

DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS

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FORTUNA

Since the first publication of the treatise *De Elocutione* in Aldus Manutius' celebrated *Rhetores graeci* of 1508, there has been repeated discussion of its authorship and its date. The attribution to Demetrius Phalereus is still in doubt, and the best evidence with respect to dating points to the first century B.C. or the first century A.D. These matters are discussed, among other places, in Wilamowitz' dissertation of 1880, *De aetate et scriptore libri qui fertur Demetrii περὶ ἐρμηνείας*; in Radermacher's edition of 1901; and in W. Rhys Roberts' edition of 1902. The treatise has been of interest to students of rhetoric — and to writers — for its materials on style and on the figures, and it very early entered into the literature on epistolog-

raphy because of its treatment of that genre. It has been less useful to specialists in poetic because of its limitation to matters of style and the absence of larger poetic considerations. Consequently, although it was much studied from the sixteenth century on, its audience has always been a relatively restricted one.

Bibl. : After the *editio princeps* of 1508, the first separate Greek text was published anonymously in 1542. F. Niccolai, *Pier Vettori (1499-1585)*, Florence : 1912, pp. 240-45, on the basis of an exchange of letters between Pietro Vettori and Francesco Davanzati (*Petri Victorii Epistolarum Libri X*, Florence : Giunti, 1586, pp. 22-23), argues for the attribution of this edition to Vettori. Vettori improved and republished his edition in 1552 and 1562; the last of these became the basis for all the texts

printed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Both Radermacher and Roberts, however, chose to prepare texts derived directly from Paris. *graec. 1741*, the oldest of the extant MSS and apparently the source of all others. The most distinguished editions, besides theirs, are Fischer, 1773; Schneider, 1779; and Spengel, 1853. We have notice of two sixteenth-century commentaries on Demetrius undertaken before 1560; but we do not know whether they were ever completed. No manuscripts have been found and neither was ever published. The first, by Pietro degli Angeli (Pietro Angelio da Barga, Petrus Bargaeus), was referred to by Paulus Manutius in a letter to Andreas Dudith, *Epistolarum Pauli Manutii Libri IIII*, Venice, 1560, Bk. IV, letter [18], p. 124^v (undated); by Roger Ascham in a letter to Johann Sturm, *Familiarium Epistolarum libri tres*, London, 1578, Bk. I, letter 1, p. 10^v (undated; cf. Fabricius, *BG VI*, 67); and by Domenico Moreni in his edition of Angeli's *De Bello Senensi Commentarius*, Florence, 1809, p. LII. The second, by Andreas Dudith, was mentioned in the same letter by Manutius to Dudith. A curious item of the same century was Raphael Cyllenius' so-called 'Table' of the treatise in *Tabulae Rhetoricae Raphaelis Cyllenii Angeli*, Venice, 1571, which reduces this work (and Aristotle's *Rhetoric*) to tabular form. The older sources on bibliography are Fabricius, *BG*, Harles ed., VI, 63-67 [=IV, 423-27] and III, 486 [=II, 294]; Engelmann, I, 254; Hoffmann, *BL*, I, 501-4; and Pauly-Wissowa, IV, 2, 2839-41. My 'Translations and Commentaries of Demetrius, *On Style* to 1600: A Bibliography,' *Philological Quarterly*, XXX (1951), 353-80, lists the early Greek editions and Italian translations as well as the materials included below.

I. *De elocutione*

TRANSLATIONS

1. ANONYMUS, FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The 'summarized Latin translation' (Wall) or 'Latin abbreviation of part of the trea-

tise' (De Ricci) exists only in one Ms. (University of Illinois, Urbana, xf. 881- A8. xl.) dating from the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century; it covers the text from the beginning to the conclusion of the section on letter-writing (Roberts ed., IV, Par. 240).

[Inc.]: (ed. Wall, *A Medieval Latin Version of Demetrios' De Elocutione*, 1937, p. 61). *Sicut poesis dividitur metris, puta ymimetris aut exametris vel aliis, ita et sermocinalem eloucionem dividunt et distingunt in ea que cola vocantur, tanquam sermoni quietem prestancia, et in multis terminis terminancia ipsumet, cum alias longus utique esset et infinitus et inartificialiter suffocaret legentem.* [Expl.]: (p. 101). *Attendendum est insuper et persona cui scribitur, quoniam mittimus epistulas et civitatibus et regibus et consanguineis et amicis. idcirco non oportet esse prolixam ne epistula libellus quodam modo videatur. Oportet autem epistulam fieri in ultimo stilo et observare quod in illo caractere dicta sunt.*

(*) *Manuscript.* University of Illinois, Urbana, xf. 881 - A8. xl, fols. 48-51^v (reproduced photographically in the Wall ed.). Described by De Ricci, I, 700; G. Lacombe, Vol. I, *Aristoteles Latinus, Codices* (Rome, 1939), pp. 245-46, who dates it to the 14th century; and S. H. Thomson, 'Editing of Medieval Latin Texts,' *Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies in the United States and Canada*, Bulletin 16 (1941), 37-49, who assigns a date of the late 13th century and a place in Northern Italy (or France?).

Edition:

Bernice Virginia Wall, *A Medieval Latin Version of Demetrios' De Elocutione*: Edited for the first time from a fourteenth century manuscript at the University of Illinois, with an Introduction and Critical notes. Washington, D. C. : The Catholic University of America, 1937. Reviewed by E. Franceschini, *Bollettino di filologia classica*, 43 (1937), 281-87.

2. MARCUS ANTONIUS ANTIMACHUS

Demetrii Phalerei Praecepta De membris et incisis, De periodis, De componendis

epistolis, De characteribus dicendi. 1540, Basileae (Basel) : Per Robertum Winter. The translation of the four excerpts by Marcantonio Antimaco was the first text of Demetrius to be published in any language, after the Greek *editio princeps* of 1508. According to Schneider (ed. Altenburg, 1779, p. xix), Antimaco translated the Aldine text : ‘Expressit Antimachus exemplum Aldinum, sed latinitate tam rudi et barbara, ut hominem ex Graecia cum maxime redeuntem latine crederes balbutire.’ There is no separate dedication for the Demetrius ; but the dedication of the entire volume (which contains other works ; see below) is to Alberto Lollo, dated ‘viii. cal. Maias M. D. XXXIX’ ; it states that the translation had been done some years earlier. There is also an epistle to his father, Matteo Antimaco, dated ‘Ferrariae, Idibus Iulii M. D. II.’

Excerpt I. De Membris et incisis (Aldine pp. 545-46 ; Rhys Roberts, beg. of text to end of I, 9). [Inc.] : (p. 80). Quemadmodum poesis metris, videlicet semimetris, hexametris vel aliis dividitur, sic illa, quae membra vocantur, orationis elocutio (*sic* ; read : elocutionem) et ea quae ordine dicuntur, dividunt et separant, tanquam sermonem quiescere facientia, ac multis modis terminantia. quoniam longus et infinitus propemodum esset et manifeste dicentem offenderet ac paene suffocaret.

[Expl.] : (p. 83) Est etiam brevitas apophthegmatica, hoc est, in brevia dicta proleta et sententiosa. multum enim sensum in exiguum congregare sapientius est, quemadmodum totius arboris potentia in semine est. Si quis non sententiam in longum produceret, doctrina et exercitatio quaedam Rhetoricae pro sententia videretur.

Excerpt II. De Periodis (Aldine pp. 546-48 ; Roberts I, 10 through I, 24. Continues directly after Excerpt I). [Inc.] : (p. 83) Periodi itaque eiusmodi membris et incisis invicem simul positis constituuntur. Est enim periodus ex membris et incisis bene conversis subiectam sententiam proficientibus constitutio. [Expl.] : (p. 87) Hoc quidem dictum nihil habet contrarii. tropus autem elocutionis mistus alicui cum seductione oppositionem facienti similis vide-

tur. Sed hic forte movendi risus causa sic opposuit simulque ut cum urbanitate oratores mordeat.

Excerpt III. Praecepta de Componendis epistolis (Aldine pp. 566-67 ; Roberts IV, 223 through IV, 240). [Inc.] : (pp. 87-88) Epistolarum character cum exilitate indigeat, et de ipso dicemus. Artemo igitur, qui Aristotelis epistolas colligit ac in lucem protulit, eodem modo dialogum et epistolas oportere scribere asserit, eo quod epistola fere tanquam altera dialogi pars, non tamen omnis esse videatur. [Expl.] : (p. 91) Sed compositio contracta rei facultatem aliquo modo surripit facitque in praesentia nuncupatam aridam perversamque imitationem ex duobus vitiis conflatam ex perversa quidem imitatione propter rem, ex arido vero propter compositionem.

Excerpt IV. De Characterib. Dicendi (Aldine p. 549 ; Roberts II, 36 through II, 37). [Inc.] : (p. 91) Characteres autem simplices sunt quatuor : humilis, magnificus, iucundus, gravis, et reliqui qui ex his misti sunt. Non omnis omni miscetur, sed iucundus humili et magnifico, et gravis similiter ambobus.

[Expl.] : (p. 92) Verum huiusmodi sermo ridiculus est. Videmus enim omnes characteres omnibus commistos, praeter illos qui inter se contrarii conspiciuntur, velut Homeri carmina, et Platonis et Xenophontis et Herodoti ac aliorum plurimorum oratio, quae multam magnificentiam commistam multamque gravitatem ac venustatem habet. Tanta erit igitur characterum copia, quanta superius dictum est.

Edition : 1540, Basileae (Basel) : Per Robertum Winter. *Gemisti Plethonis De gestis Graecorum. . .M. A. Antimacho interprete. Ad haec, Dionysii Halicarnassei Praecepta. . .Demetrii Phalerei Praecepta. . .Polyaeni De re militari praefatio eodem interprete. M. Antonii Antimachi De laudibus Graecarum litterarum oratio.* (BM ; BN ; BN Firenze ; Northwestern University).

Lost complete translation. In the general dedication to the volume, Antimaco promised a full translation within a short time : ‘Dabimus etiam brevi fortasse Phalereum... de Interpretatione seu de Elocutione integrum latine legendum’ (p. aa3). There is also a letter from Francesco Davanzati,

in Ferrara, to Pietro Vettori, dated 1547, in which he asks Vettori for a copy of the 1542 ed. of Demetrius for Antimaco's use (*Clarorum Italorum et Germanorum Epistolae ad P. V.*, I, 24). No trace has ever been found of this complete translation.

Biogr. : Born in Mantua ca. 1473, Antimaco went as a youth to study in Greece, under Joannes Moschos, and remained for five years (1489-94); in the *Dialogi duo de Poetis* of L. G. Giraldi, Antimaco describes his studies in three different places in Greece and praises Moschos. When the latter died, Antimaco proposed to study with Constantine Lascaris in Sicily, but was dissuaded because of the dangers of the trip. Returning to Italy, he went first to Venice, then to Mantua where he opened (ca. 1498) a school of humane letters, especially of the Greek language. In 1532 he was called to Ferrara as public professor, and he taught there until his death early in 1552. Among his students was Alberto Lollo. In addition to the works contained in the 1540 volume, he wrote a group of Latin poems, contained in MSS in Ferrara 'presso agli Eredi di Cesare Parisio Favalli in un testo a penna in foglio' (cf. Ferrante Borsetti, *Historia Gymn. Ferrar.*, II, 146) and he edited the *Epigrammatum Graecorum Libros VIII*. Kristeller, *Iter I* and *II*, lists Antimaco MSS of poems, letters, and commentaries on Greek plays.

Bibl. : G. Mazzuchelli, *Gli Scrittori d'Italia*, Vol. I, Pt. II (Brescia, 1753), 843-844; L. C. Volta, *Biografia dei Mantovani illustri nelle scienze, lettere ed arti* (Mantua: 1845), p. 31; E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, I, lxxxviii-xci.

3. ANONYMUS

Ms. Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence, A. xxxv. 4., fols. 57-124^v; for the translation, fols. 57-69^v (for Pars. 1-30 middle) and fols. 92-124^v (for Pars. 30 middle to end, Par. 96).

[*Inc.*] : (fol. 57) Quemadmodum Poeticæ studium metris quibusdam ceu semi-metris exametris aliisque dissecatur, sic et ea quae membra vocantur eloquitionem orationemque dividunt atque distinguunt,

cum insistentia ipsa et in multis terminis orationem definientia pausam illi quodammodo faciant. caeteroqui enim longa et infinita esset dicentemque profecto suffocaret. [*Expl.*] : (fol. 124^v) Res autem persaepe sua vi venustae propter malum delectum verborum iniucundiores videntur. veluti Clitarcus de Tentrhedone loquens quae est bestiola api similis, 'Depascitur, inquit, montanam regionem, involat autem in cavatas quercus.' non secus ac de tauro quodam fero, ut apro Erimantio verba faceret, non autem de ape quadam. ita ut oratio invenusta pariter insulsaque sit, quae duo vitia vicina et sibi quodammodo prope posita sunt. xvii. Jun. 1553.

Manuscript :

Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence, A. xxxv. 4. *Demetrii Phal. de Elocutione*. The gatherings of the MS were improperly assembled at the time of binding. Inventory 'A' of the Biblioteca Marucelliana has a query, added later in ink, whether the MS might be the work of 'P. Victorius?' But the translation is not the same, nor is the commentary, and the hand differs from that of Vettori (cf. his autograph letters in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Autografi Palatini, II, 120-32, dated 1537-41). A typewritten slip in the MS attributes all four sections to Marcello Adriani, presumably because the first section contains Adriani's Italian translation of Demetrius, and this attribution is reflected both in the Marucelliana catalogue and in Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 106; it seems to be without justification. There are many corrections in the translation, with the original version legible despite cancellation lines; these corrections are in the same hand as the original version, although there are some corrections and some marginalia in a different ink, possibly in a different hand. The incipit of the translation, especially, is much corrected and difficult to read.

4. NATALIS COMES

Clarissimo ac praestantissimo Patritio Veneto Francisco Contareno Divi Marci Procuratori Amplissimo Natalis de Comitibus.

[Inc.]: (p. a2) Quantum gloriae ac laudis apud omnes homines illi merito consequi deberent, Francisece praestantisime, qui operam aliquandiu absumpserunt in transferendis in latinam linguam antiquorum scriptorum libris, mihi omnino declarandum proponerem...[Expl.]: (p. a4^v) Mitto igitur ad te vir praestantissime de methodo dicendi libellum; non quidem quod hac ipsa dicendi ratione indigeas, nam quis te vel est gravior vel sapientior vel eloquentior? sed ut intelligas hoc me scire, quod omnia tibi debeo, atque aliquod habeas mei amantissimi erga te animi pignus, donec aliquid maius conferendi nobis concedatur facultas.

Demetrii Phalerei De Oratione, sive de modo dicendi, liber.

[Inc.]: (p. 1) De membris. Cap. I. Sicuti Poesis in metra dividitur, ut in semimetra et hexametra et alia complura, sic dicendi rationem ea, quae membra vocantur, dividunt atque dispescunt; et quasi ipsa numerum constituentia multisque terminis orationem terminantia ipsum sermonem sistunt ac concludunt, quoniam et longa et infinita prope esset oratio dicentemque oratorem [Errata: minus artificiose] suffocaret. [Expl.]: (pp. 82-83) velut Clitarchus cum diceret de fuco animali api persimili: habitat montana volatque ad concavas quercus, quasi de bove sylvestri dissereret aut de apro Erymantheo ac non de apicula quadam, ita ut iniucunda et frigida simul fiat oratio; nam sibi invicem connexa sunt quodammodo haec ambo.

Edition:

1557, Venetiis (Venice): apud Sanctum Guerrinum. (BN; BN Firenze; ICU). Five pages of Errata at the end, consisting largely of corrections to the translation, are preceded by a note (p. 83): 'Cum nonnulla paulo negligentius, ut ingenue fatear, et quasi sopitus interpretarer, me amicissime et admonuit et excitavit et increpavit prope vir peritissimus Marcus Antonius Muretus, quare haec iam partim impressa recognovi errataque partim ob impressorum negligentiam, partim etiam ob meam ita correxi.'

Bioogr.:

Natalis Comes (Natale de' Conti, Natale Conti, Natalis de Comitibus), of a Venetian

family, was born in Milan in 1520 and died there in 1582. He was a professor of letters (at Padua, according to Argelati, *Bibl. Script. Mediol.*, II, I, 1030, although Tiraboschi says that Conti was not mentioned by any historian of Padua) and had among his students Francesco Panigarola, who later incorporated an Italian translation of Demetrius into his *Predicatore*. Conti's literary activity was extremely varied. On the scholarly side, he did translations from Greek into Latin of Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*; the rhetorical books of Hermogenes; Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*; Alexander Sophista, *De figuris sententiarum*; and Demetrius. He made two historical compendia, the *Mythologiae sive explicaciones fabularum Libri X* (1561-64, reprinted many times), his best-known work; and the *Universae historiae sui temporis*, first in ten books, later in thirty (1572, 1581). He translated from Italian into Latin Enea Vico's *Delle immagini delle Donne Auguste* (1558). His original works comprise the *De anno*, four elegiac books; the *De horis*, written in Greek, then translated into Latin; the *Myrmicomachia*, in Latin, derived from Folengo's macaronic *Moschaea* (all 1550); and the *De venatione* (1551), a poem in four books in hexameters.

Bibl.: *Enciclopedia Italiana*, ed. 1949, XI, 234 (article by B. Cestaro); Tiraboschi (Modena 1792) VII, III, 854-56 and 1461 ff.

5. STANISLAUS ILOVIUS

Nicolao Radzivil Duci de Olika et Nieszviesz Palatino Vilnensi, Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae supremo Marsalco et Cancelario, etc.

[Inc.]: (p. 3) Nunc demum intelligo, Princeps Illustriss., veram illam esse Philosophi sententiam. ἡ φιλανθρωπία τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς σεαντῆν ἐλκίζει. Me enim incredibilis illa tua in eos omnes, qui sese totos literis involverunt, humanitas ita ad tuas singulares virtutes suspiciendas atque amplectendas inflammavit. [Expl.] (p. 6) ut quae tua sit liberalitas in tuos, quod studium in Remp., quae humanitas in omnes, non modo praesens aetas, sed etiam ventura posteritas intelligat. Vale ampliss. Patrone

et tuo nos patrocinio tuere. XII Kalend.
Iun. M. D. LVI.

Translation [Inc.]: (p. 17) Quemadmodum poesis dividitur versibus, exempli gratia semimetris, hexametris et id genus aliis, sic etiam elocutionem orationis in partes tribuunt et distinguunt ipsa membra, veluti quiete quadam orationem reficiant, et ipsae clausulae, quae etiam variis terminis orationem terminant atque circumscrubunt. alioquin esset longa nullisque cancellis circundata ac plane oratorem strangularet eique vocem intercluderet. [*Expl.*] (p. 185) quemadmodum Clitarchus, qui de crabrone, qui api similis est, ait : Depascitur montanam regionem, volat autem in cavae quercus, quasi de bove sylvestri aut de Erymantio [*margin*: quem Hercules interfecit] apro sermonem haberet, non de ape quadam, ita ut oratio simul et insuavis et frigida efficiatur. Haec autem duo vitia, frigidi inquam et iniucundi, magnam inter se similitudinem habent. FINIS.

Edition :

1557, Basileae (Basel) : Per Ioannem Oporinum. BM ; Riccardiana. The Iłowius translation depends heavily upon the Vettori volume of 1552, reproducing various auxiliary materials (probably from the Guillaume Morel ed. of 1555) and possibly Vettori's text. The 1557 volume contains, after the Demetrius text and translation, Iłowski's translation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Opuscula*, first published in Paris in 1556, with a dedication 'Illustri Domino Ioanni Tencinio Comiti, Stanislai Palatini Cracoviensis filio,' dated 'III. Id. Iun. M. D. LVI. Lutetia'; the dedication is also reprinted in the 1557 volume.

Biogr. :

Stanislaus Iłowius (Stanisław Iłowski) may best be followed in his career through the prefaces and dedications to his published works. After studying law and ancient literature in Padua around 1545, and after having been matriculated in the Academy in Cracow in 1550, he went to study in Paris in about 1554. His studies at that time were being sponsored by Jan Prerembius, Vice-Chancellor to the King of Poland. There, in 1556, Robert Estienne published his translation of the *Opuscula*

of Dionysius of Halicarnassus with a dedication (see above) in which Iłowius speaks to Jan Tęczyński of their studies together at the University of Paris and of Tęczyński's generosity to him. In the same volume, a note to Celio Secondo Curione — whom he refers to as his *praeceptor* — mentions his friendship with Robert Estienne ; but it does not say where, whether in Germany or in Switzerland, he may have studied with Curione. In 1557 he published in Basel (one of the places where Curione taught) the text and translation of Demetrius ; the *Opuscula* of Dionysius were again printed in that volume. The Demetrius is dedicated to Prince Nicolas Radziwiłł, and although no place is indicated, the date 'XII Kalend. Iun. M. D. LVI.' is so close to that of the other dedication that we may assume that it was again Paris. 1563 finds Iłowius in Padua once more ; his presence there is attested by three documents. The first is an agreement between Polish and German students bearing his signature (cf. *Materiały do historii Polaków w Padwie, zebrał St. Windakiewicz* [Archiwum do Dziejów Oświaty i Literatury VII], Cracow : 1892, p. 149) ; the second, his dedication, to Petrus Miscovius, dated 'Idibus Februarii 1563. Patavii,' of a translation of Synesius, *Liber de regno bene administrando*, published by Somasco in Venice in 1563. Ciampi believes that he may also have studied in Venice during the same period. Simon Starovolski, *Scriptorum Polonicorum 'Exatovriā', seu centum illustrium Poloniae scriptorum elegia et vitae*, Venice : 1627, p. 100, makes this statement about a fellow student of Iłowski's, Stanislaus Niegoszewski : 'Socius vero suus Stanislaus Niegosevius. . . qui Aldo Manutio praeceptore usus, et sensus Theologorum et res Aristotelis omnes Venetiis tuendas suscepérat' ; there is a question as to how much of the statement might apply to Iłowski. The third document consists of the four dedications (all dated from Padua 'III Nonas Septemb. MDLXIII') to the four volumes of Iłowski's translation of St. Basil's orations, addressed respectively to Jacobus Uchański, Nicholas Wolski, Andreas Noszkowski, and Albertus Sta-

roźrebski. The volume, *D. Basili Magni . . . de Moribus orationes XXIII, a Simone magistro ac sacri Palatii quaestore ex eius scriptis olim in unum congestae, nunc primum in lucem editae Stanislao Ilovio interprete*, was published by Valvassori in Venice in 1564 (printed by Gryphius).

His Paduan period finished, Ilovius proceeded to Bologna where, in 1564, he took the doctorate 'in iuris scientia.' The event is commemorated in his published oration, *De laudibus iurisprudentiae oratio, Bononiae in doctoratu suo habita* (Bologna : 1565). Having obtained his degree, he returned to Poland, became a canon, and in 1567 was elected by the prelates in Gniezno as a representative to the synod organized by Jacob Uchański, Archbishop of Gniezno, for the consideration of current religious movements in Poland (cf. *Acta decretorum capituli Gnesnensis v. Uchańsciana*, 22 October 1567, I, 366). Apparently, from that time on he devoted himself exclusively to his religious duties, although according to some bibliographers (K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, III, vii, 561 and T. Wierzbowski, *Bibliographia Polonica*, III, no. 2996) he wrote, late in life, a book of *Threni in obitum nobilis et generosi adolescentis Nicolai Szymanowski*, Vilna : 1596. His translation of St. Basil was republished in 1594, 1598, 1602, 1611, and 1730. The date of his death is unknown; 1589 has been suggested.

Bibl.:

Some sparse biographical materials on Stanislaus Iłłowski and a few documents are available in Sebastiano Ciampi, *Bibliografia critica delle antiche reciproche corrispondenze . . . dell'Italia colla Russia, colla Polonia ed altre parti settentrionali . . .*, Florence : 1834, 1839, 1842, I, 165-67, and in the *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. X, Warsaw : 1962-64, 160-161. References are found in Gregorius Cnapius, *Thesaurus Polono-latino-graeucus*, Cracow : 1632, III, Preface; in Franciscus Siarczyński, *Obraz wieku panowania Zygmunta III*, Lwów : 1832, p. 194; and in a manuscript of Stanislaus Reszko in the library of Warsaw University (6. 2/4, vol. 538). These and other sources are studied and evaluated by Professor

Lidia Winniczuk in her article in *Eos* (see below I, 6 *Biogr.*). I am indebted to Professor Winniczuk for an English translation of her article, from which some of the biographical data here given have been taken.

A. Favaro, ed., *Atti della Nazione Germanica nello Studio di Padova* (Venice, 1911-12) I, 46; T. Grabowski, *Krytyka literacka w Polsce w epoce pseudoklasycyzmu* (Cracow, 1918) 68-82; S. Kot, 'Polen in Basel zur Zeit des Koenigs Sigismund August (1548-72). . .' *Baseler Zeitschrift fuer Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 41(1942) 105-53, esp. 120-121; S. Starovolski, *Scriptores Polonicorum 'Exatoxtas seu Centum illustrium Poloniae scriptorum elegia et vitae* (Venice, 1627) 100-101. Also B. Weinberg, 'Aspects internationaux de l'humanisme italien,' *Proceedings of the Vth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association* (Belgrade, 1967), Amsterdam, 1969, 61-71.

For an evaluation of the Demetrios translation, see F. R. Goezius, *Otium Varsoviense* (Bratislava, 1755) 43 and L. Winniczuk, *Eos, loc. cit.*

6. FRANCISCUS MASLOVIUS

Ioanni Praerembio Regni Poloniae Procancelario.

[*Inc.*] : (p. Av). Cum pro meo officio summaque in te observantia et illa praeterea, quae mihi tecum vetus est, necessitudine nihil unquam antiquius habuerim, quam ut tibi viro optimo et sapientissimo eidemque mihi amicissimo. . . [*Expl.*] : (p. Aivv) Quod tibi atque adeo universae patriae faustum ac foelix Deus opt. Max. esse velit. Vale. Patavio. V. Cal. April. quo die Bonae reginae ad nos adventum expectabamus. Anno a Christo nato M L [sic for D] LVI.

Demetrii Phalerei De Elocutione Liber

[*Inc.*] : (p. B). De Membris. Quemadmodum poesis discernitur metris, item semimetris, vel hexametrus, vel id genus aliis, ita eloquutionem oratoriam disiungunt atque distinguunt illa, quae membra appellantur. Ea orationem quasi sistunt atque perficiunt, et multis terminis ac finibus describunt;

alioquin enim oratio, si longa atque interminata foret, proculdubio animam intercluderet dicentis. [Expl.]: (pp. 12^v-13). Ut Clitarchus de fuco loquitur, quod animal simile est api; ait *κατανέμεται μὲν τὴν ὁρεινὴν: εἰσίπταται δὲ εἰς τὰς κοίλας δρῦς.* idest, Depascitur montana et in cavas quercus pervolat, tanquam si de bove agresti aut de Erimanthio apro, et non de aliqua ape loqueretur. Ita igitur illepida ac frigida fit oratio. Sunt enim haec ambo quodammodo inter se affi[n]ia. FINIS.

Edition:

1557, Patavii (Padua): Gratiosus Perchacinus. 96 pp. in-4. BM; Marciana.

Biogr.:

Franciscus Maslovius (Masłowski), who has sometimes been confused with Stanislaus Ilovius merely because both Polish scholars did translations of the *De elocutione*, made his first contacts with the Italian humanistic tradition at Padua, where he studied from 1553 to 1557. He had been sent there by his patron, Chancellor Joannes Przerębski, to study philosophy and law; records of the University of Padua attest to his presence there in 1555, 1556, and 1557. His principal professors were Francesco Robortello, who encouraged him to do the Demetrius translation, and Marcantonio Passero (Il Genova). From Robortello, Maslovius borrowed a copy of the Vettori edition of the *De elocutione* as well as a manuscript of the Greek text which Robortello owned. In 1573, Maslovius travelled to Paris as a member of a mission connected with the election of Henri de Valois (later Henri III of France) to the throne of Poland. Sometime later he returned to Padua; he died there and is buried in the church of S. Antonio. The only contemporary reference to him by a Polish author is by Johannes Kochanowski (*Foricoenia*, 62), whose residence in Padua coincided partly with Maslovius'.

Bibl.: Two older references to Maslovius, Adam Jocher in *Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce*, Wilno: 1840, I, 141, and *Uchańsciana czyli zbiór dokumentów wyjaśniających życie i działalność Jakóba Uchańskiego*, ed. T. Wierzbowski, 1885, vol. II, p. 313, have been utilized and supplemented by Professor

Lidia Winniczuk of Warsaw in her article 'Demetriusza z Faleronu De elocutione w przekładach lacińskich Fr. Masłowskiego i St. Ilowskiego', *Eos* 45 (1951), fasc. 2, 13-24. Thanks are due to Professor Winniczuk, who kindly provided an English translation of the *Eos* article. Also B. Weinberg, *loc. cit.* (see above, Ilovius, I. 5).

7. PETRUS VICTORIUS

Alexandro Farnesio S. R. E. Cardinali Vicecancellario Petrus Victorius S. P. D. [Inc.]: (ed. Florentiae, 1562, p. aij) Nescio quomodo factum sit, Farnesi amplissime, ut ego, qui tibi omnibus in rebus praesto esse cupio quique dignitatem tuam et decus semper ante oculos habeo, tam diu tibi quod debebam solvere procrastinarim. . [Expl.]: (p. aij) nec fastigium ipsi, ut optabant, imposuerint. Vale teque communi spei bonorum conserva. Florentia vi. Id. Sext. MDLXII.

Petrus Victorius Lectori.

[Inc.]: (p. aiv) Multi et magno ingenio doctrinaque praediti viri artem dicendi ornarunt, iam a primis illis Corace et Tisia, qui quasi inventores ipsius ac patres extiterunt, nec apud Graecos solum, verum etiam apud Latinos, in quorum moribus et institutis eloquentia maxime floruit ac summos honores praemiaque adep-ta est.

[Expl.]: (p. biv) Sed cum hoc etiam, quod vehementer me pungit, non omnino indefensum reliquerim, desinam atque omnia in lectoris probitate aequitateque animi relinquam.

Translation [Inc.]: (p. 1) Quemadmodum poesis dividitur metris ceu semimetris vel hexametris vel aliis, sic interpretationem mentis, quae oratione fit, dividunt et distinguunt vocata membra tanquam sedantia orationem, quae et desinunt ipsa et in multis terminis terminant orationem, quia aliter longa esset et infinita et profecto suffocans dicentem. [Expl.]: (p. 267) Tanquam de bove fero vel apro Erymanthio loquens, et non de apis quodam genere. quare contingit invenustam simul orationem fieri et frigidam. Vicina autem aliquo modo sibi ipsis sunt haec ambo.

Editions :

1562, Florentiae (Florence) : In officina Juntarum (BM ; BN ; BN Firenze ; ICU). Short sections of the Greek text are followed by a Latin translation of each section, followed by the commentary. After the publication of his first Greek text in 1542, Vettori set to work on the improvement of the Greek text, leading to the editions of 1552 and 1562, and on the preparation of the translation and the commentary ; according to the Vettori-Davanzati correspondence referred to in our general Bibliography above, he was already engaged on the supplementary materials in 1547.

For his edition of Demetrius, Vettori used two MSS of his own (with marginalia and corrections), now in Munich (Graec. Monac. 169 and 232), and one MS now in the Laurenziana, Pl. LXXXVI, Cod. 24, saec. XI ; he also used two other Laurentian MSS, Pl. LIX, Cod. 11 and Pl. LIX, Cod. 14, for corrections.

1594, Florentiae (Florence) : Apud Philippum Iuntam. BM.

1609, Venetia (Venice) : Appresso Bernardo Giunti, Gio. Battista Ciotti et Compagni. The whole of the translation is reproduced, piecemeal, in Fra Francesco Panigarola's *Il Predicatore...Overo Parafrase, Commento, e Discorsi intorno al libro dell'Elocutione di Demetrio Falereo*. According to a letter of Panigarola printed by Argelati (*Bibl. script. Mediol.*, Milan, 1745, II, 1033), the massive work was being prepared in 1592.

1620, Florentiae (Florence) : Apud Petrum Ceconcellium. Partial : the section on letter-writing only. The only copy seen was in the Gennadius Library, Athens, GC. 3943.

1642, Venetia (Venice). The BM copy of the separate edition, 4427. g. 2, was destroyed during the war. The copy examined, 836. e. 11, was Vols. II-IV of Pt. III of *Degli Autori del Ben Parlare*, ed. G. Aromatari.

1643-44, Venice. Vettori's Greek text and Latin translation were reprinted in 1643 and issued twice in two separate collections :

a) *Autori del Ben Parlare*, Pt. III, Vol. I, pp. 1-138 (not the same as the preceding item). BM ; Trinity Coll., Cambridge.

b) *Operum Graecorum, Latinorum, et Italicorum Rhetorum Tomus Secundus*, 1644 (BM).

Doubtful Editions :

(*) 1557, Padua : G. Negri, *Istoria degli Scrittori Fiorentini*, Ferrara, 1722, p. 471, made the following entry : 'Commentaria Petri Victorii, in Demetrium Falceum. Patauii per Gratiosum Percharium in 4. Anno 1557.' Fabricius *BG*, VI, 66, remarked : 'De Editione Victorian a. 1562 v. Denis in Memorab. bibl. Garell. pag. 469 seq. qui praeter ea animadvertisit docetque, editionem cum comment. P. Victorii, *Patauii* per Gratiosum Percharium, a. 1557. 4. quam Negri in Istoria de scritt. Fiorent. pag. 471. citat, esse, quia habeat Vict. dedicationem, ad Farnesium scriptam, Florentiae VI. id. Sext MDLXII. plane fictam et fabulosam.' The Negri entry obviously confused the place and date of publication of the Maslovius ed. with that of Vettori ; see above, I, 6.

(*) 1574, Florentiae (Florence). J. B. L. Osmont, *Dictionnaire typographique*, Vol. II (Paris, Lacombe, 1768), p. 321, lists s. v. Petri Victorii : 'Ejusdem, Commentarii in Librum Demetrii Phalerei, de Elocutione, cum graeco Textu Authoris, ab eodem Victorio latine expresso. Florentiae, 1574, in-fol.' ; cf. Fabricius, *BG* IV, 66. I have never seen a copy of this and suspect that Osmont erroneously printed 1574 for 1594.

Biogr. :

Petrus Victorius (Pietro Vettori), one of the greatest and most active of the sixteenth-century Italian scholars, was born in Florence in 1499 and died there in 1585. In 1538, he obtained from Cosimo the post of 'pubblico lettore nello Studio,' which he held until 1583. Although he did write in Italian the treatise *Delle lodi e della coltivatione de gl'ulivi* (1569), reprinted many times, the major part of his literary activity was devoted to the editing, correcting, and commenting of ancient texts, both Greek and Latin. After a complete Greek Aristotle in 1550, he did separate editions—usually with commentaries — of the *Rhetic*, the *Poetics*, the *Ethics* and the *Politics*. Similarly, he edited a complete Cicero in 1539 and many separate works in the years following. He

worked extensively on the authors *De re rustica*, Cato, Varro, and Columella; on Aeschylus, Euripides, and Terence; on Horace, Sallust, and Porphyry. From 1553 on, he collected many of his philological remarks in the ever-expanded *Variae lectio-nes*. He wrote many letters, a number of orations for contemporary events and cere-monies, and short treatises on textual problems ('castigationes'). His extensive library was bought in Rome, about 1760, by the Elector Karl-Theodor of Bavaria, and is now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Vettori's Greek MSS are de-scribed in Ignaz Hardt, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum bibliothecae regiae Bavaricae*, Munich 1806-12 (5 vols.), his Latin MSS in the *Catalogus codicum latino-rum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis*, vol. I, Pars I, Munich 1868.

Bibl.:

Vettori, *Epistolarum Libri X*, Floren-ce: Giunti, 1586; *Epistolae ad Germanos missae*, Rostock 1577; *Clarorum Italorum et Germanorum Epistolae ad P. V.*, Florence 1758-60. F. Niccolai, *Pier Vettori (1499-1585)*, Florence 1912; W. Rue-diger, *Petrus Victorius aus Florenz*, Halle 1896; Sandys, II, 135-40; *Enciclopedia Italiana* (art. by G. Reichenbach) XXXV, 280. *Piero Vettori et Carlo Sigonio, Cor-respondance avec Fulvio Orsini*, ed. P. de Nolhac, Rome 1889; *Lettere di Donato Giannotti a Pietro Vettori*, ed. R. Ridolfi and C. Roth, Florence 1932; C. Roth, 'I carteggi volgari di P. V. nel British Museum,' *Rivista storica degli archivi toscani* I (1929) 154-85.

8. JOHANNES SAMBUCUS

The title indicates the part that is trans-lated: *Demetrii Phalerei De Epistolis Doc-trina* (corresponding to Roberts ed. IV, Pars. 223-40). This section on letter-writing had long since been singled out as of special interest: the fourteenth-century anonymous Latin translation ends with this section; a fifteenth-century Greek Ms. in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Greek MS 139 (II. E. 4), fol. 61, contains a fragment entitled '*Ἐκ τοῦ ἀντοῦ. Πῶς δεῖ ἐπιστέλλειν*'; the Antima-

co excerpts included it. After Zsámboky, the fragment on the epistolary art was to be published separately in Latin translation, with or without Greek text, by Caselius, Lipsius, and in the 1620 partial edition of Vettori.

1567, Antverpiae (Antwerp): Ex officina Christophori Plantini.

I. Sambucus Colimanno Egerer Iuniori S. D.

[*Inc.*]: (p. A2) Post hypotyposin com-paratam, vult Demetrius περὶ ἰχνότητος, epistola sit dialogis comptior, non pugnax argumentis, iuncta partibus et membris, morata, convenienter longa, structura non exquisita, proverbiis acuta, non crebra tamen sententiis, plana et venusta. Has tu leges quorundam magnis de hac re libris praeferes iamque stilo nobis declarabis, hancque conversionis opellam tibi accommo-datam una cum adumbratione Rhetoricae et Dialecticae obiter scripta boni consules, tuoque exemplo Sebastianum fratrem quo-tidie ut accendas hortor. Vale idib. Februar. M. D. LXVII. Viennae.

Phalereus:

[*Inc.*]: (p. A2) Quoniam epistolae quoque humili ac quotidiano dicendi genere contexuntur, de illis quiddam adiiciemus. Artemidorus qui Aristotelis epistolas re-stituit, eas et dialogos, quod illae velut altera pars horum sit, eodem scribi modo debere censuit. [*Expl.*]: (p. A3^v) Praecipue tamen universeque danda opera, ut forma venusta, lepore grata illam dictionis exilitatem apte contemperet atque compenset; ac de charactere Epistolarum, adeoque subtili forma dicendi hactenus. FINIS.

Edition:

1567, Antverpiae (Antwerp): Ex officina Christophori Plantini. (Biblioteca Angelica, Rome; BN Firenze). The volume also con-tains a *Rhetoricae Dialecticaeque Summa*, re-ferred to on the title-page and in the dedi-cation.

Biogr.:

Johannes Sambucus (Janos Zsamboky) was born in Tyrnau in Hungary in 1531 and died in Vienna on June 13, 1584. He studied classical letters in Vienna, Leipzig, Witten-berg, and Strasbourg, under Camerarius, Amerpach, Melanchthon, and Sturm; and

at Paris (under Ramus, Dorat, and Turnèbe), where he took a Master's in Philosophy in 1552. He earned a licentiate in medicine in Padua in 1555. Over a period of twenty-two years he travelled around Europe, collecting MSS of ancient authors and meeting scholars : Lambin, Grolier, Jacques Grévin, Henri Estienne in Paris, Goltzius in Holland, Fulvio Orsini in Rome, Paolo Manuzio in Venice, Vettori in Florence, Achille Bocchi in Bologna. He was long a friend of Plantin in Antwerp and worked with Hadrianus Junius (Adrian de Jonghe) in Haarlem. In 1564 he returned to Vienna, where Maximilian II made him an official counselor and historiographer ; his vast collection of coins and MSS went to the Imperial Library (now the Nationalbibliothek). The MSS included some eight hundred unpublished letters of Gregory Nazianzenus, St. Chrysostom, St. Basilius, St. Cyril, Theophylactus, and Bessarion. He also discovered a fragment of Petronius, letters of Aristaenetus (published by him in 1566), the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus (ed. 1569), and other works. His activity as an editor was substantial, giving editions of Plautus (1566), Vegetius (1574), the Petronius fragment, Diogenes Laertius (1566), Eunapius (1568), Hesychius (1572), Hephaestion, etc. (see the catalogues of printed books of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque nationale). He also published an edition of Lucian's dialogues (partial, 1550 ; complete, 1563 ff.) ; *Epistolarum conscribendarum methodus*, 1552 ; *Imperatorum aliquot romanorum vitae*, 1552 ; a supplement to the *Epitome rerum hungaricarum* of P. Ransano, 1558 ; two dialogues of Plato, *Alcibiades II* and *Axiochus*, 1558 ; *De imitatione a Cicerone petenda*, 1561, 1563, 1568 ; *Ars poetica Horatii et in eam paraphrasis*, 1564 ; *Emblemata poetica*, 1564 ff., many eds. ; *Tabula geographica Hungariae*, 1566 ; *Icones veterum aliquot et recentium medicorum philosophorumque cum eorum elogiis*, 1574 ; *Apotelesmata*, 1577. His published verses included the *Reges Ungariae*, 1568, *Arcus aliquot triumphales*, 1571, *Icones*, 1574, and *Elegiae*, 1579. Of all his works, the most widely circulated and read was the *Emblemata*, translated into Dutch by Van Diest,

into French by Grévin, into English by Geoffrey Whitney.

Bibl. :

The numerous older sources have been superseded by five modern works : Hans Gerstinger, 'Johannes Sambucus als Handschriftensammler,' *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Vienna : 1926, pp. 251-400 (containing a life with 'Itinerarium,' a list and study of the MSS owned by S., and indexes) ; L. Varga, 'De operibus philologicis et poeticis Ioannis Sambuci,' *Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum Hungaricae*, XIV (1966), 231-44 ; H. Gerstinger, 'Aus dem Tagebuch des kaiserlichen Hofhistoriographen Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584)', ('Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften,' Philosophisch - historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 248. Band, 2. Abhandlung), Vienna : 1965, pp. 52 (text from Cod. Vindob. Lat. 9039) ; *idem*, *Die Briefe des Johannes Sambucus (Zsamboky), 1554-1584* ; Mit einem Anhang : Die Sambucusbriefe im Kreisarchiv von Trnava, von Anton Vantuch (same series as preceding, 255. Band), Vienna : 1968, pp. 368 + 31 plates ; L. Varga, 'Quibusnam cum viris doctissimis Europae Sambucus coniunctiones litterarias inierit,' *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debrecensis* 3 (1967) 99-115.

(I am grateful to Professor Imre Trensenyi-Waldapfel of Budapest for supplying me with these and many other bibliographical indications on Sambucus.)

9. JOHANNES CASELIUS

Although not strictly a translation, Caselius' volume of 1585, *Phalereus, sive De elocutione liber*, translates almost the totality of Demetrius and hence merits inclusion here ; it also provides a complete commentary (see below II, 4). The translation makes certain changes in the order of the sections, which appear as follows (Loeb Classics paragraph numbers) : 1-38, 75-113, 39-56, 59-69, 114-240, 263-286, 241-262, 287-end. These shifts were made in order to bring together materials related to the styles or 'characteres.' Only pars. 57-58 and 70-74 are absent, and even parts of

them are found in the commentary. The translation departs from the original through: 1) the addition of materials from other sources, 2) the expansion or substitution of examples from Greek literature, 3) the addition of a large number of examples (sometimes cited *in extenso*) from Latin literature.

Greek verses (p. Av).

Prooemium:

[*Inc.*] : (ed. 1585, Rostochii p. A2) *Magnifico et generoso domino, Nicolao Kaas, regni Daniae senatori et inclyti regis Cancellario, domino in Torup etc. S. D. Ioan. Caselius. Quam tibi ego carus sim, Nicolae Kaas, tum ex re ipsa, tum ex tuis ad me litteris vidi, tum aliquoties e iucundis amicorum sermonibus accepi.* [*Expl.*] : (p. B) *Meum iam feci, ut scriptori non eripiam, tibi dono, ut nostro beneficio omnes aut certe plures habeant. Vale, Rostochio, Kal. Maiis Anno MDXXCV.*

Phalereus, Sive De Elocutione Liber.

[*Inc.*] : (p. B) *Primum locum habet in arte dicendi inventio, in qua probationes seu rationes persuadendi traduntur, quarum aliae dicuntur expertes artis, quoniam cum causa perveniant ad oratorem, tractandae tamen sunt secundum praecepta artis; aliae sunt artificiosae; artificiosae porro sunt triplices.*

Translation:

[*Inc.*] : (B3v). *Quemadmodum poesis dividitur in metra, neque refert ea sive longa sint sive brevia, sive unius generis sive plurium, sic etiam orationem solutam dividunt, ne unum esse videatur, et distinguunt, ut facilius intelligatur, cola sive membra. Ea namque veluti sistunt orationem et tum ipsa desinunt, tum in multis terminis orationem terminant. Quod nisi fieret, ipsa foret nimis longa et finem non haberet ac propterea dicenti spiritum intercluderet.* [*Expl.*] : (Qq). *Denique verba saepe res venustas invenustas faciunt, quemadmodum Clitarchus de tenthredone inquit. Bestiola api similis, depascitur montana loca, involat in cavas quercus; ita loquitur, ac si de bove fero aut apro Erymanthio, non de quodam genere apis loqueretur. Factum est igitur, ut oratio simul et invenusta fieret et frigida. Haec*

ambo enim quodammodo sibi ipsis vicina sunt.

Editions:

(micr.) 1585, Rostochii (Rostock) : In officina Stephani Myliandri. (Wolfenbüttel ; Rostock). 305 pp. in 4°. Errata, Qq 2.

(micr.) 1633, Francofurti (Frankfurt) : sumptibus C. Eifridi. In *Operum pars II*, pp. 65-307. BN.

1614, Hamburgi (Hamburg) : Paulus Lan-gius. In *Philologica : De Studio, Stylo Et Artificio Epistolico*. (Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, 23942). Only the part of Demetrius relative to letter-writing is reprinted, and is headed : ‘Demetrii Phalerei Ex libello De Elocutione Character Epistolicus, interprete Joanne Caselio, V. Clariss.’ [*Inc.*] : (p. 33) *Etsi vero ex nota tenui mera aut sola non conflatur Epistola, tamen cum Epistolica nota tenuitate etiam egeat, de illa quoque dicemus.* [*Expl.*] : (p. 39) *In universum autem, quod ad Elocutionem, misceatur Epistola ex duabus notis, eleganti et tenui. Atque haec de Epistola dicta sint.*

(*) 1687, Francofurti (Frankfurt) : B. Fuhrmann. In *Opus Episticum*. BN.

1718, Hannover : Nic. Foerster. In *Epl-stolae*, pp. 829-54. (NNC)

Biogr.:

See below, Gregorius Nazianzenus III. 15.

10. JUSTUS LIPSIUS

Like the Sambucus selection (I. 8 above), Lipsius' translation of Demetrius is limited to the paragraphs on letter-writing. It appeared first at the end of his *Epistolica Institutio*, afterwards in so many collections of his letters and of writings on epistolography that it became a standard reference work on the art through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Dedication to Franciscus Raphelengius [*Inc.*] : (ed. Leyden 1591, p. 3) *Quando ita vis, fiat. Ede libellum, potius quam ut alius alibi eum edat, quod ais te comperisse. Ego tamen non in hanc spem genui, et scis extemporali cura fere ante annos quattuor dictata haec nobis, idque in usum captumque saltem iuventutis.* [*Expl.*] : (pp. 3-4) *Nam haec talia servabamus Dialogis De instituenda iuventute. Sed, ut initio*

dixi, quoniam vis, fiat, et tu in aliis mage seriis Plantinianum nomen famamque pro-paga. Vale. V. Kal. Novembr. MDXC.

Demetrii Phalerei Eiusdem Argumenti Scriptum.

[Inc.] : (p. 38) Quoniam vero et Epistolicus character exilitate indiget, etiam de ipso dicemus. Artemo igitur, is qui Aristotelis epistolas colligit et evulgavit, ait *eodem modo oportere Dialogum et Epistolas scribi. Esse enim epistolam quasi alteram Dialogi partem.* [Expl.] : (p. 44) Universe autem miscetur epistola, quod ad elocutionem, e duobus characteribus istis, urbano et exili. Et de Epistola quidem hactenus, et simul de charactere exili. FINIS.

Editions :

1591, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden) : Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Franciscum Raphelengium. After the *Epistolica Institutio*, which gives the title to the volume. BN ; Trinity College, Cambridge. Ed. in-8, *Bibl. Belg.*, 1^{re} Série, XVI, 75 ; also (*) ed. in-4, *ibid.*, XVI, 73. Refs. are to Van der Haeghen, *Bibl. Belg.*, in the first ed., Gand, La Haye, 1880 ff.

1591, Francofurti (Frankfurt) : Apud Ioannem Wechelum & Petrum Fischerum consortes. (*Bibl. Mazarine*, Paris ; Bodleian). *Bibl. Belg.*, XV, 228, 232 ; XVI, 77.

1592, Lugduni (Lyon) : In Officina Q. Hug. a Porta, Apud Fratres De Gabiano. With Lipsius' *Epistolarum Centuria Duae*. BN ; *Bibl. Belg.*, XV, 233.

(*) 1594, Magdeburgi (Magdeburg) : Apud Iohannem Francum. With Lipsius' *De consribendis Latine epistolis*. *Bibl. Belg.*, XVI, 78.

(*) 1595-96, Lugduni (Lyon) : [etc. as in 1592 : Lyon ; probably a reprint of same]. *Bibl. Belg.*, XVII, 630.

1597, [Heidelberg] : Apud Hieronymum Commelinum. In *ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΙ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕΣ*. *Epistolarum Consribendarum Methodus*. St. John's College, Cambridge ; Gennadius Library, Athens.

(*) 1599, Parisiis (Paris) : Apud viduam Gabrielis Buon. *Bibl. Belg.*, XV, 235.

1601, Antverpiae (Antwerp) : Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Ioannem Moretum. (Vatican Library). *Bibl. Belg.*, XVI, 82.

1601, Antverpiae (Antwerp) : Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Ioannem Moretum. A different ed. from the preceding. BM ; *Bibl. Belg.*, XVI, 84.

1601, Parisiis (Paris) : Apud Robertum Fouët. With Lipsius' *Epistolarum Centuria Duae*. BM.

1601, Parisiis (Paris) : Apud Petrum Rezé. With Lipsius' *Epistolarum Selectarum III Centuria*. BN.

1601, Parisiis (Paris) : Apud Marcum Orry. Same as preceding, different publisher. BM.

(*) 1602, Parisiis (Paris) : Apud Nicolaum Lescuyer. *Bibl. Belg.*, XV, 253.

1603, Avenione (Avignon) : with Lipsius' *Epistolarum Selectarum Centuria VIII*. BM ; *Bibl. Belg.*, XV, 283.

(*) 1604, Viriaci (Viry en Charolais ?) : Apud Guilielmum Gribaldum. *Bibl. Belg.*, XV, 286.

1605, Antverpiae (Antwerp) : Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Ioannem Moretum. New issue of first 1601, Antwerp item. (Cambridge University Library ; BN Firenze ; MH). *Bibl. Belg.*, XV, 261 ; XVI, 85.

(*) 1609, Avenione (Avignon) : with Lipsius' *Epistolarum Selectarum Chilias*. *Bibl. Belg.*, XV, 326.

(*) 1611, [?] : Apud Franciscum Helvidium. Reprint of preceding. *Bibl. Belg.*, XV, 330.

(*) 1613, [?] : [?]. Reprint of preceding two. *Bibl. Belg.*, XV, 331.

1614, Antverpiae (Antwerp) : Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Viduam & Filios Ioannis Moreti. (MH). *Bibl. Belg.*, XV, 262 ; XVI, 86.

1616, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva) and (*) Lugduni (Lyon) : Apud Antonium Merauldum. With Lipsius' *Epistolarum Selectarum Chilias*. (MH). *Bibl. Belg.*, XV, 333, 335.

(*) 1618 [no publ. details]. *Bibl. Belg.*, XV, 337.

(*) 1630, Helmaestadi (Helmstedt) : Typis ac sumptibus Luciorum. *Bibl. Belg.*, XVI, 88.

(*) 1655, Helmaestadi (Helmstedt) : Henringus Mullerus. *Bibl. Belg.*, XVI, 90.

(*) 1671, Altenburgi (Altenburg) : Apud Gothofredum Richterum. *Bibl. Belg.*, XVI, 92.

(*) 1715, Biponti (Zweibrücken) : Sumptibus Ioh. Frid. Anthonii. *Bibl. Belg.*, XVI, 95.

1719, Francofurti ad Moenum (Frankfurt am Main) : Sumtu Wolfg. Christoph. Mulzii. With Lipsius' *Epistolica Institutio*.

Biogr. :

Justus Lipsius (Joest Lips) was a controversial figure because of his participation in polemics, the uncertainties of his religious adherence, and his writings on theology and on Stoic philosophy. He was born near Brussels in 1547 and died at Louvain in 1606. After studying at Louvain, he published in 1567 his *Variarum Lectionum Libri Tres*; as a result of its dedication to Cardinal Granvella, the latter took him to Rome where he spent two years studying MSS. and inscriptions. He travelled much and taught in many places: Jena, Cologne, Antwerp, Leyden (where he held the chair of history from 1579 to 1590), Louvain (from 1592). Since some of these were Catholic and others Protestant institutions, he was obliged to vacillate in his expressed faith; but in 1590, at Mainz, he was permanently and publicly reconciled to the Catholic church. His scholarly activity was considerable, centering around his major editions of Seneca and Tacitus which were prepared during his years at Leyden; during that period, he worked in close collaboration with the Plantin Press, which published large numbers of his writings (frequently in many editions). His letters were much read in Europe for two centuries. Among his most important works are: *Antiquarum Lectionum Libri Quinque*, 1575; *De constantia*, 1584; *Politicorum libri sex*, 1589; *De Militia Romana*, 1595; *Physiologia Stoicorum and Manuductio ad stoicam philosophiam*, 1604; *Lovanium*, 1605.

Bibl. : A. Le Mire, *Vita Justi Lipsii, sapientiae et litterarum antistitis*, Paris 1609. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* (art. by J.-J. Thonissen), XXXI, 330-41 (with lists of biographies and writings); *Encyclopédia Britannica*, XIV, 172-73; Van der Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1ère Série, Vols. XV-XVII; new ed., Brussels, III (1964), 883-1124; Ruelens, *Annales Plantiniennes*, Brussels 1865; M. Rooses, *Le Musée Plantin-Moretus*, Antwerp 1914; Sandys, II, 301-4.

P. Faider, *Juste Lipse*, Mons 1922; J. Ruysschaert, *Juste Lipse et les Annales de Tacite*, Turnhout 1949; J. L. Saunders, *Justus Lipsius*, New York 1955.

COMMENTARIES

a. ANONYMUS

Ms. Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence, A. xxxv. 4., fols. 57-124^v; for the commentary, fols. 78-91^v (commentary on Pars. 1-73) and fols. 70-73^v (on Pars. 75-96); fols. 74-77 are blank.

[Inc.] : (fol. 78) Formam et notam dicendi exprimere vult quam Graeci (ut ait in *Oratore* (11, 36) Cicero cuius scriptio similis huic est 181) *χαρακτῆρα* vocant. Dixit quoque Cicero *In Pisonem* (38, 69) quod eas duas simul coniunctas voces exprimeret *διαιρεῖ καὶ διακρίνει*. Graecus primo distinguere atque dividere illa quemadmodum dicerentur in Aristotelis *Rheticorum* III.

[Expl.] : (fol. 73^v) *τενθρηδον* minutissima bestiola ex iis quas Graeci *κεντροδόρους* latini aculeatas vocant.

'Εριμαντίον κάπρον. de hac sylva meminit et Flaccus cum ait Nigris aut Erymanthi sylvis.

Manuscript. See above under I. 3.

b. FRANCISCUS MASLOVIUS

1557, Patavii (Padua) : Gratiosus Perchaninus. A separate section at the end of the volume, with special pagination and special preface to the reader, is devoted to notes on difficult passages of the text.

Preface to the Commentary [Inc.] : (p. A) Franciscus Maslovius Polonus Lectori S. D. Cum mihi liber Demetrii περὶ ἐρυμνείας a me in latinum conversus divulgandus esset et multa in eo ita obscure scripta, ut non facile a quovis intelligi possent, animadverterem. . . [Expl.] : (p. A^v) Nam et si non omnia hac, qua in scribendis scholiis usus sum, ratione plane explicare potui, viam tamen veluti quandam monstrare conabor; quam qui persequatur, facilius ad maiorem obscuriorum locorum intelligentiam perveniat. Vale.

Commentary [Inc.] : (p. A2) DE MEMBRIS. Aalioqui [sic] enim ostendit quid

incommodi sequeretur, si oratio interminata foret. Idem vero Cicero lib. *De Oratore* 3 sibi vult, cum ait, Clausulas et interpuncta verborum animae interclusio angustiae spiritus attulerunt. [*Expl.*]: (p. C4^v). Sunt enim haec ambo) Nam oratio, quae lepida quidem esse debet, nec tamen est, in id vitii incurrit, ut frigida fiat. Annotationum in Demetrium Phalereum FINIS.

Edition, Biogr., Bibl. See above under Translations, I. 6.

c. PETRUS VICTORIUS

1562, Florentiae (Florence) : Giunta.

Commentary :

[*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Quod novum aliquibus atque inauditum videri potuit, probat dividi solutam etiam prosamque orationem quibusdam partibus, quae sumpto a partibus animalium nomine, Graeco sermone κῶλα vocentur ; eas autem Cicero imitans Graecos huius artis doctores ausus et ipse est appellare membra, ut ipsem testatur. [*Expl.*]: (p. 268) Quid autem frigus in oratione sit, quod scilicet manet in verbis, et quomodo gignatur (diversos enim fontes habet) docuit accurate Aristoteles in III. libro de arte dicendi ; nec tamen haec una omnino est earum rationum, quae dicuntur ipsum efficere, quamvis non valde diversa sit. FINIS.

Editions, Biogr., Bibl. See above under Translations, I. 7. The commentary reappe-

ared only in the ed. of Florence 1594.

d. JOHANNES CASELIUS

1585, Rostochii (Rostock) : In officina Stephani Myliandri.

Scholia. Each section of the translation (see above under I. 9) is followed by a section of commentary, the former in italic type, the latter in roman.

[*Inc.*]: (B 4) Σχόλιον. Inscriptio per se luculenta est, nec dubitari potest, quin per ἐρμηνείαν sit intelligenda oratio, qua animi nostri sensa exponimus. Comparationis autem ex arte poetarum petitae haec est sententia. [*Expl.*]: (Qq 2) Itaque cuilibet rei convenientem dictionem et compositionem tribuere oportet, ne de passerculo ut de aquila, nec de aquila ut de passerculo loquaris. Quod vero non ad hoc institutum, sed ad naturam tenthredonis facit ; bestiola est ἐξ ἐννέα γενῶν μελιτοποιῶν ; de quibus *de historia animalium* Aristoteles libro nono. FINIS.

Editions. For editions, see above under Translations, I. 9.

For biography, see below under Gregorius Nazianzenus III. 15.

e. PETRUS ANGELIUS BARGAEUS (DOUBTFUL). See above, Fortuna.

f. ANDREAS DUDITHIUS (DOUBTFUL). See above, Fortuna.