Vale. Kal. Decembris.

Cyri institutio I.1.1–4.15. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 268v) Cogitavi mecum aliquando atque animo volutavi quotiens status rerum publicarum, quem democraciam vocant, ab iis, qui invisum rei publicae haberent nomen, eversus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 279v) maiorem itaque partem temporis Cyrus ita traduxit cum maxima avi voluptate et aliquo etiam beneficio.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, 2 Qq c 79, cart. misc. XV, fols. 268v–279v (G. Di Marzo and E. Stinco, *I manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo*, II, i [Palermo, 1934], 74–79; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 26).

Edition:

D. Marsh, "Lorenzo Valla in Naples: The Translation from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance*, XLVI (1984), 407–20.

Biography:

Laurentius Valla (Laurentius Vallensis, Lorenzo Valla) was born in Rome in 1405. He first achieved notoriety through his dialogue *De voluptate*, published at Pavia in 1431 and subsequently revised as *De vero bono*. In 1435, he entered the service of Alfonso of Aragon, king of Aragon and Sicily; in the summer of 1438, while residing at Gaeta, Valla translated for him thirty-three fables of Aesop and the first four chapters of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. In 1440 he published the celebrated declamation on the Donation of Constantine, which used linguistic and historical evidence to prove the spurious nature of the document that had served to justify the Roman Church's claim to temporal possessions.

Examining the vehicles of literary and philosophical culture, the Latin language, and the categories of post-Aristotelian logic, Valla produced his most influential works, the *Elegantiae linguae latinae* and *Dialecticae disputationes*, as well as a number of short dialogues and treatises on various germane problems. From 1448

on, Valla was attached to the Curia under Nicholas V, for whom he produced translations of Herodotus and Thucydides. He died in Rome in 1457.

Works: *De vero bono* (1431); *Elegantiae linguae latinae* (ca. 1435–44); *De libero arbitrio* (1439); *Dialecticae disputationes* (ca. 1439–50: three redactions); *De falso credita et ementita Donazione Constantini* (1440); *De professione religiosorum* (1440–41); *Collatio Novi Testamenti* (1442); *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum* (1447); *Encomium s. Thomae* (1457); translations from Aesop, Xenophon, Herodotus, and Thucydides.

Bibliography: Jöcher IV 1423–25; Michaud XLII 482–87; Sandys II 66–70.

G. B. Alberti, "Valla traduttore di Tucidide," in *Tradizione classica e letteratura umanistica. Per Alessandro Perosa*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1985), I, 243–53; J. H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1983), 32–69; Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, 1987), 108–22, 233–38; G. Billanovich, "Il Livio del Petrarca e del Valla," in *La tradizione del testo di Livio e le origini dell'Umanesimo*, I (Padua, 1981), 97–119; S. I. Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla: Umanesimo e teologia* (Florence, 1972); Camporeale, "Lorenzo Valla, 'Repastinatio,' liber primus: retorica e linguaggio," in *Renaissance Essays in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1985), I, 261–80; V. De Caprio, "Retorica e ideologia nella *Declamatio* di Lorenzo Valla sulla Donazione di Costantino," *Paragone*, XXIX (1978), 36–56; De Caprio, "Il contributo del classicismo umanistico alla scienza: 'Auctoritas' e 'Ratio' nella filologia di L. Valla," in *Letteratura e scienza nella storia della cultura italiana* (Palermo, 1978); G. Di Napoli, *Lorenzo Valla: filosofia e religione nell'Umanesimo italiano* (Rome, 1971); C. E. Finch, "The Greek Source of Lorenzo Valla's Translation of Aesop's Fables," *Classical Philology*, LV (1960), 118–20; F. Ferlauto, *Il testo di Tucidide e la traduzione latina di Lorenzo Valla* (Palermo, 1979); M. Fois, *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente* (Rome, 1969); R. Fubini, "Note su Lorenzo Valla e la composizione del 'De voluptate'," in *I classici nel Medioevo e nell'Umanesimo:*

miscellanea filologica (Genoa, 1975), 11–57; Fubini, "Ricerche sul 'De voluptate' di Lorenzo Valla," *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, I (1987), 189–239; F. Gaeta, *Lorenzo Valla: filologia e storia nell'Umanesimo italiano* (Naples, 1955); H.-B. Gerl, *Rhetorik als Philosophie: Lorenzo Valla* (Munich, 1974); P. Giannantonio, *Lorenzo Valla, filologo e storiografo dell'Umanesimo* (Naples, 1973); L. Jardine, "Lorenzo Valla and the Intellectual Origins of Humanist Dialectic," *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, XV (1977), 143–64; Jardine, "Lorenzo Valla: Academic Skepticism and the New Humanist Dialectic," in *The Skeptical Tradition*, ed. M. Burnyeat (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983), 253–86; D. R. Kelley, *The Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law, and History in the French Renaissance* (New York and London, 1978), 19–50; G. Mancini, *Vita di Lorenzo Valla* (Florence, 1891); D. Marsh, "Grammar, Method, and Polemic in Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae*," *Rinascimento*, XIX (1979), 91–116; M. Pade, "The Place of Translation in Valla's Thought," *Classica et medievalia*, XXXV (1984), 285–306; Pade, "Valla's Thucydides: Theory and Practice in Renaissance Translation," *Classica et medievalia*, XXXVI (1985), 275–301; L. A. Panizza, "Lorenzo Valla's *De Vero Falsoque Bono*, Lactantius, and Oratorical Scepticism," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLI (1978), 76–107; E. Pontieri, "La giovinezza di Ferrante I d'Aragona," in *Studi in onore di Riccardo Filangieri*, 3 vols. (Naples, 1959), I, 531–601; J. E. Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism: The Union of Eloquence and Wisdom, Petrarch to Valla* (Princeton, 1968); Wolfram Setz, *Lorenzo Vallas Schrift gegen die Konstantinische Schenkung* (Tübingen, 1975); Setz, ed., *L. Valla, De falso credita et ementita Constantini donazione* (Weimar, 1976); M. Tavoni, *Latino, grammatica, volgare. Storia di una questione umanistica* (Padua, 1984); C. Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* (Chicago and London, 1970); Lorenzo Valla, *Opera omnia*, ed. E. Garin, 2 vols. (Turin, 1964); Valla, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, ed. A. Perosa (Florence, 1970); L. Valla, *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum*, ed. O. Besomi (Padua, 1973); Valla, *Antidotum primum*, ed. A. Wesseling (Assen, 1978); Valla, *Antidotum in Facium*, ed. M. Re-

goliosi (Padua, 1981); Valla, *Repastinatio dialectice et philosophie*, ed. G. Zippel, 2 vols. (Padua, 1982); Valla, *Epistole*, ed. O. Besomi and M. Regoliosi (Padua, 1984); Valla, *De professione religiosorum*, ed. M. Cortesi (Padua, 1986); *Lorenzo Valla e l'Umanesimo italiano*, ed. O. Besomi and M. Regoliosi (Padua, 1986); R. Waswo, *Language and Meaning in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1987).

2. Poggius Florentinus

Poggius finished the first draft of his translation by the summer of 1446 (*Lettere*, ed. Harth, III, 37). In revising it, he frequently turned to Trapezuntius, who later complained of his incessant queries (Walser 501; Wesseling 20). In reducing Xenophon's eight books to six, Poggius professed to follow Cicero's method in paraphrasing the speech of Cyrus in *De senectute* 22. Although Philelphus later criticized his method (see p. 121 below), Poggius' version served as the basis for Italian translations by Poggio's son Jacopo (ca. 1476) and Boiardo (ca. 1470) and for a French translation by Vasque de Lucène (1470): see *Fortuna*, p. 83 above.

Dedication (Princeton, Princeton University, Firestone Library, Kane 22). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1) Cum plures qui graeca ad latinos hac aetate transtulissent magnam essent laudem suae industriae et ingenii consecuti, et ipse quoque experiundum duxi an aliquid excudere possem quod mihi honori et dignitati foret. Itaque Xenophontis historiam quam de superioris Cyri vita conscripsit ad nostros traduxi, opus egregium certe ac plurimi aestimandum, ut quod praeter gestas res quae clarissime exstiterunt, iusti quoque ab ipsa pueritia principis institutionem contineat. Et sane hanc scribendi curam libens suscepi quo notus esset latinis is liber cuius cognitio et admodum necessaria est imperantibus et a superioribus excellentibus viris maxime laudata. Nam et eum totum se legendo contrivisse et Scipionem Africanum numquam illum de manibus ponere solitum Cicero noster scribit [*Q. fr.* I.1.23], quibus verbis permagna eius operis utilitas censenda est, cum duo singularissimi clarissimique, alter bello alter pace et litteris, viri tantum studii operaeque lectioni Xenophontis impenderint, ut qui procul dubio aestimarint eum et bellorum et otii tempore plurimum magnis viris conferre. Quod si quae priscarum rerum lectio usui vitae mortaliunquam unquam fuit, haec una est profecto quae

omnium exsuperet utilitatem. Is enim praesenti opere describitur rex qui sit ceteris omnibus futurus virtutis exemplar, quem si ceteri qui potiuntur rerum imitari vellent, meliori loco sese haberent mortalium res, minusque a fortuna homines exagitarentur. Sed dum quique magis quid possint quam quid deceat spectant hominibus imperant, serviunt cupiditatibus variis a quibus omnia mala facinora suadentur. At Cyri virtus tanta fuisse perhibetur ut omnes compresserit cupiditates, omnes corporis voluptates atque illecebras a se abdicarit, adeo temperantiae continentiaeque deditus ut (fol. 1v) se ipsum testem honesti praeberit reliquis ad imitandum. Illud vero haud dubie affirmarim: si quod in orbe terrarum imperium iustum est habitum unquam, hoc unum exstitisse maxime, quippe cui nihil defuerit quod in optima vivendi ratione requiratur. Quapropter gratior videri omnibus debet hic noster labor qui eam est historiam complexus, quae omnium principum, ad quorum mores formantur et reliqui, communem vivendi continet utilitatem. Non autem non sententiolas omnes, non collocutiones, quae quidem frequentius inseruntur, expressi, quippe qui sciam multa graece haud infacunde dici quae apud nos non absque fastidio legi a doctis possent. Sed historiam sum secutus, ea quandoque omittens quae neque veritati rerum detraherent et concinne dici latine vix posse viderentur. Hoc et a priscis illis eloquentissimis viris et a Cicerone factitatum legimus, qui tum multis in locis ubi graeca transfert tum maxime in oratione Cyri morientis, quam in fine maioris Catonis inserit, acceptam sententiam suo more traducit, tum addens tum mutans quaedam, tum vero omittens, quo disertior fiat oratio. Si quis vero curiosior esse voluerit, aut ipse perfectius hoc edat opus, aut vacet detractio et gratus quam invidus aestimari malit. Quamvis autem sciam nonnullos livore ductos morbo animi obtemperaturos, tamen memor nullam unquam virtutem caruisse invidia (male etenim cum eo agitur cui nullus invidet), aequanimiter feram eorum dicacitatem. Solent invidi et praecipue qui suo ingenio diffidunt aut qui praestant impudentia alios detrahendo obloquendoque lacerare. Verum utantur suo instituto ac moribus, modo id sciant malitiam magnam partem sui veneni bibere. Ego contentus bonorum iudicio, quos scio fautores labori nostro, forsitan alia traducere enitar, si vita suppetet, quamquam ea iam sum aetate ut colligendae sarcinolae sint,

ut Varro scribit, et de futura vita cogitandum. Impediunt praeterea plura negotia tum publica tum (fol. 2) privata quae mentem a scribendo avocent. Sed subripio mihi in diem aliquid, cum otium est, temporis quod in litteris et rebus laude dignis consumam. Quod autem Xenophon octo libris absolvit, ego in sex, quae distributio visa est commodior, sum partitus. Ceterum consideranti mihi res gestas moresque optimi per omnem aetatem principis similem quoque virum ad quem recte destinatur exposcere (contraria enim non facile coeunt) tu mihi, rex preclarissime, prae ceteris occurristi, cuius nomini hoc opus inscriberetur, tanquam eius qui Cyri gesta et vitam sis maxime imitatus. Et sane non minor tua quam illius laus, quamvis minori sita in imperio, censenda est, cum ferme par sit tum domi tum foris utriusque virtus. Itaque humanitatem liberalitatem iustitiam ac ceteras animi ingeniique virtutes tuas in illo recognoscens, confirmabis te in eis, considerabisque saepius quantum imperantis virtus boni mortalibus ferat. Certe haec legens efficies quod tua sponte institueras, ut multarum gentium respublica adeo tuae sapientiae credita beata ac felix tuo dicatur merito, cum et a sapiente et eo qui sapientes colat ac diligat gubernetur. Sed ipse iam Xenophon, ne modum excedat oratio, est audiendus.

Cyri institutio. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 2) Multa mihi sepius animo versanti ea cogitatio mentem aliquando subiit, quam multe respublice, quas populi regerent, eorum perierunt culpa, qui in illis aliter quam deceat versarentur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 104) Quod si quis forsansenserit secus, si opera illorum recte animadvertat, nostre sententiae favebit.

Manuscripts:

(*)Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 974 (728), cart. XV, 113 fols. (*Catal. gen. Fr. Dept. Quarto*, IV, 290).

(*)Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, 14643, 113 fols., 2–113v, with preface (*Catal. Bibl. Bourgogne*, I, 291; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 120).

(*)El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, III. I. 12, mbr. (Antolín V 464) (lost in 1671).

(*)———, T. III. 20, mbr. XV, 94 fols., 79–80, Ex Xenophonte Cyri, oratio ad milites (*Cyr.* I.5.7–14). [*Inc.*]: Ego vos amici, inquit, in commilitones elegi . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: ut diis propitiis faventibusque manus cum hostibus conseramus (Antolín IV 153; V 464).

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 45.16, mbr. XV, 98 fols., 1–98, with preface (Bandini, *Catalogus*, II, 351). Fol. 98 ends: 1447. kalendis Aprilis. Liber Pogii secretarii.

———, 45.22, mbr. XV, 146 fols., 1–143, with preface (Bandini, *Catalogus*, II, 359).

———, Strozzi 50, mbr. XV, 190 fols., 1–190, with preface (Bandini, *Suppl.*, II, 387).

———, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 660, mbr. XV, fols. 74v–77, Oratio Cyri regis Persarum ad deos (*Cyr.* VIII.7.3–28). [*Inc.*]: Juppiter pater tuque sol . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Erga eos qui accesserunt benefici estote, prout memoriam decet hominis felicitis. Vos vero, amici, iam valet (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 195).

———, (*)Museo Horne, 2818 (E.1.4), cart. XV, 75 fols., 1–69v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 615; reported by V. Brown).

(*)Ghent, Centrale Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 471, cart. XV, 85 fols., with preface (J. de Saint-Genois, *Catalogue méthodique et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la ville et de l'Université de Gand* [Ghent, 1849–52], 245; A. Derolez, *Inventaris van de Handschriften in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Gent* [Ghent, 1977], 40; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 130).

(*)Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 1234, cart. XV, 190 fols., 1–173, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 16).

(*)Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, B.P.L. 67A (Geel 309), cart. XV, 79 fols. (J. Geel, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum, qui inde ab anno 1741 Bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae accesserunt* [Leiden, 1852], 75; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 357; Molhuysen, *Codices manuscripti, III: Codices Bibliothecae Publicae latini* [Leiden, 1912], 35; *Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae catalogus*, XIV [Leiden, 1934], 103).

London, British Library, Harley 2460, cart. XV, 150 fols., 3–86, with preface (*Catal. Harleian Mss.*, II, 693; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 158).

———, Harley 2678, mbr. XV, 154 fols., 65–88v, preface and incomplete text, ending in Book VI. [*Expl.*]: preter deliciarum voluptatem qui vero fortunas amiserit neminem per dolorem (*Catal. Harleian Mss.*, II, 706; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 165).

———, Harley 3527, cart. XV, 18 fols., 16v–18v, two excerpts entitled “Oratio Cyri”: fol. 16v [*Inc.*]: Sacra nobis commilitones osten-

dund dii [= *Cyr.* VI.4.13]; fol. 17 [*Inc.*]: Mi filii et amici praesentes [= *Cyr.* VIII.7.6] (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 173).

(*)Lyons, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1506, mbr. XV, 103 fols., 1–93v, with preface (*Catal. gen. Fr. Dept. octavo*, XXX, 462).

(*)Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 299 inf., XV–XVI (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 285).

(*)——, M 95 sup., mbr. XV, fols. 1–117 (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 335).

(*)——, Q 90 sup., XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 308).

(*)Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V G 6 (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 401).

(micro.) Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, 126, misc. XVI: Testamentum Cyri (*Cyr.* VIII.7.2–28). [*Inc.*]: Dormienti in regia per quietem adesse visus est homo augustior humana forma . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Vos vero amici valet. Hec dicens dextramque apprehendens omnium excessit e vita (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 9).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5689A, cart. XV, 101 fols., 1–101, with preface (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, IV, 148).

Princeton, Princeton University, Firestone Library, Kane 22, mbr. XV, 117 fols., 1–104, with preface (De Ricci, II, 1892–93; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 381).

(*)Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, K.IV.23 (i. IV. 1), mbr. XV, 96 fols., with preface (J. Pasinus, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei*, 2 vols. [Turin, 1749], II, 98; lost in the fire of 1904).

(*)Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria, 741 (now M-731), mbr. XV, 172 fols., presentation copy, with preface (Mazzatinti 446; Gutiérrez 1189; Grubbs II 302; T. De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, II [1947], 178; De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, 3 vols. [Florence, 1960], I, 16; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 653).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1802, mbr. XV, 115 fols., with preface (*Cod. Vat. Lat.*, II, 276; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 653).

——, Vat. lat. 1803, mbr. XV, 134 fols., with preface (*Cod. Vat. Lat.*, II, 276–77).

——, Vat. lat. 1804, mbr. XV (1466), 146 fols., with preface (*Cod. Vat. Lat.*, III, 277).

——, Vat. lat. 1805, mbr./cart. XV, 92 fols., with preface (*Cod. Vat. Lat.*, III, 277).

——, Vat. lat. 3401, cart. XV, 138 fols., 1–138, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 319).

——, Vat. lat. 7310, mbr. XV, 158 fols., 64–120, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 342).

——, Ottob. lat. 1153, cart. XV–XVI, 233 fols., 12v–13v, Oratio Cyri (*Cyr.* I.5.7–14; cf. El Escorial, T. III. 20 above). [*Inc.*]: Ego vos amici, inquit, in commilitones elegi . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: ut diis propiciis faventibusque manus cum hostibus conseramus (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 427).

——, Ottob. lat. 1248, mbr. 124 fols., 1–124, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 417).

——, Reg. lat. 1922, mbr. XV, 77 fols., 1–77, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 404).

——, Rossi 783, cart. XV (fol. 108v: die vii Julii 1452 Pisis), 108 fols., 1–108v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 467).

——, Urb. lat. 460, mbr. XV, 122 fols., 1–120, with preface (Stornaiolo I 467).

(*)Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 293, XV, 170 fols., with preface (*Tabulae*, I, 41).

(*)——, 438, XV, 91 fols. (*Tabulae*, I, 71).

(*)——, 3125, cart. XV, 132 fols., 1–88, with preface (*Tabulae*, II, 210).

Biography:

Born in the Tuscan town of Terranuova in 1380, Poggius Florentinus (Poggio Bracciolini) completed his notarial training in Florence, where he became a member of the circle of the chancellor Coluccio Salutati. In 1403 he went to Rome to work in the papal Curia. As *scriptor apostolicus* and later as *secretarius apostolicus*, he continued in the Curia until 1453. During the Council of Constance (1414–18), he discovered a number of previously unknown Latin works: Lucretius, Silius Italicus, Manilius, and Statius' *Silvae*, as well as several speeches of Cicero and Asconius' commentary, part of the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, and a complete text of Quintilian. At the end of the Council in 1418, Poggius spent some four years in England, which seem to have aroused his interest in the Church Fathers. His interest in early manuscripts led him to develop a personal script that formed the basis of the humanist "Roman" hand. On returning to the Curia in Rome, Poggius began to collect his letters and in 1428 published his first literary composition, the dialogue *De avari-*

tia. This influential work, which helped establish the revival of the Ciceronian dialogue in the Renaissance, was the first in a series which proved popular even during the Reformation. Poggio's concern with spoken Latin led him to compose the *Facetiae*, a collection of popular anecdotes intended to demonstrate the versatility of Latin style, and his years in Rome gave him an interest in Roman antiquities. As chancellor of the Florentine Republic (1453–56), he continued the history of the Florentine people begun by Leonardo Bruni. His originality as a writer and thinker has been somewhat clouded by a series of polemics with his younger contemporary Lorenzo Valla, whose superior philological acumen provoked him to compose a series of conservative invectives. Poggio learned Greek late in life, and most of his translations date from the late 1440s and early 1450s (Walser 227–32). Poggio died in Florence in 1459.

Works: Epistulae (1428–58); *De avaritia* (1428–31); *An seni sit uxor ducenda* (1436); *De nobilitate* (1440); *De infelicitate principum* (1440); *De varietate fortunae* (1448); *Historia convivalis* (1450); *De miseria humanae conditionis* (1455); *Historia florentini populi* (1450–58). Translations of Xenophon, *Cyri institutio*; Lucian's *Cynicus* and *Asinus*; and Diodorus Siculus.

Bibliography: Jöcher III 1645–46; Michaud XXXIII 567–71; Sandys II 25–34; DBI, XIII (Rome, 1971), 640–46 (E. Bigi, A. Petrucci).

Poggio Bracciolini, *Opera omnia*, 4 vols., ed. R. Fubini (Turin, 1964–69); *Poggio Bracciolini, 1380–1459* (Florence, 1982); Poggio Bracciolini, *Lettere*, ed. H. Harth, 3 vols. (Florence, 1984–87); M. C. Davies, "Poggio Bracciolini as Rhetorician and Historian: Unpublished Pieces," *Rinascimento*, XXII (1982), 153–82; R. Fubini and S. Caroti, *Poggio Bracciolini nel VI centenario della nascita* (Florence, 1980); P. W. G. Jordan, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters: The Letters of Poggio Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis* (New York, 1974); H. Harth, "Poggio Bracciolini und die Brieftheorie des 15. Jahrhunderts. Zur Gattungsform des humanistischen Briefs," in F. J. Worstbrock, ed., *Der Brief im Zeitalter der Renaissance* (Weinheim, 1983), 81–99; I. Kajanto, *Poggio Bracciolini and Classicism: A Study in Early Italian Humanism* (Helsinki, 1987); R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei co-*

dici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV, 2 vols. (Florence, 1905–14; 2d ed., Florence, 1967); B. L. Ullman, *The Development of Humanistic Script* (Rome, 1960); E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus. Leben und Werke* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914); A. Wesseling, ed., L. Valla, *Antidotum primum* (Assen, 1978), 18–21; D. J. Wilcox, *The Development of Florentine Humanist Historiography in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969).

3. Franciscus Philelphus

This translation, completed at Milan on September 21, 1467, was based on Laur. 55.19 and Vat. gr. 1334, both of which were copied by George Chrysococces and owned by Philelphus (see Wilson, cited on p. 123 below). Philelphus presented it in late 1469 to Paul II, who had promised 400 ducats for it, and the next year Philelphus sent a copy to the Venetian lawyer and commander Nicolò Canal (1415–83) on his return as commander of a Venetian fleet sailing against the Turks (see Ventura). It became the standard translation in printed editions until revised by Stephanus (1561: see p. 125 below) and later supplanted by that of Levvenklaius (1569: see p. 129 below).

1. *Dedication* (Vatican Library, Chigi J VI 218). Francisci Philelphi praefatio in Xenophontis libros de Cyri paedia ad Paulum II Pontificem Maximum [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1) Diu mihi multumque cupienti aliquid ad te scribere, pater beatissime, quod vel observatione in te mea vel acerrimo tuo gravissimoque iudicio dignum posset iure existimari, Xenophon ille Socraticus, qui non minus ob nitorem et suavitatem orationis quam ob doctrinae magnitudinem atque praestantiam Musae Atticae cognomentum meritus est, tempestive sese in octo his libris obtulit, qui de Cyri Persarum regis et vita et institutione, quam Graeci paediam vocant, inscripti sunt . . . / . . . [There follows a long defense of monarchy and a discussion of Xenophon's portrait of the ideal ruler.] Hosce autem octo Xenophontis libros eo studiosius ex Graecis Latinos reddidimus quo quaedam Poggii scripta habentur a nonnullis in manibus, quae ille quondam veluti per epitomen existimatur ex eodem hoc Xenophonte interpretatus, quippe qui libros octo in sex redegerit volumina. Sed istiusmodi compendium cum neque orationem complectitur Xenophontis neque sententias sequitur—nam eae quoque infinitis in

locis mutatae depravataeque et vitatae sunt—occurrere volui tantae indignitati, ne tanta fieret non modo Graecis sed nostris item iniuria, non absurde futurum iudicans, si minus propulsassem quam possem iniuriam, ut merito ipse quoque iniustitiae reus fierem. Totos igitur hos libros octo de Cyri Paedia ita sumus interpretati ut, quantum mea fert opinio, nihil in his desiderandum sit, quantum scilicet ad emendati iustique interpretis munus attinet. Non enim sum adeo impudens ut velim me a quoquam existimari ita eleganter et perpolite sonoram illam ac suavem Xenophontis orationem expressisse, ut etiam ipse Musa Attica debeam appellari, praesertim cum et aliud sit aliorum inventa interpretari et aliud nostra scribendi munus. Quod in his et amplificando et exornando mutandoque et addendo atque castigando pro arbitrio vagari licet, sed in alienis cum sententia ubique servanda est tum nunquam ab oratione divertendum, quoad eius queat apte et accommodate fieri. Aliena, inquam, et Socratici Xenophontis inventa sumus interpretati, non nostra scripsimus. Neque tam studuimus orationis nostrae expoliendae amoenitati quam alienae examussim interpretandae veritati. Tibi autem, pater clementissime, non iccirco hos Xenophontis libros de optimo imperio dedicavimus, ut ex his doctrinam ullam consequere—quis enim te uno in omni bene vivendi genere et consultando et agendo et imperando praestantior?—sed ut per te discant alii sermonis Graeci imperiti et qualem oporteat regem esse et qualis subditos, quo et quanto alter est dignitate superior tanto sit quam subditi omni virtute ornatior. Et hi intelligant tum suo se functos officio cum alacriter imperata constanterque obierint. Quanti insuper splendidissimum opus hoc debeat aestimari, testimonio nobis est sapientissimus ille Scipio Africanus posterior, qui traditur [Cic. *Q. fr.* I.1.23] unam hanc Xenophontis Paediam nunquam de manibus ponere consuesse. Et M. Tullius Cicero ad Paetum de se scribens [*Fam.* IX.25] ait Paediam Cyri quam contriverat legendo totam in suo imperio explicasse. Nihil enim est profecto in omni laudatissimo vitae genere sive domi et foris, sive belli et pacis, sive agendo quid sive intelligendo consideretur, quin perfecte atque cumulate in hisce octo Paediae libris et inveniri et disci liceat. Sed ne, si prolixior fuero, possim iudicari loquacior, iam Xenophon ipse cum grandius tum suavius personet.

2. *Dedication* (Vat. lat. 13723). Franciscus Philelfus Nicolao Canali iureconsulto ac Venetae classis praefecto adversus Turcos sal. pl. dicit. [*Inc.*]: (fol. IV) Cum anno superiore pro florentissimo tuo Christianissimoque senatu fores invictae classis praefectus in Turcos soluturus Venetiis, petisti a me per litteras ut regis Cyri Paediam, quam ex Socratico Xenophonte in Latinum converteram eloquium, exscribi curarem tuo nomini atque mitterem ad te. Feci equidem quod iussisti, sed minus fortasse mature quam velles, id quod nulla mea culpa factum est, sed emendati librarii inopia. Is mihi cum primum est oblatus, curavi quod iusseras, non libenter minus quam diligenter. Accipe igitur, Nicolae Canalis vir praestantissime, ab me homine tui amantissimo Paediam Cyri, et eam quidem dono caeterum ea lege ut hanc ipse in tuo isto fortunatissimo imperio totam explices. Non parum enim tibi proderit et consultando et agendo. Gessisti aestate superiore res et magnas et salutes, quippe qui et Aenum urbem illustrem in Thracia ad Ebri ostia vi ceperis diruperis vastaveris, et in Peloponneso Bostyza ad Chrysaem sinum, quod prisci Aegium nominarunt, potitus sis. Persequere igitur ut coepisti, ac splendidissimum nomen tuum immortalitati commenda, ut quae bene ipse ac feliciter gesseris nos litterarum monumentis consecremus. Vale. Ex Mediolano kal. Aprilibus. Anno a Christi natali die millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo.

Cyri institutio (Vatican Library, Chigi J VI 218). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 4v) Cum olim cogitarem quot populi dominatus per illos soluti sint qui vellent alia quadam ratione quam populari rempublicam gerere, et quot item regii paucorumque principatus iam per populos sint sublatis . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 125v) Quod si quis secus atque ego sentiat, si eorum is opera consideret, ea inveniet testimonio suo verba mea confirmare.

Manuscripts:

(*)Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, 9895, XV, pages unnumbered, with preface to Paul II (*Catal. Bibl. Bourgogne*, I, 198; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 117).

(*)El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, II. I. 5 (Antolín, V, 464; lost in 1671).

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 673, cart. XV, 228 fols., 213–216, excerpts only (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 196).

———, 832, cart. XV, 171 fols., with preface to Paul II (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 205).

London, British Library, Arundel 163, cart. XV, 210 fols., 1–210, with preface to Paul II (*Catal. Mss. BM*, New Series, I, 44; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 124).

(*)Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9120 (Aa29), mbr. XV, 258 fols., 70–257v (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 562).

(*)Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 209 inf., XV (1467), fols. 1–171v, with preface to Paul II (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 280).

(*)Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, XIV D 4, mbr., with preface to Paul II (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 409).

(*)New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Yale 63, fols. 97–102v, excerpt (De Ricci II 2253; B. A. Shailor, *Catalogue of the . . . Beinecke Library*, I [Binghamton, N.Y., 1984], 88; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 278).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5689B, mbr. XV (1467), 135 fols., 1–129, with preface to Paul II (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, IV, 148).

(micro.) Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, J 120, cart. XVI, fols. 75v–81v, Quaedam notatu digna ex Cyri Persarum regis paedia Xenophonte authore Francisco Philelpho interprete, excerpts from *Cyr.* I.4.6 to VIII.7.13: [*Inc.*]: Cyrus plurimi faciebat petita transigere; [*Expl.*]: sed amici multi sceptrum sunt regibus verissimum maximeque securum (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 61).

(*)Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, H.II.6, cart. XV, 201 fols., with preface to Paul II (Pasinus, II, 173; Mazzatinti, XXVIII, 122).

(*)———, H.II.7, cart. XV, 208 fols. (Pasinus, II, 173; Mazzatinti, XXVIII, 122).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi J VI 218, cart. XV, 127 fols., 1–125, with preface to Paul II (De Marinis, *La legatura artistica*, I, 43; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 476).

———, Vat. lat. 13723, cart. XV, 221 fols., 1v–220, with preface to Nicolaus Canalis (1v), and preface to Paul II, fragmentary at beginning (2–6v). [*Inc.*]: agere navim pergat (from S. Michele di Murano; F. Blume, *Bibliotheca librorum manuscriptorum* [Göttingen, 1834], 186; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 388).

———, Ottob. lat. 1649, mbr. XV–XVI, 106 fols., 61–106, excerpts citing book and folio numbers from a printed edition (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 431).

———, Urb. lat. 410, mbr. XV, 208 fols., 1–208, with preface to Paul II (Stornaiolo I 421).

Editions:

[ca. 1477], Mediolani (Milan): Archangelus Ungardus. in 4°. H 16227; *BMC*, IV, 52, and VI, 734; Goff X-5; IGI 10404. NUC. BL; BN (nos. 472 and 473: see *Doubtful Editions* below); Vatican Library; (CtY; MH).

[ca. 1500–1501], 1502, [1504], 1505, 1511, 1534, 1545 (Basel), 1551, 1553 (Basel), 1555, 1558. See Composite Editions.

Doubtful Editions:

(*)1474, Romae (Roma): Arnoldus de Villa. BL; BN (no. 473). Despite the spurious colophon, this is the same as the Milan edition published by Archangelus Ungardus before February 18, 1477: see Goff X-5, and J. Irigoin, “Les éditions de Xénophon,” *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, CCXXVIII (Paris, 1979), iii.

(*)1520, Bononiae (Bologna): in fol. (Fabricius, BG, III, 5).

(*)1563, Parisiis (Paris): Guillelmus Morelius. *Ex Xenophonte de educatione liberorum apud Persas*. (Gr.-Lat.) in 8° (Maittaire V 350; Fabricius, BG, III, 5).

Biography: See p. 93 above. Add to the *Bibliography*: C. Bianca, “‘Auctoritas’ e ‘veritas’: il Filelfo e le dispute tra platonici e aristotelici,” in *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte* (Padua, 1986), 207–47, esp. 233–34; A. Ventura, “Canal, Nicolò,” *DBI*, XVII (Rome, 1974), 662–68; N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (Baltimore, 1983), 271–72.

4. Mathias Marcus Dabercusius

A manuscript at Weimar preserves this translation together with the facing Greek text of the *Cyri institutio*. The translation was copied 1547–49 by Balthasar Cateman Ortrantius who gives his name and the date on fols. 89 (“Balthasar Cateman Ortrantius 1547”), 139 (“Balthasar Cateman Ortrantius 1547”), 217 (“1548”), and 281 (“1549. VI Id. Jan. Balthasar Catemannus Ortrantius”). A colophon in his hand at the end of book VIII on fol. 436 indicates that the translation has its origin in lectures of his teacher: “Absoluti sunt hi libri Xenop. lingua graeca perito (*sic*) a praeceptore meo in cuius praelectione M.D.XLIX.” The teacher (“praeceptor”) is identified in the inventory as Marcus Dabercu-

sus in Meissen. Marginal glosses in various hands (mostly in Greek) accompany the Greek text and, occasionally, also the Latin translation.

Cyri institutio. Xenophontis Cyri institutio atque disciplina. Prooemium seu praefatio. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 3) Cogitatio aliquando nobis fuit (cogitauimus aliquando uel in hanc cogitationem uenimus) quod principatus populares eversi essent ab iis qui uellent aliter rempublicam administrare . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] (fol. 436) Si quis contra atque ego sentit, is facta eorum considerans (inspiciens s.s.) intelliget ea testimonio esse iis quae ego dixi. FINIS LIBRI OCTAUI.

Manuscripts:

(photo) Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Philol. 16, cart. XVI, 166 fols. (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 431).

(photo.) Weimar, Thüringische Landesbibliothek, Q. 85, cart. XVI, 436 fols. (Kristeller, *Iter* III 433).

Biography:

Mathias Marcus Dabercusius was born ca. 1508 in the Rhineland. He studied with Johannes Ravius, whom he accompanied to Annaberg, Schneeberg, and finally Freiberg, where he was named co-rector of the school in 1537. In 1540 he became rector in Schneeberg, and in 1543 co-rector in Meissen. He became rector in 1553 at Schwerin, where he died in 1572.

Works: Quaestionum de grammatica latina siue De analogia libri quatuor (1569–77?); *Quaestionum de grammatica graeca libri duo* (Rostock, 1577); *Agapeti ad Justinianum imperatorem de officio regis praecepta* (apparently unpublished).

Bibliography: Jöcher II 1; *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* IV 685; G. Fabricius, *Rerum misnicarum libri VII* (Leipzig, 1569), 194, 208.

5. Johannes Sambucus (excerpts)

Dated at Ingolstadt on March 25, 1549, when the author was eighteen, Sambucus' preface introduces his Latin version of twelve speeches from the *Cyri institutio* and the famed exchange between Critias and Theramenes from the *Hellenica* (II.3.24–49). The translations are dedicated to his schoolmates Philippus and Theodorus Apianus (Bienewitz), sons of the cele-

brated mathematician Petrus Apianus, tutor to Charles V and author of the *Astronomicum caesareum* (1540): for Petrus Apianus (1495–1552) and his son Philippus Apianus (1531–89), see Hartner (p. 125 below). Sambucus says that he made his translation during the recent carnival schoolbreak (Lent in 1549 began on March 5) so as not to remain completely idle. He made some use of Philelphus' version of the *Cyri institutio* but occasionally found it unfaithful to the letter or spirit of Xenophon's text. He then showed his translation to Vitus Amerpachius (Veit Amerbach), a professor of philosophy at Ingolstadt, who corrected it and urged its publication: for Amerbach, see Trusen. Sambucus notes that Xenophon's speeches will prove as edifying as school texts like Lucian's dialogues because they are filled with valuable maxims and offer a model of rhetorical invention and disposition.

Dedication (ed. of Basel, 1552). Ioannes Sambucus Philippo et Theodoro Apianis, Petri Apiani Mathematici clariss. filiis s. d. p. [*Inc.*]: Cum his proximis feriis, quae a Saturno aut Baccho, ut nunc sunt mores, rectius haberent nomen quam a ieiunii principio, cessarent praelectiones, ad puerorum ac adolescentum animos nonnihil a studiis relaxandos, ego, ne ocium ita complecterer ut ad pristina mea studia redirem deinde segnior, Xenophontem interea legendum sumpsi et breviores aliquot *δημηγορίας*, ut ipse appellat, easque optimas in latinum converti. Quanquam autem non ignorabam et Philelphum integros libros de Paedia Cyri transtulisse ac non parum fateor me adiutum eius versione, tamen quia longius animadvertabam nonnunquam eum a verbis discessisse ac etiam sententia (quod aequus lector facile passim deprehendet) non poenitendum esse me operam sumpturum putabam si, quantum utriusque linguae natura pateret et vires ingenii, quam proxime sententiam latine, quod etiam ad verba pertinet, redderem. Confecto utcunque negotio D. Vito Amerpachio corrigendas eas obtuli, qui simul ac factum hoc probavisset ac limam suam addidisset, fuit hortator ut eas in publicum darem, ut et mihi sic calcar ad urgendum hoc studium adderem, et exemplo meo nonnihil aequales meos ad Graecae linguae studium excitarem. Libenter itaque sum obsequutus ei cum propter excellentem doctrinam, quae iamdudum sermonibus omnium in-

crebuit, tum quia videbam non minus has conciones utilitatis allaturas quam Luciani dialogos aut aliquid simile quod ab adolescentibus tractatur. Nullam enim earum leges, quin egregias γνώμας aut χρείας contineat verbisque sit propriis, id est Atticis, omnino pertexta, ut acumen de inventione, deque dispositione prudentiam, ac alia similia taceam. Nec est obscurum quanti hunc scriptorem fecerint optimi et doctissimi quique non tantum Graecorum sed etiam Latinorum. Cum autem cogitarem cui meam operam hanc qualem qualem pro scholastico more nuncuparem, vos in mentem venistis cum propter vestram coniunctionem non quidem ita veterem, sed tamen arctissimam, tum quia non vulgariter hoc studii genus excolere coepistis, proculdubio non sine singulari consilio patris vestri, viri non tantum scientia mathematicum egregii, sed etiam in tota vita prudentissimi. Vos igitur hoc munus exiguum ab amico et condiscipulo profecto rogo boni consulatis. Quod si vixero, σὺν δὲ θεῶ, confirmataque fuerit simul cum aetate iam doctrina, maius fortasse ac illustrius olim accipietis. Valete meque ut coepistis amare pergite. Ingolstadii, 8. calend. Aprilis, anno Dom. 1549.

Cyri institutio (I.5.7–VII.5.47). [Inc.]: Viri amici, ego vos legi, non iam primum probatos, sed a pueris videns vos, quae honesta retur civitas, ea parato animo efficere . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Tanquam igitur me dubitante quid facere queam, ut res bene habeant nostrae, et aliorum quorum nobis cura incumbit, consulat quis id, quod utilissimum fore animadvertit.

Edition:

1552. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC, II, 36–37. Add to the *Bibliography*: W. Hartner, "Apianus, Petrus," *Neue deutsche Biographie*, I (1953), 325–26; E. J. Kenney, *The Classical Text* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1974) 79–82; W. Trusen, "Amerbach, Veit," *Neue deutsche Biographie*, I (1953), 248.

6. Julius Jacobillus (Books I–II)

These translations of Books I and II of the *Cyri institutio* survive in two manuscripts at the Biblioteca "L. Jacobilli" del Seminario Vescovile, Foligno, each of which bears the inscription (in a different hand, according to Francesco

Conti, librarian) "Scriptus A. D. 1556 a Julio Jacobillo Fulginate."

a. *Book I*

Cyri institutio I. [Inc.]: (fol. 4) Cogitatio aliquando nobis subiit quot democratiae per eos eversae sunt, qui aliter potius rempublicam quam in statu populari regere volunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 53v) Si vero non omnibus consilere volunt, nihil mirandum: non enim necesse ipsis est, quorum nolint, curam gerere. (Text supplied in part by Francesco Conti.)

Manuscript:

(*)Foligno, Biblioteca "L. Jacobilli" del Seminario Vescovile, B II 4, cart. XVI (1556), 60 fols. (Mazzatinti XLI 80, no. 204; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 628).

b. *Book II*

Cyri institutio II. [Inc.]: (fol. 3) Talia igitur disserentes ad fines usque Persidis venerunt; postquam ipsis aquila dextera apparens itineris ducem se praestabat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 51) Postquam autem vertices tenuerunt milites Cyri, et despiciebant domicilia Chaldaeorum et ipsos fugientes ex proximis domiciliis cognoscebant. (Text supplied in part by Francesco Conti.)

Manuscript:

(*)Foligno, Biblioteca "L. Jacobilli" del Seminario Vescovile, C IV 8, cart. XVI (1556), 108 fols. (Mazzatinti XLI 153, no. 423; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 629).

Biography:

Nothing is presently known about Julius Jacobillus. He is not mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Umbriae* (Foligno, 1658) by the learned jurist Ludovicus Jacobillus (1598–1664).

7. Henricus Stephanus

a. *The 1561 revision of Philadelphus' translation*

In his 1561 bilingual edition of Xenophon's complete works, Stephanus thoroughly revised Philadelphus' translation: see p. 95 above.

Cyri institutio (ed. of Geneva, 1561; revisions italicized). [Inc.]: Subiit aliquando nos cogitatio quot populi dominatus per illos soluti sint qui vellent alia quadam ratione quam populari rempublicam gerere . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quod si quis secus atque ego sentiat, is eorum opera con-

siderans, ea testimonio suo verba mea comprobare comperiet.

Editions:

1561, 1570, 1581–96, 1592, 1596. See Composite Editions.

b. The edition of 1570

In his 1570 *Conciones*, Stephanus translated two speeches from the *Cyri institutio* (I.5.7–15; II.1.15–18) and cited some thirty-two others in his revision of Philephus' translation.

Dedication and Preface:

See p. 106 above.

Cyri institutio (I.5.7–15; II.1.15–18). [*Inc.*]: Allegi vos mihi, amici, non quorum nunc primum fecerim . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: omnem pro viribus apparatus vobis suppeditem, ut praeclarissime, Deo iuvante, bellum geramus.

Edition:

1570. See Composite Editions.

c. The edition of 1592

In his 1592 *Herodotus*, Stephanus quoted portions of the *Cyri institutio* illustrating Persian customs. The lengthier passages (pp. 698–710) are taken from his revision of Philephus' translation, while for shorter passages (pp. 710–11) he printed his own versions: *Cyr.* I.1.8 (“De pueris domo afferentibus in cibum quidem panem, in obsonium vero nasturtium, ad potum autem, si quis eorum sitiret, vas fictile quod cothona vocabant ut in id e flumine posset haurire”); I.1.1 (“Quidquid venando ceperint, id eorum obsonium esse: sin nihil ceperint non aliud obsonium habere quam nasturtium”); I.3.2 (“Apud Persas autem qui in patria manent, hoc etiam seculo et vestimenta sunt viliora et victus magis est tenuis”); I.3.4 (“Sed longe simplicior apud nos ac rector est ad se explendum via; nos enim panis et carnes ad hoc deducunt, vos autem, quum eodem studeatis pervenire quo nos, per cultos circuitus et ambages sursum deorum errantes vix tandem eo pervenitis quo nos iam dudum veneramus”); VII.5.67 (“Quum igitur sciret Persas qui domi manerent vitam agere durissimam propter inopiam et laboriosissimam, tum propter regionis suae asperitatem, tum quod opus faciendo victum sibi quaerunt, hos potissimum existimavit libenter apud se victuros”); VIII.8.8 (“Nam quum ante sancitum esset ut neque spuerent neque emungerent—manifestum est autem ipsos non adeo sanxisse ut humori

corporis parcerent, sed quod vellent laboribus et sudoribus corpora robusta et velut solida effici—nunc quidem adhuc manet ut non spuunt nec sese emungant, at se laboribus exercere nusquam in usu est”); VIII.8.5 (“Quales enim fuerint qui aliis praesunt, tales sunt plerumque et illi qui eorum subiecti sunt imperio”); and VIII.1.30 (“Quum enim vident homines eum cui maxime licet insolenter agere, modeste se gerere, tanto magis ii qui sunt inferiores ullam suam insolentiam minime extare volunt”).

Editions:

1592, 1594 (Herodotus). See Composite Editions.

Dedication and Biography:

See p. 98 above.

8. Julius Gabriellus

The translation, published in 1569, had been completed a few years earlier: the dedication is dated at Rome on October 1, 1567. Gabriellus undertook the work at the urging of Gulielmus Sirletus (Guglielmo Sirleto), cardinal of San Lorenzo in Panisperna from 1565 (see CTC, II, 423–24), to whom it is dedicated. Gabriellus consulted Stephanus' 1561 edition; but he added several corrections to the last book from Greek manuscripts in the church of San Pietro in Perugia, which (with the permission of Cardinal Julius Feltrius) he studied together with Constantinus Rhallius and Vivianus Brunorius.

Dedication (ed. of Venice, 1569): Gulielmo Sirleto Cardinali optimo atque amplissimo Iulius Gabriellus s. d. [*Inc.*]: Duorum laborum, quos ii sustinere solent, qui aliquid a se privatim in litteris elaboratum palam omnibus ad legendum exponunt—alterum scilicet ut ostendant magnum se opus atque utile effecisse, alterum ut probent virum ex omnibus, cui illud dicarent, maxime idoneum delegisse—neutrum puto ego quidem mihi in edenda *Cyri Paedia* a me latine reddita magnopere suscipiendum esse. Quid enim laborem, ut demonstrem bene me in his libris convertendis operam collocasse meam, quos scimus Africanum illum de manibus nunquam posuisse, quos Cicero gloriatur tum contrivisse legendo, tum in imperio explicasse, quos denique constat doctissimos suae quosque aetatis homines et legisse diligenter, et mirum in modum probasse? Quidve causas asseram, quibus adductus hos meos qualescunque labores

tibi potissimum destinarem, cui nemo est quin fateatur omnes omnium fere studiosorum fructus in primis deberi, vel propter egregiam tuam erga eos voluntatem et studium, vel ob summam ac veram, hoc est sola virtute partam, amplitudinem? Accedit quod tuo praecipue consilio atque auctoritate, qua nihil mihi debet esse gratius aut sanctius, ad haec vertenda et proferenda sum impulsus. Quae vero me incitarunt, ut hanc meam lucubrationem in tuo nomine, utinam tuo nomine dignam, emitterem, eadem sane revocant, ne te pluribus verbis eam ut benigne complectaris rogem et obsecrem: confido enim id te pro tua incredibili humanitate atque etiam pro mea in te singulari observantia libentissime per te ipsum studiosissimeque facturum esse. Vale. Romae, Kal. Oct. M.D.LXVII.

Preface. [*Inc.*]: Habes, studiose lector, Cyri Paediam, e graeco in latinum a me conversam non sine magno profecto labore, quem quidem facile passus essem alium quempiam eorum, qui id pollicebantur, occupare, ut etiam hac ipsa de causa studium hoc meum aliquando intermitterim. Sed cum viderem tam praeclarum vetustissimi ac politissimi scriptoris opus diutius, quam par esset, his qui graece nesciunt et inferioribus delectantur litteris deberi, ad susceptum munus me revocavi, atque illud tandem, iuvante Deo, confeci. In eo autem quid sim sequutus, nolo te ignorare. Primum id egi, ut Xenophontis sententias, quoad facere potui, facile pure ac fideliter exprimerem, nihil aut addens aut demens aut immutans; haec enim arbitror ab officio interpretis prorsus esse aliena. Deinde operam dedi, quantum per me fieri in hoc genere potuit, ut is esset stylus, is numerus, eae dicendi formae ac figurae, quae ne elegantiorum quidem aures nimium offenderent. Verba certe non tam annumerare me putavi oportere, quam appendere. Hanc optimam sane et ab ipso Cicerone probatam magis quam in his quidem, quae ab eo conversa leguntur, observatam rationem tenere mihi propositum fuit. Quid fuerim assequutus, aliorum sit iudicium. Sed quoniam, ut sunt plerique acutiores ad vitia in scribente quam ad recta videnda, suspicor fore ut multi multa adhuc desiderent: eos sic rogatos volo, ne prius animum inducant mea haec scripta notare ac reprehendere, quam cogitarint atque etiam, si libebit, experti fuerint quam difficile sit graeca in latinum ita convertere ut nihil offendas, nusquam incurras. Id si fecerint, non dubito quin aequi-

ores se mihi iudices praebeant, nec deterreant quominus alia fortasse maiora aggrediar, quod quidem mihi in animo est facere, si intellexero has meas vigilias bonarum disciplinarum studiosis non ingratas accidisse, quemadmodum spero et summopere cupio. Hoc autem facilius ut consequerem, id etiam suscepi laboris, ut correctiones non paucas extremo libro apponerem ex quibusdam antiquissimis graecis codicibus erutas, qui manu scripti Perusiae in aedibus Divi Petri asservantur. Fuit vero mihi una cum Constantino Rhalio et Viviano Brunorio, eruditissimis viris, eorum legendorum et conferendorum magna potestas permissa, Iulii Feltrii cardinalis, illius tum provinciae legati, auctoritate et gratia; apud quem coniunctissime eo tempore et amantissime vivebamus litterarum studium colentes. Neque vero non multo plures ex illis exemplaribus emendationes exceperamus; sed cum pleraeque earum in eo Xenophonte reperiantur, qui postea Henrici Stephani typis est impressus, non necesse habui omnes hic adscribere, sed eas tantum quibus ille caruisse videtur, quaeque spero fore ut his, qui in graecis litteris sunt versati, valde probentur. Sed iam me demisso Xenophontem latine loquentem audi. Vale.

Cyri institutio. [*Inc.*]: Venit nobis in mentem aliquando considerare, quot populares principatus ab eis deleti fuerint, qui alio quopiam modo mallent quam sub populi potestate vitam degere . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quod si quis aliter atque ego sentit, is profecto eorum actiones si inspexerit, inveniet illa, quae a me dicta sunt, plane confirmare.

Editions:

1569, Venetiis (Venice): apud Dominicum et Io. Baptistam Guerreos fratres. 196 pp. in 8°. NUC. Vatican Library; BL; BN (no. 474); (IUC).

(*)1600, Ingolstadii (Ingolstadt): ex typogr. A. Sartorii. *Xenophontis de vita et disciplina Cyri libri tres priores graeco-latini* . . . 285 pp. in 8°. BN (no. 540: A. Lhéritier of the Bibliothèque Nationale has verified that the Latin version is that of Gabriellus; see Fabricius, *BG*, II, 6).

Biography:

CTC, II, 166–67; III, 423–24.

9. Joachim Camerarius

Although his dedication is dated at Leipzig on September 9, 1571, Camerarius refers to the

work as having been completed several years earlier as part of his lectures. Camerarius knows Philephus' translation, but regards it merely as a first step toward a polished and accurate version. While Camerarius was revising the translation, someone brought him a copy of Gabrielius' version, which he praises highly, admitting that he might not have undertaken his own if he had learned of its existence earlier. Camerarius notes that his publication of the *Cyri institutio* allows him to reprint some earlier translations (namely, the *De equitandi ratione*, *Lacedaemoniorum respublica*, *Atheniensium respublica*, and *De equitum magistro*), to which he is adding a recently completed version of *De vectigalibus*.

Dedication (ed. of Paris, 1572). Generoso ac nobili Domino, Dn. Antonio Comiti Antiquae Domus Ortenburg, etc. Domino suo submisso colendo Ioachimus Camerarius s. d. [*Inc.*]: Litteras generosas clementiae tuae scriptas Pragae et verbis erudite et sententiis prudenter, et singularis favoris erga me et meos tui plenas, submissa cum laetitia accepi, quo quidem tempore valde erat infirma valetudo mea, ut tunc rescribere non potuerim . . . / . . . [The author recalls his wish to offer his young patron a worthy offering.] Cum autem neque quo pacto excusaretur perpetuum silentium meum neque quid quod momenti aliquid haberet scribendo explicaretur invenirem, conquirens chartas mearum scholasticarum operarum notus et clementer carus generosae nobilitati tuae Ludovicus filius meus, quod ille nunc apud me desidens agendum sibi potissimum duxit, credens scilicet nonnihil in illas esse coniectum quod conservari quam interire sit melius. Is igitur tunc attulit mihi inspiciendam interpretationem librorum Xenophontis de vita atque disciplina Cyri regis Persarum ante aliquot annos ab explicante me eos confectam, et simul explicationis illius commentariolos; meque hortatus est ut quoad per valetudinem liceret recognoscendo omnia sic perpolirem ut in lucem proferri edendo recte possent. Visum mihi est non prorsus fortuito hoc accidisse, ut offerretur inter deliberationem illam meam, quod rem expediret et me solitudine liberaret; et fui occasione ista laetatus, inque manus sumsi opellas has, et sive mei quasi foetus amore sive non prava sententia de adhibita attentione, censui fore tuae clamentiae lectione nequaquam indignas, et contineri his ea quae

abs te requirerentur; quod nihil omnium quae ab aliquo capessente Rempublicam et huius munera gerente utiliter cognosci possent, non vel demonstratum vel saltem indicatum his libris esset . . . / . . . [The author discusses the difficulty of applying moral learning to practical situations.] Etsi autem comperi eam esse eruditionem generosae adolescentiae tuae, ut ipse et Xenophontis et graecos libros alios legere cum fructu possis, nescio quo pacto tamen meam interpretationem quoque latinam libenter te esse inspecturum putavi. Nam quae iam pridem extat Philephi, ea ut *πρωτοπείρον* illa quidem et tanquam signi antiqui minus scite effecti ne utquam est despicienda, sed eiusmodi tamen certe ut aliquid omnino elegantius atque politius fieri posse videatur. Mihi etiam haec nostra iam retractanti allatus fuit liber alterius interpretationis, Iulii Gabrieli Eugubini, et verbis et compositione, si quid in meo iudicio momenti est, custodientis proprietatem latini sermonis et sententiam auctoris accurate exprimentis. Ut non semel cogitarim posse ab editione meae operae huius recte supersederi. In voluntate tamen proferendi mea quoque perseveravi, ideo etiam quod scirem unius argumenti tabulas diversorum artificum peritos comparare et ex contemplatione earum nonnihil capere voluptatis. Multa enim sunt quae in iisdem simili bonitate effecta dissimili tamen specie considerantes delectare solent. Sane si Iulii Gabrieli interpretatio prodisset ante istum quasi partum ingenii mei, haud scio an nunquam ego animo meo concipere voluissem talis operae consilium. Sed postquam intendendo haec perfecta iam erat, cur interemptam quam superstitem mallet causa videbatur esse nulla. Atque eam quam potui bene et liberaliter eductam exornatamque ad te, generose comes, mittendam tuaeque clementiae dicendam propriam submissa consideratione putavi; et cuiuscunque modi illa esset, gratam acceptamque futuram tibi fore speravi, quem clementer me et meos diligere multis clarissimis signis esset declaratum. Nihil autem omnium est potentius ad amorem conciliandum affectionis propensione. Itaque saepe tunc errant homines: Et tribuunt ea, quae non sunt his commoda vere, secundum poetam eundem [Lucr. IV.1154], cuius paulo ante versum recitavimus. Sed liceat etiam spem meliorem fovere de eventu, et mihi persuadere tuam generosam benignitatem legendis his meis

etiam quod operae precium sit facturam, et verae commoditatis iucunditatisque inde aliquid percepturam esse. Quaedam autem nostra iam antea edita his libris De vita ac disciplina Cyri, ut denuo prodirent, adiungere et ipsa placuit, itemque libellum De vectigalibus nuper in sermonem Latinum a me conversum eiusdem auctoris. Quo quasi cumulo auctum hoc opusculum plus momenti ac ponderis apud clementiam tuam habituram esse speravi. Tua quidem generosa clementia cum me et meos eo favore sua sponte complexa sit, qui summis pro meritis vix deberi videretur, id scilicet omnibus viribus conandum nobis est, ut quibuscunque rebus concedatur, eos nos praebeamus, submisso studio inseriendi generosae voluntati tuae, qui tanta clementiae tuae humanitate non prorsus indigni fuisse videantur. De quo cum polliceri nominatim nihil possimus, tua generosa clementia prompti animi cupiditatem boni consulat, et quicquid operae studiique ut navetur aliqua occasio tulerit, id sibi submissa a nobis diligentia semper paratum fore non dubitet. De meo quidem convertendo graeca in latina labore si quid dicendum est, id nimirum dixero, studuisse me ea quae graeco sermone luculente essent commemorata non alieno neque futili Latino exponere. In quo et verborum significatio et orationis proprietates attendenda servandaque fuit. Nam facere de quocunque scripto quod in alienum sermonem transferatur, quicquid forte non tam in mentem veniret quam temere occurreret, et cum verba nova fingere tum illa coniungendo nullam veritatis rationem habere, quale sit relinquo cogitandum iis qui nonnihil referre putant, ut oratio pura sit, quacunque de re verba fiant, non modo ad disertam ornatamque elocutionem, sed eam omnino ut ab audientibus legentibusve quid dicatur possit intelligi. Ad explicationem quidem et interdum veluti relatas rationes interpretationis meae quod attinet, quam illa, si persequi omnia voluissem, longe produci et occupari multum chartae posset, evidens est. Sed non fuere ea quae, ut dicerentur, enarratio subiecit, et expetere visi sunt auditores, etiam perscribenda cuncta quasque elucubranda. Quid sane a me praestitum sit, quibus libuerit nostra legere, eorum (sicut aequum est) aestimatio erit. Quam usque adeo libera esse volo ut notandi repraehendendique potestas a me fiat omnibus. Sic tamen ut cogitetur: si quis merito aliquid repraehenderit, ei gratiam a me

debitum iri ob demonstratam veritatem; sin immerito, ipsum de se sibi supplicium gravissimum daturum esse, quod meliora relinquendo deteriora sit secutus, suique voluerit esse erroris patronus, potius quam verum et intelligere et amplecti. Sed de his in hac compellatione plura quasi disputata sunt quam oportuit. Quod restat, Deum aeternum autorem et largitorem bonorum omnium ardentibus votis precor, ut hoc curriculum in reipublicae spacio tuum misericordiae suae propitio respectu provehat, ac dirigat ad fortunatum atque felicem finem, procedente eo ac perveniente ad laudem sanctissimi nominis ipsius, et ecclesiae Iesu Christi profuturas effectiones. Quibus et Reipublicae patriaeque prosperitatem tuamque et vestrae ab antiquo generosae familiae salutem dignitatemque et nominis celebritatem comprehendi necesse est. Tuam generosam clementiam bene valere ex animo submissa cupiditate opto. Vale. Lipsiae, D. IX. M. Septembris, Anno Christi Iesu, 1571.

Cyri institutio. [*Inc.*]: Cogitatio aliquando nobis iniecta est, permultas popularis generis civitates ab iis, quibus alia potius quam illa administrationis forma placuisset, eversas . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quodsi cuius sententia est meae huic contraria, is intueatur in opera ipsorum, et comperiet eas ipsas testimonium perhibere iis, quae a me commemorantur.

Edition:

1572 (Paris). See Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC, II, 100–101. Add to the *Bibliography*: P. S. Allen, *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opus Epistolarum*, V (Oxford, 1924), 555–56; and F. Baron, ed., *Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574): Beiträge zur Geschichte des Humanismus im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Munich, 1978).

10. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. First version

Levvenklaius first printed this version in his 1569 edition of Xenophon's complete works: see p. 89 above.

Cyri institutio (ed. of Basel, 1572). [*Inc.*]: Subiit aliquando animum nostrum cogitatio, quot populi dominatus ab iis, qui alia quadam ratione potius quam populari administrare rempublicam vellent, sublatis fuerint . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quod si quis adversaria sententiae meae

statuit, saltem ipsorum opera inspiciat, et inveniet meis ea verbis testimonio esse.

Editions:

1569, 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. Revised version

This version first appeared in the Frankfort edition of 1594 (see p. 90 above) and was reprinted numerous times.

Cyri institutio (ed. of Frankfort, 1595; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: *Accidit aliquando nobis ad animum, quot populares administrationes ab iis, qui aliter potius quam in populari reipublicae statu degere vellent, eversae . . . / . . .* [*Expl.*]: *Quod si quis contraria sententiae meae statuit, saltim eorum facta consideret ac meis ea rationibus testimonium perhibere comperiet.*

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfort), 1625, 1691–1703, 1700–1704. See Composite Editions.

1612, Genevae (Geneva): apud Joann. Tornaesium. (Gr.-Lat.) *Cyr.* tr. Levvenklaius. NUC. BL; BN (no. 459); (NNC).

1648, Londini (London): typis Guil. Dugard. 2 vols. (Gr.-Lat.) NUC (CtY; CLU-C; NNC).

(*1674, Londini (London): typis J. Redmayne. (Gr.-Lat.). NUC. BL; BN (no. 460); (CtY; CLU-C; PPL).

(*1697–98, Londini (London): typis J. Redmayne. BN (no. 461).

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

11. Jobus Veratius (excerpts)

Besides providing argumenta to all the speeches in Stephanus' 1570 *Conciones*, Veratius also translated seven orations from Thucydides and three orations from the fourth book of the *Cyri institutio*.

Preface (ed. of Paris, 1570). Iobus Veratius studioso lectori s. [*Inc.*]: *Mirifice me, studiose lector, Homericus ille versiculus delectat, Μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων [Il. IX.443] . . . / . . .* [*Expl.*]: *Eae igitur quantopere et ad antiquitatis cognitionem et ad dicendi facultatem conducant, postquam accurate legeris, melius, ut spero, aestimabis. Vale.*

Cyri institutio (IV.1.2–6; 2. 38–45; 3.4–14). [*Inc.*]: *Principio diis immortalibus gratias ipse, quantas possum ago, Persae, et vos idem facere*

arbitror . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *Neque enim pedestris pugnae usum nobis equitandi peritia minuet.*

Edition:

1570. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Jöcher, who praises his translations from Thucydides, says that Veratius was from Genoa and died in 1571. In his preface to the *Conciones*, Stephanus calls him especially learned in rhetoric: “doctissimus vir et cum aliarum bonarum artium tum vero rhetorices peritissimus.”

Bibliography: Jöcher IV 1519.

12. Jacobus Kauffmannus (Book I)

Dated at Nürtingen on May 24, 1575, the preface is addressed to Ludwig III, duke of Württemberg (1568–93) and Teck and count of Montbéliard. Kauffmannus produced this translation with grammatical notes for the schools in Württemberg, where the first book of the *Cyri institutio* was required reading. His grammatical notes are based on the Greek grammar of Martinus Crusius (1526–1607), printed by Oporinus at Basel in 1569 and 1574. Kauffmannus made his translation at the suggestion of Johannes Wacker, headmaster of the school at Stuttgart.

Praefatio (ed. of Strasbourg, 1575). Illustrissimo principi ac domino D. Ludovico, Duci Wirtembergico et Teccensi, Comiti Montispeliardi, &c. Domino suo clementissimo s. p. d. [*Inc.*]: *Saepenumero a multis eruditione et sapientia praestantibus viris, illustrissime clementissimeque D. princeps, de Epicharmo comico poeta antiquissimo χρήσιμα παισὶν εἶπε [Theoc., Ep. XVIII.9] merito celebratur. Etenim sapientissimus poeta suo exemplo omnes eos, quibus puerorum cura demandata est, monitos esse cupit ut quae ad puerorum utilitatem spectant tum praeponere, tum ea ratione quoque, cuius capaces esse possint, docere studeant. Hoc ego, quoad in Hernalbana et Stutgardiana atque iam Nirtingensi hac schola graecae linguae principia docui, perpendens sedulo curavi: ut primo bonos et utiles autores Graecos praelegerem atque κατὰ πόδα ἢ κατὰ λέξιν, hoc est, ad verbum (quantum per utriusque linguae idioma fieri potuit) latine converterem; secundo, quaeque themata et loquendi formulas venustiores ad grammatica praecepta accommodarem, ut pueri et in praeceptorum notitia confirmarentur et pau-*

latim ad altiores doctioresque graecorum autorum explicationes praepararentur. Quae ratio docendi, ut mihi semper optima visa est, ita nec hactenus (uti mea fert sententia) infeliciter successit. Sed tamen saepe magno impedimento meo conatui fuisse animadverti quod plerique puerorum ea themata quae dictanda fuerunt aut scribendo non assequi potuerunt, aut, si utcunque exceperunt, tamen non raro brevi post amiserunt. Quamobrem subinde fui coactus vel eadem dictando bonas horas consumere vel verbera pro verbis ingerere et inculcare. Huic ergo seu imbecillitati seu negligentiae puerorum ut paulum pro mea virili mederi possem, communicato prius consilio cum Reverendo viro D. Ioanne Waccero Stutgardiano scholarcha et compatre meo observando, non ab re fore animum induxi meum si ea ipsa ratione primum librum Cyri paediae Xenophontis converterem, atque themata cum loquendi formulis ad Martini Crusii grammaticae Graecae exemplar, a Christo nato anno vel 1569 vel 1573 Basileae a Ioanne Oporino excusum, accommodata proprio stylo persequer, ut postea in consuetis lectionibus id temporis, quod ego alias dictando, pueri vero scribendo, conferre necesse habuissent, multo maiore cum fructu declinationum et coniugationum elegantiorumque formularum exercitiis impertiri posset. Ad hunc ipsum quoque finem procul dubio respexerunt Lucas Lossius Luneburgensis et Nicolaus Clenardus, quorum ille evangelia dominicalia, hic Magni Basilii epistolam ad D. Gregorium scriptam, ratione non multum dissimili explicavit atque ad grammatica sua praecepta applicavit. Non solum enim pueris, qui adhuc sub ferula sunt, huiusmodi vocum et phrasium analysin magno adiumento esse experimur ad citius addiscendas Graecas litteras, sed cum primis iis quibus proprio et privato studio illarum notitiam comparare animus est. Nam non omnibus huiusmodi praeceptores ubique locorum contingunt, quibus quaeque puerilia diligenter, licet et possint et velint, persequi vacet. Delegi autem ego ad hoc propositum prae ceteris auctoribus graecis hunc primum Cyri paediae librum Xenophontis, tum quod is ex scholastica ordinatione pueris graecari incipientibus est in scholis Wirtembergicis praelegendus, tum quoque quod hac ratione studiosos adolescentes ad reliquos illius praestantissimi lectuque dignissimi (Cicerone etiam teste) autoris libros diligentius evolvendos quodammodo incitatum iri

spero. Haec ergo ratio cum sit huius meae opellae concinnatae, iussuque inclyti senatus ecclesiastici celsitudinis tuae, iam in lucem editae, confido eam nec improbatum iri a quoquam viro cordato nec esse ut me illius, cum mei officii sit tam puerilia persequi, pudere debeat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quia ergo iam, illustrissime clementissimeque D. Princeps, vetus mos et consuetudo est quod ingenuarum artium et linguarum cultores fructus diligentiae et industriae suae principibus viris inscribere solent, ut illos vel contra malevolos et iniquos iudices patronos habeant vel officio quodam gratitudinis afficiant, neminem ego video cui aequius hanc scholasticam opellam offeram quam illustrissimae celsitudini tuae ob utrunque horum quae recensui. Quemadmodum enim alterum exigit necessitas, ut haec opella te, illustrissime D. princeps, habeat patronum talem qualem seculum hoc requirit; ita alterum honestas postulat ut ego me hac qualicunque occasione gratum erga illustrissimam celsitudinem tuam declararem. Ea enim se duris et asperis illis annis decem, quibus Stutgardianae scholae paedagogum egi, erga me, meosque carissimos liberos vere benignam τροφὸν καὶ τιθήνην altricem et nutricem praestitit; dum saepius annui mei salarii clementem rationem habere est dignata. Quae clementia licet merito munusculo aliquo praestantiore digna videatur omnibus, tamen illustrissime D. princeps qua humanitate facilitateque es, spero et confido te non meam hanc scholasticam opellam solum scholarum nomine aequi bonique facturum atque in tuam clientelam suscepturum, sed etiam me meosque in posterum favore tuo singulari, hoc est clementissimo et munificentissimo, prosecuturum. Ob quam rem quoque aeternum Deum patrem domini nostri Iesu Christi ardentissimis votis rogo ut illustrissimam celsitudinem et totam Wirtembergicam familiam in Nestoreos annos clementer gubernare, tueri et defendere dignetur. Amen. Datae Nirtingae octavo Calendas Iunias, anno restitutae humano generi salutis, millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo quinto. Illustrimae celsitudini tuae subiectissimus M. Iacobus Kauffmannus Syndelphingensis, Nirtingensis scholae moderator.

Cyri institutio I. [Inc.]: Cogitatio aliquando nobis facta fuit quot democratiae dissolutae sint ab iis qui aliter quodammodo volebant rempublicam administrare potius quam sub democratia . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Si autem in omnibus consu-

lere nolunt, non mirum est; non enim necesse ipsis est, quorum non velint, curam agere etc. (*sic*).

Edition:

(photo). 1575, Argentorati (Strasbourg): [Nic. Wyriot]. (Gr.-Lat.) 460 pp. in 8°. *Xenophontis Cyri paediae libri primi latina conversio et thematum omnium phrasiumque difficiliorum quae in eo continentur investigatio et explicatio ad M. Martini Crusii Grammaticam Graecam accommodata in scholarum Wirtembergicarum usum, autore M. Jacobo Kauffmanno, Synadelphingensi, scholae Nirtingensis moderatore*. Fabricius, BG, III, 5; F. Ritter, *Catalogue des livres du XVI^e siècle ne figurants pas à la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg, 1960), 533–34, no. 3573; J. Müller, *Bibliographie strasbourgeoise*, III (Baden-Baden, 1986), 56, no. 29. Strasbourg, Bibliothèque du Collegium Wilhelmitanum (Séminaire Protestant).

Biography:

A native of Sindelfingen, Jacobus Kauffmannus taught Greek at Bad Herrenalb and Stuttgart before becoming headmaster of the school at Nürtingen.

13. Johannes Caselius (Books I–V)

a. Book I

Caselius first translated this book around 1578, presumably as a sequel to his 1577 *Agesilaus*. In his 1579 preface to Book II of the *Cyropaedia*, he says that he had sent a version of Book I a year earlier; and in his 1590 preface, he speaks of revising and republishing the work some thirteen years later. (In “publishing” the first book, Caselius seems to have circulated it without sending it to press.) Caselius is loath to compare his version with those of Gabriellus and Camerarius: bearing in mind the youth of his pupil (Henricus Julius), he originally strove to approximate the simplicity of Xenophon’s prose. He adds that he is thinking of writing a commentary to explain passages in the work, but no such commentary survives.

Prooemium (ed. of Rostock, 1590). Ad Reverendissimum et Illustrissimum Principem dn. Henricum Iulium, Episcopum Halberstad., Ducem Brunsvig. et Lunaeburg. Prooemium Ioannis Caselii. [*Inc.*]: Ex aliis, heros Henrice Iuli, quae ad te scriberem, tibi iucunda et utilia, de-

prompta e scriniis sapientiae, nihil mihi huic loco visum fuit accommodatius quam ut tecum de ultimae pueritiae tuae studiis agerem, ut Xenophon, non ad Cyrum scribens sed de Cyro scribens, regis sapientissimi institutionem persequitur hoc libro ad eam aetatem quam tu hodie agis. Liceat autem mihi de te ad te sine adulatione loqui . . . / . . . [There follow four pages of adulation.] Nec meam tamen versionem comparo cum absoluta Camerarii aut nitida Gabriellii: nec si quae sunt aliorum, contemno. Forte nulla est ex qua non ipse fructus aliquid acceperim. Neque enim hoc me pudet facere, dum ne alterius labores mihi vindicem: nec pudet etiam fateri quod ingenui et grati animi esse recte iudicant. Conatus fui haec reddere tenui stilo nec obscuro: tum ut aetati tuae quae tunc erat consulerem, tum ut si Xenophonteam simplicitatem inimitabilem aemulari et exprimere nequirem, ab ea ipse quoque minus longe recederem. Post annum tertium decimum modo relegi hunc librum: quaedam inter relegendum correxi: iterum edidi, quod ab amicis exempla flagitata a me fuerunt iam ante saepius.

Sed maius aliquid etiam me movit. Gratificandum enim censui principibus pueris, qui in Academia tua Iulia in litteris vivunt, uxoris tuae frater Ulricus, et Iulius Augustus frater tuus. De huius indole dixi in oratione qua optimi parentis vestri laudes persecutus fui; et Ulricus heroico ingenio est et eo profectu ut hisce saluberrimis prorsusque regiis doctrinis audiendis aptus sit. Vera et explorata dico. Agens enim hodie annum non nisi duodecimum, et latine commode loquitur et, vel ipse interrogat vel interrogatus respondet, quae heroicam indolem aperiant et expectationem magni principis confirment. Hoc meum studium paratum est et aliis. Volo enim omnia et debeo publicae utilitatis gratia. Sed intelligo et fateor me his debere plurimum, si quid modo praestare valeam; quod forte sit aliquid, si quis hoc genus meritorum respiciat, et oblatum non repudietur. Memini quibus parens tuus quantisque me beneficiis ornarit, quibus ipse tu. Sunt enim singularia, tam quae a principis Ulrici parente, rege Danorum, Friderico II accepi, quam quae ab eiusdem avo Ulrico duce Megapolitanorum. Quare ingratus sim et malus si quid officii in me sit, id non praestem cupide et diligenter, non solum monendo sed etiam erudiendo, ac sane in neutro operam meam patiar desiderari. Etiam, quod in sequentibus quodam modo prae-

stiti, aliquot huius libri loca commentariis meis illustrare cogito: quod ut docti viri me flagitant, ita te quoque probaturum puto. Quin enim per otium haec regustaturus sis, si dubitem, rogem et obsteter et demonstrem: id te summa cum utilitate facturum. Verum hoc ultro deque rectissimo tuo iudicio facies. Intelligis enim regium esse semper recte et bene facere, et semper ea cognoscere e quibus quid recte beneque fiat, commode et ubertim explicetur. Vale. Helmaestadii, ex tua Academia Iulia. Kal. Sept. M.D.XC.

Cyri institutio I. [*Inc.*]: Consideravimus aliquando quaenam respublicae populares ab iis eversae fuerint, qui in quocunque alio statu quam in populari mallent vivere . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Neque enim ulla ipsis est imposita necessitas, ut, quorum nolint, aliquam in se curam suscipiant.

Edition:

(photo.) 1590, Helmaestadii (Helmstadt): ex officina Iacobi Lucii. *Xenophontis Cyri Paediae liber primus Ioanne Caselio interprete*. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit; Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek.

b. Book II

Dated at Rostock on July 1, 1579, Caselius' dedication is addressed to the young Henricus Julius, duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg. Caselius explains that various friends and the senior Henricus Julius urged him to translate Xenophon's *Cyri institutio* to foster the young duke's education. For Caselius' "political" commentary, mentioned in the subtitle, see p. 137 below.

Prooemium (ed. of Rostock, 1579). Ad reverendissimum et illustrissimum principem D. Henricum Iulium, praesulem Halberstadiensem, Ducem Brunsvig. et Lunaeburg. Prooemium Ioannis Caselii. [*Inc.*]: Anno abhinc misi ad te, princeps Henrice Iuli, meam primi libri Xenophontis Cyri pediae interpretationem, non aliqua mea curiositate aut privato consilio, quorum tamen illa si fuisset, ab aequis hominibus non magnopere forte reprehenderetur, ex qua aliquid boni publice posset oriri, hoc si solo fuisset usus, sapientes etiam probarent, sed quidquid illius institui, feci de auctoritate gravissimorum virorum, tibi optime cupientium et reipublicae. Hoc enim ingenio sunt omnes boni viri, ut optimos esse velint principes civitatis, ne cives ali-

qua calamitas opprimat aut in discrimen veniat respublica. Sed optimum quemque erga te singulariter affectum esse multis iam annis comperi; neque mirum, cum in te etiamnum puero heroica indoles eluceret, non iam e vultu solum et gestibus et oratione, quae ut saepissime in adultis fallant, in tenera profecto aetate, artis simulandi nescia, indicia non levia sunt naturae bonitatis, sed etiam e morum elegantia et puritate perpetua et e studio ardenti bonarum litterarum singularique profectu annos adolescentiae superante, quae et argumenta generosissimi animi longe certissima et futurae, si ad imperium aliquando accederes, gubernationis optima signa esse existimantur. Eadem res fecit, ut ipse etiam te, quem nunquam vidissem, complecterer animo meo; postquam autem quae ex aliis acceperam et vidi cupide et exploravi diligenter, inflammatus quoque fui tui adiuvandi desiderio, non quod deessent homines doctissimi quibus quotidie uteris, sed quod illis ipsis, quibuscum amicitiam colerem, probantibus, si non aliquid novi consilii depromerem, saltem stimulum (ut aiunt) currenti adderem. Hoc igitur feci et coram aliquoties et per litteras saepius; cumque a nemine improbari animadverterem, probari a plurimis, et ab iis, quibus educatio tua maxime curae erat et esse debebat, monerem ut aliquid meditarer quod ex utilitate tua esse intelligerem, sique putarem eum librum quem P. Scipio, idem imperator summus militiae et optimus senator domi, nunquam de manibus deposuisse referretur [Cic., *Q. fr.* I. 1. 23], tibi ex graeco latinum facerem. Etsi non me fugiebat quid alii in hoc divino opere et quam praeclare praestitissent, tamen cum illi instarent dicerentque me ad te respicientem tibi interpretationem dictione simplici et perspicua cum tuo fructu facile elaboraturum, eorum voluntati, qualescunque etiam causas adferrent in medium, adversandum amplius non putavi. Iam ego primum suscepti laboris specimen placuisse gaudeo, placuisse autem et tibi, cui destinata fuerat haec opera, et huius consilii primis auctoribus et patri tuo, duci Iulio. Huic vero principi sapientissimo cum videatur, et de novo alii me confirmant, pedem referre non debeo nec quod coeperim relinquere, ne et tantam auctoritatem contempsisse, et vel parum considerate hoc inchoasse vel inchoatum consulto leviter abiecisse videar. Quod autem intercessit morae, id non ex tergiversatione natum fuit. Cur enim quod summa voluntate fuisset aggressus non ita

perficerem? praesertim cum id et usui futurum sperarem patriae, cuius princeps simul erudiretur, et scirem ex honore meo esse et commodo? quoniam haec duo, licet illo uno multis partibus minora, de vulgi sententia maxima esse existimantur, et iis homines ad gravissimos labores tolerandos, ad extrema pericula adeunda, ad egregia facinora designanda excitari paene solis videntur. Obstitit interea unum ex alio, sed potissimum valetudo varia, quam quando primum colligere coeperam, nihil prius habui quam ut alterum pensum huius laboris absolutum ad te mitterem. Hoc tu, adolescens nobilissime, sic accipe ut soles, hoc est libentissime. Sic accepisse te statuam ubi cognovero, non uti probes quod facio, sed quam usui tibi sit hic liber, qui non ex me hoc primum habet, sed per se is est, ex quo principes proficiant adolescentes, cuiusque perpetua lectione, deinceps quoque, ubi adoleverint, in recte imperandi ratione confirmentur et de omnibus muneris sui partibus quotidie moneantur. Te autem, postquam ipse clavum reipublicae in manus sumpsisti (quod et tibi et populis tuis felix faustumque sit) non tantum discendis iis quae in re omnium apud mortales maxima requiri intelligis, occupatum esse oportet, sed etiam multoque magis iis usurpandis quae ante didiceris . . . / . . . [Caselius urges the prince to cultivate virtue through the counsel offered by good books and wise counselors.] [Expl.]: Alia audies alias fortassis etiam ex me, atque item alia (neque tamen a nostris aliena vel potius cum iis mirifice conspirantia) ex aliis viris egregiis, quorum consuetudine libenter uteris, audies quotidie. Mihi, cum epistolam clauderem, nihil venit in mentem quod hoc tempore ad tuos divinos impetus corroborandos potius adscriberem; tu animum meum et hanc cohortationem non contemnes, quin ut qui elegantibus sit oculis, eum Apellis tabula iuvet, ita tibi divina indole praedito deprompta e sapientiae thesauris et grata et profutura iudicio. Hi cum penes eruditos sint, fove porro homines eruditos, et ut in pleniorum animi opum possessionem venias, non desine colere litteras, vel potius ipsas hoc ardentius cole quo magis tibi iis opus est in hoc mortalis vitae [vita ed.] labyrintho, non minus quam filo Ariadnes Theseo. Vale. Rostochio Kal. Quinct. Anno MDLXXIX.

Cyri institutio II. [Inc.]: De rebus igitur eiusmodi disserentes, venerunt ad fines Persidis.

Cum autem aquila praeiret, quae ipsis apparuerat ad dextram, ibi deos et heroas, Persidis terrae praesides, comprecantur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Praecipiebat autem militibus ne quem iniuria afficerent, et si quis in quem Armeniorum incideret, eum omni metu liberarent; sinerent item, ubicumque essent, mercatum quaeque advehi, si quis esculenta et poculenta vellet vendere.

Edition:

(photo.) 1579, Rostochii (Rostock): ex typographia Augusti Colorini. *Xenophontis Cyri Paediae liber secundus* . . . Ioan. Caselio interprete cum eiusdem aliquot locorum politicis explicationibus. Hoffmann III 594; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek; Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei (reported by Wolfgang Milde); Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek.

c. Book III

Caselius' dedication to Conradus a Schwichelt, chamberlain to Prince Henricus Julius, is dated at Rostock on September 1, 1581. As an appendix to this edition, Caselius added an introduction to his lectures on the *Cyri institutio* ("Ioannis Caselii In explicationem Xenophontis primi Cyri paediae ad auditores prooemium, quo ostenditur quibus litteris regum filios erudiri oportet"). This brief oration makes no comment on Xenophon's text and has therefore been omitted here. It was later published in Jena in 1707 in Kiesewetter's *Collectio Caselianorum* (Hoffmann III 611a).

Dedication. Conrado a Schwichelt, praesuli Halberstadiensis aulae praefecto s. d. Ioannes Caselius. [Inc.]: Annus modo est, nobilissime Conrade, et amplius quando ad te hanc epistolam daturus eram. Quod cum praescieris, quoniam et de meae voluntatis constantia non dubitabas et tibi ego facturum sub id tempus significaveram, miratus fortasse fueris hoc altum meum silentium. Neque tamen non aliquam huius morae causam per te animadverteris. Incidebat enim vel potius irruerat morbus, novus et aliquot seculorum memoria inauditus, a longissimo noto ad ultimos septemtriones, omnes orbis plagas nobis notiores, forte etiam remotissimas, incredibili celeritate pervagans . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Sed ego postquam pro ingrato silentio epistolam loquacem, etsi hoc nomine ingrata quoque tibi foret, nisi me tantopere amares, reposui; hic finem scribendi faciam, hac tamen conditione, ut cum mihi videbitur aut tibi placebit, calamum

reposcam. Vale. Rostochio. Kal. Septemb. Anno M.D.XXCI.

Cyri institutio III. [*Inc.*]: His igitur erat occupatus Cyrus, sed Armenius, ut Cyri mandata audivit ex nuncio, animo percussus fuit, perfidiae sibi conscius qui neque vectigal penderet neque auxilia mitteret . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Regressi autem extra tela hostium in loco constituerunt maiore ordine quam in choro, quod ubi quemque esse operteret praecise noverant.

Edition:

(photo.) 1582, Rostochii (Rostock): ex officina Stephani Myliandri. *Xenophontis Cyri Paediae liber tertius Ioanne Caselio interprete. Eiusdem I. Caselii trium de educatione principis orationum secunda et nonnullae epistolae*. Hoffmann III 594; Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei (reported by Wolfgang Milde); Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek.

d. Book IV

Writing at Rostock on January 1, 1584, Caselius repeats the intention, expressed in his dedication of Book I, of offering an educational text to the young Henricus Julius. In Caselius' version (as in the editions of Stephanus and Levvenklaius), Book IV ends with the first paragraph of what is now considered Book V.

Prooemium (ed. of Rostock, 1584). Ad reverendissimum et illustrissimum principem, Dn. Henricum Julium, Episcopum Halberstadiensem, Administratorem Mindensem, Ducem Brunsvicensis et Lunaeburg. prooemium Ioannis Caselii. [*Inc.*]: Redeo ad te, princeps Henrice Iuli, iterum ex bene longo intervallo, et tardius equidem quam voluerimus. Ego autem mandatorum tuorum non fueram oblitus, quae diligentia mea, si quid de voluntate tua suspicarer, facile anteverterem. Et enim ipse nihil malim, et debere me intelligo . . . / . . . [Caselius alludes to his domestic misfortunes and urges the prince to strive toward virtue.] [*Expl.*]: Valde tamen te iuvabunt sermones sapientum, quorum consuetudine reges fieri sapientiores veteri graeco versu celebratum est; quos non est ut longe arcessas, cum virtute et litteris praestantes domi viros alas. Neque desines hoc genus scriptorum legere, quod negligi a pluribus neque novum est neque omnino mirum. Minus enim monumenta sapientum plerique intelligunt quam graphicae rudes de pictis signis iudicent. Tu autem intelligis cum paucis tui loci bonis et recte eruditis. Ceteri

non intelligunt, ut Vitruvium vix aliquis nisi architectus, libros de instruenda acie et arte imperatoria Pyrrhi, si extarent, potissimum militiae dux et imperator. Tua enim in illis ars continetur, nempe politice sive regia, quae cum illa eadem est. Tua autem, non quia eam te scire tuum est, sed quia ipsam et probe didicisti et fideliter tractas. Non igitur levis aut ieiuna laus est principis oracula sapientiae intelligentis; nec ea laude Dion Chrysostomus Traianum etiam afficere dubitavit. Sed his litteris neque monere te neque laudare institui, quorum illud opus non est, hoc sive ipse sive alii facient in loco; de mora plus quam annua purgare me tibi debui. Hoc tamen ipsum feci brevius, humanitate tua fretus. Opto ne tertium me excuseum. Nam quod in me erit, ita vivam, summa diligentia matureque praestabo. Vale. Rostochio. Kal. Ian. Anno M. D. XXCIV.

Cyri institutio IV–V. I. I. [*Inc.*]: Cyrus porro eo loco satis diu cum exercitu commoratus, indicabat se paratos esse ad pugnandum, si hostis prodiret . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Tum Cyrus: Equidem ego alteram do, et puto me tibi, qui rogaveris, plus debere quam te mihi, qui acceperis. Usque adeo ego vobis gratificari sitio. Quare eam ille acceptam abduxit.

Edition:

(photo.) 1584, Rostochii (Rostock): Stephanus Myliander excudebat. *Xenophontis Cyri Paediae liber quartus Ioanne Caselio interprete. Chionis Platonici epistolae ab eodem Latine redditae*. Hoffmann III 594. Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit; Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek.

e. Book V

This translation was first printed in 1587, together with Caselius' *Paraenesis* to Prince Henricus Julius. It was published separately in 1588, with a preface dated at Rostock on April 1, 1588. In the text followed by Caselius (as by Stephanus and Levvenklaius), Book V begins with what is now considered the second paragraph: see the note on Book IV above.

Prooemium (ed. of Rostock, 1588). Ad illustrissimum principem dn. Henricum Julium Administratorem Episcopos Halberstadianae, ducem Brunsvicensem et Lunaeburgensem Joan. Caselii prooemium. [*Inc.*]: Neque sane volo, princeps Henrice Iuli, ut sit aliud haec epistola neque aliud esse debet quam clausula superioris *παραινεσεως*. Satis enim est, ni fal-

lor, si vel causam huius tarditatis exponam vel de ea me accuratius excuseam. Sed ut veniam mihi dari abs te hoc nomine petam, non requiris. Susplicari enim non potes me negligentia vel alia aliqua mea culpa fuisse lentioem. Meministi enim, ut summa diligentia olim conquisita a me fuerint quae ad te scriberem, principio ad cultum ingenii tui ac deinceps ad munus principis, ex quo hoc coepisti gerere, pertinentia. Quae nisi tibi grata fuisse animadvertissem, finem fecissem tui per litteras compellandi. Neque enim deesset umquam quod agerem, praesertim cum operam in scribendo flagitarent etiam alii. Sed quia hoc meum officium probas, quid ego malim quam tanto principi placere? quod non de genere nec de opibus nec de potentia accipi velim, quae habes prae plerisque tui ordinis eximia, sed de doctrina et virtute tua, quod et hanc et illam tibi regiam comparasti, et utramque augere non desinis, ut neque profecto debes. Non enim rectum est his omnium optimis vel (ut alii loqui solebant) solis bonis rebus modum ponere, quibus videlicet nos fieri meliores et alios beatiore efficere valeamus. Verum mihi non usqueadeo curae est ut tibi aut cuiquam mortalium placeam (quando hoc qui faciat, suas res agere potissimum videatur) quam ut id agam quod ex usu tuo sit et felicitate patriae. Non enim nihil agit qui eiusmodi scribit et illustrat, e quibus recta consilia peti possint aut quibus animus omnia praeclare gerentis mirifice corroboretur. Vtrumque autem certe semper habui mihi propositum. Hoc igitur facere non desinam, quoad non ingratum esse intelligam. Sed annum iam et hoc amplius, cum alia me tenuerunt, quae te cognoscere non existimo dignitatis tuae, tum valetudo, quae non solum legibus humanitatis sed iure etiam civili omissionis aut cessationis omnem culpam facile amovet. Hac autem licet tenui adhuc utebar; tamen mihi imperabam ut haec uti possem perficerem, ne aut promissi mei aut mandati tui oblitus viderer in perpetuum. Leges igitur ipsa quoque et considerabis. Sic enim accurate legimus. Denique etiam in usus tuos ex iis non pauca depromes. Etenim hoc genus scriptorum non voluptati dedicatur, quae tamen simul solida et magna ex illis capitur; longe maxima ex meritis erga rempublicam, id est erga quam plurimos mortales et totos populos. An enim quid esse potest animo iucundius vel vita ipsa denique quam, auctoris omnium bonorum imitatione, secundum a summo bonorum auctorem esse homi-

nibus? praesertim proposito praemio maximo gloriae immortalis. Sed sive clausulae sive epistolae finem faciam. Utinam cognoscam non tam gratam quam utilem fuisse operam meam. Rostochio. Kal. April. 1588.

Cyri institutio V. [*Inc.*]: Arcessivit deinceps Cyrus Araspen Medum. Hoc usus a puero sodali fuerat atque ille ipse erat, cui olim ab Astyage ad Persas revertens stolam Medicam dono dederat . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Et vos quidem, inquit, illorum curam habeatis; ego ut, curatis necessariis quae possim, milites de expeditione deliberent, omnem operam adhibebo.

Editions:

(photo.) 1587, Rostochii (Rostock): typis Myliandrinis. *Ad illustrissimum principem dn. Henricum Iulium, Administratorem Episcopos Halberstadiensem, ducem Brunsvicensem & Lunaeburgensem Παρραίνεσις Ioannis Caselii. Item Xenophontis Cyri Paediae liber quintus eodem interprete.* Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek.

(photo.) 1588, Rostochii (Rostock): [typis Myliandrinis]. *Xenophontis Cyri Paediae liber quintus Ioanne Caselio interprete. Cum eiusdem notis et quibusdam aliis lectu forte non ingratiss.* Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek.

Biography:

See p. 101 above.

COMMENTARIES

a. Joachim Camerarius

This commentary was first published in 1572, making use of Stephanus' 1561 edition.

Preface (ed. of Leipzig, 1572). [*Inc.*]: De Xenophonte, qui est auctor horum librorum, narratio nostra extat ante annos complures edita, quam curavimus his quoque libris illius a me in sermonem Latinum conversis praeponendam . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quo commonefaciendi causa ut valde insigni exemplo demonstrato, non malitiae neque levitatis sed impudentiae atque vesaniae hac in parte, ita exequamur inceptum.

Commentary. Ad librum primum Xenophontis De disciplina Cyri. [*Inc.*]: Hoc libro exponitur Cyri genus et origo et habitus corporis atque animi . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Ut Latini trifariam usurparunt nomen istud: nimirum tapete, tapes et tapetum.

Edition:

1572 (Paris). See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 129 above.

b. Marcus Antonius Muretus

Although this commentary relies on Stephanus' 1561 edition, Muretus' study of the *Cyri institutio* is already evident in his *Variae lectiones* of 1558 (Grafton 91).

Commentary (Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 11593). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 60v) In praefatione quae est ante libros de institutione Cyri, quo loco enumerat Xenophon eos populos . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 68v) P. 143, v. 14 ἐκόντες, legendum ἄκοντες.

Manuscript:

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 11593, fols. 60v–68v (see p. 109 above).

Editions:

1602, Ingolstadii (Ingolstadt): ex typogr. A. Sartorii. *M. Antonii Mureti presbyteri Commentarii in Aristotelis X libros Ethicorum*. NUC. BL; BN; (NjP; CtY).

(*)1727–30, Veronae (Verona): apud J. A. Tumermanum. Muretus' complete works in 5 vols. NUC. BL; BN; (MB; CU; OCU).

1789, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden). *M. Antonii Mureti Opera omnia*, ed. D. Ruhnken, 4 vols., III, 589–614.

Biography:

CTC, I, 105; VI, 129. Add to the *Bibliography*: A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1983).

c. Bonaventura Vulcanius

Dated April 13, 1584, Vulcanius' prolegomena introduced a course taught that year at the recently established university in Leiden (1575), where Vulcanius had assumed the post of Hoogleraar in Greek in 1581.

Commentary (Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Vulc. 9). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 42) Quod sub ipsa professionis meae primordia pollicitus eram, auditores benevoli, ut optimos quosque gravissimosque scriptores, qui et mentem et linguam quam optime formarent, vobis explicandos deligerem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 44v)

qua ratione etiam divinus ille Plato suos de republica libros, et nostra aetate Thomas Morus Utopiam suam concinnavit.

Manuscripts:

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Vulc. 9, cart. XVI, 89 fols., 42–44v, *Prolegomena in Xenophontis Cyropaediam*, dated XIII Apr. 1584 (Leiden, I, 5; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 172).

———, Vulc. 36, cart. XVI, 213 fols., 189–191v, *Prolegomena* (Leiden, I, 16; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 172).

Biography:

CTC, III, 16–17. Add to the *Bibliography*: A. Dewitte, "Bonaventura Vulcanius Brugensis (1538–1614): A Bibliographic Description of the Editions 1575–1612," *Lias*, VIII (1981), 184–201; Dewitte, "Bonaventura Vulcanius Brugensis, Hoogleraar, Correspondent, Edita," *Sacris erudiri*, XXVI (1983), 311–62.

d. Johannes Caselius

1. *Book II*

In his 1579 edition of Book II, Caselius added some brief "politicae explicationes", short moralizing reflections on the first three chapters, intended for the edification of Prince Henricus Julius.

Commentary: [*Inc.*]: Vitam hominum neque nefariam neque improbam neque iocularem esse oportere sed, ut uno verbo homines philosophi loquuntur, studiosam, neminem fugit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Hoc regem nosse oportet non arcibus neque thesauris neque sceptro neque diademate, quaeque sunt his similia, sed consilio et procuratione salutis publicae regnum contineri; illa esse insignia regum, haec ipsum re vera imperium.

Edition:

See p. 134 above.

2. *Note on Book III*

At the end of his 1582 version of Book III, Caselius added the following brief comment on *Cyr.* III.3.80.

Commentary: [*Inc.*]: Πειθὴ καὶ εὐταξία: obedientia et ordo; ita haec valido nexu cohaerent ut vigeant simul aut pereant. Ubi enim obedientia, ibi ordo ut plurimum; ubi ordo, ibi omnino obedientia; nec qui negligunt ordinem, obediunt, nec qui obediunt ordinem negligunt. Praedicantur igitur non iniuria Persae, quibus

summa religione imperatori obtemperare, neque minus ipsis ducibus, etsi illi pares esse et forsitan aliquando superiores viderentur, quam militibus aliis studio fuerit; curae item ut ordine conservato quo educti quemve edocti fuerant regrederentur, quasi non in summo periculo, sed a choro feriis publicis ducerentur. Sed de obedientia saepe alias; ordinem noster Xenophon in Oeconomicis miris effert laudibus, ut nihil eo neque pulcrius neque utilius esse affirmet. Hunc igitur et in barbaris saepe desideres, quod et passim poeta indicat [*Il.* III.2–6], qui et Troianorum confusam rationem cum clangore gruum quibuscum Pygmaei bellum gerunt comparat. Est enim turbae proprium clamor. Sed contra Graeci ἰσαν συγῆ [*Il.* III.8], alto silentio, optimo ordine in aciem tendebant.

Edition:

See p. 135 above.

Biography:

See p. 101 above.

VI. DE EQUITANDI RATIONE

TRANSLATIONS

1. Anonymus Mediolanensis

This anonymous translation is preserved in fasc. 5 of a humanistic miscellany.

De equitandi ratione (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, P 243 sup.). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 46r) Cum vitae meae rationes ita tulerint aliquando, ut annos complures equestri militiae operam dederim, eiusque rei non mediocrem usum comparasse mihi videar, adolescentibus amicis, quemadmodum eos equis quam optime usuarios existimem, praescribere institui . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 68v) Atque haec quidem instituta praeceptaque privato equiti conscripta sint; nam quid ductorem scire ac facere conveniat, alio a nobis libro demonstratum fuit.

Manuscript:

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, P 243 sup., cart. XVI, 70 fols., 46r–68v, *Xenophontis Atheniensis De re equestri libellus e Graeco in Latinum conversus* (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 338).

2. Joachim Camerarius

Camerarius' treatise *Hippocomicus* and translation of Xenophon's *De re equestri* were first

published in Tübingen in 1539, with a dedication, dated March 18, 1539, to Georgius Loxanus, pro-chancellor of Silesia. The same works and dedication were later printed in the Leipzig edition of 1543, which adds Camerarius' translations of Xenophon's *Atheniensium respublica*, *De equitum magistro*, and *Lacaedaemoniorum respublica*: see p. 142 below.

Dedication (ed. of Tübingen, 1539). Ioachimus Camerarius Paberg. Magnifico Domino Georgio Loxano Equiti Silesio, Sereniss. Ro. Re. per Silesiam pro Cancellario s. d. [*Inc.*]: Verissime dixit ille apud Theocritum [XXI.45] piscator, Canum somnia esse de panibus, sua de piscibus . . . / . . . [Camerarius describes his interest in horses.] Hic et Xenophontis De re equestri, seu De equitatu, si quis ita forte malit interpretari τὴν ἰππικὴν, qui olim fuisset in singulari illius opinione, libellum relegere, et in lectulo ac medicina latine reddere, et ipsi commentatione nostra aliquid de equorum tractatione componere cepimus . . . / . . . [Camerarius praises horsemanship.] De conversione autem mea hoc modo dixero, me sedulo in illa elaborasse, non enim certe fuit facilis res, et non est tanta bonitas ingenii nostri, ut sine diligentiae subsidio quicquam perficere possit. Cum autem obstitere intelligentiae nostrae crebra librarium menda, tum multa propter mores et consuetudines desitas ac mutatas, quasi tenebras quasdam menti meae offuderunt. Nam quid nunc est in conscensione sessioneque simile antiquitatis? Sed haec tamen qualia fuerint cogitari potest. Agitationis vero, quae est ἰππασία, rationem penitus ignorari existimo, me quidem certe tota propemodum illa fugit. Sed nos in mendis medicri cum industria, ut spero, et in iis ubi res minus perspecta et nota esset, nonnulla cum dexteritate, certe magna cum fide versati sumus. Etsi profecto fortunae hic successus ascribendus est, ut in hoc, quemadmodum vatibus, ita nobis quoque apta coniectura magis quam scientia non defuisse videatur. Orationem autem studuimus attemperare ad autoris simplicitatem et subtilem puritatem, quam in lingua latina assequi possit nemo. Est autem Xenophontea haec forma, vel χαρακτήρ hic, cuiusdam tenuis et summissi atque enucleati modi, graeci ἰσχνόν vocant, in quo quia Attici sermonis illustris esset puritas, ideo Atticum nominarunt. Hic igitur character proprius Xenophontis esse creditur. Nihil argu-

tius neque pressius neque castigatius dici potuisset, quam ab hoc omnia dicuntur, etiam de rebus interdum grandioribus. Atque in his, ut debet, est perspicuitas maxima. Nihil non evidens, non expressum, non dilucidum affertur. Id cum tenuitas est tanta, quanta horum quae in hoc libello exponuntur, sane admirabile videtur. Fieri autem idem in diversa lingua plane nequeat. Nam rerum gravitas ipsa verba suggerit et elocutionem excitat, quae in humilitate illarum deficiunt et iacent. Quod tamen intelligere nemo poterit, quin qui ipse in hoc traductionum genere periculum fecerit: is enim experietur demum huius operae difficultatem. De quo si quid me crederem consecutum dignum approbatione doctorum, dicerem plura; nunc non existimo mihi faciendum, in nulla vel admodum imbecilli spe successus. Quamvis, cum aliorum versiones plerasque scriptorum praesertim huius auctoris contemtor, non nimium nos nostrae poenitet. Atque erat animus ulterius etiam vel fiducia quadam vel audacia progredi, ut alterum etiam de praefectura et disciplina equestri, qui ἱππαρχικὸν habet inscriptionem, librum Xenophontis latinum faceremus, sed certa negotia hoc tempore obstitere voluntati meae, quam etiam nihil nocuerit quasi insistere paululum operientem huius opellae eventum. Sed de his satis, redeo igitur ad rem, hoc est missionem ad te huius libelli. Teque oro ut consilium nostrum captum de doctissimorum et clarissimorum virorum cohortatione et confirmatum persuasione nostra de virtute et sapientia tua probare velis, utque libenter admittas hunc laborem et hoc opusculum studii nostri, et ut nos in eorum numerum quocunque loco referas, quos tu in opinione eruditionis complecti amore ac favore summo plurimos consuevisti, neve, quas cum tueris et defendis tum ipse ornas atque auges, optimarum disciplinarum ac artium curam et patrocinium deponas atque imminuas, sed hoc potius, quod tibi est persuasissimum, ut teneas hac re nullam rem alii, neque Deo ipsi acceptiorem, neque humano generi magis salutarem, neque ad laudem et gloriam opportuniorem esse posse. Vale XV. Cal. April.

De equitandi ratione. [*Inc.*]: Quia, cum ita acciderit longo ut tempore in re equestri versaremur, aliquem usum nos illius habere existimamus, visum est adolescentibus amicis nostris rationem exponere, quam secutos illos in opti-

mos equites evasuros esse arbitramur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quae autem tenere atque exequi ductorem conveniat, alio libro expositum est.

Editions:

1539, Tubingae Suevorum (Tübingen): elaborata ab Vlricho Morhardo. 71 pp. in 8°. Contains Camerarius' *De tractandis equis* and Xenophon's *Eq.*, tr. Camerarius, with dedication to Georgius Loxanus; Camerarius' *De numismatis Graecorum et Latinorum*, with dedication to Adamus Carolus. NUC. BL; BN (no. 762); (MH).

1545 (Basel: Brylingerus), 1555, 1556, 1558, 1561, 1569 (Basel), 1572 (Basel), 1572 (Paris), 1581–96. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 129 above.

3. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. First version

Levvenklaius made this translation during a two-year stay in Turin (presumably 1579–81) at the court of the dukes of Savoy, Emanuel Philibert (d. 1580) and his son Charles, where he had been sent by Baron Lazarus Schwendi. He sent it to Stephanus (perhaps having learned of plans for a second edition of Xenophon), but Stephanus claimed to have lost it until many years later, when he returned it. It was then published in the appendix to Levvenklaius' editions of Xenophon from 1594 onward.

Postscript (ed. of Frankfurt, 1595). [*Inc.*]: Habes iam, Xenophontis studiose lector, specimen interpretationis a me factae Taurini, quum in aula ducis Allobrogum Emanuelis Philiberti et Caroli Emanuelis filii, patre rebus humanis exemto, fere biennium degerem, ab illustri barone fortissimoque militum duce Suendio ad eos principes missus. Arbitrium ego tuum non recuso, quin libere statuas ecquam H. Stephanus causam iustam habuerit cur laborem meum animo liberali absque ullo pretio cum sola edendi condicione sibi oblatum, tot annis [animis *ed.*] hac ipsa condicione non impleta, mihi non restituerit, ac nihilominus ad alios mirari se diceret, a me rem nullius momenti etiam auctore praetore repeti, de qua certo adfirmare non posset, incandione domus suae quam habebat in Allobrogum metropoli an direptione praedii bello nupero Allobrogico periisset. Pudet hos referre praetextus

hominis putidos, sed ipsum non puduit eis inniti; donec effugiis omnibus frustra tentatis se causa casurum videns, non sine divino miraculo (referendo scilicet ad Apologiam ipsius Herodoteam) inventum ab se librum profiteretur, quem amissum existimasset. Credo sane prodigioso figmento id repertum ab eo fuisse; quod nusquam periisse norat adeoque secum habebat, ut multorum est opinio. Causas facti ceteras non excutio. Salm hoc manifesto patet, ferre hominem animo aequo non potuisse, quod unus aliquis nationis eius a qua confici versiones hypocausticas scripsit, ut lectorum molestias in conferendis interpretum plurium verbis et eorundem ab ipso Stephano profectis castigationibus labore suo sublevaret, Xenophontem integrum adgredi lucubratione nova esset ausus, cum censurarum Henrici Stephani dispendio in tot Xenophontis interpretes, magnosque plerosque viros et famosos, Philephos, Amasaeos, Pircameros, Camerarios, Bessariones, Ribittos, Leonicenios, Gabrielios, ceteros. Hinc illae lacrumae, ne quid dicam de molestia quam ex praeceptis alterius industria nonnullis sentit, quibus schediasmata sua vere tumultuaria farcire iam dudum cogitaverat. Ego Xenophonteam hanc lucubrationem tentatam in adolescentia, non nihil expolitam aetate virili, nunc maturiore iudicio recensitam, quod ut aliquando fieret, optavi saepe mihi evenire divinitus, et usui et censuris omnium exhibeo. Si quis hinc fructus ad litterarum Graecarum studiosos redibit, voti reus debitus aeterno numini gratias agam. De malevolorum calumniis, οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῃ. Non verbis, sed reabse [*sic*] tuendae sibi veritas sufficit.

De equitandi ratione (ed. of Paris, 1625). Quandoquidem ex eo, quod rem equestrem diu nobis exercere contigit, usum eius aliquem adsequuti videmur, lubet amicis iunioribus indicare qua futurum ratione putemus ut equos rectissime tractent . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Atque haec quidem equiti vulgari a nobis monumenta, praeceptiones, exercitia praescripta sunt. Quae autem scire par sit et facere magistrum equitum, alio libro est declaratum.

Editions:

1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfort), 1625. See Composite Editions.

b. Second version

When Stephanus claimed to have lost his first version, Levvenklaius made this new transla-

tion, which was first printed in 1594 (see p. 90 above) and later reprinted numerous times.

De equitandi ratione (ed. of Frankfort, 1595; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: *Quoniam rei nos equestris usum adsequutos inde ducimus, quod equitando sane longo tempore nos occupari contigerit, amicis etiam iunioribus indicare volumus qua ratione futurum existimemus ut equos rectissime tractent . . . / . . .* [*Expl.*]: *Et hae quidem admonitiones et documenta et exercitia rudi adhuc equiti a nobis praescripta sunt. Quae vero tum scire tum exsequi conveniat equitum magistrum, alio libro declaravimus.*

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfort), 1625, 1691–1703, 1700–1704. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

VII. *DE EQUITUM MAGISTRO*

TRANSLATIONS

I. Lopus Castelliunculus

Dedicated to Gaspare Villanova of Todi, a cavalry captain in the service of Pope Eugenius IV, this translation was completed in Bologna on the evening of September 24, 1437. At that time, Lopus was the guest of Cardinal Francesco Condulmer, nephew and chamberlain of Pope Eugenius IV (see Olivieri, cited on p. 142 below).

Dedication (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. XXIII 126, autograph). Ad prudentem virum D. Gasparem Villanovensem civem Tudertinum Lapi Castelliunculi proemium in Xenophontis prefectum equitum incipit feliciter. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 49) Num siquis, prudentissime Guaspar, apud summos principes civitatis, cum de rebus gravissimis sit agendum, de agro fodiendo, de inserendis arboribus, de irrigandis messibus, reliquisque operibus loquatur, ineptissimus ab omnibus iudicetur? Si quis apud clarissimos belli duces, ubi iam classicum cecinerit, de architectorum aut fabrorum aut cerdonum arte verba faciat, nonne is omnium irrisione ludatur? Si quis apud philosophos doctissimos et sapientissimos viros, cum de bonis rebus et malis, de beata vita, de animorum immortalitate disputent, iocosum aliquem et convivio dignum

inferat sermonem, num is non contemnendus modo, sed etiam supplicio afficiendus esse videatur? Contraque si quis in muliercularum cetu de rebus bellicis, de officio militum atque imperatorum dicat, quis eius ineptias ferre aut etiam ipsum aspicere queat? Si quis item inter rusticos et pastores de coeli conversione, de ortu obitu motuque syderum orationem instituat, quis ab eo conviciis aut etiam manu absteineat? Postremo si quis inter remiges ac nautas de instituendis civitatibus, de describendis legibus, de omni republica ad tractandum accesserit, quis hoc illum tuto facturum existimet, ut ab iis non dico illudatur verbis, sed lapidibus obruatur? Est enim magna vis loci temporis personarum dignitatis in omni vita atque oratione, que qui minus caute observet, ineptiarum crimen omnium longe mea quidem sententia gravissimum ac foedissimum subeat. Quod quidem ego hoc tempore vereri non debeo, si Xenophontis libellum, qui prefectus equitum inscribitur, ad te misero, in quo, cum ipse omnem Atheniensium rei equestris disciplinam, ut equum ali, ut curari, ut institui equitem, ut exerceri, ut in bello cum hoste versari conveniat, reliquaque eiusmodi precepta et instituta eleganter copioseque complexus sit, haud equidem video quid eo tibi aut gratius iucundiusve videri debeat aut accommodatius esse possit, qui in eiusmodi artificio ab ineunte pene pueritia omne tempus aetatis tuae versatus sis. Quo tempore nullum est bellum nec tam magnum nec tam varium nec tam periculosum universa in Italia gestum, cui tu non interfueris, in quo non aliquod munus obieris, cuius aliquam partem non administraris. Tu sepe munitissimas urbes oppugnari, aggere fossas compleri, machinas admoveri, scandi muros, hostem deturbari, urbes ipsas incendio fumare, bona fortunasque omnium diripi vidisti. Tu instructas acies infestis signis concurrere, tu dubio Marte variaque victoria dimicare; idem incertos et inopinatos pugnarum exitus, plurimorum quoque clades imperatorum, victorias contra et triumphos innumerabiles aspicere potuisti. Ex quo persuasum omnibus debet esse nullam rem in usu militari positam, quam tu non audieris videris usuque doctus memorie commendaris. Nec enim temere olim, ut arbitror, te tot clarissimi ac sapientissimi belli duces, quos enumerare longum est, suis curandis exercitibus prefecerunt, sua tibi consilia crediderunt, maximarum quoque rerum administrationem mandarunt, et nuper summus pontifex di-

vina quadam mente ad eadem te munera tractanda accersivit, queque ad bellicam rationem spectant consilio prudentiaque tua cuncta sibi gerenda esse constituit, quibus rebus eidem te gratissimum reliquisque ecclesie principibus effecisti et laudem ab omnibus amplissimam consecutus es. Quamquam igitur hec non nova neque inaudita ad tuas aures perventura sint, iuvabit tamen hanc transmarinam politissimam disciplinam agnoscere, queque tibi longis intervallis usu venerint unum in locum coacta brevi percurrere posse, et ex iis, si quid ad tuum usum pertinebit, excipere, presertim cum ea non ex alicuius Graeculi hominis ociosi et loquacis ludo emersa, sed ex nobilissima Socratis officina deprompta sint, et a Xenophonte Socratico eruditissimo viro ac summo imperatore collecta memorieque et litteris prodita, qui ab adulescentia in eam disciplinam profectus est, qui sepe multis bellis administrandis prefuert, sepe cum hoste conflixerit, victoremque exercitum summa cum gloria reportavit. Ut cum de his rebus ipsis disputet, id nequaquam in eum dici queat, quod in Phormionem illum peripateticum Anibal dixisse fertur, cum is apud Antiochum se presente de re militari et de imperatoris officio plura disseruisset, se deliros senes vidisse permultos, sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret, vidisse neminem [Cic., *de Orat.* II.75]. Hunc igitur Xenophontis libellum latine interpretatus merito, ut mihi videor, ad te mitto, qui iisdem quibus ille artibus re militari ac litteris delecteris. Quem quidem velim, cum per ocium licet, diligenter legas, degustesque mearum exercitationum genus, et si tibi Xenophontis precepta grata erunt, me, cuius interpretatione effectum est, ut ea latine legere possis, in fidem ac necessitudinem tuam accipias; idque te ut facias et obsecro et pro tua humanitate libenter facturum esse confido. Vale feliciter.

De equitum magistro. [Inc.]: (fol. 51) Principio quidem caesis hostiis a diis immortalibus precari oportet, ut dent nobis ea cogitare, loqui atque agere, que et gratissima illis, tibi ipsi amicisque et universe civitati summe voluptati et glorie atque emolumento esse possint . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 62v) Est autem consentaneum ipsos magis iis hominibus consulere velle, qui non modo quid faciendum sit cum necessitas instat, sciscitantur, verum etiam secundis in rebus et pro voluntate fluentibus, quam possunt religiose casteque deos et colunt et venerantur.

Colophon: (fol. 64) "Finis viii^a kal. Octobris post horam iii^{am} noctis, Bononie in domo Reverendissimi patris Domini Francisci Cardinalis Venetiarum Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Cameraarii [i.e., Francesco Condulmer]."

Manuscripts:

(*)Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library), Clmae 327, cart. XV, 20 fols., 1–16, with preface (E. Bartoniek, *Codices latini medii aevi* [Budapest, 1940], 285; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 293).

(*)———, Clmae 422, mbr. XV, 58 fols., 37–55, with preface (Bartoniek, *Codices*, 382; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 295; previously Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 178).

(*)Como, Biblioteca Comunale, 4. 4. 6, cart. XV, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 47).

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ashburn. 902, cart. XV, 170 fols., with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 91).

———, 76.42, without preface (Bandini, *Catalogus*, III, 114).

(*)———, 89 inf. 13 (Luiso in *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, VII [1899], 293).

———, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. XXIII 126, cart. XV, 107 fols., with preface and corrections, autograph (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 139).

London, British Library, Add. 11760, cart. misc. XV, 190 fols., 98–110v, with preface (*Catal. Add. Mss. 1841–45* [London, 1850; rpt. 1964], 4; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 91–92).

(*)New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 244, XV (ca. 1470), fols. 24–44v, without preface, wrongly attributed to Leonardus Brunus (De Ricci II 1412; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 330–31).

(*)Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1616, with preface (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, IV, 159; *Catalogue général*, II, [Paris, 1940], 91; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 216).

Biography:

CTC, II, 255. Add to the *Bibliography*: DBI, XXII (Rome, 1979), 44–51 (R. Fubini); F. P. Luiso, "Studi su l'epistolario e le traduzioni di Lapo da Castiglionchio juniore," *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, VII (1899), 293; M. Miglio, "Una lettera di Lapo da Castiglionchio il Giovane a Flavio Biondo: storia e storiografia nel Quattrocento," *Humanistica lovaniensia*, XXIII

(1974), 1–30; A. Olivieri, "Condulmer, Francesco," DBI, XXVII (Rome, 1982), 761–65.

2. Joachim Camerarius

Dated on November 16, 1543, Camerarius' preface is addressed to Christoph von Carlowitz (1507–78), who was in charge of reforming the university at Leipzig (see Schille). Camerarius notes that this work followed his version of *De equitandi ratione*, which he had made a few years earlier and published in 1539: see p. 138 above.

Dedication (ed. of Leipzig, 1543). Virtute sapientiaque praestanti et nobilitate generis claro Christophoro Carolovicio, praefecto oppidi Lipsiae, Ioachimus Camerarius s. d. [*Inc.*]: Ante annos aliquot cum de re equestri libellum elegantissimum Xenophontis in linguam latinam convertissem, et nescio quid mearum rationum de equis curandis explicuissem, disserui nonnihil de praestanti laude et praeclarissimo usu equitationis . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quod igitur restat, te, vir amplissime, felici in hoc itinere fortuna uti ardentissimis votis opto, ac oro ut hos labores meos grato animo accipere et benevolentiam erga me tuam conservare, tibi que persuadere velis, me ut olim fuerim tui amantissimus, ita nunc esse studiosissimum atque observantissimum. Vale. Lipsiae, XVI Calend. Decembris.

De equitum magistro. [*Inc.*]: Primum quidem rem facies divinam et precabere deos ut largiantur tibi facultatem intelligendi dicendique atque agendi ea de quibus et diis gratissimum sit futurum imperium, et tibi amicisque ac reipublicae acceptissimum et gloriosissimum omnique a parte maxime utile . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Veri autem est simile consulere hos magis velle iis, qui non modo cum usus postulat, quid fieri oporteat interrogant, sed qui etiam secundis rebus pro virili sua deos colunt.

Editions:

1543, 1556, 1572 (Paris). See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 129 above.

Bibliography: C. Schille, "Carlowitz, Christoph von," *Neue deutsche Biographie*, III (1957), 145–46.

3. Johannes Ribittus

As he says in his dedication, dated at Lausanne on February 6, 1545, Ribittus translated the *De equitum magistro* (together with Xenophon's *Atheniensium respublica*, *Symposium*, and *De vectigalibus*) at the request of Conradus Gesnerus, who was unable to undertake the project for the publisher Isingrinus. This was his first translation, and he dedicated it to Jean Cojonay, lord of Saint-Martin and Montricher (see De Montet), who had befriended him at Vevey in Switzerland.

Dedication (ed. of Basel, 1545). Nobili et generoso viro Ioanni Coionaeo Montisricherii Domino Clementissimo Ioannes Ribittus s. d. [*Inc.*]: Cum typographus Basiliensis diligentissimus et utilitatis publicae studiosissimus, Michael Isingrinus, Xenophontem totum latinis auribus tradere constituisset, et pauca quaedam e graeco convertendo restare sciret, nempe rempublicam Atheniensium, Poros, Symposium, et Hipparchicum, rogavit Conradum Gesnerum virum doctissimum, eam rem ut perficiendam curaret. Quam provinciam feliciter obire Conradus ipse potuisset, sed aliis implicitus, eam ut suscipere hortatus est, vel ut verius dicam, Isingrinii efflagitatione suscipere me coegit, quae ita a me administrata est, ut mihi ipse satisfacere nullo modo possim. Qui enim aliquid perfectum dem in tanta vetustate, rerum obscuritate, codicum depravatione, et hac mea utriusque linguae notitia perexigua? ut verendum mihi sit, ne illud in me iactetur, me quasi Phormionem quendam de armis sermonem habere, quod vehementer reprehendum Hannibal putavit [*Cic., de Orat.* II. 75]. Illud certo scio me illam iucunditatem in affectatam assecutum non esse, quam recte Fabius Quintilianus [*Inst.* X. I. 82] neminem posse assequi asserit. Hoc affirmare audeo, a me elaboratum esse ut auctoris sententiam eruere et exprimere aliqua ratione possem; quodsi non sum assecutus, tamen posthac levius fore onus credo, si quis denuo vel interpretanda vel limanda illa Xenophontis suscipiat, et nos aliquando, Deo volente, limatiora et politiora edemus. De ceteris fortassis alias, nunc de Hipparchico illud breviter habe, totius equestri disciplinae veteris rationem in eo contineri: siquidem primo, quinam sint ad usum belli commodi equi et incommodi, docet; equitum deinde iaculationem, assiduam exercitationem et obe-

dientiam pulchre subiungit; de praemiis insuper proponendis, ut exercitationis labores alacrius obeant; de simulachris belli, de progrediendi ratione, de praecursoribus, quid in pace magistro equitum agendum, de exploratorum generibus, de hostium fallendorum ratione, de concilianda equitum benevolentia, de laude virtutis bellicae, de ratione adoriendi hostes, et postremo de divino auxilio suppliciter implorando, non minus scite quam pie disserit. Quae ratio tametsi cum nostri temporis equestri disciplina omni ex parte non convenit, tamen iucundum erit illam vetustissimam cum nostra comparare, ut utriusque rationibus collatis, quid melius posteriores invenerint, quid immutarint, quid denique retinendum censuerint, elucescat. Conicere etiam licebit, quid ad normam illius hoc tempore corrigi utiliter possit. Nam in reliquis artibus omnibus aliquid ad vetustatis regulam emendatum esse hac aetate tam perspicuum est, ut frustra quis probare contendat. Sed cum Hipparchicum hunc nostrum nollem sine patrocínio in manus hominum venire, unum te, vir generosissime et eruditissime, reperiēbam, qui adversus importunos litterarum vituperatores defendere non modo posses, sed etiam velles, doctos autem hortari ut rempublicam iuvare conantium adiutores esse mallent quam obtrectatores. Unum enim te videbam qui cum generis claritate litterarum scientiam non vulgarem coniunxisses. Atque tuorum studiorum et diligentiae testis est Dola, testis Lutetia, testis denique Pictonum civitas, quibus in locis quantos progressus feceris, facile vident omnes qui hanc tibi laudem tribuunt, ut in nobilitate inferiores multos, perpauca tibi pares faciant, in litteris vero omnibus te generosis anteponant. Illud ipsum tui cives Lausannenses uno ore confitentur; idem de te testimonium Bibiscum, idem Morgienses confirmant. De me vero quid dicam? quem tanta humanitate iam inde a primo cum Bibiscum pervenissem complexus es, ut ab illis dissentire nequaquam possim. Cur igitur dubitem quin benigne perlibenterque hunc libellum suscepturus, et tua auctoritate sartum tectum (ut aiunt) ab omni detrimento periculoque conservaturus sis, non video. Nam quantum favere soleas tum studiosis, tum studiis ipsis, brevi epistola explicari non potest. Atque huius tui in litteras litteratosque propensi animi magnum est argumentum, quod prudentissimi Senatus Bernensis linguarum gymnasiis excitandis

institutum crebris sermonibus iactare, inque coelum evehere soleas; nec mehercule immerito, cum non obscuro Senatus consulto linguarum professoribus amplissima decreta sint stipendia, quo nomine patriae vestrae tum ipse, tum clarissimus vir Hubertus Ludovicus, qui primus ad graecarum litterarum studia in Rupensi schola me excitavit, gratulari libenter soleas. Vale, vir generosissime, atque hunc primum conatum nostrum boni consule. Lausannae. VIII. Idus. Febr. anno 1545.

De equitum magistro (ed. of Basel, 1545). [Inc.]: Primum precandum est a diis, faciendis sacrificiis, ut illud tibi largiantur, ea ut sentias loquaris et agas, quae gratissima ipsis sint, tibi autem, amicis et reipublicae minime molesta, summeque gloriosa ac utilia . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Credibile est autem deos hac in re magis consulturos iis, qui non solum cum ipsi egent, oracula petunt, ut quid sit faciendum sciant, sed etiam rebus prosperis eos venerantur et colunt.

Editions:

1545, 1551 (Basel), 1551 (Lyons), 1553, 1555, 1558, 1561, 1569, 1572 (Basel), 1581–96. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Johannes Ribittus (Jean Ribit or Ribbit) was born at Thorens in Faucigny in the early 1500s. He studied at the Collège de la Roche, where he learned Greek under Hubert Louis, and then studied at the University of Paris. His conversion to Protestantism forced him to move to Switzerland. In Berne, he assumed the chair of Greek and Hebrew in 1541 and the chair of theology in 1547. As a result of a dispute between the government and the ministers, Ribittus and several colleagues resigned in 1559 and went to Geneva, where in 1560 he became a regent of the college. In 1562, he returned to France and became a pastor in Orléans. As he notes in his dedication, Xenophon's *De equitum magistro* was his first translation from Greek.

Works: *Sententiarum sacrarum capitum . . . tomi III* (1546); *Explanatio loci ad Hebr. VII. 19: lex nihil perfecit* (1554); *Disputatio an Judas proditor coenae Dominicae interfuerit* (Basel, 1554). He translated into Latin short works of Xenophon and Lucian, epigrams of Cyrus Theodorus, and the *Kephalaia Theologika* of St.

Maximus the Confessor. A volume of his letters survives in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Bibliography: Jöcher, *Suppl.* VI 2000–2001; Michaud XXXV 543; A. De Montet, *Dictionnaire biographique des Genevois et des Vaudois*, 2 vols. (Lausanne, 1877–78), I, 179 (on Cojonay); II, 364–65 (on Ribbit); H. Meylan, *D'Erasmus à Théodore de Bèze* (Geneva, 1976), 201–206, 246–47.

4. Johannes Levvenklaius

First printed in Levvenklaius' 1594 edition (see p. 90 above), this version replaced Ribittus' translation, which had appeared in the editions of 1569 and 1572 (see p. 143 above).

De equitum magistro (ed. of Frankfort, 1595). [Inc.]: Primum rem sacram faciens deos precaberis ut ea tibi concedant et intelligere et proferre et agere, de quibus et diis gratissimum sit imperium tuum et tibi amicis reique publicae cum primis acceptum et gloriosum et longe utilissimum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Et consentaneum sane vero est potius hos agendorum auctores illis esse velle, qui non solum eos, ubi res ita postulat, de agendis consulunt, verum etiam rebus adhuc secundis pro virili deos colunt.

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfort), 1625, 1691–1703, 1700–1704. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

COMMENTARY

a. Joachim Camerarius

Presumably this commentary dates from the period of his translation of the work, begun around 1540.

Commentary (ed. of Leipzig, 1543). [Inc.]: Duo fuerunt Athenis ἵππαρχοι creati suffragiis populi, penes quos praecipua rei militaris cura, ταξίαρχοι vero legionibus praefecti erant . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Et nostrum quaecumque studium, ingenium certe et simplex ac candidum, boni consulere debet.

Editions:

1543, 1556, 1572 (Paris). See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 129 above.

VIII. HELLENICA (HISTORIA GRAECA)

TRANSLATIONS

I. Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus

The story of Pirckheimerus' two translations of the *Hellenica* has been reconstructed by Holzberg. The first version, begun around 1506, survives in manuscript only. The second version, begun around 1516, was first printed posthumously in Cratander's 1534 Basel edition, with a preface by Thomas Venatorius (Thomas Gechtauf), dated April 21, 1532, and addressed to the translator's nephews, Sebald and Georg Geuder. Venatorius lauds Pirckheimerus for translating Xenophon's *Hellenica*, which had been neglected in favor of Thucydides and Herodotus. Pirckheimerus' version served as the basis for Hieronymus Boner's German translation of the *Hellenica* (Augsburg, 1540).

a. First version (1506–1507)

This version, which survives in fragmentary form in manuscript, reveals the errors of a self-taught scholar.

Hellenica I.1.1–V.2.3 (Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, PP. 252) [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1) Inde haud multis interiectis diebus, venit ab Athenis paucis navibus Thymochares . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 45v) Agesilaus vero sumopere (*sic*) expeditionem hanc deprecatus est.

Manuscripts:

(*)Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, PP. 252, 45 fols. (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 672).

(*)———, PP. 364, Box I, fasc. 1, nos. 2–3, 24; fasc. 2, nos. 2a, 2b, 14 (Holzberg 363; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 671).

b. Second version (1516–17)

Epistola nuncupatoria (ed. of Basel, 1534). Sebald et Georgio Geuderis, urbis Norimbergae patritiis, Thomas Venatorius s. [*Inc.*]: Reptenti mihi varia literarum studia ad quae nos, statim in ipso adhuc iuventutis flore, ut verae laudis gloriam assequamur, mittunt parentes, nullum equidem mihi visum est vel iucundius singulis, vel utilius ac perinde magis necessarium universis (his praesertim quibus olim reipublicae gubernacula reservantur), Sebald et Georgi Geuderi patritii ornatissimi, atque est illa multiplex et copiosa gestarum rerum testis Historia . . . / . . . [Venatorius praises history

for its moral lessons.] [*Expl.*]: Longo nanque rerum usu veteres olim sapientes cum domi tum foris acquisito varia ac fere semper pugnancia vulgi studia cognoscentes, varias vitiorum poenas, varia vicissim egregie factorum praemia statuerunt; id quod hodie una et prorsus unica nobis praestare et tanquam in speculo quodam repraesentare queat historia. Quod simul atque mecum sensisset Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus [*sic*] rectissimi vir iudicii vidissetque etiam tum extare Graecorum aliquot historicorum, Thucydidem dico et Herodotum, Romane loquentes, operae putavit pretium ut eos etiam libros quos de rebus Graecorum post Thucydidem scripserat Xenophon, et rhetor et philosophus ille, latinae legerent scholae. Quamvis autem nulla unquam affectatio, si Fabio [Quint., *Inst.* X.1.82] auscultamus, in affectatam illam Xenophontis iucunditatem consequi potuerit, vel quod ipse quasi sermonem Graecis finxisse videatur, vel quod de Pericle veteris comoediae testimonium est [Quint., *ibid.*], in hunc transferri iustissime possit, in labris eius sedisse quandam persuadendi deam, tamen nemo bonus fidem et sedulitatem avunculi vestri, viri incomparabilis, iure improbare poterit, quando in hoc unum respexerit, ut hoc labore suo prodesset multis, ut ad virtutes, animi ornamenta, invitaret quam plurimos. Haec delectatio illius, hoc gaudium, hoc desiderium fuit. Porro ego cum eos nuper libros, faventibus Musis, post fata illius nactus essem, officii mei partes esse duxi ut quam emendatissimi sub vestri nominis patrocinio aederentur, tum quod ipsemet adhuc vivens ad ea vos semper invitavit studia, quibus egregiam familiae vestrae famam ad posterum transmittere possetis, tum quod in hisce equidem libris crebro sese offerunt gravissimae et, ductis ab arte argumentis, ad persuadendum validissimae orationes, quibus (ut Fabius [Quint., *Inst.* II.4.20] auctor est) et ingenium exercetur multiplici variaeque materia, et animus contemplatione recti pravique formatur, et multa inde cognitio rerum venit, exemplisque quae sunt in omni genere causarum potentissima. Nam hisce in rebus mire excelluisse Xenophontem aiunt. Hinc ipse a priscorum eruditum ἀπτική μούσα, quemadmodum Diogenes Laertius [II.57] tradidit, cognominatus est. Et Cicero [*Orat.* 32] sermonem illius melle quoque dulciorem dicit. Cyropaeiam eius Scipio ille, cui Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, in tantum probavit ut eam nun-

quam e manibus deposuisse legatur [Cic. *Q. fr.* I.1.23]. Et merito quidem. Nam ubique sui similis Xenophon, amoenus iuxta ac foecundus, neque sterilis neque aridus unquam, non tamen supra quam oportet effusus. Quo amoenissimo narrationis genere doctissimi cuiusque et sensus et affectus facile capiuntur ducunturque. Sed eius iam ego vos quod dixi periculum facere velim magis quam in laudes auctoris intentum audire diutius. Nam si ad Xenophontem vos receperitis, primo praecipuam vos honesti illius, quod virtutem vocarunt, curam habere declarabit, deinde conceptam olim de vobis avunculi vestri spem non defraudabit, ac postremo illam generis vestri vetustam claritudinem longe clariorem ad posterum transmittetis. Valete. Norimbergae, XI. Calend. Maii, Anno M.D.XXXII.

Hellenica (ed. of Basel, 1534; revisions italicized). [Inc.]: Inde haud multis interiectis diebus, venit ab Athenis *navibus paucis* Thymochares, rursusque confestim praelio confluxere navali Lacedaemonii et Athenienses, vicereque Lacedaemonii, duce Hegesandride . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Atque haec quidem hactenus mihi descripta sunt; quae vero deinceps gesta sunt, alii forsitan curae erunt.

Editions:

1534, 1545 (Basel), 1551 (Basel), 1551 (Lyons), 1553, 1555, 1558. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC, II, 70–71; VI, 21. Add to the *Bibliography*: N. Holzberg, *Willibald Pirckheimer: Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland* (Munich, 1981), 362–71.

2. Philippus Melanchthon (excerpt)

Like other humanists, Melanchthon was attracted by the speeches of Greek historians and chose to translate into Latin the speech of Critias in the celebrated debate of the *Hellenica*. For the circumstances of the debate following the Athenians' naval victory at Arginusae, see Kagan (cited on p. 147 below). This translation appeared in several collections of Melanchthon's declamations.

Hellenica II.3.24–34 (ed. of Hagenau, 1525). *Critiae oratio contra Theramenem ex Xenophonte*. [Inc.]: Si quis e vobis, iudices, arbitratur plures necari quam par sit, is ita apud se cogitet, haec accidere solere, quoties publicus status mutatur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Vos igitur, si sapitis,

non illis sed vobis parcite. Nam si hic evaserit, multis addet animum, ut vobis adversentur; quodsi interemptus fuerit, spem demet omnibus domi ac foris. Dixi.

Manuscript:

(*)Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, O II 33, fols. 79v–80v (M. Steinmann, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: Register zu den Abteilungen A I–A XI und O* [Basel, 1982], 591; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 55).

Editions:

1525, Hagenau (Hagenau): excudebat Johan. Secer. Philippus Melanchthon, *Oratio dicta in funere Friderichi Saxoniae ducis . . .*, fols. Eeii^v–Eeiii^v. F. Ritter, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en Alsace au 16^{me} siècle de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg*, III (Strasbourg, 1950), 1002, no. 1522. NUC. BN (no. 174); (MH; ICN).

(*)1541, Argentorati (Strasbourg): ex officina Cratonis Mylii. *Liber selectarum declamationum P. Melanthonis*, ed. N. Gerbelius. Ritter III 1008, no. 1538. BL.

(*)1544, Argentorati (Strasbourg): apud Cratonem Mylium. *Selectae declamationes Philippi Melanthonis*, ed. N. Gerbelius. Ritter III 1010–11, nos. 1542–43.

(*)1546, Argentorati (Strasbourg): *Selectae declamationes Ph. Melanthonis*, ed. N. Gerbelius. NUC (PPLT; NjP).

(*)1555, Argentorati (Strasbourg): *Praefationes et orationes Ph. Melanthonis*, ed. N. Gerbelius, reported in 1851 *Opera omnia*: see below.

(*)1559, Argentorati (Strasbourg): apud Samuelem Emmel. *Selectae declamationes Ph. Melanthonis*, ed. N. Gerbelius. Ritter III 1014, no. 1550. NUC. BL; (Dfo).

1562, Witebergae (Wittenberg): haeredes Georgii Rhau. *Orationes ex Historia Thucydidis, et insigniores aliquot Demosthenis et aliorum oratorum Graecorum . . . Philippo Melanthoni interprete editae a Casparo Peucero*, fols. Q4v–Q6. NUC (ICN).

(*)1564, Argentorati (Strasbourg): apud Samuelem Emmel. *Praefationes et orationes*, ed. N. Gerbelius. Ritter III 1015–16, no. 1553. BN (no. 80).

(*)1569, Argentorati (Strasbourg): per Samuelem Emmel et Theobaldum Dieterich. *Selectae declamationes*, ed. N. Gerbelius. Ritter III 1017, no. 1556. NUC (CtY).

(*)1570, Argentorati (Strasbourg): excudebat Theodosius Rihelius. *Declamationes omnes Ph. Melanthonis*, ed. Joh. Rachardius. Ritter III 1018, no. 1559. NUC (DFo; NIC; NjP).

(*)1587, Servestae (Zerbst). *Praefationes et orationes Ph. Melanthonis*, ed. N. Gerbelius, reported in 1851 *Opera omnia*: see below.

1851, Halis Saxonum (Halle): *Corpus Reformatorum*, XVII (= *Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt omnia*, XVII), 1115–18, with list of editions on p. 1115. NUC; BN (Melancthon, no. 2); (CtY; DLC; NcD; MiU; NN).

Biography:

CTC, II, 150; IV, 373; VI, 150.

Bibliography: D. Kagan, *The Fall of the Athenian Empire* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987), ch. 14; R. Keen, *Checklist of Melancthon Imprints through 1560* (St. Louis, 1988), 151–52.

3. Franciscus Craneveldius

Fabricius (BG, III, 9) reports a Latin translation by Craneveldius printed at Louvain in 1530, but I have been unable to find a copy of this work. Roger Tavernier of the Katholieke Universiteit reports that no copy is found in the university library in Louvain and notes that it is not listed in Nijhoff-Kronenberg.

Biography:

Born in Nijmegen on February 3, 1485, Franciscus Craneveldius (Frans van Cranevelt) studied at Cologne and later at Louvain, where he married and took his doctorate in civil and canon law. In 1515 he was appointed pensionary of Bruges, and in 1522 he was nominated by Charles V to a seat on the grand council of Mechelen, where he lived until his death on September 8, 1564. A friend and admirer of Erasmus, he was included in the latter's will and wrote several poems on his death.

Works: Translations of four homilies by St. Basil (1534–35) and Procopius' *De aedificiis* (1537); various Latin poems and epistles.

Bibliography: Jöcher, I, 2171–72; *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch Woordenboek*, I (1911), 651 (van Schevichaven); H. de Vocht, *Litterae virorum eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium 1522–1528* (Louvain, 1928); *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, I (Brussels, 1964), 347–49 (M. A. Nauwelaerts); *Contem-*

poraries of Erasmus, ed. P. G. Bietenholz, I (Toronto and London, 1985), 354–55 (C. G. Van Leijenhorst); H. Schulte Herbrueggen, "A Hundred New Humanists' Letters: More, Erasmus, Vives, Cranevelt, Geldenhouwer and Other Dutch Humanists," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, LII (1990), 65–76.

4. Anonymus Florentinus

This anonymous translation survives in a single manuscript in Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana 66.37. The beginning of the translation is dated "1535. 24 februarii" and the end "1536. 22 novembris".

Hellenica (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 66.37). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1) Posteaquam haec gesta sunt, Thymocare paucis iam navibus non multo post Athenis adveniente statimque inter Lacedaemonios atque Athenienses iterum facto proelio, Lacedaemonii duce Egesandro victoria potiti sunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 136) Hactenus haec scripta sufficient; eorum quae sequuntur alius fortasse curam narrandi suscipiet.

Manuscript:

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 66.37, cart. XVI, 171 fols., 1–136 (Bandini, *Catalogus*, II, 810).

5. Franciscus Portus

a. 1561 revision of Pircckheimerus

In the preface to his 1561 edition of Xenophon (see p. 95 above), Stephanus says that he prevailed upon Franciscus Portus to revise Pircckheimerus' translation thoroughly. Portus not only revised the translation in countless passages but in many hardly left any trace of the original. Although *incipit* and *explicit* of the original and revised versions are identical, a comparison shows that Portus made thoroughgoing revisions. Thus, near the beginning of Book I, he emended Pircckheimerus' "ad alium rediere exercitum" to "ad reliquam classem rediere". Near the end of Book VII, Portus emends "sagittarii equitibus coniuncti" to "scutati qui erant cum equitatu" and adds a sentence missing in Pircckheimerus: "His ita gestis contra accidit quam universi homines putarant fore."

Hellenica (ed. of Geneva, 1561). [*Inc.*]: Inde haud multis interiectis diebus venit ab Athenis navibus paucis Thymochares, rursusque confestim praelio confluxere navali Lacedaemonii et

Athenienses vicereque Lacedaemonii duce Hegesandride . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Atque haec quidem hactenus mihi descripta sunt; quae vero deinceps gesta sunt, alii forsitan curae erunt.

Editions:

1561, 1581–96. See Composite Editions.

b. 1570 translation of selected orations.

For Stephanus' 1570 *Conciones*, Portus translated twenty-seven speeches from the *Hellenica*.

Hellenica I.6.5–VII.4.8 (ed. of Paris, 1570). [*Inc.*]: Mihi manere domi satis est; et sive Lysander sive alius quispiam rerum nauticarum peritior classi praesse studet, ei per me licet . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Salvis enim nostris rebus, usui vobis fortasse aliquando erimus; eversis vero nunquam scilicet posthac utiles vobis futuri sumus.

Edition:

1570. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 116 above.

6. Johannes Sambucus (excerpt)

Together with twelve speeches from the *Cyri institutio*, Sambucus translated the famed exchange between Critias and Theramenes (*Hellenica* II.3.24–39) at Ingolstadt during Lenten season of 1549 and dedicated it to his schoolmates, Philippus and Theodorus Apianus: see p. 124 above. The first part of this debate, Critias' speech against Theramenes, had already been translated by Melanchthon: see p. 146 above.

Hellenica II.3.24–49 (ed. of Basel, 1552). [*Inc.*]: Viri consilarii, si quis vestrum existimat plures, quam conditio temporis fert, interire, cogitet in illis locis ubi respublicae transferuntur, passim hoc idem accidere . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Nam si convictus fuero, haec aut nunc facere, aut olim fecisse, fatebor me omnium extrema passum, iure moriturum esse.

Edition:

1552. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 125 above.

7. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. First version

This version was first printed in Levvenklaius' 1569 bilingual edition of Xenophon's complete works: see p. 89 above.

Hellenica (ed. of Basel, 1572). [*Inc.*]: Non multis post haec diebus interiectis, Thymochares Athenis cum paucis navibus venit, ac statim Lacedaemonii et Athenienses praelio navali rursus congressi sunt, in quo victores ductu Hegesandridae Lacedaemonii evaserunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Atque hactenus mihi quidem haec scripta sunt; quae vero sequuntur, fortassis erunt alii curae.

Editions:

1569, 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. Revised version

This revision first appeared in Levvenklaius' 1594 edition of Xenophon's complete works (see p. 90 above) and was reprinted numerous times.

Hellenica (ed. of Frankfurt, 1595; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: Non multis post haec diebus interiectis, Thymochares Athenis cum paucis navibus venit, ac statim Lacedaemonii et Athenienses proelio navali rursus congressi sunt, in quo *Lacedaemonii* ductu Hegesandridae *victores* evaserunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Atque hactenus mihi quidem haec scripta sunt. Quae vero sequuntur, *alii curae fortassis* erunt.

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfurt), 1625, 1691–1703, 1700–1704. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

COMMENTARY

a. Franciscus Portus

Portus' commentary on the *Hellenica* probably dates from his revision of Pirckheimerus' translation for Stephanus' 1561 edition. Together with seven other commentaries on various works of Xenophon, it was published by his son Aemilius in 1586: see p. 115 above.

Preface (ed. of [Geneva?], 1586). [*Inc.*]: Nemini dubium est historiam maxime esse necessariam, et maximas utilitates humano generi afferre . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Decem denique ducum damnatio, qui quamvis feliciter adversus hostes pugnassent et classem profligassent, tamen quia cives naufragos non sustulerunt, damnati sunt.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: *Θυμοχάρης*, huius mentionem facit Thucydides lib. 8 [VIII.95], eoque duce victi Athenienses a Lacedaemoniis

ante portum Eretriaae, Euboeam totam amiserunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ἀυτόνομος δ' Ἑλλάς πᾶσ' ἐν ἐλευθερίῃ [Paus. IX.15.6]. Διέπεσον [HG VII.5.25], elapsi sunt.

Edition:

1586. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 116 above.

IX. HIERO

TRANSLATIONS

I. Leonardus Brunus Aretinus

Completed by May 1403 (Laur. 25 sin. 9) and dedicated to the Florentine Niccolò Niccoli, Bruni's *De Tyranno* was both the first Latin translation from Xenophon and the most popular. Nearly 200 manuscript copies survive, and it became the standard published version until supplanted by Erasmus' translation (Basel, 1530).

Dedication (Vat. lat. 4507). [Inc.]: (fol. 76) Xenophontis philosophi quendam libellum, quem ego ingenii exercendi gratia e graeco sermone in latinum converti, ad quem potius, Nicolae, scriberem quam ad te? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fols. 77v–78) Maiora autem illius viri / opera, quae permulta sunt ac pulcherrima, in his primitiis studiorum nostrorum nullo modo ausi sumus attingere.

Hiero. [Inc.]: (fol. 78) Cum ad Hieronem tyrannum Simonides poeta aliquando venisset, essentque ambo otiosi, sic illum affari coepit Simonides . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 100) Quae omnia si tu feceris cunctarum quae in humana sunt vita pulcherrimam ac beatissimam rem possidebis; felix enim cum sis, nemo tibi inuidebit.

Manuscripts:

(*)Assisi, Biblioteca del Convento di San Francesco, 556, cart. XV, 125 fols., 82v–95v, with preface (Mazzatinti IV 107; C. Cenci, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad sacrum conventum assisiensem*, I [Assisi, 1981], 380–81).

(*)Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F II 13, cart. XV, 369 fols., 248v–258v (K. Escher, *Die Miniaturen in den Basler Bibliotheken, Museen und Archiven* [Basel, 1971], 159; *Datierte Handschriften*, I, 176, no. 488; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 66).

(*)Beauvais, Bibliothèque Municipale, 14 (3176), mbr. XV, 51 fols., 45–51 (*Cat. gen. Fr. Dept. Octavo*, III, 327).

(*)Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. fol. 486, cart. XV, 177 fols., 138v–145, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 482).

(*)———, Lat. fol. 495, mbr. XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 474).

(*)———, Lat. qu. 453, mbr. misc. XV, 87 fols., 54–62 (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 489).

(*)———, Lat. oct. 175 (formerly Phillipps 2750), mbr. XV, 89 fols., 43–57 (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 493).

(*)Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 329, cart. XV, 92 fols., 48–60v, with preface (L. Frati, *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, XVI [1908], 195–96, no. 215).

(*)———, 2778, cart. XV, fols. 23–32 (Frati, *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, XVII [1909], 104, no. 1471).

(*)———, 2948, vol. 16, “excerpta ex codd. Bibl. Vatic.”: fol. 372 records “Xenofontis traductio per Leonardum Aretinum” in Vat. lat. 2931 (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 21; confirmed by Franca Arduini of the Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna). The Vatican codex presently numbered 2931 does not contain any translation of Bruni.

(*)———, 4229, cart. XV, 8 fols., 1–6 with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 26).

(*)Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, G VI 18, cart. XV, fols. 49–55 (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 36).

(*)Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, IV 719, mbr. misc. XV, 114 fols., 101v–113, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 125; IV, 225).

(*)Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 472, mbr. XV, pp. 375ff. with preface (James, *Corpus Christi College*, II, 408–11; reported by J. Hankins).

(*)———, St. John's College, 61 (C 11), mbr. XV, 202 fols., 70–79, with preface (James, *St. John's College*, 81).

(*)———, University Library, L117 (2136), mbr., 119 fols., 70–79, with preface (*Catal. Univ. Cambridge*, IV, 2–4).

(*)Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Library, Lat. 124, mbr. XV, 116 fols., 69v–86v (De Ricci, I, 985; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 226).

(*)———, Typ 297, XV, fols. 93–113v

(Hankins, "Bruni Manuscripts"; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 236).

(*)Chicago, Newberry Library, 93.1, cart. XV, 74 fols. 62v–68v (P. Saenger, *A Catalogue of the . . . Newberry Library* [Chicago and London, 1989], 177; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 247–48; reported by J. Hankins).

(*)Como, Biblioteca Comunale, 4. 4. 6, cart. XV, fols. 194–202v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 47).

(*)Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 1996, cart. XV, 201 fols., 178–186, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 514).

(*)Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, C. 374, cart. XV, 117 fols. 62–76, with preface (Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, I, 252; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 382).

(*)———, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Db. 88, mbr. XV, 104 fols., 84v–104, with preface (Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, I, 306; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 376: "heavily damaged").

(*)———, Db. 89, mbr. XV, 208 fols., 24v–50v, with preface (Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, I, 306; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 376).

(*)Dublin, Trinity College, 438 (D. 4. 24), mbr. XVI, 136 fols., 4–23v (T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* [Dublin, 1900], 68, no. 438; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 195).

(*)Edinburgh, University Library, 119 (Db 5.16), cart. misc., 150 fols., 1–15 (Borland, 190–91; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 21).

(*)El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, d. III. 9, cart.-mbr. XV, 257 fols., 150–159v, with preface (Antolín, I, 479; V, 464).

(*)Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, II. 135, cart. XV, fols. 223–232, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 58).

(*)———, II. 175, cart. XV, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 59).

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Acquisti e Doni 287, cart. XV, 8 fols., 1–5, without preface, and fragmentary at beginning (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 99).

———, Acquisti e doni, 446, cart. XV, 157 fols., 149v–157v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 105). Colophon: "ego Gherardus Iohannis Del Ciriagio . . . ex originalibus dicti domini Leonardi sumpsi et exemplavi. 1454 . . . Januarii in magnifica civitate Florentia." See Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6568 below.

———, Ashb. 133, mbr. XV, 68 fols., 20–39, with preface (C. Paoli, *I codici Ashburnhamiani*, I, 97–98, no. 133; Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 81).

———, Conventi soppressi, 605, cart. XV, 146 fols., 79–99, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 73).

———, 25 sin. 9, mbr. XV, 122 fols., 33–45, with preface (Bandini, *Catalogus*, IV, 189; dated May 16, 1403; Baron, *Schriften*, 161).

———, 65.15, cart. XV, 156 fols., 91–102, with preface (Bandini, *Catalogus*, II, 733).

———, 76.42, mbr. XV, 200 fols., 83–106v, with preface (Bandini, *Catalogus*, III, 114).

———, 89 inf. 36, mbr. XV, 31 fols., 1–16v, with preface (Bandini, *Catalogus*, III, 395).

———, 90 sup. 52, cart. XV, 132 fols., 12–35, with preface, fragmentary at beginning (Bandini, *Catalogus*, III, 629).

———, 90 sup. 57, mbr. XV, 90 fols., 14v–31, with preface (Bandini, *Catalogus*, III, 641).

———, San Marco 332 (93), mbr. XV, 184 fols., 163v–174v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 76).

———, Strozzi 104, cart. XV, 167 fols., 18v–31v, with preface (Bandini, *Suppl.*, II, 455).

———, Biblioteca Marucelliana, C. CCXX, mbr. XV, 108 fols., 19v–25v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 108).

———, Biblioteca Moreniana, Frullani 22, cart. XV, 129 fols., 109–126, with preface (C. Nardini, A. Gigli, A. Badiani, and B. Maracchi Biagiarelli, *I manoscritti della Biblioteca Moreniana*, II [Florence, 1960], 154–55; Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 110).

———, Frullani 23, cart. XV, 90 fols., 52–70, with preface (Nardini, II, 154–55; Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 110).

(*)———, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. I. 64, cart. XV, 411 fols., 43v–44, preface only (Mazzatinti VIII 26; verified by J. Hankins).

(*)———, II. IX. 15, cart. XV, 361 fols., 1–29, with preface (Mazzatinti XI 259; reported by J. Hankins).

———, II. IX. 148, cart. XV, 341 fols., 1–10v, with preface (Mazzatinti XII 25).

———, II. X. 45, mbr. XV, 62 fols., 52–61v, with preface, and fragmentary at end (Mazzatinti XII 42).

———, Magliabechi XXIII 154, cart. XV, 204 fols., 149–163v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 139).

———, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 766, cart. XV, 452 fols., 404–408, without preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 200).

———, 779, cart. XV, 444 fols., 97r–v, preface only (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 201).

(*)———, Museo Horne, 2818 (E.1.4), cart. XV, 75 fols., 70–75v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 615; reported by V. Brown).

(*)Genoa, Biblioteca Durazzo, B II 2, mbr. misc. XV, with preface (*Catalogo*, 33; Odorico, *Giornale ligustico* VII–VIII [1881], 149–56, 180–82; Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 247; II, 522; D. Puncuh, *I manoscritti della raccolta Durazzo* [Genoa, 1979], 191–92, no. 129).

(*)———, B VI 14, cart. misc. XV, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 246; Puncuh 262–64, no. 202).

(*)Glasgow, University Library, Hunter. 91 (T. 4. 8) mbr. XV, 110 fols., 96v–103v, with preface (Young 98).

(*)———, Hunter. 301 (U. 6. 19), mbr. XV, 36 fols., 22–33, without preface (Young 242–43).

(*)Gotha, Landesbibliothek, Chart. B. 239, XV, 199 fols., 26v–41, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 398).

(*)Holkham Hall, Earl of Leicester, 478, misc. XV, fols. not numbered, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 41; see De Ricci 42).

(*)———, 483, mbr. misc. XV, preface only (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 45; see De Ricci 42).

(*)Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, FB 1020, mbr. XV, 88 fols., 76–88v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 19).

(*)Königsberg (Kaliningrad), Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 154, now lost (Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 168; attested by L. Bertalot).

(*)Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 519, misc. XV, 175 fols., 96, preface only (Wisłocki I 163; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 404).

(*)———, 3245, mbr. misc. XV, 330 fols., 13–27v, with preface (Wisłocki II 712–13; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 406).

(*)Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, 329, misc. XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 23).

(*)Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, Spencer Research Library, C 68 (Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 268; reported by J. Hankins).

(*)Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit,

Lips. 50, mbr. XV, 128 fols., 113–127v (J. Geel, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui inde ab anno 1741 Bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae accesserunt* [Leiden, 1852], 118, no. 403; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 362).

(*)Leningrad, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Cl. lat. F.v.11, mbr. XV, fols. 185–197 (Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 191–92).

(*)London, British Library, Add. 39654, mbr. XV, 50 fols., 1–32 (*Catal. Add. Mss.*, 1916–1920, 133; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 122).

———, Arundel 373, cart. XV, 99 fols., 1–19, with preface (*Catal. Mss. BM, New Series*, I, 109; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 131).

(*)———, Harley 1883, cart. XV, fols. 172–178 (*Catal. Harleian Mss.*, II, 305; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 157).

———, Harley 2460, cart. XV, 150 fols., 87–94v, with preface (*Catal. Harleian Mss.*, III, 693; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 158).

———, Harley 3426, mbr. XV, 177 fols., 166–177, with preface (*Catal. Harleian Mss.*, III, 25; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 170).

(*)———, Royal, 10 B IX, cart. XV, 259 fols., 64v–67, with preface (Warner I 317; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 200).

(*)———, Lambeth Palace, 341, mbr. misc. XV, 210 fols., 88–101v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 209).

(*)Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9120 (Aa 29), mbr. XV, 258 fols., 54–67, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 562).

(*)———, Biblioteca de la Universidad Central, now Archivo Histórico Universitario, 129, misc. XV, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 588).

(*)Marburg, Universitätsbibliothek, 3, cart. XV., 138 fols., 116–127v, with preface (C. F. Hermann, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Academica Marburgensi asservantur* [Marburg, 1838], 2; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 609).

(*)Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 166 sup., misc. XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 296).

(*)———, B 116 sup., cart. XV, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 327).

(*)———, C 43 sup., misc. XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 297).

(*)———, H 91 sup., mbr./cart. XV, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 332).

(*)———, M 44 sup., cart. XV, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 334).

(*)——, R 64 sup., mbr. XV, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 340).

(*)——, R 88 sup., cart. XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 340).

(*)——, S 63 sup., misc. XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 312).

(*)——, Y 178 sup. (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 316).

(*)——, C 69 inf., misc. XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 281).

(*)——, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 642 (H 173), cart. XVI, fols. 2–13, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 362; verified by Derek Moore).

(*)——, 682 (E 48), cart. XV, fols. 125–140v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 362; verified by Derek Moore).

(*)——, Biblioteca Trivulziana 832, cart. misc. XV, now lost (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 361; reported by J. Hankins).

(*)Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Est. lat. 578 (Alpha V. 9. 16), XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 372).

(*)Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 361, XV, 154 fols., 110–119 (*Catal. CLM*, I, 1, 66).

(*)——, Clm 8482, cart. XV, 290 fols., 106–107, preface only (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 618–19).

(*)——, Clm 19652, XV, 162 fols., 139ff. (*Catal. CLM*, II, 3, 265).

(*)——, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° 550, mbr. XV, 275 fols., 121–128v, with preface (*Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Münchens*, III, ii [Wiesbaden, 1979], 73; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 647–48).

(*)Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV B 14, XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 399).

(*)——, V B 34, mbr. XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 400).

(*)——, già Viennesi lat. 48, cart. XV., 88 fols., 73v–88v, with preface (formerly Vindob. 3190: see *Tabulae*, II, 225; Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 437).

(*)New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Marston 78, mbr. XV, 77 fols., 60–77 (W. H. Bond and C. U. Faye, *Supplement* [New York, 1962], 73; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 286).

(*)——, Yale 14, mbr. XV, 90 fols., 67v–87v, with preface (De Ricci I 164; B. A. Shailor, *Catalogue of the . . . Beinecke Library*, I [Binghamton, N.Y., 1984], 27–28; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 275).

(*)New York, Library of Phyllis Goodhart Gordan, 73, cart. XV, 70 fols., 1–14 (Bond and Faye, *Supplement*, 401; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 351).

(*)——, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 244, XV (ca. 1470), fols. 2–22 (De Ricci II 1412; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 330).

(*)Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame, Memorial Library, 30, cart. XV, 201 fols., 135, preface only (J. A. Corbett, *Catalogue of the . . . University of Notre Dame* [Notre Dame, Indiana, and London, 1978], 145; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 362).

(*)Olomouc, Státní vědecká knihovna, M I 159, cart. XV, 248 fols., 161ff. (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 160).

(*)Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 5. 26, mbr. XV, 240 fols., 98–115, with preface (*Oxford*, II, 2, 704, no. 3618; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 246).

(*)——, Rawl. G. 47, mbr. XV, 81 fols., 70v–81 (*Oxford*, III, 351).

(*)——, Douce 214, mbr. XV, 208 fols., 128–137, with preface (*Oxford*, IV, 558).

(*)——, Canon. Class. Lat. 140, cart. XV, 182 fols., 33–44, with preface (*Oxford Quarto Catal.*, III, 169–71).

(*)——, Canon. Class. Lat. 155, cart. XV, 87 fols., 63–76, with preface (*Oxford Quarto Catal.*, III, 180).

(*)Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, 43, XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 7).

(*)——, 92, XV, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 8).

(*)——, 165, XVI (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 9).

(*)——, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1499, XV, fols. 1–7v, with preface and autograph corrections (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 17; J. Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, II [Leiden 1990], 376–77).

(*)Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 3894, cart. XV, 121 fols., 25–41, with preface (*Cat. Gen. Fr. Mazarine*, III, 223).

(*)——, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2662, fols., 43v–55, with preface (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, III, 311; Lauer, II, 568).

——, lat. 6568, mbr. XV (1472), 200 fols., 184v–200, with preface. Colophon: “Ego Gherardus Iohannis del Ciriagio civis et notarius florentinus . . . exemplavi in magnifica civitate Florentie. De anno domini millesimo quattuorcentesimo septuagesimo secundo, et de mense Maii”. See Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana,

Acquisti e doni 446 above. (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, IV, 257.)

(*)——, lat. 8554A, cart. XV, 114 fols., 88v–96v, with preface (*Catal. Bibl. regiae*, IV, 533; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 225).

(*)——, lat. 11138, cart. XV, fols. 75v–87 (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 248).

(*)——, lat. 13061, cart./mbr. XV, fols. 166ff. (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 233).

(*)——, lat. 14978, cart.-mbr. XV, 326 fols., 279–295, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 259).

(*)——, lat. 17888, fols. 88–89, preface only (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 267).

(*)——, Moreau 848, fol. 217, preface only (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 328).

(*)——, Nouv. acq. lat. 478, mbr. XV, 38 fols., 25–38, fragmentary at end, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 280).

(*)Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Pal. 94, mbr. XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 33).

(*)Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Aldini 164, cart. XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 556).

(*)Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Fondo Vecchio 633 (J 27), mbr. XV, fols. 49–69, with preface (Mazzatinti V 168; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 58).

(*)——, N. F. 81, cart. XV, fols. 142v–156, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 62).

(*)Pommersfelden, Gräfl. Schönbornsche Bibliothek, 188 (2806), misc. XV, 112 fols., 102–112v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 687).

(*)Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, L 64, cart. XV (Podlaha, *Catalogus*, 237, no. 1309; reported by J. Hankins).

(*)Princeton, Princeton University Library, Princeton 107, XV, fols. 34v–45v (Bond, 309; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 380).

(*)Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, 271, mbr. XV, fols. 68–81v, with preface (Mazzatinti IV 204; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 82).

(*)——, 275, cart. XV, 122 fols., 80–83 (Mazzatinti IV 206).

(*)——, 284, cart. XV, 156 fols., 105–125v (Mazzatinti IV 209; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 82).

(*)——, 419, cart. XV, fols. numbered variously, preface only (Mazzatinti IV 236; reported by J. Hankins).

Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rossi 229 (33 E 27), cart. XV, 156 fols., 96v–97v, preface only (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 115).

——, Rossi 354 (36 E 40), cart. XV–XVI, 229 fols., 166v–168, excerpts (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 117).

——, Corsini 583 (45 C 18), cart. XV, 148 fols., 19–26, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 110).

(*)Rovereto, Biblioteca Civica, 12 (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 139).

(*)San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Civica Guarneriana, 81, mbr. XV, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 567).

(*)——, 115, cart. XV (Mazzatinti III 129).

(*)Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Codices Hospitalenses chartacei 79/4, cart. XV, 295 fols., 1–4v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 45–48).

(*)Schlägl, Austria, Bibliothek des Stiftes Schlägl, 124 (Cpl 51), cart. XV, 373 fols., 350v–356v, with preface (G. Vielhaber and G. Indra, *Catalogus codicum Plagensium manuscriptorum* [Linz, 1918], 220; verified by Isfried Pichler).

(*)Seville, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, 5–3–27, misc. XV, fols. 116–30v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 615).

(*)Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, HV 41, cart./mbr. XV, 110 fols., 41–53v, with preface (N. Terzaghi, “Index codicum classicorum qui Senis in bybliothecca publica adservantur,” *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, XI [1903], 427; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 164).

(*)——, J IX 2, cart. XV, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 167).

(*)——, K VI 68, XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 157).

(*)Świdnica (Schweidnitz), 15, now lost (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 414).

(*)Trent, Museo Provinciale d’Arte (formerly Museo Nazionale), Vindob. lat. 120, fols. 37–49, with preface (J. Gentilottus, *Catalogus manuscriptorum codicum Tridenti*, in *Monumenta Ecclesiae Tridentinae*, III, ii [Trent, 1765], 383; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 193).

(*)Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 170, cart. XV, preface only (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 197).

(*)Turin, Biblioteca Ex-Reale, Varia 269, cart. XV (1465), fols. 58–65, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 186).

(*)Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, Fondo Principale, I 49, XV (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 201).

(*)Urbino, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo Universitario, 71 (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 207).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini lat. 61, cart. XV, 175 fols., 3v–27v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 442).

———, Chigi J VI 214, cart. XV (1429–30), 184 fols., 87–96, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 484).

———, Ottob. lat. 1267, cart./mbr. XV, 189 fols., 140–148, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 429).

———, Ottob. lat. 1348, cart. XV, 149 fols., 1–16v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 429).

———, Ottob. lat. 1353, mbr. XV, 443 fols., 374–393, without preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 429).

———, Ottob. lat. 1934, cart. XV, 63 fols., 46–58v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 420).

———, Ottob. lat. 2092, cart. XV, 159 fols., 150v–158v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 421).

———, Ottob. lat. 2141, cart. XV, 206 fols., 191–206v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 421).

———, Ottob. lat. 3303, mbr. XV, 102 fols., 69–100v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 438).

———, Reg. lat. 777, cart. XV, 107 fols., 34–46, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 400).

———, Reg. lat. 1321, mbr. XV, 194 fols., 71v–82, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 402).

———, Reg. lat. 1555, cart. XV, 229 fols., 209v–216, without preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 409).

———, Reg. lat. 1778, mbr. XV, 101 fols., 74–92v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 404).

———, Rossi 50, mbr. XV, 200 fols., 80–99, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 468).

———, Urb. lat. 1164, mbr. XV, 183 fols., 166v–181v, with preface (Stornaiolo III 181).

———, Vat. lat. 1807, mbr. XV, 119 fols., 1–13v, with preface (*Cod. Vat. Lat.*, III, 278).

———, Vat. lat. 2934, cart. XVI, 606 fols. in 2 vols., fols. 478–493v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 357).

———, Vat. lat. 2951, cart. XV, 300 fols., 37–48v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 315).

———, Vat. lat. 3386, mbr. XV, 89 fols., 21v–44v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 319).

———, Vat. lat. 3398, mbr. XV, 108 fols., 46–65, without preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 319).

(*)———, Vat. lat. 4490 (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 327).

———, Vat. lat. 4507, cart. XV, 100 fols., 76–100, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 328). The last two fascicles containing the *Hiero*, which were added to this codex in 1934 from Vat. lat. 3441, were considered autograph by Colocci and Orsini.

———, Vat. lat. 4509, cart. XV, 60 fols., 57–58v, with preface and beginning of text (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 368).

———, Vat. lat. 5109, cart. XV, 200 fols., 75–86v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 331).

———, Vat. lat. 5126, cart. XV, fols. 10–25v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 369).

———, Vat. lat. 5131, cart. XV, 147 fols., 89v–100v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 587).

(*)———, Vat. lat. 6875, cart. XV–XVI, 308 fols., 261–283, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 382).

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Zan. lat. 501 (1712), cart. XVI, 211 fols., 64–76v, with preface (Valentinelli IV 197; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 214).

———, Lat. II 59 (2048), cart. XV, 96 fols., 86–96 (numbered 172–182), with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 216).

———, Lat. VI 139 (3139) cart. XV, 108 fols., 75–96, preface and text fragmentary at end (Valentinelli IV 183; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 223).

(*)———, Lat. XI 21 (3814), mbr. misc. XV, preface only (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 238; reported by J. Hankins).

———, Lat. XI 27 (4353), cart. XV, 56 fols., 38v–56v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 239).

———, Lat. XI 59 (4152), cart. XV, 258 fols., 63–64v, preface only (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 253).

———, Lat. XI 80 (3057), cart.-mbr. XV, 402 fols., 329r–v, preface only (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 254).

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, CCCIII (303), cart. XV, 140 fols., 75–76v, preface only (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 299).

———, DCXCIX, cart. XV, 16 fols., 1–16v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 300).

(*)Vienna, Dominikanerkloster, 231/258, mbr. XV, 194 fols., 67–87, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 54).

(*)———, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 120, XV, 89 fols., 37v–49 (*Tabulae*, I,

17; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 58); see above under Trent.

(*)———, 291, XV, 155 fols., 74–98, with preface (*Tabulae*, I, 40).

(*)———, 3121, fols. 1–8 (*Tabulae*, II, 201).

(*)———, 3190: see p. 152 above under Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, già Viennesi lat. 48.

(*)———, 3475, XV, 110 fols., 3–27v (*Tabulae*, II, 303).

(*)———, 3494, cart. XV, preface only (*Tabulae*, II, 314; reported by J. Hankins).

(*)Washington, The Catholic University of America Library, 114, mbr. XV, 211 fols., 150–166v, without preface (De Ricci I 454–55; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 406).

(*)Wiesbaden, Nassauische Landesbibliothek, 240 (formerly Weilburg, Gymnasialbibliothek, 1), cart. XV, 78 fols., 64–78v, with preface, now lost (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 732).

Editions:

(*)ca. 1471, Venetiae (Venice): [Adamus de Ambergau]. In 4°. H 16228; BMC, V, 189; Goff, X-6; *Indice generale*, 10406. NUC. BL; (IU).

(*)ca. 1476, Romae (Roma): per Georgium Lauer. In 4°. H *15987; Proctor 3422; Pol. 3916; BMC, IV, 40a; Goff, V–132; *Indice generale*, 10155. NUC. Vatican Library; BL; BN (no. 814); (CtY).

(*)ca. 1475, Paduae (Padua): D. Siliprandus. H 15983; Proctor 7333; Pell. 11463; BMC, VII, 914; Goff V–130; *Indice generale*, 10153. BL; BN (nos. 802–3).

(*)ca. 1481, Florentiae (Florence): Franciscus Dini. H 15985. NUC. Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma; (DLC).

(*)1493, Venetiae (Venice): per Damianum de Mediolano. In 4°. NUC. BL; (IU; PP).

(*)1494, Parisius (Paris): per Guidonem Mercatoris. H 15995; Proctor 7994; Pell. 11470; Goff V–138. BN (no. 815).

(*)1497, Venetiae (Venice): per Joannem Tacuinum. In 4°. H 15999. NUC. BL; (CtY; DLC).

(*)1499, Venetiae (Venice): per Joannem Tacuinum. In 4°. H 16000.

1502, Venetiae (Venice): per Joannem Tacuinum. In 4°. Vatican Library.

[ca. 1501–1502], 1502, [1504], 1505, 1511. See Composite Editions.

(*)[no date, but before 1560], Viennae (Vienna): Johannes Winterburg (Panzer, IX, 56,

320, citing Denis, *Wiens Buchdrucker-geschichte bis MDLX*, 303).

1928, Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner (rpt. Wiesbaden, 1969). *Leonardo Bruni Aretino, Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, ed. H. Baron, 100–101, preface only.

Biography:

See p. 111 above.

2. Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus (fragment)

In his biography of Pirckheimerus, Holzberg identifies a fragment of the *Hiero* which survives among the papers preserved in the Nuremberg library.

Hiero 1.1–9. [*Inc.*]: Simonides poeta pervenit aliquando ad Hieronem (tyrannum) . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: si enim ista sic se habent quomodo.

Manuscript:

Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, PP. 364 U. 1, 117.

Biography:

See p. 146 above.

Bibliography: N. Holzberg, *Willibald Pirckheimer: Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland* (Munich, 1981), 197.

3. Desiderius Erasmus

In his dedication to Antonius Fugger, dated at Freiburg im Breisgau on February 13, 1530, Erasmus says that he had begun his translation several years earlier but had stopped because of corruptions in the Greek text.

Dedication (ed. of Basel, 1530). [*Inc.*]: Non sine causa, vir amicissime, veterem de Ata querelam in tuis ad me literis renovas. Nullo enim unquam seculo illa magis suo nomini respondit quam hoc, nec latius per omnium mortalium capita divagata est; cui praeter innumeras calamitates, hoc quoque mali iure ferimus acceptum, quod nos animorum benevolentia coniunctissimi, consuetudine distracti vivimus. In huius tamen incommodi solatium, nonnihil remedii videor mihi repperisse. Nam hisce diebus, quum inquirens nescio quid, chartarum mearum acervos excuterem, ultro et, ut arbitror, deo quopiam ita volente, venit in manus quod ante annos aliquot vertere tentaram ex Xenophontis Tyranno. Id quo minus tum absolverim, praeter alia fuit et illud in causa, quod Graecus codex videretur mihi parum emendatus. Ad hoc laboris nunc integer reversus, perpetuo cursu citraque respi-

rationem ad umbelicum deduxi. Apud priscos nihil intererat inter nomen regis ac tyranni: quum postea tyranni vocabulum coeperit esse invisissimum apud omnes, regis etiam, apud eas duntaxat respublicas in quibus vigeat democratia. Alioqui quod Simonides subinde Hieronem appellat tyrannum, nihilo civilius esset quam si quis cum pirata familiariter et amice confabulans, identidem appellaret illum piratam. Fateor hoc argumentum non per omnia temporum horum statui congruere, in quibus sub monarchis praepotentibus tranquillissime degunt non, ut tum, singulae civitates, sed amplissimae ditioes; multa tamen insunt quae nostris quoque principibus non inutilia cognitu futura sint. In hoc libello tibi dicato quoties versaberis, Antoni charissime, putato te cum Erasmo tuo colloqui. Ornatissimo viro Ioanni Cholero salutem ex me plurimam: quo uno nec inter amicos habeo quenquam candidiorem, nec inter patronos magis invictum. Ex eius litteris, nil nisi meros amores spirantibus, tantum capio, mihi crede, voluptatis ac solatii, ut vix alia quapiam ex re tantundem. Bene vale. Datum apud Friburgum Brisgoiae, Idus Februarii. Anno a Christo nato M.D.XXX.

Hiero. [*Inc.*]: Simonides poeta die quodam accessit ad Hieronem tyrannum; cumque ocium forte esset utrisque, Simonides hunc in modum locutus est: Vellesne mihi explicare, Hieron, ea quae probabilius est te melius nosse quam ego novi? . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Haec omnia si praestiteris, illud certum habeto, te tibi paraturum, quo non alia inter homines possessio vel pulchrior vel beatior: quandoquidem cum felix sis, tamen tibi nullus invadebit.

Editions:

1530, Basileae (Basel): Johannes Frobenius. 85 pp. in 8°. Panzer, VI, 275, 776. NUC. BN (no. 817); (MH).

(*)1532, apud Friburgum Brisgoiae (Freiburg): excudebat Joannes Emmeus. *S. Basilii Duae homiliae de laudibus ieiunii*. Panzer VII 60, 171; Allen VIII 361; Rummel 120.

1534, 1545 (Basel), 1551 (Basel), 1551 (Lyons), 1553, 1555, 1558, 1561, 1581–96. See Composite Editions.

1540, Basileae (Basel): per Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium. *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodamensis Opera omnia*, IV, 582–92, with preface. Allen VIII 361. NUC; BL; BN. (CU; CtY; MiH; MH).

1703, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): cura et impensis Petri Van der Aa. *Opera omnia*, ed. Leclerc, IV, 643–54. NUC. BL; BN; (CU; CtY; ICU; IU; NN; MH).

Biography:

CTC, IV, 221–22. Add to the *Bibliography*: Dedicatory epistle to Fugger published in P. S. Allen, ed., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodam.*, VIII (Oxford, 1934), 361–62, #2273; Fugger's acknowledgment, dated April 7, 1530, in *Opus epistolarum*, VIII, 417–18, #2307; French translation in *La correspondance d'Erasmus*, ed. A. Gerlo, VIII (Brussels, 1979), 466–67, 534–35.

H. Dibbelt, "Erasmus' griechische Studien," *Gymnasium*, LVII (1950), 55–71; J. P. Payne, "Toward the Hermeneutics of Erasmus," in J. Coppens, ed., *Scrinium Erasmianum*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1969), II, 13–49; M. M. Phillips, "Erasmus and the Classics," in *Erasmus*, ed. T. A. Dorey (London, 1970), 1–70; and E. Rummel, *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics* (Toronto, 1985), 117–20.

4. Jacobus Grifolus.

Together with orations by Demosthenes, Grifolus made this version while teaching Latin and Greek at Perugia. He had it published because he feared that copyists would corrupt his text. It is dedicated to Cardinal Julius Feltrius, who had assisted him in his teaching appointment and who later gave permission to Gabrielius to consult manuscripts at Perugia: see p. 126 above. Like Gabrielius, Grifolus speaks of studying with Constantinus Rhallius.

Dedication (ed. of Florence, 1550). Amplissimo ac illustrissimo Cardinali Urbini, Perusiae Umbriaeque legato Iulio Feretrio Iacobus Grifolus Lucinianensis s. p. d. [*Inc.*]: Cum Perusiae, te auctore, princeps illustrissime, latinas graecasque literas docerem, ut auditoribus commoior esset labor ille meus, has Demosthenis orationes dum explicabam, in latinum converti, atque id ita ut necesse non habuerim, ubi nullum mihi Latinum occurreret quod idem declararet, verbum pro verbo reddere. . . . Erat etiam Xenophontis Hieron latine mihi similiter explicatus, quem cum his orationibus fortasse compressissem, si mihi liberum fuisset. Cum vero multis haec a me facta esset exscribendi copia (qui enim iis ea negare potuissem, quorum causa

laborarim?) ac deinceps ab his item aliis; cumque plerumque fiat, ut quo saepius res aliqua describatur, eo mendosius describatur, veritus sum ne aliena culpa incurram in gravem aliquam reprehensionem. Cui quidem malo duobus remediis subveniendum mihi duxi. Quorum quidem primum sine secundo mihi parum salutare visum esset. Quanvis enim ab impressoribus integerrima haec edantur, id quod ut fiat non leviter curabimus, nisi tamen approbassem tibi prius, non duxissem satis illis esse tutum in vulgus exire. Neque vero quod a maioribus tuis summam acceperis amplitudinem eamque divinis honoribus amplificas, multorum sequar institutum, qui in operibus et potentia illorum ad quos mittunt suos libros firmius sibi praesidium quam in eorundem virtute et doctrina collocant: nullius enim opes tantae unquam fuerunt, ut per se possent iudiciorum libertatem cohibere. Verum enimvero illud plane opus quod magnorum virorum magnis ingeniis probatur, magna sibi praesidia parant. Quamobrem has meas interpretationes, generosissime adolescens, ad te misi, quippe qui aetatis progressum non egregia modo et praeclara virtutis indole, sed etiam optimarum artium eximia doctrina et eruditione superasti, ut patrocínio tum potentissimi tum eruditissimi principis defendar, ac omnibus ita commender ut nemo ausit a gravissimo tuo de me iudicio discrepare, cum praesertim excellentibus ingeniis, cuiusmodi est tuum, ita delecteris, ut complures apud te viros omni doctrina excultos semper habeas: inter quos viget nunc familiaris et necessarius meus Constantinus Rhallius, qui cum caeteris omni doctrinarum elegantia par est, tum ex omnibus maxime graecis literis est eruditus. Itaque nihil tuo iudicio et tam erudito coetu probari potest, quod non sit in omni genere perfectum. Ex quo nunc quoque vides quam longe absim ab aliorum more atque consilio. Eo enim animo plerique sua scripta ad splendida fortuna viros mittunt, ut vel aliquam gratiam ab illis ineant, quod illorum amplitudini splendorem aliquem afferre, vel ea ratione pro maximis beneficiis cumulatam gratiam referre se putent. Ego vero id facio, non ut tuum nomen illustrem, sed ut meum aliquam lucem accipiat, non ut tuis parem beneficiis gratiam tibi referam, sed ut in dies etiam maiorem debeam. Nec enim is ego sum qui Iliada vel Aeneida possim de te genere tuo scribere (tantarum enim laudum gloria illustris minore tuba celebrari non debet) nec qui

cum meo magnanimo rege contendam beneficiis. Relinquitur igitur ut in tuo aere semper sim futurus, quod tantum abest ut mihi molestum sit, ut si eo levare me cupiam, arrogans ipse mihi et impudens esse videar. Ut enim tibi magnificum est et generosum dare beneficium, sic mihi decorum est et honestum accipere. Quare hoc etiam in beneficii summi loco ponam, si haec mea studia auctoritate tua muniantur, et tuo eruditissimo iudicio semel absoluta a nullius deinceps audacia in crimen unquam revocentur, ut quo nihil honorificentius esse mihi duco, gratiam apud te meam testentur omnibus. Perge igitur, praesul amplissime, ista tua admirabili naturalique benignitate me gratissimum virum fovere. Vale.

Hiero. [Inc.]: Simonides Poeta die quodam accessit ad Hieronem tyrannum. Cum vero uterque esset otiosus, Num, inquit Simonides, adduci posses, Hieron, ut mihi narres ea, quae consentaneum est te melius quam me scire? . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Atque si haec omnia feceris, scito te, quo nihil in humanis pulchrius beatiusve sit, consecuturum; eris enim felix, nec invidet quisquam.

Edition:

1550, Florentiae (Florence): in aedibus Laur. Torr. *Demosthenis orationes tres Olynthiacae et prima et secunda contra Philippum . . . Xenophontis Rhetoris Hieron vel Tyrannicus. . . . interprete Iacobo Grifolo Lucinianensi*. 114 pp. NUC. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana; (ICU).

Biography:

Jöcher infers that Jacobus Grifolus (Griffolus, Griffiolus) (Jacopo Grifoli) was a native of Lussignan near Poitiers, but it appears more likely that he was born in the Tuscan town of Lucignano (Val di Chiana). He published commentaries on Horace's *Ars poetica* and pseudo-Cicero's *Ad Herennium* (Florence, 1550), dedicated to Fabius Magnanellus, bishop of Nocera. According to his preface printed above, he made his translations of Demosthenes and Xenophon while he was professor of classical letters and Greek at Perugia. Moreni says that Grifoli was sought by the universities in Venice and Bologna and that he served as public professor of eloquence in Vicenza. Some of his Latin orations and poems are preserved in Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, B IV 11 (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 33).

Bibliography: Jöcher II 1181; D. Moreni, *Annali della tipografia fiorentina di Lorenzo Torrentino*, 2d ed. (Florence, 1819), 131.

5. Johannes Fraxineus

This obscure translation is mentioned by Maittaire and Fabricius, but I have been unable to locate any extant copy. Both the date and place of publication seem doubtful for a German schoolteacher whose published works span the years from 1569 to 1605.

Edition:

(*)1550, Parisii (Paris): Christianus Wechelus. Maittaire III 588, 739; Fabricius, BG, III, 17.

Biography:

A native of Gotha, Johannes Fraxineus (Ioannes Fraxinius, Johann Eschner) was professor of humanities and philosophy in the *Gymnasium* at Lauingen an der Donau. His Latin verses on biblical themes and civic celebrations won him the title of Imperial Poet Laureate (1602 *Odaria*: "Poeta Coronatus Caesareus").

Works: *Mortuus in vivo. Symbolum M. Caspari Melissandri* (1568); *Idyllion in natalem Domini nostri Iesu Christi* (1569); *Cerva matutina in xxii regii prophetae Davidis psalmo* (1577); *In compendium theologiae Jacobi Heerbrandi . . . notae aliquot illustres e Divo Augustino decerptae* (1601); *Odaria duo . . . viris consularibus novis* (1602); *Elegia nuptialis Martino Iacobi* (1605).

Bibliography: Jöcher II 1221.

6. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. First version

This version first appeared in Levvenklaius' 1569 bilingual edition of Xenophon's complete works: see p. 89 above.

Hiero (ed. of Basel, 1569). [*Inc.*]: Veniebat aliquando ad regem Hieronem poeta Simonides, cumque otium obtigisset utrique, Simonides hoc modo locutus est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Denique si haec omnia praestiteris, scito plane quiddam te longe humanis in rebus praeclarissimum felicissimumque consecuturum, ut tametsi beatus sis, invidiam tamen non experiaris.

Editions:

1569, 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. Revised version

This revision, in which Levvenklaius' changes are minimal, first appeared in the 1594 edition of Xenophon (see p. 90 above) and was reprinted numerous times.

Hiero (ed. of Frankfurt, 1595; revision italicized). [*Inc.*]: Veniebat aliquando ad regem Hieronem poeta Simonides, cumque otium obtigisset utrique, Simonides hoc modo locutus est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Denique si haec omnia praestiteris, scito plane quiddam te longe humanis in rebus praeclarissimum felicissimumque consecuturum, ut tametsi beatus sis, invidiam tamen haud experiaris.

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfurt), 1625, 1691, 1691–1703, 1700–1704, 1754. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

COMMENTARY

a. Franciscus Portus

Together with seven other commentaries on various works of Xenophon, this was published by Portus' son Aemilius in 1586: see p. 115 above.

Preface (ed. of [Geneva?], 1586). [*Inc.*]: Ξενοφώντος Ἱέρων, ἢ Τυραννικός. Ἱέρων a persona, cuius causa est instituta disputatio . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: ut quando fuisset olim privatus, iam vero tyrannus esset, sibi declararet quid inter utrumque vitae genus interesset.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: Ἀφίκετο: ex Graecia in Siciliam pervenit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: οὐ φθονηθήσῃ tibi nemo invidabit.

Edition:

1586. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 116 above.

X. *LACEDAEMONIORUM RESPUBLICA*

TRANSLATIONS

1. Franciscus Philelphus.

This version preceded that of the *Agesilaus*. Both were completed by 1432, when Philelphus

was living at Florence, and dedicated to Cardinal Niccolò Albergati, bishop of Bologna and titular of Santa Croce: see the *Bibliography* on p. 93 above.

Dedication (Dartmouth College, 002002). Ad sapientissimum et sanctum virum et clementissimum patrem dominum Nicolaum sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalem Francisci Philelphi praefatio in Xenophontis librum de republica Lacedaemoniorum.

[*Inc.*]: (fol. 3)

Aethereo dilecte Iovi cunctisque Lycurge
Caelicolis, qui nostra venis ad pingua
templa,

Ambigo quem potius te nunc, hominemve
deumve

Vaticiner, divum potius te spero Lycurge.
His Pythiae versibus Lycurgum allocutum tradit
Herodotus [I.65] amplissimus pater historiae,
cum is Apollinis templum tum primum ingrederetur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 4) Sed de te
alias. Nunc ad Lycurgum illum revertamur.
Permagnum illius hominis atque perillustre apud
veteres nomen fuit; omnes eum non ut mortalem
sed ut numen aliquod venerati sunt. Perpulchrum est mediusfidius vitam honestam vivere,
sed longe et pulchrius et divinius posse alios suae
virtutis suaeque praestantiae simillimos reddere:
id praeter absolutissimam sapientiam virum
praestare posse crediderim neminem. Huiusmodi vero fuisse Lycurgum legimus, qui non
modo sese ad probitatem ad decus ad gloriam
comparavit, quin etiam omnem curam studium
industriam accommodavit ut tales redderet cives
suos qualem per id temporis totus prope terrarum
orbis eum esse opinabatur. Ergo in legibus ferendis civitatem condidit, rempublicam statuit,
imperium illud stabilivit, quod et barbari formidarent et omnis Graecia vereretur. Hasce autem
leges Socraticus Xenophon et eleganter, ut solet, et perdocte apud Graecos scripsit. Nos ut
potuimus ad Latinos traduximus, tuoque nomini eo dedicavimus ut et quantum Christi instituta
gentilium praestent legibus cognoscas, et quantum Lycurgo ipse antecederet ceteri intelligant.

Lacedaemoniorum respublica. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 4v) Cogitanti aliquando mihi Spartam, quae
omnium una urbium infrequens esset hominibus, et viribus in Graecia et nomine claruisse,
mirandum profecto visum est quonam id pacto fieri potuerit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 19v) Quibus autem rex mortuus cumuletur honoribus,

id declarant Lycurgi leges, quae non ut homines
sed tanquam heroes Lacedaemoniorum reges honorandos voluere.

Manuscripts:

(*)Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library), Clmae 422, mbr. XV, 58 fols., 1–15, with preface (E. Bartoniek, *Codices latini medii aevi*, XII [Budapest 1940], 382; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 295).

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 63.34, mbr. XV, 138 fols., 1–23v, with preface (Bardini, *Catalogus*, II, 707).

———, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 159, cart. XV, 230 fols., 61–80, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 189).

(*)The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 129 B 11, mbr. XV (*De Oranje Nassau-Boekerij* . . . [Haarlem, 1898], 14; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 344).

(photo.) Hanover, N.H., Dartmouth College Library, 002002, mbr. XV, 107 fols., 3–19v, with preface (shelfmark verified by Philip N. Cronenwett, Curator of Manuscripts; formerly no. 3 in the library of Arthur L. Gale of New York: *De Ricci* II 1673; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 262, 349).

(*)Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, 955, cart. misc. XV, 9 fols., with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 21).

(*)New York, Library of Phyllis Goodhart Gordan, 72 (formerly Phillipps 1374 and 13587), cart. XV–XVI (Bond and Faye, *Supplement*, 401; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 351).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6074, cart. XV, 57 fols., 1–11v, with preface (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, IV, 201; Mazzatinti, *La biblioteca dei re d'Aragona in Napoli* [Rocca S. Casciano, 1897], 72).

———, lat. 8751D, cart. XV–XVI, 186 fols., 106–117v, with preface (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae*, IV, 535).

(*)Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Pal. 41, mbr. XV, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 34).

(*)Savignano sul Rubicone (Romagna), Biblioteca dell'Accademia Rubiconia dei Filopatridi, 36, cart. XV, 138 fols., 46–59, with preface (Mazzatinti I 92–93; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 570).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi J VI 215, cart. XV, 214 fols., 61–68v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 484).

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3509, cart. XV, 66 fols., 12–22, with preface (*Tabulae*, III, 3).

Editions:

[ca. 1501–1502], 1502, [1504], 1505, 1511, 1534, 1545, 1551, 1553, 1555, 1558. See Composite Editions.

Biography: See p. 93 above.

2. Lilius Tifernas

This translation is found together with a translation of Philo Judaeus, *De migratione Abrahami*, and of the spurious correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle. The translation is dedicated to Federico da Montefeltro (1422–82), ruler of Urbino from 1444 and duke from 1474. Federico's interest in Aristotle's *Politics* (mentioned in Lilius' dedication) dates from 1472, when he requested Donato Acciaiuoli to provide him with a Latin translation and commentary, which he received in 1474: Federico da Montefeltro, *Lettere di stato e d'arte* (Rome, 1949), 106–107, 115–16.

Dedication (Vatican Library, Urb. lat. 227). Divo (*sic*) F(ederico) Urbinatium principi in translatione epistularum Alexandri et Aristotelis Lili Tifernatis prologus feliciter. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 55) Principum gloriosissime, quas Alexandri atque Aristotelis epistulas facere latinas mandavit mihi dignitas tua, eas ego Politicorum librorum mentionem habere cognovi quo tempore celeberrima in bibliotheca Lacedaemoniorum quoque Politi[c]am a Xenophonte pictam comper[ui]. Quae causa fuit ut editionem utramque tibi susciperem atque duorum summorum auctorum scripta simul mitterem, si forte praeceptis politicis ab Aristotele tradita rebus quoque modo per Lacedaemonios impleta docente Xenophonte deprehenderemus.

Lacedaemoniorum respublica. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 58v) Sed ego quandoque reputans quemadmodum Sparta, civitas hominibus parum frequens, potentissima famaue celeberrima visa sit, id quoniam modo processerit admirabar . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 72) quoniam non velut homines, sed etiam semideos, honore dignos Lacedaemoniorum reges duxerunt.

Manuscript:

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 227, mbr. XV, 206 fols., 58v–72 (Stornaiolo I 222).

Edition:

D. Marsh, "Sparta and Quattrocento Humanism: Lilius Tifernas' Translation of Xenophon's *Spartan Constitution*," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XLIII (1991), 91–103.

Biography:

Lilius Tifernas (Lelio Tifernate, Lilio di Città di Castello, Lilius Castellanus, Egidio Libelli) is often confused by Fabricius and others with Gregorius Tifernas, who was perhaps his teacher but more likely his contemporary. Lilius was born around 1417 and died in 1486 at the age of 69 (Bianca, 73 n.45); he is mentioned as "notarius et iudex ordinarius" in a document of 1437. According to Raffaele Maffei, he lived for some time in Constantinople, presumably to perfect his knowledge of Greek. In 1443 he was at the court of Pope Eugene IV in Rome, and between 1452 and 1463 he held a public appointment as lecturer on poetry in Volterra, where Maffei studied with him. In 1472 he is mentioned as professor of rhetoric at the University of Perugia. His translations from Philo, completed between 1478 and 1484, were dedicated initially to Sixtus IV (1471–84) and later to Innocent VIII (1484–92).

Works: *De pedestribus certaminibus* (1459); Latin translations from Xenophon, Lucian (*True History*), pseudo-Aristotle, St. John Chrysostom, and Philo Judaeus.

Bibliography: C. Bianca, "L'accademia del Bessarione tra Roma e Urbino" in G. Cerboni Baiardi, G. Chittolini, and P. Floriani (eds.), *Federico di Montefeltro: Lo stato, le arti, la cultura*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1986), III 61–79. Cosenza IV 3414; M. Donnini, "Sul testo di Cesare e di Curzio Rufo nel 'De pedestribus certaminibus' di Lilio Tifernate," *Giornale italiano di filologia*, XVI (1985), 123–26; *Enciclopedia italiana*, XXXIII (1937), 832 (G. Lugli); Fabricius, *Bibliotheca mediae aetatis*, IV, (1735), 809; G. Mancini, "Gregorio Tifernate," *Archivio storico italiano*, LXXXI (1923), 65–112 (on Lilius, see 76–77); G. Muzi, *Memorie civili di Città di Castello* (Città di Castello, 1844), III, 170–75; G. Staffa, *Due traduzioni dal greco di Gregorio e Lilio Tifernate* (Gubbio, 1758); P. Tommasini-Matteucci, *Fatti e figure di storia letteraria a Città di Castello* (Venice, 1901), 20–24. Ursula

Jaitner-Hahner has prepared a detailed and lengthy biography of Lilius Tifernas (forthcoming).

3. Anonymus Vaticanus

The earliest copies of this translation appear to date from the late fifteenth century.

Text (Vatican Library, Ottob. lat. 1797). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 20) Et ego aliquando animo volvens ut Sparta, quae inter civitates est quae paucis habitantur hominibus, potentissima et celeberrima in Graecia apparuerit, admiratus sum quoniam modo id factum fuerit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 42v) At honoribus qui mortuo regi exhibentur hoc significare volunt Lycurgi leges, quod non homines sed ut heroes Lacedaemoniorum reges honorarunt.

Manuscripts:

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Strozzii 52, mbr. XV, 23 fols., 1–23 (Bandini, *Suppl.*, I, 389).

———, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1209, cart. XVI–XVII, 128 fols., 69–80v, fragmentary at end. [*Expl.*]: facile quispiam inveniatur. Posuit autem pro . . . (S. Morpurgo, *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana* [Rome, 1893–1900], 278–79).

(*)Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, H IX 17, cart. XVI, fols. 18–37v (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 166).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1797, mbr. XV, 42 fols., 20–42v (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 433).

4. Joachim Camerarius

This translation first appeared in Camerarius' 1543 edition of Xenophon's minor works, with a dedication dated at Leipzig on November 16, 1543, to Prince Heinrich of Mecklenburg (1479–1552).

Epistola dedicatoria (ed. of Leipzig, 1543). Illustrissimo principi ac domino magno H. F. Megalopurgensi, Vandalorum etc. duci etc. Ioachim. Camerar. Pab. s. d. [*Inc.*]: Multi quaesiverunt qua consideratione addiderit Homerus heroibus suis numina deorum, ut quondam locuti fuerunt, immortalium, quae illorum causa in castra et conflictus interque se acerrime dimicantes producerentur. Ac placuit quibusdam, quibus nos assentimur, voluisse summam excellentiam atque virtutem et maximam in ter-

ris laudem ac claritatem applicatione divinitatis divinum poetam exprimere, cum consilia actionesque illae humanam conditionem, id est vulgi captum, excedere viderentur. . . . Ac de autore quidem habitam aliquando orationem a me verbosiorum in hunc libellum includere voluimus, qui profecto vir magnus fuit, et admirabili sapientia atque virtute praeditus, et cum ipse dux atque imperator clarus, tum summis imperatoribus et fortissimis ducibus aetatis suae et carissimus et imprimis venerabilis. De argumento autem quid dicam? Non enim hoc in quadam fatali confusione temporum horum tanti fieri potest quanti meretur. Quotocuique enim iam ratio civilis et gubernandi veluti ars cordi est? Aut apud quos populos, quasve gentes ac nationes, sapienti rectori et ei viro qui Politici nomen mereatur locus esse possit? Verum haec tamen tam praecepta quam exempla prudentes et magni viri cupidissimis animis complecti solent, vel ad voluptatem cognitionis pulcherrimarum rerum, vel ad aliquam etiam instructionem sui, ut republicae tanquam corpus, si in pessima et alienissima diaeta, unde abduci nolit, percurari nequeat, ipsi tamen et de sua intelligentia, et de veterum sapientium subiunctionibus quasdam tanquam ἐμπειρικοί medici θηραπειίας παραμυθητικός, partibus ac membris illius adhibeant, ne omnia simul prorsus deficient et penitus intereant. Quam ob causam, magne princeps, et prudentiae et eruditioni et pietati tuae haec Xenophontea de forma duarum potentissimarum et quodam tempore virtute ac gloria tam ingenii quam rerum gestarum imprimis florentium civitatum scripta (quae tibi transmittenda hoc tempore putassem) gratissima iucundissimaque futura esse existimavi, inque his cognoscendis requisiturum etiam te expositionem longiorem et magnopere desideratum, ea quae et hic et alii ex Socratica Platonicaque familia in hoc genere de statu, mutatione, legibus, institutisque ac moribus civitatum perscripsisse traduntur, cum omnium rerum publicarum formas ac, ut ita dicam, opera et extractiones persequerentur disputationibus suis. . . . De munere quidem meae operae, hoc possum et debeo etiam dicere, quod idem ait poeta [*Ov.*, *Pont.* III.7.23–24]:

Haec quanquam misisse pudet quia parva videntur,

Tu tamen haec quaeso consule missa boni. Idque facturam esse clementiam et humanitatem

tuam mihi polliceor de fama clarissimi nominis tui et consentienti iudicio atque sermone doctorum. Vale. Lipsiae. XVI. Calend. Decembris. Anno a salutifero partu, M.D.XL.III.

Lacedaemoniorum respublica (ed. of Leipzig, 1543). [*Inc.*]: Mihi vero cogitanti aliquando Spartam minime omnium populosam civitatem cum fama tum potentia in Graecia facile principem extitisse, mirum visum fuit, quonam pacto fieri hoc potuerit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Non enim voluit neque regibus addere animum tyrannicum, neque potestatem illorum odiosam civibus reddere, sed honoribus qui mortuo regi habentur, hoc nimirum indicant leges Lycurgi non hominum sed heroum cultum se Lacedaemoniorum regibus tribuere.

Editions:

1543, 1556, 1572 (Paris). See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 129 above.

5. Henricus Stephanus

For his 1561 edition of Xenophon's complete works, Stephanus revised Philelphus' translation: see p. 96 above.

Lacedaemoniorum respublica (ed. of Geneva, 1561; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: Cogitanti mihi aliquando Spartam, quae omnium una urbium maxime infrequens esset hominibus, tamen et viribus in Graecia et nomine claruisse, mirandum profecto visum est quonam id pacto fieri potuerit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quibus autem rex mortuus cumuletur honoribus, his declarant Lycurgi leges, se non ut homines sed tanquam heroes Lacedaemoniorum reges honorasse.

Editions:

1561, 1581-96. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 98 above.

6. Gulielmus de Bailly

Extant in a single Paris manuscript dated December 1562, the translation of Gulielmus de Bailly is dedicated to his father and seems to have been composed while he was a student of Greek and Latin. Entries on fols. 29 and 46v, which precede and follow the translation, indicate a connection with the Parlement de Paris in December 1562.

Dedication (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 4733, fol. 29). Xenophontis clarissimi historici De Lacedaemoniorum republica liber summa cura diligentiaque latino sermone donatus quoad hellenismi proprietates concessit. Ἐκ τοῦ Σοφοκλέως. φιλεῖ γλώτταν ἐκχέας ἄκων ἀκούων οὓς ἐκὼν εἴπη λόγους. Ex Sophocle. Qui temere linguam profuderit solet inuitus audire quae volens dixerit. [fr. 668 D] Parisiis. Actum mense Decembri anno a salute mortalibus restituta 1562. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 29v) Patri suo humanissimo Gulielmus de Bailly perpetuam felicitatem exoptat. Verum illud esse comperio, pater praestantissime, quod a Stoicis dici solitum nostros homines commemorare audiui, quae in terris gignuntur omnia ad usum hominum creari. . . . Quibus ego rebus adductus, cum per hosce dies natalicios otiosi datum esset, utilissimum mihi esse duxi et optimum fore putavi si Xenophontis De republica et legibus librum, quem his iam superioribus noctibus e graeco in latinum sermonem ut interpres contuli, ad te mitterem ut me in his et latinis et graecis litteris, in quibus tamen paululum videor esse versatus, bonas diei horas non male consumpsisse perspicias et quantum cupiam in utriusque orationis facultate elaborare, cum sim potissimum in eo loco ubi nata et alta videantur omnia linguarum genera. Accipies igitur hoc parvum opusculum, quamvis manibus tuis aspectuque indignum, aequo animo, quod quamquam tale non est ut in arce poni possit quasi Minerva illa Phidiae, satis tamen esse existimavi si tibi gratum et iucundum esset. Bene vale et nostrum hunc laborem boni consule. Lutetiae 14. Cal. Martias.

Lacedaemoniorum respublica. (fol. 30r) Xenophontis historici ac oratoris clarissimi De republica Lacedaemoniorum liber e graeco sermone eodemque nativo in latinum traductus. [*Inc.*]: Cogitanti mihi maxime dignum admiratione visum est cur Sparta olim in Graecia potentissima et fama imprimis extiterit cum constet tam paucis civibus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 46r) Qui vero regi mortuo honorare concessi sunt, id Lycurgi leges, quae non ut homines sed ut heroas Lacedaemoniorum reges eximie honorandos voluerunt. Finis. (fol. 46v) Du Mardy xxii^{me} jour de decembre MV^cLXII . . . du matin. Presidents: Messieurs C(hristophe) de Thou chevalier premier, F(rançois) de St. André, Renault Baillet, P(ierre) Seguier, C(hristophe) de Harlay.

Manuscript:

(*)Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 4733, cart. XVI, fols. 30–46, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 299; text transcribed by E. Jeaneau).

Biography:

Nothing is known at present about Gulielmus de Bailly. A contemporary oration entitled “Remonstrances faictes devant le Roy . . . concernant la suppression de plusieurs cours et officiers” and delivered in 1566 is ascribed to a Guillaume de Bailly; the work was published in 1573 and 1576 (copies at the BN).

7. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. *First version*

This version was first printed in Levvenklaius' 1569 bilingual edition of Xenophon's complete works: see p. 89 above.

Lacedaemoniorum respublica (ed. of Basel, 1572). [*Inc.*]: Mihi vero cum ad animum aliquando accidisset, Spartam quae ex urbibus est minime populosis, nihilominus et potentissimam et clarissimam in Graecia extitisse, mirari subiit, quonam id pacto factum esset . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Qui autem regi mortuo concessi sunt honores, iis vero Lycurgi leges indicare volunt, non se Lacedaemoniorum reges ut homines, sed tamquam heroes honore eximio adfecisse.

Editions:

1569, 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. *Revised version*

This version first appeared in Levvenklaius' 1594 edition of Xenophon's complete works (see p. 90 above) and was often reprinted.

Lacedaemoniorum respublica (ed. of Frankfurt, 1595; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: Mihi vero cum ad animum aliquando accidisset Spartam, quae una minime populosis ex urbibus sit, nihilominus et potentissimam et clarissimam in Graecia extitisse, mirari subiit, quonam modo id fieri potuerit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] Qui autem regi mortuo concessi sunt honores, iis Lycurgi leges indicare volunt, non se Lacedaemoniorum reges ut homines, sed tamquam heroas honore eximio adfecisse.

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfurt), 1625, 1691, 1691–1703, 1700–1704, 1754. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

8. Anonymus Cantabrigiensis (excerpts)

Together with versions of the *Anabasis*, *Atheniensium respublica*, and *De vectigalibus*, this anonymous translation survives in a sixteenth-century Clare College manuscript, written in England, where it appears as “Compendium legum Lycurgi Lacedaemonii”.

Lacedaemoniorum respublica. [*Inc.*]: (p. 118) Cum mihi in mentem venit aliquando qua ratione Sparte civitas paucissimorum hominum existens potentissima nobilissima totius Graeciae, admiratus sum diu qua ratione illud evenerit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 120) non multum supereminebat privatos [*Lac.* XV.8: text mutilated].

Manuscript:

(photo.) Clare College, Cambridge, 23, now G' 3. 5, cart. XVI, 120 pp., 118–120 (James, *Clare College*, 40; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 7).

COMMENTARIES

a. Joachim Camerarius

This commentary probably dates from the period of Camerarius' translation of the work around 1540.

Commentary (ed. of Leipzig, 1543). [*Inc.*]: Hunc libellum Laertius [II.57] scribit Demetrium Magnetem negasse composuisse Xenophontem. Ego neque in argumento neque elocutione quicquam reperio, non dico indignum hoc auctore, sed alienum rationibus ac voluntati illius . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Cum enim iam capella. Haec mactabatur Dianae cognomento ἄγροτέρα, id est agresti, cum aggressuri hostes essent, idque fiebat astante rege.

Editions:

1543, 1556, 1572 (Paris). See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 129 above.

b. Franciscus Portus

This commentary was first printed in the 1586 edition of Portus' observations on eight works by Xenophon.

Preface (ed. of [Geneva?], 1586). [*Inc.*]: Initia et ortum reipublicae, progressus, varia

eius genera, et quae laudem, quaeve vituperationem habent, de rerum publicarum mutationibus et causis mutationum, quae denique res eas conservent, quaeve interimant, Aristoteles doctissime libris octo explicavit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ea pleraque Xenophon affert in hoc libello, quae suo quoque loco, Deo dante, declarabuntur.

Commentary. [Inc.]: Τὸ κεφάλαιον. Ἐγκώμιον ausim dicere Σπάρτης hoc opusculum. Prooemium est dictum a re ipsa quam suscipit author laudandam . . . / . . . [Expl.]: οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλήθη. Ratio: nec regibus fastum tyrannicum addere, nec civitati materiam invidiae praebere voluit.

Edition:

1586. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 164 above.

XI. MEMORABILIA

TRANSLATIONS

I. Johannes Aurispa (excerpt)

This excerpt from *Memorabilia* II.4.1 appears in two Vatican codices with the heading "ex graeco ab Aurispa translatum". The attribution makes sense since the excerpt concerns friendship, the subject of Lucian's *Toxaris* also translated by Aurispa. Taken from a paragraph in which Socrates repeatedly contrasts men's possessions with their friendships, this excerpt oddly omits his concluding observation that "few men know the number of their friends".

Memorabilia II.4.1 (Vatican Library, Ottob. lat. 1153). [Inc.]: (fol. 37v) Ex graeco ab Aurispa translatum. Audiui Socratem quandoque de amicis disputantem ea proloqui quae mihi maxime utilitati visa sunt ad amicorum acquisitionem et usum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Dicebat praeterea videre multos aliarum possessionum, etiam si plurimas haberent, numerum scire.

Manuscripts:

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1153, cart. misc. XV–XVI, 233 fols., 37v (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 427).

———, Vat. lat. 3370, cart. misc. XVI, 353 fols., 20v–21 (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 318, 585).

Biography:

Johannes Aurispa (Giovanni Aurispa) was born in Noto, Sicily in 1376 and spent his early years (from 1390 to 1402) in Naples. In 1413 he traveled to Chios and the East, where he learned Greek. He joined at Florence in 1419 the papal court of Martin V, whom he followed the next year to Rome where he taught Lorenzo Valla. In 1421–22 Aurispa was in Constantinople, where he undertook missions for Emperor Manuel Palaeologus; on his return to Italy in 1423, he brought back more than 238 Greek codices. After spending another year in Florence, he moved to Bologna where he became professor of Greek at the Studium, but in late 1427 he joined the court of Niccolò III d'Este at Ferrara. Aurispa, having taken orders, accompanied Meliaduse d'Este to the Council of Basel in 1433, and he acquired more Greek manuscripts during the Council of Florence and Ferrara in 1438–39. During his later years he traveled often to Rome but resided in Ferrara, where he died in the summer of 1459, leaving a collection of over 500 (predominantly Greek) codices.

Works: Latin translations of Hierocles' *In aureos versus Pythagorae*, Hippocrates' epistles, Lucian's *Comparatio* and *Toxaris*, Phalaris' *Epistula ad Demotelem*, Philiscus' *Consolatio ad Ciceronem* (from Dio Cassius), and Plutarch's *Ad principem indoctum*; various Latin epistles and verses.

Bibliography: Sandys II 36–37; Cosenza I 337–47; DBI, IV (1962), 593–95 (E. Bigi).

D. Cast, "Aurispa, Petrarch, and Lucian: An Aspect of Renaissance Translation," *Renaissance Quarterly*, XXVII (1974), 157–73; A. A. Castellán, "En la ruta de los códices: Giovanni Aurispa," *Anales de historia antigua y medieval*, XXXVIII (1961), 32–83; A. Franceschini, *Giovanni Aurispa e la sua biblioteca: notizie e documenti* (Padua, 1976); L. Grant, "On Giovanni Aurispa's Name," *Philological Quarterly*, XXXII (1953), 219–23; S. Guastella, *Giovanni Aurispa* (Noto, 1975); R. Sabbadini, *Biografia documentata di Giovanni Aurispa* (Noto, 1890); Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1905–14; 2d ed., Florence, 1967); Sabbadini, *Il carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa* (Rome, 1931).

2. Saxolus Pratensis (Hercules tale)

This excerpt is dedicated to Gianfrancesco Gonzaga's third son, Alessandro, a favorite pupil of Vittorino da Feltre, who taught at Mantua from 1423 until his death in 1446 and who gave Saxolus a Greek manuscript of Xenophon's works (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 55.21: Bandini, *Catalogus*, II, 285). The reference to Alessandro's early manhood would seem to date it around 1440. It appears from the dedication that Gianfrancesco (1395–1444) was still alive, which would establish 1444 as the *terminus ante quem*.

Dedication (Vatican Library, Reg. lat. 1388). Illustri principi domino Alexandro Gonzagae Saxolus Pratensis salutem plurimam dicit. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 4) Plato, sapientissimus ille a sapientibus iudicatus, principatum occasus atque interitus causam accurate ut omnia ac diligenter inquirens, eam tamen non quam plerique falso accusant fortunam, sed vicia peccataque principum verissimis argumentis atque exemplis esse contendit; contraque virtutem eos adversus omnia vel fortunae vel hostium tela firmare ad perpetuitatem atque munire. Hanc ego tibi, Alexander, qui pro immortalibus beneficentissimi patris meritis in me tui nomen familiamque Gonzagam immortalem, si fas esset, optarem, Platonis sententiam vel hominis divini potius oraculum penitus persuaderi magnopere cupio. Ad quod quidem, etsi te tua sponte satis incitatum arbitror, utpote qui in sanctissima Victorini disciplina perpetuo ab ineunte pueritia sis educatus atque institutus, tamen cum ex illius sinu nunc primum tanquam e tranquillissimo portu in altum provehant, ubi scientissimo etiam gubernatori naufragium sit pertimescendum (ista aetate praesertim quae, cum reliquorum omnium tum maxime principum, quibus et fortuna pernitiōsa complura dederit blandimenta, ad cupiditatibus resistendum imbecilla atque infirma reperitur) Xenophontis eum de Socraticis suis excerpserim locum tibi quoque latinum feci, in quo Herculis species illa praeclara est a summo philosopho ad hominum utilitatem expressa divinitus. Hanc ipsam si curiosus, ut debes, oculis spectare volueris, huiusmodi te non dubito principem informaveris aut tuo patre avo maioribusque tuis merito dignissimus iudicare. Cum adolescentulo Hercule ac tuo fere aequali mulieres duas, Virtutem scilicet ac Voluptatem, colloquentes facit, quarum utrius-

que sermones arrectis auribus attende, quaeso; ac primum quid venifica illa polliceatur Voluptas considera. Quid enim, non dico homine libero, sed quid omnino homine dignum, aut quid non pecudum potius proprium ac belluarum, quid non poenitentiae plenissimum? huius ego pertinacissimos patronos assentatores perniciosos, qui principum aures non solum domo obsessas tenent, hos inquam scopulos vereri me dico, Alexander, ne praeclarae tuae atque eleganter institutae adolescentiae cursum aliquando nobis interrumpant. Sed si alteram illam hominibus a deo ducendam caelo missam audire ac sequi volueris, incolumem te in portum quem optamus facile deducet. Mediam viam igitur complectere. Etenim haec Lycurgum aurei saeculi exemplar illud educavit, haec Cyrum instruxit, armavit, haec veteres Athenienses, Catones nostros, Paulos, Scipiones, nobilissimos ceteros instituit erudit. Haec, ut ad proxima et domestica tua veniam, Ioannem Franciscum patrem gloriam ad eam quae est apud omnes clarissima produxit, quae quidem eo admirabilior videri debet, quo a patre adolescentulus erat paene puer in principatu relictus. Nulla liberali institutione imbutus, a nemine adiutus, vel a pluribus potius sceleratissimis latronibus, qui vitam eius ac mores funditus perdere studebant, oppressus, se per se ipsum nixus erexit. Contra vero tibi, cum a fortuna a parentibus et a magistro commoda atque adiumenta suppedita sint omnia, eius vestigia non persequere? Quod si corporis tibi robur natura negavit, at ingenii vires dedit certe maximas, quibus probe in litterarum ac sapientiae studio exercitatis verior longe atque illustrior gloria comparatur. Id si, ut spero, feceris ad claritatem amplitudinemque apta Palladis, mihi crede, non minus quam Martis arma esse cognosces. Vale.

Memorabilia II.1.21–33. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 14) Herculem Prodicus scribit cum primum e pueris excedens ad pubertatem venisset . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 29) quod si exercueris, beatissimam utique felicitatem consequare.

Manuscripts:

(*)Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica, Delta VI 33 (now MA 348), cart. XV, preface only (Kriszteller, *Iter*, I, 12).

(*)Copenhagen, Gl. kgl. Samling 3553 8°, fols. 3–4v (E. Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum*

latinorum medii aevi bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis [Copenhagen, 1926], 338; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 185).

(*)Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Est. lat. 134 (Alpha R. 9. 5), without preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 378).

(*)Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V B 35, fols. 163ff., with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 413).

(*)Trieste, Biblioteca Civica, I 4 (I. XXIX), cart. XV, fols. 339–344, without preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 199).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1388, cart. XV, 58 fols., 4–29, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 408).

Biography:

Saxolus Pratensis (Sassolo Pratese, Sassuolo da Prato), born probably at Florence around 1416 or 1417, was the son of a physician named Lorenzo from Prato. In 1437 he went to Ferrara, where he studied briefly with Guarino of Verona. In 1438 he was in Siena, accompanied by Philelphus, who, in a letter dated Siena, October 1, 1438, recommends Saxolus to Leonardus Aretinus as “my student” (“auditor noster”): see C. Bianca, 228, n. 97. Soon thereafter, he presumably moved to Mantua to study under Vittorino da Feltre (d. 1446), whose biography he wrote. He was probably at Mantua when he dedicated the present translation to Alessandro Gonzaga of the ruling family. He died of the plague at Arezzo in 1449.

Works: De Victorini Feltrensis vita ac disciplina; Epistulae; De accentibus ac diphthongis et formatione praeteritorum graecorum.

Bibliography: C. Bianca, “‘Auctoritas’ e ‘veritas’: il Filelfo e le dispute tra platonici e aristotelici,” in *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte* (Padua, 1986), 207–47; Cosenza, IV, 3206–3207; *Guarino Veronese, Epistolario*, ed. R. Sabbadini, 3 vols. (Venice, 1915–19; rpt. Turin, 1966), II, 313–14 and III, 344–45; C. Guasti, “Sassolo Pratese e la sua apologia di Vittorino da Feltre,” in *Letteratura, storia e critica* (Prato, 1898–99), 565–94.

3. Johannes Bessarion

Dating from 1442, Bessarion’s translation was titled *De dictis et factis Socratis* (the title *Memorabilia* originated with Levvenklaius). It

is dedicated to Giuliano Cesarini (1398–1444), who was instrumental in elevating Bessarion to the cardinalate: see Strnad and Walsh (cited on p. 168 below).

Dedication (ed. of Rome, 1521). Bessarion Basilicae Duodecim Apostolorum presbyter Cardinalis Nicenus Juliano episcopo cardinali Tusculano benemerenti salutem. [*Inc.*]: Lucii Crassi apud Ciceronem illam sententiam, qua exercitium vertendi probat, ego quoque apprime utilem existimans, Xenophontis oratoris suavissimi philosophique nobilissimi de factis et dictis Socratis memoratu dignis hos quattuor libros morales e graeco in latinum traduxi; eosque tibi ideo, Juliane pater optime, dedicavi, ut tum meorum tibi studiorum, quae summopere a me flagitas, rationem reddam, tum vel maxime ut te auctore, qui operibus omnem in his contentam virtutem perfecisti, in aures Latinorum perveniant. Si enim quisquam, ubi de iustitia fortitudine honestate moderatione continentia liberalitate magnitudine animi amicitia officio, itemque de republica de imperio de re militari ceterisque virtutibus Socrates dixerat, ea sibi non facilia factu putat, praecepta audiens veluti ficta pro falsis et impossibilibus spernet, praesertim cum modo Socratem, qui dicta factis exaequabat, admonentem videat, is abs te tuique causa, qui omnibus his virtutibus praeditus es, haec audiat necesse est, exemploque tuo spe ductus in imitationem studiumque earum trahatur. Horum sermonum hoc argumentum est. Cum Socrates, vir profecto sapientissimus, accusatus Athenis iniuria morteque damnatus fuisset, accusationisque eius duo capita essent—quod scilicet priscos non coleret deos, sed nova daemonia introduceret, quodque iuventutem corrumperet—ad haec ambo redarguenda falsamque de eo opinionem vulgo habitam refellendam, auditor eius Xenophon in primis celeberrimus hos libros conscripsit. Et primo probato quod deos Socrates coleret, tum factis eius tum aliis argumentis, devenit secundo ad doctrinam dictaque eius exponenda, quae suis auditoribus quique eum conveniebant adolescentibus conferebat. Quibus palam ostenditur non modo eum non corrupisse iuventutem, sed etiam quam maxime ad omnem virtutem capessendam ei profuisse. Ubi et modum eius disputandi acerrimum atque vehementissimum materiasque de quibus disputat tam admirari licet ut merito putemus illis potius mortem Socratis, qui eum damnarunt, quam ipsi

damno fuisse. Qui cum in iudicio capitis pro se ipso oraret, ita dixit ut non supplex aut reus, sed magister aut dominus iudicum esse videretur. Cetera inter disceptandum tute ipse cognosces. Bene vale.

Memorabilia. [Inc.]: Cum saepenumero cogitem quibus de causis Athenienses commoti morte Socratem, virum iustissimum atque sapientissimum, condemnarent, satis admirari non queo. . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quod si cui nostra haec non satis probentur, Socratis ad ceteros homines comparatione rem ipsam diiudicet.

Manuscripts:

(*)Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, O II 33, fols. 2–76v, with preface (M. Steinmann, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: Register zu den Abteilungen AI-AXI und O* [Basel, 1982], 591; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 55).

(*)Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. I 26, cart. XV, 273 fols., 224–273v, without preface (A. G. R. Naumann, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Senatoria Civitatis Lipsiensis asservantur* [Grimma, 1838], 10; verified by D. Debes).

(*)Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Solg. ms. 54. 2°, mbr. XV, 209 fols., 1–61 (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 674).

(*)Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Class. Lat. 131, cart. XV, 155 fols., 1–84, with preface, autograph (*Oxford Quarto Catal.*, III, 166; Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library*, 493).

(*)Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale, XIII C 14, cart. XVIII (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 30).

(*)Toruń (Thorn), Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna i Książnica Miejska im. M. Kopernika, R 4° 18, cart. XV, 104 fols., 5–96v (M. Curtze, *Die Handschriften und seltenen alten Drücke der Gymnasialbibliothek zu Thorn* [Thorn, 1875], 6, no. 16; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 416).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1602, cart. XVI–XVII, 423 fols., 381v, excerpt (*Mem.* II.9.1–3; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 599).

(*)———, Vat. lat. 1806, mbr. XV, 70 fols., with preface: dedication copy (*Cod. Vat. Lat.*, III, 278).

———, Vat. lat. 2934, cart. XVI, 428–476v, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 357).

(*)Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbiblio-

thek, 3125, cart. XV, 132 fols., 93–132v (*Tabulae*, II, 210).

Editions:

1521, Romae (Rome): impressit Ariottus de Trino impens. Joannis Mazochi Bergomatis. Panzer VIII 263; Adams X-43. NUC. BL; (CSt; CtY; ICU; IU; MH).

(*)1533, Lovanii (Louvain): Serv. Zassenus Diestens. Panzer VII 270, 119; Nijhoff-Kronenberg II (The Hague, 1940), 893, no. 4102. BN (no. 889).

(*)1541, Parisiis (Paris): apud Jac. Bogardum. (Gr.-Lat.) Contains *Mem.* I–II (Fabricius, BG, III, 12).

(*)1542, Parisiis (Paris): ex officina J. Bogardi. BL; BN (no. 890).

1563, Basileae (Basel): per J. Oporinum. *Epicteti Enchiridion*, interpr. Hier. Wolfio (pp. 154–155: *Mem.* II.1.31–33; see Budaeus, p. 169 below). NUC. BN; Vatican Library; (DLC; WU).

1577, Lipsiae (Leipzig): imprimebat Iohannes Steinman. Michael Neander, *Opus aureum*, 2 vols. (Gr.-Lat.), I, 56–64: Prodicus' Hercules with Bessarion's version and Neander's commentary (see p. 175 below)

1534, 1545 (Basel), 1551 (Basel, Lyons), 1551, 1553, 1555, 1558, 1561, 1570, 1581. See Composite Editions.

Doubtful Edition:

(*)1541, Basileae (Basel). H. Vast, *Le Cardinal Bessarion* (Paris, 1878), 170, n. 1, reports seeing this version “dans un recueil édité à Bâle en 1541” (quoted by Rhodes). I have been unable to verify this edition and suspect that Vast may have meant the Basel edition of 1545.

Biography:

CTC, II, 306. Add to the *Bibliography*: C. Bianca, “La formazione della biblioteca latina del Bessarione,” *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento*, 2 vols. (Vatican City, 1980), I, 103–65, esp. 119–20; L. Labowsky, “Bessarione,” DBI, IX (Rome, 1967), 686–96; Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: Six Early Inventories* (Rome, 1979); Labowsky, “Una nuova testimonianza sul nome di battesimo del Bessarione,” *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, XXXVIII (1984), 428–36; J. Monfasani, “Bessarion Latinus,” *Rinascimento*, XXI (1981), 165–209; Monfasani,

“Still More on Bessarion Latinus,” *Rinascimento*, XXIII (1983), 217–35; Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1984); D. E. Rhodes, “Il cardinal Bessarione e Senofonte,” in *Miscellanea marciana di studi bessarionei* (Padua, 1976), 353–56; R. Sabbadini, ed., *Guarino Veronese, Epistolario*, 3 vols. (Venice, 1915–19; rpt. Turin, 1966), III, 473; A. A. Strnad and K. Walsh, “Cesarini, Giuliano,” *DBI*, XXIV (Rome, 1980), 188–95.

4. Anonymus Ottobonianus

The anonymous translator describes how his translation, made years earlier and locked away in his desk, was requested by Gian Matteo Giberti, bishop of Verona (1524–43). A reference to the reforms of Paul III (1534–49) suggests a date soon after 1536, when Gibertus was appointed to sit on a commission for reforming the Roman church—the “consilium de emendanda ecclesia” of 1537–38. Since the dedicatee is addressed as “pater amplissimus”, he was probably a bishop.

Dedication (Vatican Library, Ottob. lat. 1718). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1) Xenophontis Socratici commentarios de vita ac moribus summi viri ac philosophi sui pulcherrimos atque elegantissimos cum abhinc nescio quot annos, quod per tenuissimam qua tunc utebar valetudinem gravioribus studiis sine vitae periculo operam mihi dare non licebat, summa mea cum voluptate legens percussissem, amicorum quorundam rogatu inductus, tentavi ut (si facere possem commodius aliquanto quam adhuc ab aliquibus factum viderem) e graeco in latinum converterem ut, si apud suos loquens non modo rerum ubertate ac pondere, sed sermonis etiam nitore et peculiari ac veluti nativa ipsius quadam suavitate lectores et alliceret et detineret, apud nostros, si non (id quod vix mihi quidem modeste optari posse videbatur) tantopere esset delectaturus, at non usque eo tamen latinae linguae studiosos offenderet, ut a lectione sui deterreret.

Verum cum suscepti muneris calcem iam decussissem, neque tamen omnino quod ab initio mihi proposueram id me assecutum viderem, existimaveram opinioni ei, quae apud nonnullos fortasse de mea in hoc genere industria est, consultius futurum, si hoc quicquid esset in quo elaborassem apud me ipsum compressum tenuissem, quam si in eo evulgando operae a me minus feliciter positae inepto praeconio testes mihi

quam plurimos collegissem, prorsusque sicut constitueram fecissem, ni vir tui nominis observantissimus Gibertus episcopus Veronensis, cuius voluntati gravissimoque iudicio deliberationem meam cedere necesse fuit, consilium hoc meum penitus pervertisset. Is enim cum deposita hac in re industria mea amoris magnitudine fortasse quem in me alumnum suum habet inductus nescio quid omnino maius iudicasset, quam aut ego agnoscerem aut a quoquam existimari vellem pro ea qua apud me summa auctoritate valeret, fecit ut latitantes apud me libellos et veluti ruditatis suae sibi optime conscios in publicum prodire verecundantes extruderem et ad amplitudinem tuam primum mitterem. Nam quod in his ipse optimi olim ac sapientissimi viri ea virtutum exempla eosque sermones inclusos videbat ex quibus, si legisses imitarique studuisses, non mediocrem ad te vel utilitatem venturam putabat vel voluptatem, nequaquam se omnino credidit erraturus, si quos graece elegantissime scriptos sciret te vel optime legere posse, eosdem tibi [ut] suo iudicio non penitus impolitos latinos quoque legendos misisset; praesertim qui crederet te non usque eo alienis (id est graecis) favere ut tuos (id est romanos) penitus aspernare. Neque vero ea re merito se reprehendum putarit si tibi hoc veluti auctor fuisset ut ab amplissimorum ac splendidissimorum (in quibus magna tua cum pietatis ac prudentiae laude in ista aetate versarere) negotiorum contentissimo veluti cursu, in haec quae ociosorum hominum viderentur studia interdum velles divertere, qui non hoc tibi interpellandi causa negotii tui, sed adiuvandi potius et otii (si quod daretur) cum suavitate ac fructu consumendi proponeret, praesertim qui meminisses veteres olim multos, non modo praestantes in republica viros, sed summos etiam in moderandis exercitibus imperatores, ita rebus gerendis studuisse semper ut in maximis etiam et civilium et bellicarum actionum occupationibus sapientiae studia nunquam intermitterent.

Et quamquam is ad summae et virtutis et sapientiae laudem vivum domesticumque tibi in promptu esse quotidie exemplum videbat pontificis summi Pauli Tertii, cuius sanctissimum numen ac sapientissimum consilium perditis hisce temporibus instaurendae iam multos annos collapsae christianae veteri disciplinae singulare nobis divinitus servatum et datum remedium omnes et dedimus et experimur, in quod tu as-

sidue intuens ut facis imitansque nullum prorsus alterius cuiusquam requireres. Tamen si nihil aliud iucundiora certe tibi multo illa putavit futura, quae tanto exemplo praeclare esses gesturus, si ea tot iam saecula ei etiam viro probato animadverteres, cui summae (ut quae tum sine christiana pietate summa esse et sanctitas et sapientia poterat) sanctitatis ac sapientiae palmam sapientes plerique veteres summo consensu tribuissent. Ego autem, etsi nemo erat fere in cuius manus scripta haec mea devenire voluissem minus quam in tuas aut doctissimae domus tuae, quod cuius iudicio si nihil aliud pudorem certe meum non improbari magnopere voluissem, arrogantia ne damnaret omnium maxime metuebam. Quia tamen non venditandi causa ingenii aut facultatis graeca vertendi meae (quae utinam tam esset magna quam aut nullam eam aut perexiguam esse intelligo) non mea sponte sed alieno iussu mitto, hoc mitto minore cum trepidatione. Confido enim, pater amplissime, quae tua esse in rebus rite iudicandis aequitas debet, non modo arrogantis me, aut parum me ipsum noscentis opinionem apud te tuosque evasurum, sed modestiae etiam laudem non mediocrem inventurum, qui proposito mihi huiusmodi periculo eius tamen, cuius ut viri gravissimi ac de me optime meriti voluntati repugnare mihi fas non erat, iussis obtemperavi. Erit igitur humanitatis tuae si tu hosce, qui magno cum pudore ad te a nobis mittuntur, libellos ita acceperis, ut non in cognoscendo potius iudicii tui praestantiam, quam in ignoscendo animi facilitatem appareat te delectari maluisse. Vale.

Memorabilia. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 3) Saepenumero miratus sum quonam modo ii qui Socratem in iudicium vocaverunt Atheniensibus probare poterint capitis eum virum debuisse damnari . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 76) Quodsi cui haec quae dico non probantur, is collatis velim cum hoc alterius cuiusvis moribus, tum demum iudicium faciat.

Manuscript:

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1718, cart. XVI, 76 fols., 1–76, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 419).

5. Gulielmus Budaeus (Hercules tale)

Budaeus' partial translation of the Hercules tale appears near the beginning of his 1527 treatise *De studio litterarum recte instituendo*. It was also printed in the 1563 edition of Epictetus'

Enchiridion, supplemented by Bessarion's version of *Mem.* II.1.31–34.

Memorabilia II.1.21–31 (ed. of Basel, 1563). [*Inc.*]: Herculem Prodicus ille doctus scripsit, cum primum pubesceret . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: simul spectaculo sane visendo, nunquam ut opus aliquid tuum spectaris aut pulchrum aut honestum.

Editions:

(*)1532, [Paris]: excudebat J. Badius. NUC. BL; BN; (MH; CtY; ICN). Facsimile editions: Stuttgart, 1964; Paris, 1988 (with French translation).

(*)1533, Basileae (Basel): apud J. Walderum. NUC. BL; BN; (MiU; DFo; CtY; NNC; ICU).

(*)1536, Parisiis (Paris): excudebat M. Vascosanus in aedibus Ascensianis. NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; IEN; IU; DFo).

(*)1557, Basileae (Basel): apud N. Episcopium. NUC. BL; BN; (IU; PPULC).

1563, Basileae (Basel): per J. Oporinum. *Epicteti Enchiridion*, interpr. Hier. Wolfio, pp. 150–54 (*Mem.* II.1.21–31; see p. 167 above). NUC. BN; Vatican Library; (DLC; WU).

Biography:

Born in Paris in 1468, Gulielmus Budaeus (Guillaume Budé) studied law at Orléans ca. 1483–86 and then returned to Paris, where he dedicated himself almost exclusively to scholarly studies after 1491, when he began his study of Greek. In 1497, he was presented to Charles VIII and named a royal secretary. His first scholarly works reflect his interest in Roman law, which established his reputation as the foremost French philologist of his generation. Dating from this period, his correspondence with noted humanists such as Erasmus provides a rich source for our understanding of the man and his age. Eventually, his contact with Janus Lascaris led him to concentrate on Greek studies. He died in 1540.

Works: *Annotationes ad Pandectas* (1508); *De asse et eius partibus* (1515); *De studio litterarum recte instituendo* (1527); *Commentarii linguae graecae* (1529); *De philologia* (1530); *De transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum* (1535). He translated speeches of Demosthenes, several of Plutarch's *Moralia*, and the treatises *De mundo* of Philo and pseudo-Aristotle.

Bibliography: Jöcher I 1455–57; Michaud VI

109–12; Sandys II 170–73; *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, VII (1956), 611–12 (A. Martin).

Josef Bohatec, *Budé und Calvin: Studien zur Gedankenwelt des französischen Frühhumanismus* (Graz, 1950); L. Delaruelle, *Etudes sur l'humanisme français* (Paris, 1907); Delaruelle, *Répertoire analytique et chronologique de la correspondance de Guillaume Budé* (Toulouse, 1907; rpt. New York, 1964); L. Febvre, *Pour une histoire à part entière* (Paris, 1962), 694–716; M. M. de la Garanderie, *Christianisme et lettres profanes (1515–1535): Essai sur les mentalités des milieux intellectuels parisiens et sur la pensée de Guillaume Budé* (Lille, 1976); D. O. McNeil, *Guillaume Budé and Humanism in the Reign of Francis I* (Geneva, 1975); R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford, 1976), 101–102; J. Platard, *Guillaume Budé* (Paris, 1927).

6. Vincentius Obsopoeus (Hercules tale)

Obsopoeus included this celebrated passage in his 1529 volume of translations from Lucian, dedicated to George the Pious (“Georg der Fromme”, 1484–1543), regent of Ansbach and margrave of Brandenburg. His version of Prodicus’ Hercules is dedicated to Tilomannus Gunderodus, who had just reached adolescence. In making this version, Obsopoeus says that he was aided by Camerarius, who proposed an emendation in the Greek text.

Dedication (ed. of Hagenau, 1529). Vincentius Obsopoeus optimae spei adolescenti Tilomanno Gunderodo salutem. [*Inc.*]: Cum nuper tumultuaria quadam lectione percurrerem ἀπομνημονευμάτων libros, quos suavissimus dicendi magister Xenophon de dictis Socraticis memoriae proditos transmisit ad posteros, praeter alia quae in illis incredibili quadam cum voluptate legi, etiam in eum locum delatus sum qui est de Hercule Prodicus, quem etiam Cicero citans in Officiis [I.32.118] paucis perstringit. Ille cum esset, ut reliqua omnia, et summe elegans nec parum mihi videretur prodesse posse generosioris indolis iuvenibus, libuit illum excerptum huiusce meae dialogis velut auctarii vice adiicere. Hunc tibi, suavissime Tilomanne, subinde legendum atque relegendum commendo, ut habeas quod te sedulo moneat officii. Vides enim et te iam ex epheobis excessisse, ac in bivio illo

consistere deliberantem, cui potissimum generi vitae temet accommodes. Iam adolescentia consiliis admodum imbecilla est, et quanquam indoles interdum in iuvenibus non mala existat, aetas tamen flexibilis et ad quemvis animi impetum mobilis, et multae ad depravandum occasiones supersunt. Hinc enim blanditur otium, horum invitant voluptatum illecebrae, alio pravorum sodalium vocant commercia. Ut ergo hosce vitiorum scopulos salva navi evites incolumis, ac per multa ardua naviter, ut coepisti, ad virtutem contendas, parentumque tuorumque expectationi, quam de te concitasti amplissimam, respondeas, et duce et monitore tibi opus est. Qui vero aut meliorem aut tibi gratiorem morum formandorum magistrum possim addere quam Xenophontem, τὴν μελίπταν ἐκείνην τὴν ἀπτικήν, cuius omnia scripta auctiore aliquando facto ingenio et magis firmato in literis iudicio tibi diligentissime legenda suadeo, nunc vero iuveni hunc praecipue locum in tui gratiam a me excerptum et expositum ediscendum, et crebra recordatione repetendum dedico, ne quando per ignaviam et animi socordiam vitiorum viam ingrediens per omnia flagitiorum genera volutatus, tandem in praeceps ruas. Caeterum Ioachimus Camerarius, homo in utraque lingua multi iudicii, cuius opera et in his Luciani dialogis frequenter usi sumus, in hisce verbis εἰάν δέ ποτε γένηται τις ὑποψία σπανίως ἀφ’ ὧν ἔσται ταῦτα οὗ φόβος etc. [*Mem.* II.1.27] mendam subesse putat, existimans pro οὗ respondendum esse οὗ, cuius sententiae et ego haud difficulter subscribo. Nihil tamen arroganter praeiudicare volumus neque quidquid ad arbitrium nostrum revocare. Bene vale, et in praeceptore tuo amando fac constans appareas. Ex Norimberga.

Memorabilia II.1.21–34 (ed. of Hagenau, 1529). [*Inc.*]: Prodicus ille sapiens in eo libello, quem de Hercule conscriptum reliquit, qui et nunc multis ostenditur, non dispari ratione de virtute disseruit, ad hunc modum dicens, quantum ego memoria teneo . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Ad hunc fere modum Prodicus Herculi a virtute institutionem executus est, nisi quod sententias longe maiore verborum et nitore et gratia exornaverit, quam ego in praesentia.

Postscript. Itaque operae pretium esse existimo, ut iuvenes haec memoria repetentes, egregio alicui conatui ac studio incumbant, ac rerum futurae vitae conducibilium curam agant.

Manuscript:

(*)Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, O II 33, fols. 77–79, with preface (M. Steinmann, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: Register zu den Abteilungen A I-A XI und O* [Basel, 1982], 580; Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 55).

Edition:

(photo.) 1529, Hagenoae (Hagenau): per Ioan. Sec[erum]. *Elegantissima aliquot Luciani opuscula per Vincentium Obsopoeum latinitate donata*. (Gr.-Lat.) in 8°. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit.

Biography:

Apparently born in Bavaria around 1500, Vincentius Obsopoeus or Opsopoeus (Heidnecker) was part of Pirckheimer's circle in Nuremberg around 1528. By 1529 he was at Ansbach, where in 1548 he is mentioned as rector of the Gymnasium.

Works: Obsopoeus published a Latin translation of some of Luther's letters and a poem in three books, *De arte bibendi* (Nuremberg, 1525), which he later translated into German. He edited several *editiones principes*, including the epistles of St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzenus (Hagenau, 1528), Polybius (Hagenau, 1530), Xenophon's *Symposium* (Hagenau, 1531), St. Maximus Confessor (Hagenau, 1531), Heliodorus (Basel, 1534), and Diodorus Siculus, Books XVI–XX (Basel, 1539). He produced Latin paraphrases of the Psalms (1521), critical remarks on Demosthenes' orations (Nuremberg, 1534), and annotations on four books of Greek epigrams (Basel, 1540).

Bibliography: Jöcher, Suppl. V 904–905; *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXIV (1887), 408; Michaud XXXI 303.

7. Johannes Spangenbergus (Hercules tale)

The title of the work calls Spangenbergus "Minister of the Word in Nordhausen," a post he first occupied in 1524. The date of publication, 1534, provides the *terminus ante quem* for his translation in elegiac couplets (see p. 174 below for a second rendering in verse).

Memorabilia II.1.21–34 (ed. of Wittenberg, 1534). *Xenophontis Hercules*, carmine redditus a Ioanne Spangenbergo, apud Northusanos verbi

ministro. In gratiam puerorum nobilium Ruxlebiurum. [*Inc.*]:

Alcides postquam pueriles egerat annos,
Infantum puber liquerat atque nuces . . .

[*Expl.*]:

Quae simul effata est, dempto certamine,
pulchrum,

Eligit Alcides ire laboris iter.

Et mala languentis contempto tramite vitae,

Ardua sollicito tendit ad astra gradu.

Postscript:

Haec tibi, progenies Ruxlebia, nobile stemma,

Dedico, Calliopes munera parva meae.

Ambiguae iuvenum vitae Tyrinthius offert

Dogmata, quae pueris non fugienda bonis.

Ergo voluntatis nostrae monumenta, sereno

Accipiens animo, consule scripta boni.

Manuscript:

(*)Leningrad, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Lat. Q XIV 260, dated 1534, fols. 2–7v (Kristeller, *Iter*, V, 189).

Editions:

1534, Vitebergae (Wittenberg): apud Georgium Rhau. *Bellum grammaticale*. 31 pp. NUC. (ICN).

(*)1540?, Francofurti (Frankfort): C. Acgenolphus Hadamarius. *Xenophontis Hercules*. in 8°. BL.

Biography:

Johannes Spangenbergus (Johann Spangenberg) was born at Hardegsen on March 3, 1484, and died at Eisleben on June 13, 1550. He attended school in Göttingen and Einbeck and then taught in Gandersheim. In 1509, he went to the university at Erfurt, where he became *magister*. After several years as teacher and pastor in Stolberg, Spangenbergus went to Nordhausen in 1524 and married there in 1527. At Luther's request, he moved to Eisleben in 1546 to oversee the church and died there some four years later.

Works: *Questiones musicae in usum scholae Northusianae* (1536); *Margarita theologica* (1540); *Vom christlichen Ritter* (1544); *Cantiones ecclesiasticae oder Kirchengesänge* (1545); *Erotemata trivii* (1545). He also wrote commentaries on the Psalms and versified them in his *Psalterium carmine elegiaco redditum*.

Bibliography: Jöcher IV 712; *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXXV (1893), 43–46 (P. Tschakert); Cosenza IV 3414.

8. Philippus Melanchthon (Hercules tale)

This translation would appear to date from 1558, a year for which Martin Mylius lists a "versio narrationis apud Xenophontem de contentione virtutis et ignaviae" in his *Chronologia scriptorum Philippi Melanchthonis* (1582, Golicii [Görlitz]: typis A. Fritschii): this listing, on fol. H5v, was reported by F. Edward Cranz. Unlike Melanchthon's translation of Critias' speech from Xenophon's *Hellenica* (see p. 146 above), this passage was printed only once, posthumously, in the sixteenth century.

Memorabilia II.1.21–34 (ed. of Wittenberg, 1562). [*Inc.*]: Prodicus sapiens in scripto de Hercule, quod pluribus similiter recitavit, sic inquit de virtute, quantum ego memini . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Haec Prodicus commemorat splendore orationis maiore, quem ego imitari non possum.

Editions:

1562, Witebergae (Wittenberg): apud haeredes Georgii Rhauu. *Orationes ex Historia Thucydidis et insigniores aliquot Demosthenis et aliorum oratorum Graecorum. . . . per Philippum Melanthonem editae a Casparo Peucero*. NUC (ICN).

1851, Halis Saxonum (Halle): *Corpus Reformatorum (= Philippi Melanthonis Opera)*, XVII, 1119–22.

Biography:

See p. 147 above.

9. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. First version

This version first appeared in Levvenklaius' 1569 bilingual edition of Xenophon's complete works: see p. 89 above.

Memorabilia (ed. of Basel, 1572). [*Inc.*]: Saepenumero miratus sum, quibusnam rationibus accusatores Socratis Atheniensibus persuaserint, eum sic erga rempublicam se gessisse, ut morte dignus esset. Nam accusatio instituta adversus eum huiusmodi quaedam fuit. Agit iniuste Socrates quod eos divos, quos pro diis habet respublica, deos non putet . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: atque etiam oratione proferre ac definire huiusmodi posset, ac ceteroquin etiam aliquem explorare, delinquentem arguere, ad virtutem ac honestatem hortari; eiusmodi vir esse visus est, qualis esse possit optimus et felicissimus. Quod si hoc alicui non probatur, velim comparatis aliorum ad haec moribus ita deinde iudicium faciat.

Editions:

1569 (Basel), 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. Revised version

This version first appeared in the 1594 edition of Xenophon's works (see p. 90 above) and was often reprinted.

Memorabilia (ed. of Frankfort, 1595; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: Saepenumero miratus sum quibusnam rationibus accusatores Socratis Atheniensibus persuaserint, eum sic erga rem publicam se gessisse ut morte dignus esset. Nam accusatio instituta adversus eum huiusmodi quaedam fuit: agit iniuste Socrates, quod *ea numina quae civitas* pro diis habet respublicas deos non putet . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *et oratione proferre ac definire huiusmodi posset, atque etiam alios explorare, delinquentes* arguere, ad virtutem ac honestatem hortari; eiusmodi vir esse visus est, qualis esse possit optimus et felicissimus. Quod si hoc alicui non probatur, velim comparatis aliorum ad haec moribus ita deinde iudicium faciat.

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfort), 1625, 1691–1703, 1700–1704. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

10. Johannes Caselius

Dated at Rostock on September 20, 1576, Caselius' preface is addressed to Frederick II, king of Denmark from 1559 to 1588. Caselius later edited the Greek text of the *Memorabilia*, without his translation, in a volume printed at Rostock in 1589 ("Rostochii: excudebat S. Myliander, Anno M. D. XIC."). This edition, reported in NUC (NcD) and verified by F. Edward Cranz, has two introductory letters written at Rostock by Caselius to Henricarolus Hemelinguus, the first dated January 6, 1585, and the second March 1, 1589. Interest in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* at Rostock is also attested by a Greek edition of Prodicus' Hercules, with an introductory Latin poem by Johannes Posselius, which was published at Rostock in 1594, "typis Stephani Myliandri". The Universitätsbibliothek in Rostock kindly supplied a photocopy of this work.

Prooemium (ed. of Rostock, 1576). Ad Fridericum secundum potentissimum regem Daniae prooemium Ioannis Caselii. [*Inc.*]: Cum apud me constituissem, Friderice rex potentissime, ad te et epistolam hanc conscribere, et ex alterius generis opibus, quae mentis sunt, munus una mittere, quorum hoc neque a tua regia dignitate neque a mea persona—quod et summis regibus bonae doctrinae semper dignae visae fuerunt, et hominibus doctrina excultis aditus nunquam ad reges interclusus—alienum esse videretur, illud, si alterum facerem, omittendum non esset, utrumque praeclare intellexi et munus deligendum quod isti fastigio conveniret, et perscribenda ea quae non solum tibi, cui maxime omnibus rebus honestissimis placere cupio, atque aliis bonis viris, quorum iudicia reveretur non impudentissimus quisque, sed etiam mihi qui esse debeo, uti sum, meorum et factorum et consiliorum censor acerrimus, omnibus veris rationibus probarem . . . / . . . [Caselius condemns flattery and praises Frederick's outstanding virtues.] Summa iam capita tuarum laudum delibavi solummodo, e quibus reliquas, sine quibus illae non consistunt, nullo negotio intelligentes existimabunt. Ulro sum brevior, tum ne secus videar facere atque me facturum dixeram et, quod verbis honeste effugere videbar, in id re ipsa incurram turpiter (quod et levitatis et astutiae foret magnopere standae), tum ne si non satisfaciam plenissimae tuarum virtutum explicationi (quod metuo) ut possim, de earum magnitudine plurimum videar deterere; quo ipso magis aperiam infantiam meam, quod nunc necesse non est, et minus videar dixisse quam nunc dixerim. Haec namque ut vera certe sunt ita in praesentia sufficiunt ad reddendam rationem consilii, sive audaciae meae, quod cum hoc prooemio ad te Xenophontis libros quatuor de dictis memorabilibus Socratis mitto. Esse autem non indignum tanta maiestate munus liquere existimo, nisi quis sapientiam rege indignam iudicet, quod in neminem sanae mentis possit cadere. Dicam autem seorsim etiam de Xenophonte, quod huc faciat. In hisce studiis, quae acceperat a Socrate, educatus et litteris expolitus, vivus quoque, cum magnas res in militia gereret, longinquas terras solitus fuit peragrarere; ut ab ipsius moribus non alienum sit ipsum nunc quoque apparere in conspectu regis gentium plurimarum borealium, qui de magistri sui Socratis exemplo mores vel omnium gentium, si fieri possit,

emendare desideret et vitam hominum recta ratione beatiorem reddere. Non enim dicam de huius et doctissimi viri et fortissimi ducis oratione, cuius suavitatem qui primum degustarunt illum apem Atticam appellare non dubitarunt, neque de ipsius rebus gestis, quod non in loco me facere putarem. Ut autem in sinu Xenophontem gesserint, quam accurate legerint atque perdidicerint et graeci homines et latini, qui doctrinae elegantis et rectae vitae studio tenerentur, prolixum erat explicare minusque necessarium, quod ipsa eius monimentorum conservatio testimonio potest quanti ille fuerit. Unum exemplum proferam a pluribus ante me celebratum sed perillustre tamen. P. Scipio Africanus, de cuius summis virtutibus et maximis rebus gestis nulla umquam conticescet posteritas, doctissimum virum Polybium semper apud se habebat et Xenophontis Cyrum de manibus ponere non solebat [Cic., *Q. fr.* I.1.23]. Cum enim doctissimorum monitus non adspernandos putaret, quod hi in singulis cernerent plurimum, tum in Cyro iusti imperii effigiem esse ipse cernebat [Cic., *ibid.*], et ad eius imitationem toto animo sese comparabat. Quare tu quoque, rex potentissime, recte feceris, si et illos et quos ad te nunc mitto Xenophontis libros cognoris. Nam et hi quoque non indigni sunt regio fastigio, etsi multis in locis tantum privatos homines neque umquam accessuros ad rempublicam erudiunt, neque propterea rempublicam gerenti aut regnum administranti minus utiles existimantur . . . / . . . [Caselius praises the value of learning, which fosters both public and private virtues.] Sed ad hos libros redeo, de quibus neque hoc praeteribo, disputari a Socrate hic multa quae privato nihil, regi plurimum conferant, ac ne singulatim eius sermones indicem, de officio oratoris, politici, ducis militiae, regis dicuntur hic multa divinitus. Quanti autem sint placita Socratis prae omnibus omnium sententiis, e locupletissimis testibus Xenophonte et Platone accepimus, quamquam ille ipse nihil plane litteris consignavit. Hinc apparet tanto esse illa praestantiora cum et ab optimis accepta, libris explicata et libri utriusque (Antisthenem tamen, qui eadem persecutus fuit, iniuria temporis aut nescio quis casus nobis eripuit) vel fato propicio vel magno studio hominum, cum omnes virtutis admiratione trahamur, etsi studium eiusdem multi abiiciant, ad nostra secula et has regiones a Graecia longissime dissitas conservati sint. Dion rhetor

inferioris eruditorum hominum aetatis, idem et praeclare doctus et perdisertus, mellitae Xenophontis orationis haud infelix aemulus in eandem hanc sententiam pulchre scriptum reliquit, ut ex haud ita multis paucissima huc referam: "Hippiam Eleum, Gorgiam Leontinum, Polum, Prodicum sophistas floruisse aliquandiu in Graecia neque solum illa loca et praecipue Lacedaemonem et Athenas fama sui nominis implevisse sed etiam rem fecisse, accepta pecunia a civibus a rebus publicis a regibus, composuisse libros in quibus ut plurimum verborum esset, ita mentis minimum, hos periisse ad unum omnes, illorum nomina vix ad nos pervenisse; Socratem contra hominem tenuem, contemptorem opum, abhorrentem ab ostentatione et vanitate nominis suis civibus exemplo praeluxisse, familiares ad virtutem quotidianis sermonibus cohortatum, multos perduxisse, nullam litteram scriptam reliquisse; eius optimas doctrinas tamen hodie in manibus omnium esse, vigere, placere, non interire, ad posterum transmitti." Haec Dion [= Dio Chrysostomus, *Orat.* 54], e quibus idem apparet admirabiles esse adeoque divinas doctrinas Socratis neque indignas ullo mortalium neque dignitate suprema omnium regia, quam et a maioribus et legitime acceptam, ut et ipsis et te et regia maiestate dignum est, geris; idque porro facies, ut hominum de te praedicationes superes, egoque tuas laudes intra modum attigisse aliquando videar. Quod cum non dubitem, sustineo me neque nunc sequor consuetudinem hominum doctorum ad fortunatos viros scribentium, ut te aut doceam aut cohorter. Nam neque monitore eges neque magistro, et si sit opus, utroque munere hi libri et alii horum similes rectissime citraque reprehensionem functuri videbuntur. Verum hoc omnibus modis etiam atque etiam rogo, Friderice rex potentissime, non illis qui expelli nequeant sed mihi, ut eos, ut nunc a me prodeuntes clementer excipias, meque in tui observantissimis esse patiaris; quod et de te mihi polliceri non dubito, cum te et ab omnibus ordinibus populorum illustrissimi nostri ducis Ulrici, soceri tui, ut numen coli, et a quibus ita colaris, iis ex animo bene velle atque ubi res postulet, bene facere intelligam. Ipse autem meam operam hanc non magni aestimo; tamen haud minoris, immo etiam pluris, quam si ex ingenio meo multis modis grandius volumen mitterem, cui rei hodie multi student et fucum faciunt imperitioribus, qui solent existimare libros e pondere,

non e valore; quod perinde est, ac si quis de hominis facie verbisque potius quam consiliis et factis iudicium faciat. Sed quae ad hanc rem pertinent, iis non te interpellabo, ut visis alienis, sed agam cum commode potero, de iis cum mei ordinis hominibus. Finem vero nunc imponam huic epistolae, cumque mea obsequia, quae ob tenuitatem fortunae et loci mei singularia esse posse non videntur, deferre tanto regi non ausim, etsi cuicumodi ea sint, tibi semper parata erunt, vota faciam ad Deum Optimum Maximum ut tuis consiliis et conatibus praeclaris optatos successus largiatur. Vale. Rostochio. XII. K. IIXb. Anno. M. D. LXXVI.

Memorabilia. (ed. of Rostock, 1576). [*Inc.*] Saepe numero admiratus fui, qua tandem oratione, qui Socratem in iudicium vocaverant, persuaserint Atheniensibus ipsum tam graviter deliquisse in civitatem ut vita iure multaretur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quod si cui minus haec placent, aliorum mores vitamque cum his comparet, et tum demum iudicet.

Edition:

(photo.) 1576, Rostochii (Rostock): excudebat Augustinus Colorius. *Xenophontis De dictis memorabilibus Socratis libri quatuor in latinam linguam conversi ab Ioanne Caselio.* Fabricius, BG, III, 14; Hoffmann III 594b. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek (reported by Wolfgang Milde); Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek.

Biography:

See p. 101 above.

II. Johannes Stigelius (Hercules tale)

Fabricius, BG, III, 14, reports a Latin verse translation of Prodicus' Hercules tale printed in Rostock in 1591: "Herculis cum voluptate et virtute colloquium ex libro secundo Xenophontis, latino carmine expressit Joh. Stigelius." Pflanz (p. 175 below) mentions no such edition, and I have been unable to locate any copy.

Biography:

Born on May 13, 1515, at Gotha, Johannes Stigelius (Johann Stigel) entered the Hochschule in Wittenberg in 1531, where he was a favorite pupil of Melanchthon. He was later appointed professor of Latin there and in 1541 named poet laureate by the emperor Charles V. In 1548 he was one of the founders of the University of Jena, where he taught until his death on February

11, 1562. Camerarius called him a second Eobanus Hessus.

Works: *Elegia de discessu ab urbe Jenae* (1536); *Homeri Odisseae liber undecimus latino carmine redditus* (1545); *De viro sancto Martino Luthero* in Latin and German (1546); *Oratio de informatione studii puerilis ad eruditionem* (1556); *Commentarii . . . in Virgilio . . . libros Georgicorum* (publ. 1574); various Latin occasional poems and versifications of Scripture (complete list in Pflanz).

Bibliography: C. G. Götting, *De vita Johannis Stigeli Thuringi* (Jena, 1858); *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXXVI (1893), 228–30 (K. Hartfelder); H. H. Pflanz, *Johann Stigel als Theologe, 1515–1562. Mit einer Biographie und einem Anhang von ungedruckten Briefen Stigels und einem Verzeichnis seiner gedruckten Schriften* (Ohlau, 1936).

COMMENTARIES

a. Petrus Victorius.

Dated at Florence on November 2, 1551, Victorius' preface seems to inaugurate a course on Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. In the same year, Victorius published the preface together with an emended Greek text but apparently left his commentary unpublished.

Preface (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 669). Petrus Victorius civibus suis Graecarum artium studiosis salutem. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 40) Vetus illud consilium meum urgens, optimi adolescentis, iungendi vitae praecepta cum iis quae pariunt eloquentiam, adfero vobis Xenofontis Atheniensis ἀπομνημονεύματα quae mecum diligenter legatis . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 40v) Vos valete et egregiam hanc animi mei voluntatem studiumque in vobis instituendis et omni liberali arte expoliendis, labore ac diligentia vestra adiuuate. Florentiae, iiii. Non. Novembr. MDLI.

Commentary (Biblioteca Riccardiana, 669). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 42r) Genus hoc scribendi purum et simplex et, ut Graeci dicunt, ἄφελον . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 98v) Diogenes in vita Socratis, c. 96, ubi αἰσχολογίαν legitur, ἀσχολίαν legi debet.

Manuscript:

(photo.) Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 669, fols. 40–98v, autograph (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 195).

Edition (preface and Greek text only):

1551, Florentiae (Florence): [apud Juntam]. NUC. BL; (ICU; DFo).

Biography:

CTC, IV, 235. Add to the *Bibliography*: L. Cesarini Martinelli, "Contributo all'epistolario di Pier Vettori (lettere a don Vincenzio Borghini, 1546–1565)," *Rinascimento*, XIX (1979), 236–49; J. A. Gruys, *The Early Printed Editions (1515–1664) of Aeschylus* (Nieuwkoop, 1981), 77–96; M. Mund-Dopchie, "Le rôle des humanistes dans l'histoire du texte eschyléen," in *Acta Conventus neo-latini Turonensis* (Paris, 1980), 7–14; Mund-Dopchie, *La survie d'Eschyle à la Renaissance: éditions, traductions, commentaires et imitations* (Louvain, 1984); A. Porro, "Pier Vettori editore di testi greci: la 'Poetica' di Aristotele," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, XXVI (1983), 307–60; M. Pratesi, "Gli 'Argumenta in Euripidis et Sophoclis Tragoedias' di Pier Vettori," *Rinascimento*, XXV (1985), 139–96; H. E. Troje, *Graeca leguntur* (Cologne and Vienna, 1971).

b. Michael Neander (Hercules tale)

This commentary appeared in his 1577 *Opus aureum*, together with the Greek text of Prodicus' Hercules tale and Bessarion's Latin translation. Neander's preface to the volume, dated September 29, 1559, is dedicated to the consuls and senators of Tennstedt.

Dedication (ed. of Leipzig, 1577). Prudentissimis viris consulibus et senatoribus in Denstadia Turingia suis dominis et patronis observandis s. d. [*Inc.*]: Ab initio semper usitatum fuisse tum nostris tum ethnicis etiam scriptoribus praecepta de pietate virtute et honestate vitae denique ac morum honesta gubernatione brevibus quibusdam sententiis tanquam axiomatis et oraculis quibusdam inclusa complecti . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Caeterum eam nostram lucubrationem, viri optimi ac sapientissimi, vobis ac vestrae scholae ideo inscripsimus quod sciremus virtutis ac honestatis vos esse amantissimos, de qua re in utroque poemate, tum etiam Hercule illo Xenophontico (quem similiter a nobis expositum addidimus, quod similis esset argumenti) praeceptiones sapientissimae proponuntur, tum etiam quod in vestra urbe a bonis viris aliquoties humanitatis hospitalitatis ac liberalitatis officia non vulgaria nobis exhibita essent, et nunc quo-

que sint apud vos honesti et prudentes aliquot viri, qui de nobis non inhonorifice sentiant. Volumus itaque hunc laborem extare apud vos, aeternum voluntatis nostrae erga vos et vestros liberos indicium. Quod ut boni consulatis et me vobis commendatum esse sinatis, peto a vobis quam officiosissime. Valet sapientissimi consules et senatores, domini ac patroni semper mihi observandi. Anno 1559 in ipso die S. Michaelis Archangeli. V. deditissimus Michael Neander Soraviensis.

Commentary (ed. of Leipzig, 1577). [*Inc.*]: Meminit huius narrationis etiam Cicero in libro I Officiorum [32.118]. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Video de Prodicō etiam apud Erasmum in proverbio Prodicō sapientior. Item, Manus manum fricat. Et, Fricantem refrica.

Edition:

1577, Lipsiae (Leipzig): imprimebat Iohannes Steinman. *Opus aureum et scholasticum*, 2 vols. (Gr.-Lat.). NUC. BL; BN; (NjP; CtY; ICU; ICN; CU; CSt).

Biography:

Michael Neander (Michael Neumann) was born in Sorau in 1525. He studied in Wittenberg under Luther and Melancthon and served some forty-five years as rector of the Gymnasium Trilingue in Ilfeld, where he died in 1595.

Works: *Gnomologia graecolatina* (1564); *Graecae linguae tabulae* (1564); *Graecae linguae erotemata* (1565); *Sancta linguae Hebraeae erotemata* (1567); *Opus aureum* (1577); *Theologia Theandri Lutheri* (1581); *Ethice vetus et sapiens* (1581); *Chronicon* (1583); *Orbis terrarum divisio compendiaria* (1586); *Compendium rerum physicarum* (1587); *De re poetica Graecarum* (1592).

Bibliography: Jöcher III 840–41; *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXIII (1886), 341–45 (G. Baur); M. Klemm, *Michael Neander und seine Stellung im Unterrichtswesen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1884); H. Heineck, *Aus dem Leben Michael Neanders* (Nordhausen, 1925).

c. Franciscus Portus

Together with seven other commentaries on various works by Xenophon, this was published by Portus' son Aemilius in 1586: see p. 115 above.

Preface (ed. of [Geneva?], 1586). [*Inc.*]: Vi-

tam Xenophontis et Socratis hoc loco non narrabimus; satis luculente utramque scripsit Diogenes Laertius, qui est latine conversus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Genus autem dicendi Xenophonteum videtur illud quidem cuilibet imitabile, sed nihil minus, ut apud Latinos genus illud dicendi quod Caesar sequitur. Sed iam ad ipsa verba Xenophontis accedamus.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: Ἀπομνημονεύματα, id est, commentarii. Noluit philosophus fastosa uti inscriptione, ut plerique faciunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Qualis autem fuerit, declarat paucis, repetens brevissime capita rerum in omnibus his libris superioribus expositarum.

Edition:

1586. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 116 above.

d. Lucas Mutzelovius (Hercules tale)

Hoffmann III 614a, reports a historical commentary on the tale of Hercules in *Mem.* II: "Luc. Mutzelovii Historica commentatio de Hercule ex secundo libro Xenophontis memorabilium. Barthae in Pomerania. 1593. 8." I have been unable to locate a copy.

e. Nathanael Chytraeus (Books I–II)

This commentary survives in a Hamburg manuscript and is ascribed on fol. 60v to "Nathanael Chytraeus . . . Rector Gymnasii Bremensis." The prolegomena are dated October 6, 1594 (fol. 60), and the commentary on Book II is dated August 21, 1595 (fol. 83). The prolegomena discuss Socrates, Xenophon, and the moral usefulness of the *Memorabilia*, while the commentary proper treats in detail only the first two chapters of Books I and II, with a brief summary of the latter (fol. 80r–v).

Prolegomena (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. theol. 2039). In dicta et facta Socratis memorabilia et in primum Xenophontis librum annotationes dictatae et inceptae a Rectore Chytraeo Prolegomena. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 60) Natus est Socrates Athenis patre Sophronisco marmorario, matre Phaenarete obstetrice . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 70v) ne quis in his libris quaerat quae quaeri et inveniri in iis nec possunt nec debent.

Commentary. Argumentum libri Apomnemonematum primi. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 70v) Quod Rhe-

tores in orationibus apologeticis fieri iubent, ut primo loco adversarii criminationibus respondeatur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 85) Deponunt caput et media sternuntur arena, Tantus amor vini veteris, vis tanta Lyaei.

Manuscript:

(photo) Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. theol. 2039, cart. XVI (1594–95), fols. 60–85 (Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 588; photocopies kindly supplied by Dr. Eva Horvath and forwarded by P. O. Kristeller).

Biography:

CTC, II, 99. Add to the *Bibliography*: Michaud VIII 269–70; *Deutsches Literatur-Lexicon*, II (Berne and Munich, 1969), 631–32.

XII. OECONOMICUS

TRANSLATIONS

I. Marcus Tullius Cicero

Cicero refers to his translation in *De officiis*, II.24. It is also mentioned by Columella, Donatus, Jerome, Servius, and Priscian. Besides the fragments edited by Müller (cited below), Columella, *De re rustica* XII.2 preserves the following excerpt (*Oeconomicus*, VII.2–3):

Nam vetus est proverbium, paupertatem certissimam esse cum alienis indigeas, uti eo non posse, quia ignoretur ubi proiectum iaceat quod desideratur. Itaque in re familiari laboriosior est negligentia quam diligentia. Quis enim dubitet nihil esse pulchrius in omni ratione vitae dispositione atque ordine? Quod etiam ludicris spectaculis licet saepe cognoscere. Nam ubi chorus canentium non ad certos modos neque numeris praeceuntis magistri consensit, dissonum quiddam ac tumultuosum audientibus canere videtur. At ubi certis numeris ac pedibus velut facta conspiratione consensit atque concinuit, ex eiusmodi vocum concordia non solum ipsis canentibus amicis quiddam et dulce resonat, verum etiam spectantes audientesque laetissima voluptate permulcentur.

Edition:

C. F. W. Müller, ed., *M. Tulli Ciceronis Opera omnia*, IV, iii (Leipzig, 1898), 307–10.

Biography:

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.) was the leading orator and writer of the last years of the

Roman republic. Although his oratorical skills won him a quick ascent in the Roman political world, his republicanism led to his exile under the first triumvirate and to his assassination under the second. His collections of letters are an invaluable source for understanding the politics and personalities of the first century B.C. As an eclectic philosopher, Cicero spent many of his later years making Greek thought available to Latin readers, and he translated many passages from Greek literature, including the tragedians and Aratus. He admired Xenophon's *Agésilas* and *Cyropaedia* and translated from the latter in his *De senectute*. Only fragments of his early translation of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* survive.

Bibliography: K. Barwick, *Das rednerische Bildungsideal Ciceros* (Berlin, 1963); K. Büchner, *Cicero* (Heidelberg, 1964); *Cicero*, ed. T. A. Dorey (London, 1965); M. Gelzer, *Cicero* (Wiesbaden, 1969); S. Häfner, *Die literarischen Pläne Ciceros* (diss., Munich, 1928); A. Michel, *Rhétorique et philosophie chez Cicéron* (Paris, 1960); E. Rawson, *Cicero: A Portrait* (London, 1975); T. Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 3d ed. (Leipzig, 1912).

2. Johannes Aurispa (lost)

In his *De viris illustribus* of 1456, Bartholomaeus Facius lists a translation by Aurispa of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*: "Opuscula nonnulla Luciani ac Xenophontis librum, qui *Oeconomicus* inscribitur, in latinum traduxit, quem Cicero adolescens, ut scriptum reliquit, e graeco in latinum converterat." This version does not appear to survive, as Sabbadini noted (*Carteggio*, 177; cited on p. 164 above).

Biography:

See p. 164 above.

Bibliography: Bartholomaeus Facius, *De viris illustribus liber*, ed. L. Mehus (Florence, 1745), 18–19.

3. Lampus Biragus

The translation is dedicated to Pope Nicholas V (1447–55). A probable *terminus ante quem* is the fall of Constantinople in 1453, which Lampus does not mention.

Dedication (Volterra, Biblioteca Comunale Guarnacciana, 6201). Clementissimo Domino

Nicolao Quinto papae Lampus Biragus. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1) Cum exequendis omnibus, beatissime pater, quae summum pontificem eundemque prestantissimum decent, tanto sis rerum pondere circumseptus ut respirandi otium vix tibi esse posse videatur, non illud tamen negligis quo pacto latinum nomen etiam litterarum ornameto illustrius reddas, probabili procul dubio ratione qui Italiam, unde ea veluti peculiari quadam dote nationibus plurimis praestat, inde excolendam esse praecipue ditandamque censueris graecis quoque disciplinis additis exemplis veterum. Ut mihi plane erubescendum visum sit, nisi ego quoque beneficiis tuis maximis obstrictus hinc saltem devotionis in te meae signum aliquod ostenderem. Itaque Xenophontis *Oeconomicus*, cum iam non extet Ciceronis translatio, tuo nomine latino sermoni accedet, opus haud sane magnum sed elegans tamen vitaeque hominum accommodatum. Videtur namque patrem familias egregium atque industriam formare matronam. Quod si sapienti rei familiaris ratio quoque habenda esset, videatur ea disciplina latius aliquando patere, quoque maiores opes fuerint, eo fortasse his tuendis augendis dignisque sumptibus faciendis magis opportuna. Neque nobis solum divites esse volumus sed nostris etiam bonoque publico. Atque ita quod magnis viris plerisque bene instituta morataque domus sua et laudi fuit et usui, id tibi etiam cui ne nunc quidem istam laudem aufert orbis cura, sed alia quaedam sunt non tam multis quam tibi cum auctore ipso opereque communia, adeo ut aptissime quidem inscribi tuo nomini videatur. Fuit enim Xenophon, ut tu es nunc, vir cum ingenio doctrinaque excellens tum vita omni moribusque probatissimus. Atque ei quidem cum Cyrum posteriorem in Asiam secutus esset, perhonorificum illud contigit quod cum eo mortuo Graeci milites redire instituissent, ducesque eorum itineris primoresque aliquot hostium perfidia capti interfectique essent, tanta indoles in eo virtutis extitit ut ipse dux fieret ante paene quam miles; nam in eam expeditionem imprudens inciderat, dissimulante maxime consilium suum Cyro. Verum eo in itinere imminentibus semper fere hostibus incolumique tamen per eum praecipue exercitu illius virtus maxime enituit, graecamque urbem Bizantium, quam nunc Constantinopolim vocant, cum eam ingressi milites iidem in predam vertere cogitassent, consilio suo et auctoritate servavit. Quae quidem etsi sint sane

magnifica, similia tamen honoribus tuis esse possunt potius quam paria; nam ut utriusque virtuti si honos datur, plurimum tamen interest utrum de imperio in exercitu ad tempus exiguum an de maximo omnium principatu eoque perpetuo consultetur. Atque illum quidem a militibus esse delectum ob inopiam ducum; te vero principibus ipsis esse praelatum summis iisdem viris in quibus tu eras. Ex rebus quoque gestis plurimum is laudis meruit; sed neque cuiusque virtus administrando imperio magis illustrari potuit quam tua illustratur in dies. Postremo Xenophonti unam urbem servare contigit, tibi orbem; et ut illius monitis auctoritatisque milites paruerunt, ita sapientiae dignitatisque tuae non modo ceteri sed is etiam, quem antea nationes pleraeque ad pontificatum extulerant, dux Sabaudiae maximus potentissimusque concessit; quo uno pestiferum illud schisma quod ecclesiam Dei tam diu vexarat extinctum est, christianaeque religioni salus parta. Iam vero illud valde impar, quod ei quidem itineris et magistratus finis idem fuit; imperium vero tuum saluberrimum etiam perpetuum ecclesia esse voluit. Neque ullum est tandem viri optimi summique pontificis officium quod in sanctitate tua desideretur, neque magis urbem templamque apostolicam exornas religionemque nostram moribus quam ipse omnibus ornameto decorique existis. Sed iam de opere quam brevissime. Siquidem *oeconomicum* dispensatorem quidam vocaverunt, haud inepte si vim verbi totam vocabulo illo complecterentur; sed quantum ad te attinet fortasse satis. Videtur enim dispensandi officium in distributione potius quam in quaestu versari, quod quidem praecipuum est pontificatus tui munus, cum pulcherrimum magnanimo cuique (neque enim est quicquam beneficentia praestantius) tum ingenio tuo humanissimo etiam perliberalique iocundissimum: posse te scilicet, qui id semper optaveris, prodesse quam plurimis, neque umquam deesse beneficii dandi manum. Sed quaerendum est tamen an aliud nobis sit nomen graeco plenius respondens, nam mihi quidem videtur easdem esse *oeconomi* patrisque familias sive heri forsitan *offitia*, si domum suam per se ipse tueatur, nam lex ipse est domus, sed cum per alium etiam possit, vereor ne vocabulo careamus quo utraque explicentur. Sed si *oeconomum* dici sive dominum sive vicarium eius volumus, quid tandem intererit? nisi quod unius ille quidem domus *oeconomus*, tu autem Dei

vicarius orbisque universi pater, cuius nominis tanta est dignitas ut nulla adhuc maior honestiorve reperta sit. Is enim apud Romanos veteres maximus honorum fuit, nec quicquam erat supra illos qui patres patriae dicerentur. At Homerus Iovem ipsum quem deorum maximum facit, honoris causa patrem appellat; regemque summum fortissimique exercitus imperatorem Agamemnonem pastorem populorum vocat. Quae iam non similia sed eadem sunt nomina quae tibi debentur. Sed me nimium forsitan traxit materia longior, et tu iam, puto, audire Xenophontem cupis, tuis auspitiis (quod ei plurimum splendoris adiciet) ad Romanos iterum longo postliminio revertentem.

Oeconomicus. [Inc.]: (fol. 1v) Et ipsum quandoque audiui etiam de administratione rei familiaris disserentem his verbis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 16v) quemadmodum apud inferos Tantalus dicitur tempus omne contere, ne bis moriatur timens.

Manuscripts:

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Strozzii 51, mbr. XV, 47 fols., 1–46v, with preface (Bandini, *Suppl.* I, 387; P. D'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina*, II [Florence, 1914], 277).

(*)Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. Lat. 352, cart. XV, 116 fols., 35v–60v, with preface (*Oxford Quarto Catal.*, III, 698–700).

(*)Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, 13,15, cart. XV, 316 fols., 41–67 (J. M. Octavio de Toledo, *Catálogo de la librería del Cabildo Toledano*, I [Madrid, 1903], 151–55, no. CCXI; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 640).

Volterra, Biblioteca Comunale Guarnacciana, 6201, cart. XV, 82 fols., 1–16v, with preface (Mazzatinti II 187; Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 309).

Biography:

See p. 103 above.

4. Anonymus Vaticanus

This manuscript, which offers a corrupt text, apparently dates from the late fifteenth century.

Oeconomicus (Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 1069). [Inc.]: (fol. 55v) Audiui nempe ipsum edere [de re *rectius*] familiari talia disserent [disserentem *rectius*]: Dic mihi, inquit, cum dare [de re] familiari dissereret, Critobule, Iconomia est alicuius scientiae nomen ut medicina ut aeraia ut tectonica? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 72) ceu de Tantalo dicitur, qui perpetuis temporibus

apud inferos moratur, eo quod reformidet ne bis moriatur.

Manuscript:

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1069, mbr. XV, 73 fols., 55v–72 (*Cod. Vat. Lat.*, II, 624).

5. Raphael Maffei

Maffei's reference to his "late years" suggests a date around 1505, when he turned sixty; the first printed edition provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1506. In translating this dialogue, Maffei professes to follow Cicero's example (*De amicitia*, 3) by presenting it as straight dialogue without the narrative tags *inquam* and *inquit* ("I said" and "He said").

Dedication (Vatican Library, Ottob. lat. 1649). Raphael Volaterranus Titae Minutiae s. p. d. [Inc.]: (fol. 1) *Oeconomicum* Xenophontis olim a Cicerone conversum, uti plane Columella et Hieronymus noster indicant, si ab iniuria fati providentia vindicasset, meo rursus labori consulisset, in quo quum ego velut ignobilis tesqua campo feracissimo successerim, ita sum conatus in eo vertendo, ut lectorum potius utilitati quam propriae studerem ambitioni. Nam quum res tota in dialogo sit, ac more Platonis ambagibus et periodis distrahatur, sic me accommodavi, ut quum nihil ex eo sententiarum desideretur, verborum haud ad rem magnopere pertinentium nonnihil praeterirem, inter quae illa sunt *inquam* et *inquit* milies repetita, Ciceroni (ut palam est) evitata, quae uti nostris fastidium, sic Atticis gratiam pariunt et leporem. Hoc igitur, mea Minutia, tibi dedico, quae nunc in Tuscis rem curas communem, ut mulierem fortem, quam sacrae concinnant litterae, ex hoc libello diligentius agas. Et quanquam aetas iam sera sarcinulas colligere, tum ex tumultu receptui canere, ad excolendam maximam nostri partem expostulat, matronae tamen prudentis officium ex huius etiam praeceptis philosophi ab re non fuerit non tam tibi quam aliis haurire, nostrae praesertim Lucillae, ut et ipsa, si generum nobis qualem optare fas est, deus obtulerit, possit ex aequo cum viro ac reliqua familia vivere, si autem divinior ei via coelitus ostendatur, haec nihilominus nosse inter animi bona collocare.

Oeconomicus. [Inc.]: (fol. 2) Audiui Socratem de *oconomia* quandoque talia disserentem. Dic, inquit, O Critobule, *oconomiane* scientiae

nomen sit, veluti medicina aut aeraria seu etiam architectura? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 60) Nam iis omnes manifesto parent, qui vera atque perfecta sint praediti modestia: apud invitos vero tyrannidem exercere his tantum tribuunt, ut mihi videtur, qui Tantali vitam vivere sunt digni apud inferos, in lucem ne iterum moriatur redire formidantis.

Manuscript:

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1649, mbr. XV–XVI, fols. 1–60, with preface (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 431).

Editions:

1506, Romae (Rome): per Joannem Besicken. *Raphaelis Volaterrani Commentariorum urbanorum libri*. Panzer VIII 247, 21. NUC. BL; Vatican Library; (DLC; MnU; MoSU).

1508, Parisiis (Paris): ex officina Henrici Stephani. *Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis In Politica Aristotelis Introductio*. Adams F–25. NUC. BN (no. 75); (NjP).

(*)1510, Parisiis (Paris). *Raphaelis Volaterrani Commentariorum urbanorum libri*. Panzer VII 550, 424.

(*)1511, Parisiis (Paris): apud Joannem Parvum et Jodocum Badium Ascensium. *Raphaelis Volaterrani Commentariorum urbanorum libri*. Panzer VII 553, 455; Renouard III 384. BL; Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit.

1511, Argentorati (Strasbourg): Joannes Groninger. *Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis Artificialis Introductio . . . in decem Ethicorum libros Aristotelis . . .* F. Ritter, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en Alsace au 16^{me} siècle*, 4 vols. (Strasbourg, 1937–55), II, 549, no. 831. NUC. Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit; (CLSU; MH; PU).

1512, Parisiis (Paris): ex officina Henrici Stephani. *Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis In Politica Aristotelis Introductio*. NUC. (NNC; PU).

1515, Parisiis (Paris): apud Joannem Parvum et Jodocum Badius Ascensium. *Raphaelis Volaterrani Commentariorum urbanorum libri*. Panzer VIII 22, 784; Renouard III 385. NUC. Vatican Library; (MB; NN; ICN; CSt; PPL).

(*)1516, Parisiis (Paris): ex officina Henrici Stephani. *Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis In Politica Aristotelis Introductio*. Panzer VIII 33, 876; Schreiber 34, no. 24. NUC. BL; BN (nos. 706–708); (MH).

1526, Parisiis (Paris): apud Joannem Parvum.

Jodocum Badium, Claudium Chevallionem, et Conradum Reschium. *Raphaelis Volaterrani Commentariorum urbanorum libri*. Panzer VIII 95, 1500; Renouard III 386. NUC. BL; (NN; RPJCB; NNC).

1530, Basileae (Basel): ex officina H. Frobenii. *Raphaelis Volaterrani Commentariorum urbanorum libri*. Panzer VI 275, 773. NUC. BN (no. 711); Vatican Library; (DLC; MnU; NNH; NN).

(*)1535, Parisiis (Paris): ex officina S. Colinaei. *Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis In Politica Aristotelis Introductio*. NUC. BN (no. 710); Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit; (DCU).

1544, Basileae (Basel): Hieronymus Frobenius et Nicolaus Episcopus. *Raphaelis Volaterrani Commentariorum urbanorum libri*. NUC. BN (no. 713); Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit; (NN; CSmH; NNC; ICN).

1545 (Brylingerus) and (Isingrinus), [1551?], 1551, 1553, 1558. See Composite Editions.

(*)1552, Lugduni (Lyons): apud Seb. Gryphium. *Raphaelis Volaterrani Commentariorum urbanorum libri*. NUC. BN (no. 714); (PPL; CtY; PU; NjP).

(*)1559, Basileae (Basel): Hieronymus Frobenius et Nicolaus Episcopus. *Raphaelis Volaterrani Commentariorum urbanorum libri*. NUC. BL; (CtY; MH; IU).

Biography:

CTC, II, 144. Add to the *Bibliography*: J. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome* (Baltimore, 1983), 82–85; D'Amico, "The Raffaele Maffei Monument in Volterra: Small Town Patronage in the Renaissance," in *Supplementum Festivum: Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. J. Hankins, J. Monfasani, and F. Purnell, Jr. (Binghamton, N.Y., 1987), 469–88; C. Dionisotti, *Gli umanisti e il volgare fra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Florence, 1968).

6. Marcellus Cervinus (lost)

According to Johannes Antonius Guarnerius, canon of San Vincenzo in Bergamo, Gulielmus Sirletus reported that Pope Marcellus II (Marcello Cervini) began a translation of the *Oeconomicus* which he left unfinished because of textual difficulties: see p. 185 below. The translation may date from 1526, when Cervinus was forced to flee Rome to avoid the plague (Kelly

264). It can hardly have been made during his papacy, which lasted less than a month.

Biography:

Born in Montepulciano in 1501, Marcellus Cervinus (Marcello Cervini) studied in Siena and Rome. In 1539, he became titular of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and bishop of Nicastro. Subsequently bishop of Reggio Emilia (1540) and Gubbio (1544), he served as pontifical legate to the Council of Trent. In 1548, Paul III appointed him librarian of the Vatican, where he undertook the recataloging of the Greek and Latin manuscripts and opened the collection to scholars. In April 1555, he was elected pope but died suddenly at the beginning of May. In his memory, Palestrina composed the celebrated *Missa Papae Marcelli*.

Bibliography: *Enciclopedia italiana*, XXII (1934), 218 (M. Niccoli); *Grande dizionario enciclopedico*, XII (1970), 5 (S. Solero); J. N. D. Kelly, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 1986), 264–65; S. Morison, “Marcello Cervini, Bibliography’s Patron Saint,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, V (1962), 301–19; L. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, VI (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1913), 317–56.

7. Bernardinus Donatus

In his preface of 1539, Donatus says that he made this translation several years earlier at the urgent request of friends. The dedicatee, Marcus Antonius Amulius (Marcantonio Da Mula: see Gullino), was a Venetian patrician who had visited Donatus in his villa in the hills near Vicenza.

Dedication (ed. of Venice, 1539). Clar. v. M. Antonio Amulio Patritio Veneto Donatus Veronensis. [*Inc.*]: Volenti mihi hoc tempore honestissimis de causis nugas illas (quid enim aliud appellem?) edere, quas tu proxima aestate, cum te ad nos in Vicentinos montes contulisses, tantopere, quae tua est humanitas, flagitabas, imitari illos placuit, qui per ignotas regiones facturi sunt iter; qui si modo vel mediocri aliqua prudentia sint praediti, hoc ipsum sine certo duce facere non audent. Itaque cum ipsa haec scripta nostra quae vides, M. Antoni Venetae nobilitatis decus, qualiacunque sint, essem in manus hominum emissurus, ut et ego ea sine metu omnis periculi emitterem, et ipsa sine ullo errore, quo tendunt, pervenirent, prius ad te huiusce itineris peritissimum ire volui, tuisque semper insistere

vestigiiis iussi. Et fateor quidem potuisse me illa ad alios multos praemittere, quos eadem ratione sequerentur; sed cum tria praecipue in optimo quoque duce esse necessaria intelligerem—locorum omnium atque itinerum peritiam, gratiam apud eos, ad quos sit accessurus qui ducitur, amorem erga eundem—ex his ipsis alii hoc, alii illud defuturum videbam, in te omnia illa perspexi, atque ita quidem, ut etiam si quis esset qui eorum unum alterumve praestare posse videretur, tu tamen in eodem illo excelleres. Iam enim tu tantum ista praesertim aetate in hisce studiis nostris vales, ut cuius scripta tibi placuerint, is possit facile omnium aliorum contraria iudicia contemnere, non aliter quam ille quondam sui poematis recitator, manente uno Platone, coeteros omnes qui abierant optimo iure contempsit.

Hoc erit in te mea haec scripta, priusquam emittantur, legente, quod in duce itineris peritia esse solet locorum; gratia vero si quis se tecum pugnare, tibi que parem esse posse confidit, hic aut te nunquam vidit audivitque praesentem, aut se prorsus ignorat. Fidem haec praedicanti mihi facit tua illa omnium rerum publicarum et clarissima et sapientissima patria, quae tibi vel ultro suos deferre honores ipsa non destitit, dum tu altero quodam vitae genere delectaris, illo videlicet, quod excellentissimis quibusque ingeniis maxime expetendum esse visum est semper. Et quos tamen gessisti, honestissimos illos quidem, ita gessisti egregie ut rationes tibi de more referenti, resque exponenti tuas, nemo e tuis civibus esset, qui non tibi facto concursu ex animo gratularetur. De amore autem tuo, hoc mihi vere posse affirmare videor, me tibi uni, praeterea nemini horum scriptorum vitam referre acceptam debere. Quare quod te hisce scriptis meis quasi solem quendam clarissimum, a quo illustrentur et foveantur, elegerim, mihi videor ita et prudenter et iuste fecisse, ut nihil audeam sperare me posthac prudentius aut iustius facturum.

Praefatio ad lectorem. [*Inc.*]: Xenophontis Socratici de re familiari dialogum, opus quo nullum apud Graecos aliud extat exquisitius, nullum omnino suis numeris absolutius, Cicero latinum olim fecerat; quo quidem labore functum illum, cum lectio veterum grammaticorum declarat, qui saepius loca ex illo opere ad verbum deprompta usurpant, tum Columellae, quem apud nos de agricultura accurate scripsisse

omnes novimus, tum in primis Ciceronis ipsius de se ipso testimonium, cuius in secundo De officiis libro [II.24.87] ad Marcum filium verba illa sunt, quae huic et loco et proposito maxime convenire videntur. "Res, inquit, familiaris quaeri debet iis rebus, a quibus abest turpitudine, conservari autem diligentia et parsimonia, iisdem rebus augeri. Has res commodissime Xenophon Socraticus persecutus est in eo libro, qui *Oeconomicus* inscribitur, quem nos ista fere aetate quum essemus, qua es tu nunc, e graeco in latinum convertimus." Nemini ergo dubium esse iam debet, quin Cicero, ut diximus, eo labore sit functus. Sed cum hoc ipsum Ciceronis tam praeclarum opus una cum plerisque aliis eiusdem viri egregiis operibus interierit, aliquot abhinc annos, complures a me amici postularunt, ut id latinum rursus redderem. Quibus ego acriter denegabam, propterea quod et ipse graecum eiusmodi opus viderem eo genere dicendi subnixum tot iam saeculis stare, ut nulla unquam latina oratio tantae excellentiae responsura esse videretur, et testem huius difficultatis haberem Hieronymum, qui ne Ciceronem quidem ipsum omnibus eo in opere placuisse affirmaret. Nam in praefatione, qua in *Chronica Eusebii* utitur, "Etiam noster Tullius, inquit, Platonis integros libros ad verbum interpretatus est, et cum Aratum iam Romanum hexametris versibus edidisset, in Xenophontis *Oeconomico* lusit, in quo opere ita saepe aureum illud flumen eloquentiae quibusdam scabris et turbulentis obicibus retardatur, ut qui interpretata nesciunt, a Cicerone dictata non credant." Haec quidem Hieronymus. Sed unde ego recusandi laboris occasionem maiorem mihi offerri putabam, inde illi acrius instabant: si non gloriae, quam ex stilo me consecutum sperarem, at saltem gratiae atque utilitati amicorum hoc darem, quorum nonnulli essent qui, cum re sua familiari unice delectarentur, et Columellam, Varronem, Virgilium, Plinium, aliosque nostros saepius legissent, huius unius tam divini operis lectionem desiderarent, quippe cum eorum pars graece omnino nesciret, alii vero etiam si scirent, libentius tamen alieno fruerentur, ut ea discerent quae graece scripta sunt, quam magno suo labore peregrinam linguam intelligere conarentur; satis ergo futurum si docendi duntaxat gratia plane perspicueque rem ipsam Latinis purisque verbis comprehenderem, ornatum illum, illam Xenophontis suavitatem, illos Ciceronis flosculos, si a me non

afferantur, se non desiderare, dum id unum assequantur, ut quod scriptum sit facile intelligant. Dedi igitur manus. Quid enim facerem talibus viris iubentibus? Latinum reddidi opus quoquomodo potui, certe tamen fide, ut maiore non potuerim. In quo tantum abest, ut me aliquid putem omisisse, quod in graeco habeatur (ex iis duntaxat exemplaribus quaecunque habere potui) ut aliqua potius alicubi verba, quae in illis non sint, addenda putaverim, quod et Hieronymus in eo libro, quem de optimo genere interpretandi scripsit, et Cicero in tertio De finibus [III.4.15] ad lucem interpretationi inferendam docuit, sine ullo authoris damno esse faciendum. Denique nihil magis curavi quam ut Xenophon latine et plane loqueretur, hoc est, ita ut etiam a somniculoso lectore intelligi posset. Vale.

Oeconomicus. [*Inc.*]: Eundem audivi de re familiari disserentem ad hunc modum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Tantali instar vivunt, quem aiunt apud inferos universum tempus degere timentem ne bis moriatur.

Edition:

1539, Venetiae (Venice): Bernardinus Vitalis. 36 pp. in 4°. NUC. Vatican Library; (NNC; PU).

Biography:

A native of Castel d'Azzano near Verona, Bernardinus Donatus Veronensis (Bernardino Donato, or Donati) taught at Carpi, at the University of Padua, and in Capodistria. In 1529, he was in Verona in the service of Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti. In 1532, he began to teach Greek in the Studium of Verona and then taught in Parma from 1533 to 1539 and in Vicenza from 1539 to 1542. He returned to Verona in 1542 and died there in 1543.

Works: Donatus published Chrysostom's commentary on St. Paul's epistles and two works by St. John Damascene. He also edited Macrobius (Venice, 1528), wrote a comparison of Platonic and Aristotelian thought (Venice, 1540), and translated Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* (Venice, 1539).

Bibliography: Jöcher II 181–82; Maffei, *Verona illustrata* (Venice, 1792–93), IV, 31.

G. Biadego, *Bernardino Donato grecista veronese del secolo XVI* (Verona, 1895); Biadego, "Bernardino Donato a Vicenza e a Parma," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, X, ii (1895), 365–69; G.

Gullino, "Da Mula, Marcantonio," DBI, XXXII (1986), 383–87; G. P. Marchi, *Cultura e vita civile a Verona* (Verona, 1979), 48.

8. Jacobus Lodoicus Strebaeus

Strebaeus' translation was completed by 1543, the year of its first publication. In 1561, Stephanus revised the translation in accordance with his policy of revising only the work of translators no longer living.

Oeconomicus (ed. of Basel, 1551). [Inc.]: Audivi quondam Socratem, quum de administratione rei familiaris in hanc sententiam disputaret . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Dii miserentur eorum qui sapientia ac moderatione vera praediti sunt; et, ut censeo, tyrannidem in invitos dant iis quos tali vita dignos esse duxerint, qualis est Tantalus, qui apud inferos aeternum tempus agere dicitur, metuens ne bis intreat.

Editions:

(*1543, Parisiis (Paris): Vascosanus. *Aristotelis et Xenophontis Oeconomica*. Meerhoff 353.

(*1544, Parisiis (Paris): Vascosanus. *Aristotelis et Xenophontis Oeconomica*. Meerhoff 353. BL.

(*1549, Parisiis (Paris): Vascosanus. *Aristotelis et Xenophontis Oeconomica*. Meerhoff 353.

(*1551, Parisiis (Paris): Vascosanus. *Xenophontis Oeconomica*. Meerhoff 353.

(*1553, Parisiis (Paris): Vascosanus. *Aristotelis et Xenophontis Oeconomica*. Meerhoff 353.

(*1553, Parisiis (Paris): Vascosanus. *Xenophontis Oeconomica*. Meerhoff 353.

(*1554, Parisiis (Paris): apud T. Richardum. *Aristotelis et Xenophontis Oeconomica*. BN (no. 716).

(*1554, Parisiis (Paris): Vascosanus. *Xenophontis Oeconomica*. Meerhoff 353.

(*1558, Parisiis (Paris): apud T. Richardum. *Aristotelis et Xenophontis Oeconomica*. Meerhoff 354. BN (no. 717).

1551 (Basel), 1555, 1561, 1581–96. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Born in Estrebay near Rumigny (Ardennes) in 1481, Jacobus Lodoicus Strebaeus (Jacques Louis Strébée) studied in Paris and was teaching in Reims around 1500. He subsequently taught at the College of Ste.-Barbe in Paris and around 1517 was summoned by Jean Le Veneur, bishop of Lisieux, to tutor there. Later he returned to

Paris, where he was active as a translator and editor in the circle of Stephanus. He seems to have died around 1550.

Works: Strebaeus translated Aristotle's *Ethics*, *Economics*, and *Politics*. His corrections of Joachim Périon's version of Aristotle's *Politics* led to a polemical publication *Quid inter Lodoicum Strebaeum et Ioachimum Perionium non conveniat in Politicon Aristotelis interpretatione* (Paris, 1543). His most popular work was the rhetorical treatise *De electione et oratoria collocatione verborum* (Paris, 1538 and 1540; Basel, 1539; Lyons, 1541; Cologne, 1582). He produced editions with commentary of Cicero's *Epistula ad Octavium* (Paris, 1539), *De oratore* (Paris, 1540, 1558, 1561), and *Partitiones oratoriae* (Paris, 1543); and he abridged Books II, III, and V of Quintilian (Paris, 1565–66).

Bibliography: Jöcher IV 877; Michaud XXX 317; W. J. Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 495–96; Cioranescu (1959) 308; *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, XIII (1975), 139 (R. Limouzin-Lamothe); K. Meerhoff, *Rhétorique et poétique au XVI^e siècle en France* (Leiden, 1986); C. B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 76–77.

9. Henricus Stephanus

For his 1561 bilingual edition of Xenophon's complete works, Stephanus revised Strebaeus' translation and remarked that because not all of his emendations would fit in the margins, he had to include some in the text (see p. 96 above). The *incipit* and *explicit* are the same as those of Strebaeus' version (see preceding entry), but I have counted some forty changes in the body of the text.

Editions:

1561, 1581–96, 1592. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 98 above.

10. Joachim Camerarius

Dated at Leipzig on March 1, 1563, Camerarius' dedication is addressed to Heinrich the Younger, prince of Plauen and burgrave of Meissen. In it, Camerarius relates that, on his return the previous year from his native Bamberg

to Leipzig, he resolved to translate the treatise on economics attributed to Aristotle. (He is inclined to believe the work genuine, whereas modern scholarship denies its authenticity.) To round out his project, he decided to add Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, which was then thought to be the fifth book of the *Memorabilia*. Although at first he was hindered by an inferior edition of the text, he soon found a manuscript that helped him and was able to make useful conjectures. When he finally obtained the Stephanus edition (Geneva, 1561), he was delighted to find several of his conjectures confirmed.

Dedication (ed. of Frankfort, 1581). Illustrissimo Principi ac Domino D. Henrico Iuniori Principi Plavensi, Burgrafio Misniae etc. Domino suo clementissimo Ioachimus Camerarius s. d. [*Inc.*]: Cum ex patria anno superiore ita discessissem ut, dum concedebatur oculis, animo autem continuo ad illam respicerem, quasi eadem perpetientem, quae vicinam in Franconia principem urbem pertulisse audiveramus, magnis sane gravibusque in perturbationibus doloris metusque nonnunquam et indignationis ita perrexi, paene fugiens non periculum equidem (quid enim et loco conditioneque tali et hac aetate magnopere mihi pertimescendum putarem?) sed ne ea audire videreque cogerer, quibus acerbissime excruciarī necesse esset, et patriae amantem et veritatis rerum divinarum ac humanarum, virtutisque et sapientiae mediocriter studiosum. Relictis igitur omnibus, et excessi tum patria urbe, et huc contendī, ubi et puerilem institutionem et nunc senectutis sedem domiciliumque contingere Deus aeternus mihi voluisset: non tam reverti illo tempore ad meos (fama iam istarum calamitatum longe lateque sparsa) properans, quam ad studiorum meorum exercitationem cupiens redire. . . . Cum tamen aliquid ad tuam illustrissimam celsitudinem commentationum operarumque mearum hoc tempore omnino mittere decrevissem, quod tractatione mea et cotidiano ordinarioque labore tunc veluti excuderetur, id neque abhorrere praesentibus rebus neque tuae illustrissimae sapientiae et virtutis cognitione indignum, et eiusmodi quoque visum est ut plectum neque voluptatis neque utilitatis penitus expers futurum esset. Ea erat explicatio rationum prudentum et luculentarum de administranda, regenda, curanda, tuenda re familiariatque domestica (quae est Graecis uno nomine οἰκονομική) divulgatarum titulo Aristotelis.

Neque ego dubito, quin auctor scripti illius Aristoteles Stagirita sit, sed neque integrum et perquam mendosum ad nos hoc pervenisse non est obscurum . . . / . . . [Camerarius praises the science of economics and discusses his version of Aristotle.] Ut esset autem hoc opusculum plenius, visum fuit agglutinare librum ultimum Xenophontis de memorabilibus dictis Socratis, cuius titulus *Oeconomicus* est. Quem cum aliquando cepissem facere latinum, nonnihil impedimenti moraeque intulit et in hoc editio mendosa compluribus in locis. Nactus autem exaratum manu librum, aliquantulum quod operae precium esset feci conferendo. Meae etiam coniecturae quaedam expederunt. Nuper vero ingenio doctrinaque eccellente atque singulari Henricus Stephanus etiam huius auctoris scripta de sua officina protulit, non modo luculente expressa pulcherrimis litterarum figuris, sed admodum studiose et scite quoque correctā. Cuius ego iudicio auctoritatique tantum tribuo, ut haud sciam an de iis, quae ab ipso plane asseruntur, dubitare quaerereque amplius fas non sit. Itaque mirifice sum interdum gavisus, cum animadvertissem meas coniecturas cum illius rationibus congruere . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quod restat, Deum aeternum toto pectore precor, ut tibi, illustrissime princeps, vitam salutemque et incolumitatem diuturnam longaevamque largiatur, teque ac tuos omnes in statu tuae gubernationis felici protegat atque tueatur, et consilia actionesque tuas fortunando dirigat ad gloriam sanctissimi nominis sui et ecclesiae Christi reique publicae incrementum et decus, simulque ea quae tuam illustriss. clementiam conservent augeantque et ornent prosperitate vitae beatæ sempiterna. Vale. Lipsiae. Cal. Mart. Anno Christi Iesu Salvatoris generis humani M.D.LXIII.

Oeconomicus. [*Inc.*]: Audivi Socratem aliquando de tuenda re familiari talia quaedam disserentem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Sed dominationis violentae imperio premere invitos, iis datur qui ea sunt vita digni, quam Tantalus apud Orcum aeterno tempore agere fertur, in formidine ne denuo obeunda mors sit.

Editions:

1564? (s.d.), Lipsiae (Leipzig): in officina Ernesti Voegelini. 199 pp. in 8°. Contains Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* and Aristotle's *Oeconomica*. Fabricius, BG, III, 16. NUC. BN (no. 718); (MH).

1581, Francofurti (Frankfort): apud Andream Wechelum. *Oeconomica scripta quae extant titulo Aristotelis . . . adiunctaque eis interpretatio Oeconomici libri Xenophontis*. NUC. BL; BN (no. 719); (MH).

(*)1599, Francofurti (Frankfort): apud Andream Wechelum. Contents same as the preceding. BL.

Biography:

See p. 129 above.

11. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. *First version*

This version was first published in Levvenklaius' 1569 bilingual edition of Xenophon's complete works: see p. 89 above.

Oeconomicus (ed. of Basel, 1572). [*Inc.*]: *Audivi etiam Socratem aliquando de administratione rei familiaris huiusmodi quaedam disserentem. Dic mihi, mi Critobule, inquit, estne rei familiaris administratio scientiae alicuius nomen, ut medicina, ut excusoria, ut fabrica? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: At invitos tyrannide quadam premere mea quidem sententia datur iis, quos dignos esse dii statuunt, ut sic vitam degant, quemadmodum apud inferos Tantalum perhibent aeternum agere, metuentem ne bis moriatur.*

Editions:

1569 (Basel), 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. *Revised version*

This version was first published in the Frankfort edition of 1594 (see p. 90 above) and was often reprinted.

Oeconomicus (ed. of Frankfort, 1595; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: *Audivi etiam Socratem aliquando de administratione rei familiaris huiusmodi quaedam disserentem. Dic mihi, mi Critobule, inquit, estne rei familiaris administratio scientiae alicuius nomen, ut ars medendi, ut aerariorum, ut fabrilis? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: At invitos tyrannide quadam premere, mea quidem sententia datur iis, quos dignos esse dii statuunt, ut sic vitam degant, quemadmodum apud inferos agere Tantalum perhibent in omne aevum metuentem, ne bis moriatur.*

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfort), 1625, 1691–1703, 1700–1704. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

12. Johannes Antonius Guarnerius

Writing in his native Bergamo on April 25, 1572, Guarnerius dedicated his version of the *Oeconomicus* to the wealthy landowner Johannes Finius, who had served as envoy of Bergamo to Venice on the election of the previous doge (presumably Pietro Loredan, elected November 26, 1567). In Columella, Guarnerius had read of Cicero's lost translation of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, and from Cardinal Gulielmus Sirletus (see CTC, III, 423), he learned of an uncompleted version by Pope Marcellus II (Marcello Cervini, 1501–55): see p. 180 above. Dissatisfied with existing Latin versions of the work, Guarnerius therefore undertook his own translation, which he decided to publish with the encouragement of Carolus Sigonius (1524–84: see CTC, II, 345) and Nicolaus Colonius (d. 1602: see Cosenza II 1047).

Dedication (ed. of Venice, 1574). *Magnifico et egregio viro Ioanni Finio Io. Antonius Guarnerius S. [Inc.]: Vetus institutum est idque observatum a cunctis paene gentibus quae longius a fera agrestique vita seiunctae ad humanum se cultum civilemque contulerunt, ut sibi unum aliquem qui rationem suorum commodorum haberet, qui et controversias sedaret et pericula propulsaret, praeesse vellent. Et quemadmodum in nostris corporibus diversorum membrorum diversas esse partes videmus, rationem autem reginae instar ea omnia regere et moderari et (ut alia membra aliis res necessarias suppeditent) imperare, unamque et eandem omnibus propositam esse utilitatem, sic in universa hac rerum humanarum moderatione usu venire intelligimus. Nam cum terrestria humano generi utenda fruendaque a Deo tributa sint, alios etiam esse voluit qui tanquam animorum vim et munus tenerent (eosque potissimum qui sapientia et virtute anteirent) qui cum familiarum et rerum publicarum gubernacula tractarent, tum reliquis, prout cuiusque ingenii vires postulabant, munia distribuenda curarent; alios autem qui sui imbecillitate perspecta sapientum praeceptis obtemperarent, hique et illi mutuis inter se officiis certatim sublevarent. Hunc autem ordinem non modo ad conservationem et eorum qui imperarent et qui parerent plurimum valere posse considerabat, sed quemadmodum in musicis fides*

disparibus distinctae sonis acuta cum gravibus temperantes iucundissimum concentum efficiunt, sic in hac vitae societate et coniunctione fore iudicabat, ut ex dissimilibus officiis similis et par fructus perciperetur, et hanc rerum humanarum convenientiam homines a sensibus ad caelestium ordinem cogitationes transferrent, eosque diutissime contemplando non modo ipsi se oblectarent, sed quantum possent vitae modo et constantia imitarentur. Hunc ordinem et hanc rerum inter se consentientium et quasi conspirantium seriem Xenophon Graeciae sapientissimus cognovit, qui et de rebus divinis humanisque multa, quantum ea tempora patiebantur, mirabiliter scripsit, et in rebus tum publicis et civilibus tum privatis et domesticis ordinem diligentissime conservandum putavit. Atque hanc ob causam ordinem ipsum non modo artificio quodam separatim distinguere et illustrare voluit, sed etiam posteritati propagare. Quarum rerum praecepta admiratus Cicero non solum Xenophontis scriptis opera sua passim exornavit, sed totum librum qui *Oeconomicus* inscribitur, ut Columella scriptum reliquit, in latinum sermonem convertit. Qui postea cum temporis diuturnitate interiisset, idem, ut a Gulielmo Sylrleto Cardinali amplissimo accepi, a Marcello II pontifice maximo inchoatum sed non absolutum est, sed tamen deteriori conditione: nam hoc opus ita multis in locis depravatum est, vix ut intelligi possit. Reliquos praetereo, quos quidem adhuc viderim qui hoc opus aggressi (pace eorum dixerim) ita multis in locis labi mihi visi sunt, aut barbare loqui, ut illorum opera tam gravi scriptori plurimum dignitatis detraheretur. Neque vero mirum esse debet Ciceronem et Marcellum, qui diversis temporibus duo clarissima Imperii Romani lumina fuerunt, quique consiliis et auctoritate orbem terrarum gubernarunt, rerum familiarium ordinem tanti fecisse. Etenim sine privatarum domesticarumque rerum cognitione et usu civilem scientiam nullo modo stare posse cogitabant. Quod et Divus Paulus, qui divino spiritu afflatus in interiora et recondita Dei consilia penetraret, comprobavit, qui nulum Dei ecclesiae praeficiendum existimavit nisi qui familiam suam sancte prudenterque rexisset [I Tim. 3:5]. Sed alii antiquorum exemplis ducantur; me vero plurimum recentia et viva delectant. Nam his temporibus, quibus mores ad incredibilem superbiam et avaritiam prolapsi sunt, nequaquam tantis opibus tanta cum gloria domus

tua floreret, nisi te rerum domesticarum usus atque ordo eam frugalitatem atque animi magnitudinem docuisset, qua ad antiquae religionis rationem et gravitatem accederes. Neque enim qui vel mediocrem rerum cognitionem assecuti sunt, tam patrimonia ampla et copiosa admirantur, quam in utendo rationem expetunt. Unde enim potius quam ex profusis sumptibus innumerabiles caedes latrocinia fraudes aliaque facinora erupisse existimandum est? Homines enim effrenatis cupiditatibus addicti, cum se sumptuosius insolentiusque iactarunt, aere alieno oppressi alienis opibus inhiare solent, nihilque intentatum relinquere ut quod nefaria mente concupiunt assequantur. Tu vero in tuenda re familiari sic omnes diligentia et consilio superasti, ut omnium oculos ac mentes in te tanquam in eximium prudentiae et temperantiae specimen converteris. Nam cum ingens bonorum facultas et copia tibi a maioribus tuis relicta esset, ingenio ac virtute perfecisti ut quanto honore ex illorum industria, quorum honestis rationibus haec parta erant, afficerere, non minora ornamenta in illos ex tua laude redundarent . . . / . . . [The author relates the generosity of Finius during the recent two-year famine.] Sed non solum in privatis rebus Ischomachi a Xenophonte collaudati liberalitatem et moderationem, verumetiam in publicis gloriam et splendorem imitando expressisti. Nam cum legatus Venetias missus es ut superiori duci creationem gratularere—quo quidem in munere praecipue magnificentia et eloquentia spectari solet—sic eum honorem gessisti ut ea legatio, non quia necesse fuerit, alicui delata sed, quia sic virtus tua postulareret, recte in te collocata et digno in loco posita esse videretur. Eam enim et magnificentissime et gloriosissime obiisti, et in Senatu Veneto ea verborum gravitate et copia nostrae civitatis fidem et observantiam in imperium Venetum exposuisti, ut et iudicio eorum qui tibi potissimum id negotii dederunt, et ingenio ac virtuti tuae, qui praeclare locutus es, magna laus tribueretur. Haec sunt eximii cuiusdam et praestantis animi indicia, haec monumenta virtutis, haec decora et ornamenta nostrae civitatis. Et quamquam complures alios honores, quos civitas nostra egregiis viris ac tui similibus deferre solet, non tam gessisti quam dignus esse voluisti, tamen ut multis aliis in rebus egregia exempla a te sumantur; illud minime praetereundum est, quod nemo est qui in tuam familiaritatem intrarit, in

quo ulla aut officii in te aut benevolentiae significatio eluxerit, cui non modo meritam gratiam cumulatissime non persolveris, verumetiam qui se beneficiis et amore victum non fateatur. Quare, quoniam omnes beneficentia superasti, reliquum est ut tecum ipse certes et semper merita tua superiora novis beneficiis vincas. Haec vero ita fore haud dubito. Ac proinde, cum ego antea hunc Xenophontis librum in latinum convertissem, isque Carlo Sigonio et Nicolao Colonio, quorum uterque veteris probitatis commendatione et graeca latinaque eruditione studiisque optimarum artium caeteris antecellit, in lucem proferendus videretur, hunc tibi potissimum dicandum censi. Qui et mei in te amoris testimonium esset, et tu iis rebus prelectis aciem ingenii tui cum sapientissimorum consilii congruere, teque iis gradibus quibus illi praeceperunt ad magnitudinem hanc cognitionis, quam adeptus es, pervenisse intelligeres. Hunc si tu legere non gravatus fueris, tibi que eum probari sensero, ego me meis lucubrationibus multum profecisse putabo. Sin tibi haec res levior videbitur, laborum nostrorum imbecillitatem humanitatis tuae magnitudo sublevabit, munusque hoc, si re ipsa exiguum est, animo ac voluntate mea, qui te summa observantia colo et mirifice diligo, magnum atque amplum existimabis. Vale. Datum Bergomi. VII. Cal. Maii. M.D.L.XXII.

Oeconomicus (ed. of Venice, 1574). [*Inc.*]: Ipsum etiam Socratem de re familiari tuenda ita disserentem audivi: Dic mihi, inquit ille, o Critobole, estne oeconomia alicuius scientiae nomen, quemadmodum medicina, aearia et fabrica? . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: illos vero qui invitis dominantur eam vitam agere Dii videntur voluisse, quam apud inferos Tantalus dicitur agere, qui semper ne bis intereat veretur.

Edition:

1574, Venetiis (Venice): ex officina Dominici Guerraei et Io. Baptistae fratrum. *Xenophontis liber qui Oeconomicus inscribitur in Latinum e Graeco conversus*, Io. Antonio Guarnerio interprete. 91 pp. in 4°. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Van Pelt Library (not listed in NUC).

Biography:

Johannes Antonius Guarnerius (Giovanni Antonio Guarnerio) was born in Bergamo, where he took orders and became canon of San Vincenzo. His learning attracted the attention of

Carlo Borromeo, who during a visit to Bergamo entrusted him with various important matters. He was commissioned by Marco Antonio Benaglio to write the lives of Bergamasque saints, a work he eventually completed with the sponsorship of Bergamo's city council. He died on June 11, 1601.

Works:

De Monticuli sive Montecchii et Vallis Callepiae laudibus epistola (1571); *Oratio in adventu . . . Hieronymi Ragazoni episcopi Bergomatis* (1578); *F. Adorni epistola qua peregrinatio ab illustrissimo Cardinali s. Praxedis suscepta exponitur* (1579); *De miraculo apud Helvetios nuper edito* (1581); *De vita et rebus gestis sanctorum Bergomatium commentarii* (1584); *Oratio ad clerum bergomatem in dioecesana synode* (1595); *De bello Cyprio libri tres* (1602).

Bibliography:

Jöcher, *Suppl.*, II, 1646–47; D. Calvi, *Scena letteraria degli scrittori bergamaschi*, 2 vols. (Bergamo, 1664), I, 219–20.

COMMENTARIES

a. Joachim Camerarius

Camerarius' commentary presumably dates from the early 1560s, when he made his translation (see p. 183 above).

Commentary (ed. of Frankfurt, 1581). [*Inc.*]: De huius auctoris vita, moribus, fortuna, rebus gestis, et ceteris, quae potui colligere, extant commemorata narratione nostra satis verbose . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Ii quidem qui studiose graeca cum interpretatione nostra contulerint, optimum verissimumque iudicium de tota re, et sibi quoque ut aliquid utilitatis concilietur, facere poterunt.

Editions and Biography:

See p. 185 above.

b. Franciscus Portus

Together with seven other commentaries on various works of Xenophon, this was published by Portus' son Aemilius in 1586: see p. 115 above.

Preface (ed. of [Geneva?], 1586). [*Inc.*]: Xenophontis liber de administranda re familiari, οἰονεὶ μέθοδος quae est docendi via et ratio . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Xenophonteus iste liber sermone et Socratico more tractatur, id est, leniter,

suaviter, non eo modo quo doctores et praeceptores saepe in scholis utuntur. Iam ad verba veniamus.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: Ἦκουσα δὲ ποτε: auidi quondam Socratem de rei familiaris administratione in hanc sententiam disputare . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Hoc volunt ut voluntarii regantur pacifice, invitos vero et qui opus facere nolunt, tyrannide exerceri et tyrannico more regi volunt.

Edition:

1586. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 116 above.

c. Johannes Thomas Freigius

An admirer of Ramus, Freigius published in 1578 a volume titled *Quaestiones oeconomicae et politicae*, which includes a catechistic summary of the main points of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*. Reducing Xenophon's main points to some twenty-four pages of questions and answers, Freigius outlines general principles of householding, discusses such topics as marriage, servants, and agriculture, and concludes with a brief list of "oracles": golden sayings of Xenophon cited in Greek with Latin translations. The volume also contains a dedicatory epistle of Wolfgang von Herden, dated at Altdorf on January 1, 1578, and addressed to three patrician youths of Nuremberg, and Freigius' preface to the reader, which urges the importance of economic and political reflection in Christian society.

Epistola dedicatoria (ed. of Basel, 1578). Lectissimis et ornatissimis iuvenibus Georgio Volckamero, Sebastiano Fueterero, et Lazaro Koetzlero, patriciis Norimbergensibus Vuolfgangus ab Herden s. [*Inc.*]: Magna sum affectus laetitia et voluptate cum in vestri prudentissimi senatus gymnasio Aristotelis libros, quos de republica conscripsit, populari hac methodo vobis tradi et explicari viderem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Deum oro ut, quoniam pueritia et iuventus est vana (ut psaltes loquitur) vos suo veritatis Sancto Spiritu ita ducat ut eius verbum ceu lucernam secuti inculcate vivere, vestrorum parentum et propinquorum expectationi satisfacere, et tandem ad optatum vestrorum laborum fructum pervenire possitis. Valete et inter vos amate. Altorphii, Kalend. Ianuar. anno 1578.

Praefatio ad lectorem. Freigius lectori s.

[*Inc.*]: Si natura nostra in ea puritate et integritate, ad quam Deo praepotente primum condita est, permanisset, nec ex primorum parentum lapsu accessisset haec depravatio ac foeditas, quae in animo pariter et corpore tot opinionum vanitates, tot affectiones inconstantes et a seipsis dissentientes ingeneravit, tum omnes homines natura ethnici ac moralium civiliumque virtutum quaedam viva exemplaria extitissent . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Deo autem optimo maximo gratias habeo, qui studiorum meorum cursum hac quoque parte exerceri voluit; obtestorque ut philosophiae amorem in bonis ingeniis accendat, et ad suum [*sic*] suique filii gloriam illustrandam magis magisque augeat, perficiatque ut isto in nominis sui gloriam philosophico curriculo cum religionis Christianae studio coniuncto vitae meae periodus concludatur.

Commentary. Ex Xenophonte quaestiones oeconomicae. [*Inc.*]: Quid est Oeconomia? Est ars bene dispensandi: ἐπιστήμη ἧ οἴκους δύνανται αὔξειν ἄνθρωποι [*Oec.* VI.4] . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Φιλογεωργία, φιλοπονία, φιλεργία laudantur.

Editions:

1578, Basileae (Basel): per Sebastianum Henricipetri. *Quaestiones oeconomicae et politicae*. 494 pp. in 8°. Adams F-1021. NUC. BL; (ICU). Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Van Pelt Library (not listed in NUC).

(*)1591, Basileae (Basel): per Sebastianum Henricipetri. Same as preceding. Adams, F-1023. BL.

Biography:

Born in Freiburg im Breisgau in 1543, Johannes Thomas Freigius (Johann Thomas Freige) studied there and received his master's degree in 1559. An ardent disciple of Ramus, he felt compelled to leave his native city and moved to Basel in 1567, where he became doctor of law the next year. After Ramus' death in the St. Bartholomew massacre of 1572, Freigius edited a number of his works. In 1576, he became rector of the Gymnasium in Altdorf, but he left that post in 1582 and moved again to Basel, where he worked as a proofreader. He died of the plague on January 16, 1583.

Works: *Partitiones iuris utriusque* (1571); *Quaestiones logicae et ethicae* (1574); *Ciceronianus* (1578); *De philosophorum doctrina*

(1579); *Quaestiones physicae* (1579); *Latina grammatica pro schola Altorfiana* (1580); *Historiae synopsis* (1580); *Graeca grammatica* (1581); *Petri Rami vita* (1581); *De logica iureconsultorum* (1582); *Paedagogus* (1582); *Mosaicus continens historiam ecclesiasticam* (1583); *Paratitla seu synopsis Pandectarum* (1583); *Quaestiones geometricae et stereometricae* (1583).

Bibliography: Jöcher II 737–38; Hofer XVIII (1862) 780; *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, VII (1877), 341–43 (Stintzing).

XIII. SYMPOSIUM

TRANSLATIONS

I. Janus Cornarius

Dated at Frankfort on April 18, 1546, Cornarius' preface is addressed to Osvaldus Lasanus, consul of Zwickau, the translator's birthplace. Cornarius writes that he had just sent to press a Latin translation of Hippocrates (published in 1548) and had nearly completed a version of Galen (published in 1549). He therefore wished to undertake a smaller task during the carnival season (Lent in 1546 began on March 10). He had already translated St. Basil and St. Epiphanius and now turned to the philosophers Plato and Xenophon. After a few days' reflection, he decided that their *Symposia* merited his attention: Xenophon's work had not yet been translated, and Ficino's version of Plato was not completely satisfactory. The rest of his forty-five-page preface comments on the texts of Plato and Xenophon, contrasts their description of ancient symposia, and adds a comparison with German drinking bouts.

Preface (ed. of Basel, 1548). Ad ornatissimum virum D. Osvaldum Lasanum Zuiccaviensem consulem. [*Inc.*]: Proximis nostris stultorum feriis, Bacchanaliorum morem quandam adhuc, ornatissime Lasane, referentibus, quum absolutum in totum sub praelo haberem Hippocratem medicum Coum, omnibus illius viri scriptis ad nos usque extantibus per me latina lingua conscriptis et ex celeberrima Germaniae excusoria librorum officina Frobeniana iam editis, et ferme eo perduxissem quoque Galenum, praestantissimum item medicum et Hippocratis per omnia sectatorem ac optimum interpretem,

ut paucis admodum restantibus illius libris, totum ipsius scriptorum opus, magna ex parte a me in linguam latinam conversum, cum aliorum ante me interpretum translationibus a me recognitis ac emendatis, ex eadem officina invulgandum, proxime traditurus essem, visum est mihi et pro feriarum Liberi patris ratione, etiam ad concepta ex longo utriusque operis labore taedia discutienda, aliqua diversi generis autorum lectione animum refocillandum esse, quo vicissitudine aliqua iucundiorum studiorum exhilaratus paulo post me rursus ad Spartam meam exornandam expeditius conferrem. . . . / . . . [He discusses his translations from Basil and Epiphanius.] Ex hoc igitur experimento me etiam tunc ad iucundioris lectionis autores transferre statuebam, non quidem theologos illos, nisi quantum ad simplicem lectionem attinet, qua in re neque quod me iuuet amplius neque quod profuturum mihi magis sperem quicquam habeo D. Basilii Magni elegantissimis eruditissimisque ac piatissimis scriptis, sed ad philosophos veteres, non illos etiam inter deambulandum graves et horridos, sed ad Platonem et Xenophontem, Attici leporis venustissima decora, adeo ut alter ille divinus dici meruerit, alter musa Attica aut etiam apis Attica, ob dicendi elegantiam appellatus sit. Quum autem biduum iam mecum deliberassem, quidnam potissimum ex his legendum et ad Latinos transcribendum assumerem, tandem nihil et tempori fallendo et taedio discutiendo aptius fore iudicavi quam si utriusque Symposium ad nos transferrem. Invitabat ad hoc etiam id, quod Xenophontis Symposium latini homines hactenus non legissent, et quod Platonis Symposium, licet eundem quem etiam reliqua eius scripta interpretem Marsilium reperisset, tamen quaedam desiderarem in huius latina translatione, quorum desiderium etiam aliis me eximere posse confidebam. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Atque haec sunt quae de conviviorum veterum Graecorum et hoc tempore Germanorum ritibus, moribus ac sermonibus, itemque de amoris praestantia, et de Platonis ac Xenophontis dissensione ad te, optime Lasane, longiore commentatione scribere mihi visum est, quo non epistolam solum, sed iustum fere libellum pro longi silentii usura de me haberes. Francofordiae in ipsis nundinis, XVIII die Aprilis, Anno Christi, M.D.XLVI.

Symposium (ed. of Basel, 1548). [*Inc.*]: Equidem mihi videtur bonorum ac honestorum virorum opera, non illa solum quae serio perpetra-

runt, memoratu digna esse, sed etiam ea quae per lusum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Socrates autem, et reliqui qui Lyconem et filium ipsius expectarent, cum Callia deambulaturi abibant. Atque haec tunc symposii dissolutio contingebat.

Editions:

1548, Basileae (Basel): Joannes Oporinus. *Iani Cornarii medici physici Zuiccaviensis De conviviorum veterum Graecorum et hoc tempore Germanorum ritibus, moribus ac sermonibus; item de Amoris praestantia, et de Platonis ac Xenophontis dissensione libellus*. NUC. Vatican Library; (DLC; DNLM; MH).

(*)1697–1702, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): excudebant Petrus et Balduinus Van der Aa. Jacobus Gronovius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum graecarum*. 12 vols. in fol., IX, 1–36. NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; ICN; CU).

(*)1737, Venetiis (Venice): typis Jo. Baptistae Pasquali. Jacobus Gronovius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum graecarum*. 12 vols. in fol., IX, 1–36. NUC. BL; BN; (MH; ICU; DCU).

Biography:

CTC, II, 203; IV, 176.

2. Johannes Ribittus

Together with *Atheniensium respublica, De equitum magistro*, and *De vectigalibus*, Ribittus made this version at the request of Gesnerus, who was too busy to undertake it: see p. 143 above.

Symposium. [Inc.]: Virorum bonorum facta non modo seria verumetiam iocosa mihi memoratu digna esse videntur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Socrates autem ac alii qui cum Lycone et filio remanserant cum Callia deambulatum iverunt. Atque ad hunc modum convivium dimissum est.

Editions:

1545, 1551 (Basel), 1551 (Lyons), 1553, 1555, 1558, 1561, 1581–96. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 144 above.

3. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. *First version*

This version first appeared in Levvenklaius' 1569 bilingual edition of Xenophon's complete works: see p. 89 above.

Symposium (ed. of Basel, 1572). [Inc.]: Mihi vero videntur ea, quae a bonis honestisque viris aguntur, non tantum serio sed etiam inter iocandum, memoratu esse digna . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Socrates cum illis, qui remanserant, ad Lyconem eiusque filium una cum Callia deambulaturi discedebant. Atque hic eius convivii fuit exitus.

Editions:

1569 (Basel), 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. *Revised version*

This version first appeared in the 1594 edition of Xenophon's complete works (see p. 90 above) and was reprinted numerous times.

Symposium (ed. of Frankfurt, 1595; revisions italicized). [Inc.]: Mihi vero memoratu digna esse videntur quae ab honestis et praestantissimis viris non tantum serio sed etiam inter iocandum aguntur. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Socrates cum illis, qui remanserant, ad Lyconem eiusque filium una cum Callia deambulaturi discedebant. Atque hic eius convivii fuit exitus.

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfurt), 1625, 1691–1703, 1700–1704. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

4. Henricus Stephanus (excerpt)

In 1583, Stephanus published a chrestomathy of ancient authors' sayings concerning virtue, among which he included this brief exchange from Xenophon's *Symposium*.

Dedication (ed. of Geneva, 1583). Ottoni Henrico, Duci Brunsvicensi et Luneburgensi. [Inc.]: Quaerent fortasse nonnulli, princeps illustrissime, quidnam mihi repente in mentem venerit, ut libellum encomia virtutum ex utriusque linguae poetis pariter et philosophis complectentem, hoc tempore, quod est a virtutibus alienissimum, vulgarem . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Libuit igitur tam utilis Latinorum sententiae interpretationes varias Graecis dare; quas ad te tanquam illius quod dixi operis primitias una cum hoc libello mittere placuit, Deum optimum maximum orans ut nihil unquam tibi accidat ubi eius oblitus esse dici possis. Celsitudini Tuae addictissimus Henricus Stephanus.

Preface. [Inc.]: Quanti fecerint Graeci ea poe-

tarum dicta et tanquam apophthegmata, quae appellarent *γνώμας*, suis ipsi verbis quibus eas laudant simulque frequenti illarum usurpatione testatum nobis reliquerunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quodsi vacaverit, historicorum quoque sententias, non minus fortasse poeticis (ad prudentiam quidem certe) utiles futuras, alio libro complecti conabor. Hoc autem in opusculo habebis quibus interim frui possis. Vale.

Symposium (III.4). Probitas estne iustitia? Est sane, inquit Antisthenes, et quidem minime controversa. Nam fortitudo et sapientia interdum et amicis et reipublicae noxiae esse videntur: at iustitia nulla in re cum iniustitia commiscetur.

Edition:

1583, [Geneva?]: excudebat Henr. Stephanus. *Virtutum Encomia, sive Gnomae de virtutibus*. (Gr.-Lat.) 255 pp. in 12°, p. 233. NUC. BL; BN; (NjP; CtY; CU; MH; ICN).

Biography:

See p. 98 above.

XIV. DE VECTIGALIBUS.

TRANSLATIONS

1. Johannes Ribittus

Together with *Atheniensium respublica*, *De equitum magistro*, and *Symposium*, Ribittus made this version at the request of Gesnerus, who was too busy to undertake it: see p. 143 above.

De vectigalibus (ed. of Basel, 1545). [Inc.]: Ego semper illud verum esse putavi, quales esse gubernatores, tales respublicas existere solere . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quae enim dei voluntate suscipiuntur, ea par est meliores felicioresque eventus habere.

Editions:

1545, 1551 (Basel), 1551 (Lyons), 1553, 1555, 1558, 1561, 1581–96. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 144 above.

2. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. First version

This version first appeared in Levvenklaius' 1569 bilingual edition of Xenophon's complete works: see p. 89 above.

De vectigalibus (ed. of Basel, 1572). [Inc.]: Semper ego illa sum in sententia, ut quales sint praesides, tales et respublicas esse statuam . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quae enim dei voluntate suscipiuntur, ea par est semper reipublicae rectius feliciusque cedere.

Editions:

1569 (Basel), 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. Revised version

This version first appeared in the 1594 edition of Xenophon's complete works (see p. 90 above) and was reprinted numerous times.

De vectigalibus (ed. of Frankfurt, 1595; revisions italicized). [Inc.]: *Equidem* in hac sententia sum *perpetuo*, ut quales sint praesides, tales et respublicas esse statuam. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Nam* quae *res numine propitio* suscipiuntur, *eas* semper reipublicae *melius* feliciusque *cessuras consentaneum* est.

Editions:

1595, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfurt), 1625, 1691, 1691–1703, 1700–1704, 1754. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

3. Joachim Camerarius

In his preface dated at Leipzig on September 9, 1571, Camerarius observes that he is publishing a recent translation of *De vectigalibus*: see p. 129 above.

De vectigalibus (ed. of Paris, 1572). [Inc.]: Ego in statuendo hoc persevero: quales principes sint, tales existere respublicas . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quae enim propitio numine divino aguntur, eas actiones ad potioem melioremque exitum semper civitati evasuras esse veri est simile.

Edition:

1572 (Paris). See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 129 above.

4. Anonymus Cantabrigiensis (excerpt)

Together with versions of the *Anabasis*, *Atheniensium respublica*, and *Lacedaemoniorum respublica*, this anonymous translation survives in a sixteenth-century Clare College

manuscript, written in England. The translator shifts in midsentence from *Atheniensium respublica* I.16 (see below, p. 194) to the last two chapters of *De vectigalibus*; he was evidently using a Greek manuscript in which the two works were conflated (for some fourteenth- and fifteenth-century codices with an identical conflation, see E. Kalinka, ed., *Xenophontis qui inscribitur libellus Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* [Leipzig, 1914; rpt. Stuttgart, 1967], xii).

De vectigalibus V.4-VI.3. [Inc.]: (p. 117) sive sophistae sint sive philosophi aut poetae vel qui res istorum tractant . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 118) nam quae deo auspice initium sumunt non iniuria melius et praestantius universae reipublicae per totam et integram actionem progredientur.

Manuscript:

(photo.) Cambridge, Clare College, 23, now G' 3.5, cart. XVI, 120 pp., 117-118 (James, *Clare College*, 40; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 7).

COMMENTARIES

a. Joachim Camerarius

Camerarius' commentary probably dates from the same time as his translation of the work, which he calls "recent" in his preface of September 9, 1571: see p. 129 above.

Commentary (ed. of Paris, 1572). [Inc.]: *πρωαίτατα* et *ὀψιαίτατα* [Vect. I.3]. Quae nascuntur et crescunt quasi matutino anni tempore, et veluti serotino intercidunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *ἑλληνοταμίας* [Vect. V.5]. Hic primum magistratus Athenis constitutus fuit post bellum Medicum, quemadmodum scripsit Thucydides libro primo [I.96].

Edition:

1572 (Paris). See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 129 above.

b. Franciscus Portus

Together with seven other commentaries on various texts of Xenophon, this was published by Portus' son Aemilius in 1586: see p. 115 above.

Preface (ed. of [Geneva?], 1586). [Inc.]: Propositum est Xenophonti viam et rationem tradere in hoc libello, qua civitatis vectigalia auferentur

atque amplificarentur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Iam vero principes nostrae reipublicae verbo tenus viri boni sunt, et profitentur se tenere ius et aequitatem, et tamen re vera neque ipsi viri boni sunt, et pessimum exemplum in civitatem inducunt. Gravis est accusatio. *ταχυτής*.

Commentary. [Inc.]: Ἀεὶ ποτε. Indefinitam vim habet particula *ποτέ* . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Σὺν γὰρ θεῷ* si ductu et auspiciis deorum res gerantur, consentaneum est eventus quoque rerum faustos et felices esse. *σεμνότης*.

Edition:

1586. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 116 above.

SPURIOUS WORKS

XV. ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

In antiquity and the Renaissance, this treatise was ascribed to Xenophon as a companion piece to his *Lacedaemoniorum respublica*. Modern scholarship assigns it to an anonymous Athenian of the fifth century. See M. Treu, "Pseudo-Xenophon, Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων," PW, IX, A2, cols. 1928-82; and the edition of G. W. Bowersock (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

TRANSLATIONS

I. Joachim Camerarius

This translation first appeared in the 1543 Leipzig edition of Xenophon's minor works: see p. 88 above.

Atheniensium respublica. [Inc.]: Verum Atheniensium rempublicam, cum illis huiusmodi forma maxime placuit, non laudo hanc ob causam. Nam cum haec maxime illis placuerunt, et hoc placuit scilicet, futilibus hominibus melius esse quam viris bonis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: At eo infamia Athenis existit, quod imperiave (meperiave *ed.*) iniusta sint, aut dicatur fiatve aliquid improbe. Hoc qui cogitare voluerit, reperiet nihil Athenis ab infamibus periculi esse posse.

Editions:

1543, 1556, 1572 (Paris). See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 129 above.

2. Sebastianus Castellio

Castellio edited the Greek text of Xenophon for two Basel editions (1551 and 1553) and probably made this translation at the request of Nicolaus Brylingerus for his 1545 edition. In his 1561 edition, Stephanus says that he added only marginal notes to Castellio's version: see p. 96 above.

Atheniensium respublica (Brylingerus ed. of Basel, 1545). [*Inc.*]: De Atheniensium vero respublica, quod eam reipublicae rationem sequuti sunt, ideo non laudo, quod dum eam sequuntur, illud effecerunt ut improbi meliore essent conditione quam probi . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: His considerandis non debet iudicari aliquid esse mali ab eis qui sunt Athenis infamia notati.

Editions:

1545 (Brylingerus), 1551, 1553, 1555, 1561, 1581–96. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

Sebastianus Castellio (Castalio, Sébastien Castellion or Châteillon) was born at St. Martin du Fresne in 1515. He taught in Geneva until a dispute with Calvin forced him to move to Basel, where he became professor of Greek. The execution of Servetus in 1553 inspired his treatise *De haereticis* (Magdeburg, 1554). He died at Basel in 1563, in abject poverty, which aroused Montaigne's compassion (*Essais*, I, 35).

Works: *De haereticis* (1554); *De arte dubitandi et confidendi* (1563); *Sacri dialogi* (1542); French and Latin translations of the Bible. Besides Xenophon, he edited bilingual editions of Homer, Herodotus, and Thucydides.

Bibliography: Michaud VII 153–54; *Historisches biographisches Lexicon der Schweiz*, II, 513.

B. Becker, ed., *Autour de Michel Servet et de Sébastien Castellion* (Haarlem, 1953); F. Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion: sa vie et son oeuvre*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1892; rpt. Nieuwkoop, 1964), esp. II, 369–70, on his editions of classical authors; *Sébastien Castellion, De l'impunité des hérétiques*, ed. B. Becker and M. Valkhoff (Geneva, 1931); *Sebastian Castellio, On Heretics*, ed. and tr. R. H. Bainton (New York, 1935); *Sebastian Castellio, De arte dubitandi et confidendi, ignorandi et sciendi*, ed. D. Cantimori (Rome, 1937; 2d ed., Leiden, 1981); *Castellioniana* (Leiden, 1951); E. Giran, *Sébastien*

Castellion et la réforme calviniste (Haarlem, 1914; rpt. Geneva, 1970); H. R. Guggisberg, *Sebastian Castellio im Urteil seiner Nachwelt vom Späthumanismus bis zur Aufklärung* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1956); F. Heer, *Die dritte Kraft: Der europäische Humanismus zwischen den Fronten des konfessionellen Zeitalters* (Frankfurt, 1959), 274–92; J. Maehly, *Sebastian Castellio* (Basel, 1862; rpt. Geneva, 1971).

3. Johannes Ribittus

In his preface, dated at Lausanne on February 13, 1548, Ribittus says that he was asked by Isingrinus and Gesnerus to supply translations of those Xenophontean *opuscula* which were still untranslated. His versions of *De vectigalibus* and *De equitum magistro*, which appeared in the 1545 Basel edition of Brylingerus, became standard in later editions. His *Atheniensium respublica* had to compete with those of Camerarius, Castellio, and Levvenklaius. For the textual tradition of the manuscript upon which Ribittus based his translation of the *De respublica Atheniensium*, see the introductory note to Anonymus Cantabrigiensis, *De vectigalibus* (p. 108 above).

Dedication (ed. of Basel, 1551). Ad Michaellem Isingrinium. [*Inc.*]: Tu et Conradus Gesnerus eo me impulistis, unde pedem referre, nisi pudor prohiberet, maxime vellem: ea enim restabant in Xenophonte convertenda, quae et obscuritatem non parvam continent, et depravatiores sunt, quam ut a me corrigi possint. Sed illud me consolatur, quod istius audaciae crimen vos duos mecum sustinere necesse est. Quare nunc a te contendo, Michael, ut fortissime impetum importunorum hominum sustinere mecum velis, nam te posse satis scio. Sed venio ad Rempublicam Atheniensium a Xenophonte descriptam, de quo libello sic statuo, multa in eo deesse et superesse, id quod aliquot argumentis et coniecturis ostendi potest clarissime. Ac deesse quidem, Stobaeus et Iulius Pollux, autores non ignobiles, non obscure docebunt . . . / . . . [Ribittus cites two fragments of the work from Stobaeus and Julius Pollux.] Atqui horum locorum ne vestigia quidem ulla in hac politia quam habemus extant: quare perspicuum est, hunc libellum mutilatum esse et multis partibus mancum. Sed ne longum faciam, venio ad alteram partem. Locus ille qui initium capit ab his verbis, καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι, usque ad finem,

cum plane eadem in extremis Poris reperiantur, et illic maxime sint apta, hic autem nullo modo, dubitare non debemus, quin ineptissime sint cum hac politia coniuncta: quae iure optimo ex hoc libello desecanda putavi, et Poris tantum agglutinanda. Quid enim attinet eadem in eodem autore intempestive iterari? Quod ipsum spero a te approbatum iri, si rem consideratius perpendere placebit. Vale. Lausannae, M.D.XL.VIII, Idus Febr.

Atheniensium respublica I.1–16 (ed. of Basel, 1551). [*Inc.*]: Athenienses autem rempublicam isto modo instituisse propterea non laudo, quod his instituendis meliori conditione malos quam bonos esse voluerunt; et haec causa est, cur non probem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quod si domi haberent singuli sua iudicia, quia Atheniensibus sunt irati, eos a suis, qui maxime Atheniensium essent amantes, funditus everterent.

Editions:

1545 (Isingrinus), [1551?], 1553. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 144 above.

4. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. *First version*

This version first appeared in Levvenklaius' 1569 bilingual edition of Xenophon's complete works: see p. 89 above.

Atheniensium respublica (ed. of Basel, 1572). [*Inc.*]: Iam de Atheniensium republica ut dicamus, quod eam reipublicae formam secuti sint, propterea non laudo, quia dum illam praetulerunt aliis, improbos homines bonis esse meliori conditione maluerunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Haec qui considerat putare non debet, Athenis quidquam ab infamibus esse periculi.

Editions:

1569 (Basel), 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. *Revised version*

This version first appeared in the 1594 edition of Xenophon's complete works (see p. 90 above) and was reprinted numerous times.

Atheniensium respublica (ed. of Frankfurt, 1595; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: Iam in Atheniensium republica, quod eam reipublicae formam secuti sint, propterea non laudo, quia dum illam praetulerunt aliis, improbos homines me-

liore esse conditione quam bonos maluerunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] Haec qui secum expendere voluerit, non est quod cogitet Athenis quidquam esse periculi ab iis quibus irrogata sit infamia.

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Basel), 1595 (Frankfort), 1625, 1691, 1691–1703, 1700–1704, 1754. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

5. Anonymus Cantabrigiensis (excerpt)

Together with versions of the *Anabasis*, *Lacedaemoniorum respublica*, and *De vectigalibus*, this anonymous translation survives in a sixteenth-century Clare College manuscript, written in England. The translator shifts in mid-sentence from *Atheniensium respublica* I.16 to *De vectigalibus* IV.4 (see p. 192 above).

Atheniensium respublica I.1–16. [*Inc.*]: (p. 115) De Atheniensium vero republica quod quidem hanc formam elegerunt, non laudo propterea quod haec eadem eligentes cupiunt malos melius facere quam bonos . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 117) quod si ius singuli domi haberent utique infesti Atheniensibus ex suis illos interimerent qui Atheniensibus essent amicissimi . . . (illegible)

Manuscript:

(photo.) Cambridge, Clare College, 23, now G' 3.5, cart. XVI, 120 pp., 115–117 (James, *Clare College*, 40; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 7).

COMMENTARIES

a. Joachim Camerarius

This commentary first appeared in the 1543 Leipzig edition of Xenophon's minor works: see p. 88 above.

Commentary (ed. of Leipzig, 1543). [*Inc.*]: Multo est hic libellus plenior mendis, et in quibusdam etiam exemplis mutilus, agglutinatis alienis . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: In multis autem sequentibus fecimus ut licuit, cum quod cupiebamus non concederetur, de quibus unicuique liberum iudicium relinquimus, nam sunt quae ne ipsis quidem nobis admodum probantur.

Editions:

1543, 1556, 1572 (Paris). See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 129 above.

b. Franciscus Portus

Together with seven other commentaries on various works of Xenophon, this was published by Portus' son Aemilius in 1586: see p. 115 above.

Preface (ed. of [Geneva?], 1586). [*Inc.*]: Περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας. Prooemium est ductum a re ipsa, de qua agitur. Qua de re agitur? de genere politiae Atheniensium . . . / . . . de hac ipsa ratione iam disseram: sic ille sed πολιτικῶς; aliter Xenophon, sed ἠθικῶς.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: Ἐπειτα μὲν πρώτον: deinde non eos magistratus appetunt, qui procurant salutem Reipublicae, et pericula propulsant, sed eos qui quaestum ipsis quotidie afferunt. [*Expl.*]: Hoc non facile futurum est, quia imperium et potestas est penes multos, non penes paucos, qui sunt probi.

Edition:

1586. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 116 above.

XVI. EPISTULAE

Stobaeus preserves fragments from six letters ascribed to Xenophon. They are addressed to Aeschines (Stob. II.1.29), Agesilaus (Stob. II.31.128), Aglaitadas (Stob. IV.21.26; cf. Xen., *Cyr.* II.2.11), Crito (Stob. III.26.29), Lamprocles (Stob. III.5.28–29; cf. Xen., *Mem.* II.2.1), and Soteira (Stob. IV.53.37, IV.56.42; Soteira seems to be the widow of Xenophon's son Gryllus). See PW, IX, A2, cols. 1925–28 (H. R. Breitenbach).

TRANSLATIONS

I. Conradus Gesnerus

Of the fragments preserved in Stobaeus, Gesnerus translated the four addressed to Aeschines, Crito, Soteira, and Lamprocles (omitting those to Agesilaus and Aglaitadas). To these he added two other nonepistolary fragments. The first, quoted in Stobaeus IV.29.53, is now thought to be a scholium on *Mem.* I.2.20: [*Inc.*]: Extant Theognidis Megarensis carmina, in quibus poeta ille nulla de re alia sermonem instituit quam de virtute et malitia hominum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]:

at mihi potius videtur hominum circa vitam suam et prolem suscipiendam ignorantiae adversari. The second, cited in Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrept.* VI and *Strom.* 6 (and in Stob. II.1.33) resembles *Mem.* IV.3.13–14, as is noted in the Stephanus edition, I, 587: [*Inc.*]: Eum qui omnia concutit et inconcussa conservat magnum aliquem et potentem esse manifestum est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: sed siquis impudenter eum conspexerit visu illum privat.

Epistulae. (ed. of Geneva, 1561) [*Inc.*]: Hermogenes me conveniens cum alia quaedam mihi narravit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: incurabili paupertate ipsos laborare dicebat, nempe animi morbo.

Editions:

1561, 1581–86. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC, II, 307.

2. Johannes Levvenklaius

a. First version

In his 1569 bilingual edition of Xenophon's complete works (see p. 89 above), Levvenklaius included the epistles addressed to Aeschines, Crito, Soteira, and Lamprocles.

Epistulae (ed. of Basel, 1572). [*Inc.*]: Posteaquam me convenisset Hermogenes, quum alia quaedam narravit, tum me de te interrogante an philosophiae studiosus esses, itidem respondebat, ut Socrates . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Illos enim quos diximus revera divites, reliquos pauperes appellabat, et incurabili paupertate ipsos laborare dicebat, nempe animi morbo, non possessionis.

Editions:

1569 (Basel), 1572 (Basel). See Composite Editions.

b. Revised version

This version first appeared in the 1594 edition (see p. 90 above) and was often reprinted.

Epistulae (ed. of Frankfurt, 1595; revisions italicized). [*Inc.*]: Posteaquam me convenisset Hermogenes, cum alia quaedam narravit, tum me de te interrogante, *quodnam* philosophiae *studium sequeris, idem*, respondit, *quod* Socrates . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Illos enim quos diximus revera divites, reliquos pauperes *adpellabat*, et incurabili paupertate laborare dicebat, *quod* animi *esset imbecillitas*, non possessionis.

Editions:

1594, 1594–96, 1595 (Frankfort), 1625, 1691–1703, 1700–1704. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See p. 100 above.

3. Johannes Caselius

For his 1576 edition of the *Memorabilia*, Caselius translated Xenophon's two epistles to Aeschines and Crito.

Epistulae (ed. of Rostock, 1576). [*Inc.*]: Cum in me incidisset Hermogenes, tum alia narrabat, tum quaerenti mihi quam philosophiam coleres,

respondit, eandem quae placuisset Socrati . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Tu vero praebes non plura quam necessaria, quae recte educatis et necessaria et opes existimantur; verum rudibus dolores, quibus corpus afficitur, tantum mitigant, desperationem vero, quam de futuris animo conceperint, non minuunt.

Edition:

(photo.) 1576, Rostochii (Rostock): excudebat Augustinus Colorius. *Xenophontis De dictis memorabilibus Socratis libri quatuor in latinam linguam conversi ab Ioanne Caselio*. Fabricius, BG, III, 14; Hoffmann III 594b; Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek: see p. 174 above.