

GREEK AUTHORS

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ARRIANUS, FLAVIUS

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## FORTUNA

Flavius Arrianus (Arrian, ca. A.D. 95-175) of Nicomedia in Bithynia studied under Epictetus, then became consul (ca. A.D. 129) and *legatus pro praetore* of Cappadocia (A.D. 131-137), where he repelled the Alan invasion of 134. He early retired from public service, perhaps voluntarily, and went to Athens, where he was made a citizen of the city and held honorable civic offices, but evidently devoted the remainder of his long life to literary composition, priding himself on being a second Xenophon. He seems to have published early in his career the *Discourses* of Epictetus (notes from the master's lectures in eight books, of which four are preserved) and the *Encheiridion*, or handbook of Epictetus' teaching (for these works, see the article on Epictetus, to be published in a later volume). During his years in Cappadocia Arrian wrote the *Periplus Ponti Euxini* in the form of a letter to the emperor Hadrian, ca. 131, the *Acies contra Alanos*, a copy of his marching plan against the Alans, and an *Ars tactica*, dated in 137, the initial page of which is lost. His great work, presumably written in Athens, was the *Anabasis Alexandri*, a history of the expedition of Alexander the Great in seven books, to which he appended a complementary work on India, the *Indica*. The *Cynegeticus*, a short work on hunting, completes the list of his extant works. Arrian also wrote three major historical works, each longer than the *Anabasis Alexandri*, that are now known only from summaries by Photius (*Bibl.*, codd. 58, 92, 93) and fragments, including at least one papyrus: a *Post-Alexandrian History* (to 321 B. C.), a *History of Bithynia* (*Bithynica*), and a *History of Parthia* (*Parthica*). Other works ascribed to him include an account of the Alans (*Alanike*) and three short biographies.

Two short works that cannot have been written by Arrian were attributed to him because they are associated with his *Periplus* in the one medieval manuscript in which they are preserved. The *Periplus maris Erythraei*, an important source of geographical information, was generally regarded as

Arrian's in the Renaissance. A late and much inferior work, an anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, having the same name as Arrian's work and dependent upon it, was known until quite late only in fragments, and was not usually printed with Arrian's works. It is missing from the miscellaneous volume which contains the *editio princeps* of the Greek text of Arrian's *Periplus*, (Basel, Froben, 1533) as well as from the collected works edited by Blancardus (Amsterdam, Janssonius a Waesberge, 1668 and 1683).

All extant Greek manuscripts of the *Anabasis* and *Indica* derive from one archetype, Vindobon. hist. gr. 4 (s. XII ex.-XIII in.). Those of the minor works likewise descend from known archetypes: the *Cynegetica*, the *Periplus Ponti Euxini* and the anonymous *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and *Periplus Ponti Euxini* derive from Heidelberg Pal. gr. 398 (s. IX); the *Ars Tactica* and the *Acies contra Alanos* from Laur. 55,4 (s. X).

The historical works of Arrian were used intermittently in the Byzantine period. The *Post-Alexandrian History* was used by Dexippus (s. III) in the composition of his own work of the same title. Stephanus of Byzantium (s. VI) cites the *Anabasis*, *Indica*, *Parthica* and *Bithynica*. In the ninth century the Patriarch of Constantinople Photius read and summarized the *Anabasis* and *Indica*, the *Post-Alexandrian History*, the *Bithynica*, and the *Parthica*. In the following century all these works were used by the editors of the Constantinian Excerpts, from which the Suda then derived many quotations. Also dating from the tenth century are two palimpsest folia of the *Post-Alexandrian History*. The learned bishop of Thessalonica, Eustathius (s. XII), in his commentaries to Dionysius Periegetes and the *Iliad*, cites the *Anabasis* and the *Indica*, as do his approximate contemporaries Tzetzes and Zonaras, and moreover refers frequently to the *Bithynica*. Thereafter, of the historical works only the *Anabasis* and the *Indica* are known. The extant archetype of these works was copied at about the end of the twelfth century, and the production of apographs indicates a slow diffusion in the following centuries:

one is copied in the thirteenth century, five in the fourteenth, and twenty-five in the fifteenth century.

The *Periplus* was used by the author of the anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini* in the fifth century, and was cited by Procopius and Stephanus of Byzantium in the sixth. The *Tactica* was reworked by Urbicius (s. VI) and used by Leo the Wise and a military glossary which was a source for the Suda in the tenth century (when our archetype was also copied), and again by Michael Psellus in the eleventh century. The first Byzantine to reveal the influence of the *Cynegeticus* is Demetrius Pepagomenus of Constantinople (s. XIII), although our archetype was copied in the ninth century.

The first known manuscript of Arrian brought to western Europe was one of the *Anabasis* owned by Giovanni Aurispa in 1421. This work early proved popular, as the four translations made in the years 1433-1508 attest. In 1533 Gelenius brought out the first Greek edition of the two *Periplus* in Basel, which was followed two years later by Trincavelli's Venetian edition of the *Anabasis* and *Indica*. The discovery and translation of the minor works continued through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Several works, in fact, were not translated before 1600, and so do not enter into the following list. The first Latin translations of the *Cynegeticus*, the *Ars Tactica* and the *Acies contra Alanos* were each published with the *editio princeps* of their respective Greek texts, and were made by the editors: *Cynegeticus*, trans. Lucas Holstenius (Holstein), Paris, Seb. Cramoisy, 1644 (NUC, BM, BN, Fab. BG V, 104; Brunet, I, 498); *Ars Tactica* and *Acies contra Alanos*, trans. Johannes Scheferus, Uppsala, Henr. Curio, 1664 (NUC, BM, BN, Fab. BG V, 1071; Brunet, I, 496). After their first publication, they were regularly included in editions of Arrian's collected works.

*Bibl.*: The best general account of Arrian's life is still E. Schwartz, s.v. Arrianos in *RE* II (1896) 1230-1247. Cf. also *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*<sup>2</sup> III, pp. 137-38. For the text tradition see the critical

editions by Roos (Teubner) cited below, and for the works stemming from Pal. gr. 398, A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (American Philological Association, Philological Monographs XIV, n. p., 1952). Fragments are collected by Roos, vol. II and by F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* II B (Berlin 1929, repr. 1962) no. 156. Roos discusses Byzantine citations of Arrian in the pertinent sections of his prefaces.

### I. *Anabasis* and *Indica*

*Editio princeps*: Venetiis in aedibus Bartholomaei Zanetti Casterzagensis. . . MDXXXV Mense Septembri. Ed. Victor Trincavellius. (NUC, *Index Aureliensis* 109.026).

Critical edition: ed. A. G. Roos (Teubner): v. I, *Anabasis* (Leipzig 1907), v. II, *Scripta Minora*, including *Indica* pp. 1-73 (Leipzig 1928); a corrected edition by G. Wirth of both volumes in a stereotype reprint, Leipzig 1967-1968.

### TRANSLATIONS

#### 1. PETRUS PAULUS VERGERIUS (SENIOR)

The translation was made for the emperor Sigismund, sometime after 1418, when Vergerio joined Sigismund's court. It was probably finished between 1433, when Sigismund was crowned emperor in Rome, and 1437, when he died, since the salutation of the dedication gives the official title *Romanorum imperator*.

*Dedication*. (ed. L. Smith, *Epistolario*, pp. 379-384) Ad Sigismundum de Luçemborch Romanorum Imperatorem et Ungariae Bohemiaeque regem Petrus Paulus Vergerius prohemium incipit. [*Inc.*]: Iussisti me, Sigismunde, clementissime imperator, ut Arriani historiam, qui res gestas Alexandri Macedonis graeco sermone conscripsit, in latinum verterem; non quod veterum Graecorum magnifica olim opera et apud suos tam metro quam soluta oratione sine fine celebrata Latinis sint incognita, illa praesertim illustriora, inter quae Alexandri bella et victoriae longe maiores quam bella imprimis connumerantur, sed quod Arrianus in eis describendis certiores secutus sit

auctores, atque ideo fide dignus videatur. Nam ex caeteris quidem historiae scriptoribus, qui multi fuerunt multumque sibi invicem dissonantes, aliqui, vulgarem famam secuti, non quae gessit Alexander, sed quae de eo passim ferebantur, ea tanquam vere gesta conscripserunt. Alii favore gentis et domesticae gloriae studio in enarrandis ad laudem eius operibus modum excesserunt. Nonnulli e contra, odio vel invidia, sive ut aliis morem gererent qui tanti nominis splendore offendebantur, detrahare rebus gestis conati sunt; quidam insuper, privatim ambitione quaerendi nominis et propriae laudis cupiditate, non quid gestum ab eo fuerit, sed quid decore de illo scriptum memoriae posterorum mandari posset, hoc solum extimaverunt; nec tam veritatem rerum quam figmentorum lenocinium amplexi sunt. Atque haec tanta scribentium varietas perplexitatem legentibus afferre non modicam consuevit, cum essent incerti quibusnam fidem adhiberi prae caeteris conveniret et fabulasve an historiam veram legerent. Tu igitur hinc adductus ea quae Arrianus de gestis Alexandri scripsit tanquam veriora cupis agnoscere, laudandus profecto, sive quia veritati studes, quae rebus omnibus praeferenda est, sive quod historiae notitia tantopere delectaris ut domesticis non contentus etiam externa requiras. Est autem in historia simul cum iocunditate fructus plurimus, valetque magnopere rerum gestarum frequens cognitio, tum ad peritiam gerendarum augendam, tum ad satietatem minuendam iugiter concomitantium tediorum. Decet autem omnes homines, sed eos praecipue qui magnis administrationibus praesunt, ad utrumque conari laborareque summo studio ut sciant se quidem inprimis; deinde si quibus forte est in alios imperium, etiam subditos optimis rationibus regere, ac per honestas delectationes, quantum fieri potest, sine molestia vitam agere; te vero ante omnes, qui in supremo rerum culmine constitutus es, et qui magna semper animo volvis, curare convenit Alexandri Magni opera, quae haud dubie magna fuerunt, certius agnoscere, et quae ex eis digna sunt laude, ea non tam palpitando sectari velle quam praecurrendo superare. Sed et michi quoque

non est visum alienum, praeter causas alias, quae me ad hoc vel impulerunt vel coegerunt; nam te quidem iubente, necesse erat parere; ut in honorem quoque scriptoris, qui Latinus fuit, laborem hunc non invitus assumerem, et quae de rebus Graecorum graece scripsit, in latinum Latinus transferrem, illumque tibi traditum et michi per te commendatum, Latinis vero prorsus incognitum, tandem quasi longo postliminio in patriam revocarem et suis utcunque darem agnoscendum. Qua in re licere michi sum arbitratus, tibi vero non futurum ingratum certus sum, si plano ac pene vulgari stilo sensus tantum, non verba transferrem, ut, eo nunc primum e Graecia redeunte et externa narrante, a Latinis quibusque vel indoctoribus rerum gestarum tenor possit agnosci. Ornatum autem orationis et dicendi elegantiam, quibus ille vel in aliena lingua plurimum eminet, si quis forsitan cum rerum notitia pariter desiderat, ea non a me, alieni sermonis interprete, sed ab ipso historiae auctore et conditore requirat.

*Anabasis*: Arriani de rebus gestis Alexandri Macedonis liber primus foeliciter incipit. [*Inc.*]: Quaecumque quidem Ptolemeus Lagi et Aristobolus Aristoboli eadem ambo de Alexandro Philippi conscripserunt, illa ego tanquam prorsus vera describo. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: ego ipse non sine divino instinctu motus sum ad hanc historiam conscribendam. Finis gestorum Alexandri.

*Indica*: Arriani de rebus indicis et navigatione classis Alexandri ex India in Persidem. Liber VIIus. [*Inc.*]: Ea quae sunt citra Indum flumen ad occidentem versus Cofenum fluvium incolunt Astaceni et Asaceni gentes indice. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: Iste mihi sermo conscriptus est tendens etiam ipse in Alexandrum Philippi Macedonem. Finis rerum indicarum.

*Bibl.*: *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio*, ed. Leonardo Smith (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, LXXIV, Rome 1934) 379-384; Georg Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*<sup>3</sup> (Berlin 1893, reprinted Berlin 1960) II, 176-177, 272-273; Apostolo Zeno, *Dissertazioni Vossiane I* (Venice 1752) 53-56.

*Greek source*:

Vergerio did not distinguish the sixth from the seventh book of the *Anabasis*,

therefore his manuscript must have been of the family  $\Sigma^2$  (*Anabasis Alexandri* ed. A. G. Roos, Leipzig 1907, p. xiv), but the precise manuscript is not known.

*Manuscripts:*

Paris, *Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat.* 1302, mbr., s. XV. The sole surviving manuscript, this was copied for Tommaso Parentucelli of Sarzana (later pope Nicholas V) by Iacobus Cassenheim, when Parentucelli was a papal legate in Germany (1444-1446). See L. Delisle, *Mélanges de Paléographie* (Paris 1880) 156-57, U. Robert, "Inventaires des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale. . . 1874 au 1881" *Le Cabinet historique* 28 (1882) 169, and L. Delisle, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits Latins et Français ajoutés aux Fonds des Nouvelles Acquisitions pendant les années 1875-1891: Inventaire alphabétique* (Paris 1891) I, 26. The copy was made from Vergerio's autograph, which had been discovered, presumably in the imperial library, by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (later Pius II), at that time a secretary in the chancellery of Frederick III. When Piccolomini returned to Germany after his stay at the court of Alfonso in Naples, he had one copy of the translation made for himself, and sent the rather worn autograph of Vergerio to Alfonso (see his letter to Alfonso dated Wiener Neustadt, Jan. 27, 1454: "Serenissime ac gloriosissime rex. Cum essem Neapoli, tertius nunc annus est, accessit me nostri temporis poeta singularis Antonius Panormita, et pro vetusta consuetudine, quam Senis in adolescentia simul habuimus, multa contulit mecum. Inter loquendum autem ut fit percontatus est ex me, quoniam etatem pene omnem in Germania consumpsissem, numquid operis aliquid rari inter bibliothecas, quae multae sunt apud Theutones, invenissem. Cumque Arrianum De gestis Alexandri Macedonis a Paulo Vergerio Iustinopolitano de Graeco in nostram linguam translatum comperissem me dicerem, magnopere me rogavit, quoniam tanti viri facta libenter audires, ejus libri copiam tuae maiestati facerem." He is now sending it by a trusted messenger. "Volumen est papyreum, lacerum et vetustate consumptum. Dices, cum videris, quid hoc thesauri est, quid est, quo (Wolkan:

quod) me donat Senensis episcopus? Ad farmacopolam sese mittere cartulas credit." Nevertheless the volume is valuable: "Prima editio est Pauli, sua manu conscripta. Neque inde receptum exemplar est preter unum, quod summo pontifici Nicolao, dum esset episcopus Bononiensis et apud Cesarem legatione fungeretur, recipere permisi et aliud (Wolkan: alius), quod mihi retineo." (R. Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel des Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, III Abt. [*Fontes rerum Austriacarum* 68, Vienna 1918] no. 249, pp. 436-437, cf. no. 245, p. 433 to Antonio Panormita, Jan. 26, 1454). Vergerio's autograph was used as the basis for the Facio-Curlo translation (see I. 3 below); it and Piccolomini's copy are lost, although according to Zeno, *Diss. Voss.* I, 53, a manuscript was in the Vatican in his day. Vat. lat. 5268, listed as Vergerio's translation in the handwritten catalogue of 1640, actually contains the translation by Facio and Curlo. This entry probably misled Zeno or his informant. The preface to Sigismund survived separately with Vergerio's letters; Smith, *Epistolario*, lists: Capodistria, Archivio Gravisi-Barbabanca, unnumbered ms., f. 98; Padua, Conte Novello Papafava, cod. 21, fasc. 17, pt. 2, f. 12v-13 (s. XV); Venice, Marc. lat. XI, 56 (3827), f. 22 (A description of the Padua manuscript has been reported by P. O. Kristeller).

*Editions:*

None.

*Biography:*

Petrus Paulus Vergerius Iustinopolitanus (Pier Paolo Vergerio) was born in Capodistria, probably on July 23, 1370, and died at Budapest July 8, 1444. He studied grammar at Padua in 1385, and taught at Florence in 1386, at Bologna 1388-1390, and at Padua 1390-1397. He learned Greek from Chrysoloras at Florence, 1398-1400, then returned to Padua for the period 1400-1405. In 1405 he joined the papal court of Innocent VII, and continued under Gregory XII until 1409. After a term of retirement in Capodistria made necessary by enmities contracted at Rome, he participated actively at the council of Constance (1414-1418), which he attended in the retinue of his old friend, Card. Francesco Zabarella (d. 1417).

In May 1418 he accompanied King (later emperor) Sigismund of Luxemburg to his domains in Bohemia and Hungary, leaving forever his humanistic friends in Italy. From then until the emperor's death (1437) he remained in his court; thereafter he seems to have lived in Budapest, where he died seven years later.

His most important teachers in humanistic subjects were Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna (at Padua) and Manuel Chrysoloras (at Florence). He was a close friend of Coluccio Salutati and the students of Chrysoloras at Florence. Yet he did not limit his studies to humanistic subjects: over a period of years, he became a doctor in the arts, medicine, and civil and canon law.

While at Padua in 1390-1397 he edited the *Africa* of Petrarch and wrote a Latin comedy based on contemporary life, the *Paulus*. He wrote numerous treatises and speeches, but the best known is his work *De ingenuis moribus*, ca. 1401-1402. Almost all of his letters (Smith collects 148) were written before he joined Sigismund's court in 1418. A translation of Herodian is mentioned among his works by a member of his family in a letter of 1509, but no other information on this is available (see Smith, LVII n. 1 and LIX n. 2).

*Bibl.*: *Enc. Ital.* 35, 162; Rossi, 23-24, 51-52, 525, with extensive bibliography p. 66 n. 18; *Dizionario Enciclopedico della Letteratura Italiana* (Bari 1968) V, 425.

C. Bischoff, *Studien zu Pier Paolo Vergerio dem älteren* (*Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte* XV, Berlin-Leipzig 1909); E. Garin, *Il pensiero pedagogico dell'umanesimo* (Florence 1958); A. Gnesotto, ed., "Pier Paolo Vergerio *De ingenuis moribus*," in *Atti e Memorie della R. Accad. di Padova* 34 (1918) 75-156; A. Kopp, *Pier Paolo Vergerio, der erste humanistische Pädagoge* (Luzern 1893); A. C. Pierantoni, *Pier Paolo Vergerio seniore* (Chieti 1920); L. Smith, *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia LXXIV, Rome 1934), esp. the outline of his life, pp. XI-XXX; L. Smith, "P. P. Vergerio: *De situ veteris et inclyte Urbis Rome*," *English Historical Review* 41 (1926) 571-577; B.

Ziliotto, *La cultura letteraria di Trieste e dell'Istria* (Trieste 1913) 35-85.

## 2. NICOLAUS PEROTTUS (lost)

Our only evidence for this translation is in a letter of Perotti to Giovanni Tortelli, librarian for pope Nicholas V, dated Jan. 7, 1454 (publ. by R. Cessi, 'Notizie umanistiche III', 84 from Vat. lat. 3908, f. 168 ff.; corrected by G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia*, 39 and by R. P. Oliver *per litteras*). I quote the relevant passage: "Sanctissimus dominus noster (i.e., Nicholas V) dedit mihi Arrianum traducendum, quod opus summa cum diligentia prosequor. Erit, ut spero, res grata Sanctitati Sue ultra omnes alias traductiones dumtaxat historicas. Legent aliquando nostri homines Quintum Curtium perfectum atque integrum. Verum quia liber, quem mihi Sanctitas Sua dedit, est multis in locis corruptus et deficiunt interim multa, esset mihi gratum ut Dignatio Vestra (i.e. Tortelli) mitteret ad me traductionem illam Arriani ineptam, quam Sanctitas Sua habet et, cum istic fui, sua benignitate mihi promisit, sed impedita egritudine dare non potuit: ea habita et rectius et celerius et cum minori (sic) labore prosequar opus inceptum. Oro igitur Dignationem Vestram ἐκ τῆς καρδίας, ut aiunt, ut eum librum a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro petat et viro docto et perhumano Benedicto Morando, qui Dignationi Vestrae has litteras reddidit, ad me vehendum det, quod ascribam inter cetera Dignationis Vestrae erga me immortalia beneficia." The translation was already begun in January 1454, therefore, but Perotti wanted as help "traductionem illam Arriani ineptam," undoubtedly the copy of Pier Paolo Vergerio's version owned by Nicholas V before he became pope and now Paris Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat. 1302 (see under no 1.). Our lack of other information suggests that Perotti's translation was never completed.

*Bibl.*: Roberto Cessi, "Notizie umanistiche III, Tra Niccolò Perotto e Poggio Bracciolini, Appendice," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 60 (1912) 84; Giovanni Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti* (Studi e

Testi 44, Rome 1925), esp. pp. 34, 37, 39-40.

*Greek source :*

The manuscript borrowed from Nicholas V and used by Perotti, if in fact returned to the Vatican, probably was Vat. gr. 325, which has many lacunae in the text and is recorded as present in the Vatican inventory of 1475, # 271 (see R. Devreesse, *Le fonds grec de la bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V* [Studi e Testi 244, Vatican City 1965] p. 56). A less probable manuscript would be Vat. gr. 143 (*ibid.*, p. 49, # 99).

*Manuscripts and editions:*

None.

*Biography :*

Nicolaus Perottus (Niccolò Perotti) was born in Fano, Italy in 1429 and died at Sassoferrato on Dec. 14, 1480. After study with Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua 1443-1445 and Guarino da Verona at Ferrara 1445-1446, he travelled to Rome, where he came under the protection of Cardinal Bessarion. He accompanied the latter during his years in Bologna, 1450-1455. Upon the election of Pope Calixtus III in 1455 he was made apostolic secretary and in 1458 was named archbishop of Siponto in South Italy, near the modern Manfredonia. He continued to hold this position until his death, although he was frequently called to serve as the civil governor of towns in the Papal States, including Perugia and Viterbo.

*Works:* He translated various Greek works, the best known of which are Epictetus' *Encheiridion* and the first five books of Polybius done for Pope Nicholas V. Other versions include a homily of Basil, the Hippocratic oath, and three opuscula of Plutarch. His original works were chiefly concerned with problems of teaching and philology: two treatises on Latin metrics, a *De componendis epistulis*, a very popular Latin grammar (*Rudimenta grammatices*). Even his largest work, the *Cornucopiae*, took the form of an exhaustive commentary to Martial. His *Epitome* was a collection of fables of Phaedrus and Avianus together with his own poetry. His writings also include letters, poems and invectives.

*Bibl. :* *Enc. Ital.* 26, 789 (R. Sabbadini); Rossi, 90-91, 95. R. Cessi, *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 59 (1912) 312-46; 60 (1912) 73-111; L. Frati, *GSLI* 54 (1909) 389-406; C. Iannellius, *Codex Perottinus Ms. Regiae Bibliothecae Neapolitanae duas et triginta Phaedri fabulas iam notas, totidem novas, sex et triginta Aviani vulgatas, et ipsius Perotti carmina inedita continens* (Neapoli, 1809); G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti* (Studi e Testi 44, Rome 1925); R. P. Oliver, *Niccolò Perotti's Version of the Encheiridion of Epictetus* (Urbana, Illinois 1954), with an introduction and list of works and letters; Sesto Prete, "Gli scritti di Niccolò Perotti ed il Poliziano", *Fano, Notiziario di informazione sui problemi cittadini*, supplemento al n. 4, 1971, 1-9; A. Zeno, *Dissertazioni Vossiane I* (Venice 1752) 256-274. Mercati is fundamental. I am indebted to Dr. F.-R. Hausmann of the University of Freiburg for bibliographical information on Perotti.

3. BARTHOLOMAEUS FACIUS (FACCIUS)  
and IACOBUS CURLUS, aided by NICOLAUS  
SAGUNDINUS and THEODORUS GAZA.

Aeneas Sylvius visited Naples before 1454 (cf. his letter to Panormita, cited above, I. 1, under *Manuscripts*, and Curlo's dedication). On returning to Germany, after some delay, he sent the original autograph of Vergerio's translation to Alfonso (ca. 27 Jan. 1454). This was entrusted to Facio by Alfonso to have its style polished. Curlo says that Facio went at once to work, "ut in eo annis circiter tribus dies et noctes incubuerit." Since he died November 1457, this would suggest that he began at the end of 1454 or beginning of 1455. Curlo states that he was present frequently when Facio was consulting Nicolaus Sagundinus and Theodorus Gaza on the meaning of the Greek text. The relative contributions of Facio and Sagundinus are described in this excerpt from a letter of the latter to his friend Marco Aurelio dated Naples, April 3, 1456: "Arrianum de gestis Alexandri, olim semibarbare in latinum conversum [the Vergerio translation], Bartholomaeus noster nondum atti-

git. Rege autem [Alphonso] hortante maxime, traductionem illam equidem cum Graeco fideliter et accuratissime contuli et scrutatus sum, ubi ferme innumeros emendavi errores, quantum scilicet ad veritatem historiae et auctoris sententias attineret: orationi enim lumen adhibere latinitalis et elocutioni nitorem et venustatem apposite ac diserte adjicere, Bartholomaei partes utique sunt, qui occasionem idoneam nactus, si suppeditetur sibi ocium, rem impigre aggredietur, et vita comite, ut est ingenium et eruditio viri, egregie ac luculenter absolvet." Nicolaus' collaboration seems to be the fact behind the notice of a separate translation by him first found in a prefatory letter by Alexander Gabuardus in the 1508 edition of the Facio-Curlo translation: "Thadeus ille Ugoletus Parmensis, vir in utraque pagina doctissimus, me suis letteris admonuit se legisse interpretationem Arrhiani a Nicolao Sagundino factitatum fuisse." Sagundinus' letter clearly states, however, that he did not actually make a translation, but corrected Vergerio's translation against the Greek for Facio and King Alfonso. How close Facio's version remained to the text of Vergerio may be seen by noting how in his preface he restates with little change the expressions used by Vergerio in his. At the time of Facio's death, Curlo informs us in his dedicatory letter, Facio had finished only one quarter of the work, leaving the rest full of erasures and "wounds". Curlo himself did not resume work on the translation until after Alfonso's death (June 27, 1458). According to Ullman, Curlo is not heard of after 1461. The translation was corrected by Ludovicus Odaxius for the first edition of 1508 (see the letter of Sigismundus Golphus).

*Dedication I*: (ed. 1508, Pisauri. I follow the more correct readings of Urb. lat. 415). Bartholomei Facii ad Alfonsum regem Aragonum praefacio. . . [Inc.]: Multi, Alfonso rex gloriosissime, Alexandri Macedonis rerum scriptores fuere, neque enim de quocumque rege plures fere unquam scripsere, tantae omnibus seculis admirationi fuit illius regis sive fortuna sive virtus sive gloria. Sed mirum est quantum hi omnes inter se discrepare videantur. Namque alii

vulgi rumores secuti non tam quae Alexander gesserit quam quae de illo pervulgata essent memoriae prodidere; alii domesticae laudis studio adducti in extollendis rebus eius modum excessisse existimati sunt; nonnulli gloriae cupiditate adducti, quae tanto rege digna putaverunt litteris mandavere, lenociniis quibusdam figmentorum delectati; quidam tanti nominis splendore offensi eiusdem res carpere atque elevare studuerunt. Arrianus autem noster unus omnium diligentissime ac verissime hanc historiam graece putatur scripsisse, vel eo maxime quod Ptolomeum et Aristobolum gravissimos ac summos viros, qui omnibus Alexandri rebus gestis non solum interfuere sed etiam cum dignitate praeferre, secutus est. Ad haec oratione ipsa pressus ac perpolitus, maximeque circa rerum narrandarum ordinem intentus, historicum sese quam oratorem videri mavult, quamquam in orationibus nec vim dicendi nec copiam sibi defuisse demonstrat. Itaque cum ad manus meas pervenisset Arriani ipsius traductio quaedam non satis latina neque Alexandri nomine gloriaeque digna, novae compositionis laborem assumere libuit. Nec vero est quod Petrum Paulum Vergerium, eius traductionis auctorem, vituperem, quem unum ex doctis et eloquentibus viris aetatis nostrae fuisse satis scio: nam pro sua eloquentia, ut puto, si voluisset et ornate et commode hanc historiam, quemadmodum coetera quae latine composuit, interpretari ac tractare potuisset. Coeterum ut a Sigismundo imperatore Romano qui parum doctus erat sine cuiuspian adiumento posset intelligi (sic enim ab eo scriptum repperi), hanc historiam ita inculte de industria traduxit. Sed ut ille Sigismundi voluntati, qui exiguam grammaticae, nullam eloquentiae cognitionem haberet, gerere morem studuit, sic ego tentare volui an hic noster labor Alfonso regi omni doctrina praedito probari posset, atque ut illa prior editio Germanis incultioribus relinqueretur, haec nostratum politiorum esset. Iuvabit me quidem duorum maximorum et opulentissimorum aetatis suae regum omnisque memoriae facile principum alterius facta celebrasse, alterius res graece scriptas latinas effecisse. Cum prius, quantum ad Arria-



num attinet, non satis latine essent et cum coeterorum regum ac principum virorum facta noscenda sint aut regibus aut rem publicam gubernantibus, in primis tamen Alexandri nostri facta contenderim, qui tam florenti aetate, tam brevi temporis curriculo, tam parva militum manu quicquid terrarum ab Hellesponto ad Oceanum Indicum pertinet imperio suo subiecit, qui tot proeliis ne semel quidem fortunam adversam expertus est, qui denique clementia, liberalitate, magnificentia non minus quam armis notus est atque illustris. Cuius rei gratia hoc opus aliquanto libentius aggressus sum, in quo si tibi, Alfonse, et coeteris doctis hominibus satisfecero, hoc tibi Alexander merito debet, quod Arrianus suus qui prius tantummodo grecus erat, nunc etiam tuo hortatu latinus factus est.

*Dedication II* (ed. 1508, Pisauri. I follow the more correct reading of Urb. lat. 415). Iacobus Curlus Genuensis Arnaldo Fenole-dae [Fonellada] equiti hispano viro clarissimo atque ornatissimo sal. [*Inc.*]: Bartholomeus Faccius conterraneus meus et familiaris tuus ut nosti his temporibus nostris claruit apud divum Alfonsum regem nostrum, cuius historiam et complura insuper opera elegantissime scripsit non sine magna et Regis et auctoris ipsius laude gratia et dignitate. Delectabatur enim Rex inclitus et quidem vehementer litteris, viris literatis ac libris, quos et magno in honore habuit et amplissimis praemiis ac muneribus undique ad se accersebat. Inter quos vidimus Aeneam Senensem praesulem, qui postea Pius summus Pontifex effectus est [Aug. 19, 1458]. Is, cum apud Regem legationis munere fungeretur videretque regem tantopere libris affectum, in Germaniam rediens misit ad eum [January 1454] traductionem quandam Arriani Graeci rerum gestarum Alexandri scriptoris verissimi quam Paulus Vergerius vir doctissimus et alioqui eloquentissimus in latinum verterat, sed barbare, quo Sigismundus Germanorum imperator apud quem illa tempestate diversabatur posset historiam intelligere, qui a dicendi suavitate et elegantia penitus abhorreret. Is liber cum ad Regem nostrum fuisset perlatus omnes qui litteras profitebamur magno cum desiderio illum legere

incepimus. Verum orationis inconcinnitas plures a legendo deterrebat. At rex sapientissimus cognito libri vitio continuo Faccium voluit pro eius dicendi facilitate et ornatu negotium sumere ex barbaro latinum faciendi, quod ille et iussu regio et suasu meo praestare haudquaquam recusavit. Mihi etenim indignum videbatur adeo singularem adeo praestantem et veram historiam adeo negligenter deperire. Ille autem tanto studio susceptum negotium amplexus est, ut in eo annis circiter tribus dies et noctes incubuerit summaque diligentia elaborarit. Affui ego una saepius cum Nicolaum Sagoninum et Theodorum Tessalonicensem [Theodore Gaza], viros summos et graecarum et latinarum litterarum eruditissimos, conveniret et ab illis multarum rerum quae latinis obscuriora videbantur explanationem exquireret, quae Vergerius absurde translisset, hique Arrianum multis laudibus efferrent. Itaque historiam ipsam latinam et suavissimam reddidit Faccius noster. Cuius tamen cum quartam vix partem pressisset, reliquis tribus nondum satis elimatis, morte praeventus [Nov. 1457], opus multis lituris abolitum et vulneribus pene confossum reliquit. Quod vivens Alfonsus rex haud multo antequam et ipse mortem obiret recuperavit ut aliquando aequaliter restitueretur. Nunc autem rege vita functo [he died June 27, 1458], cum essem ut scis Faccio perfamiliaris scriptaque sua ut profecto magnificienda sunt magnificerem et admirarer, non sum passus hanc tantam historiam simulque hominis amicissimi ingentes labores et vigiliis deperire. Itaque cum tibi hanc a rege relictam hereditatem viderem, ut libros vehementer et litteras adamares, librum pene extinctum in tui gratiam restituere curavi et ut potui emendatum exscripsi, ut historiam notione dignissimam cognoscere possis. Coeterum id mihi fuerit praemium mei laboris vel maximum, quod viri optimi et amicissimi mei labores non sinam debito in hac re suae gloriae fructu fraudari, et tuae in me benevolentiae ac liberalitati, cui omnia me debere profiteor, aliqua ex parte satisfecero. Vale.

*Dedication III*: (ed. 1508, Pisauri) Sigismundus Golphus Pergulanus, Francisci Mar-

chionis Mantuae illustrissimi secretarius, Alouisio Gonzagae viro magnifico S. P. D. [*Inc.*]: Non me fugit, Alouisi observande, te plurimos lectitasse autores de historiae laudibus differentes. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: Sed tantum ut litterarum studiosis oblectamenti mea cura, Hieronymi Soncinatis faberrimi ac diligentis impressoris industria, et suasu atque consilio tuo, quippe qui cum doctus sis doctos colis et veneraris, aliquid afferatur, historiam ab Arriano inter graecos historicos primario de Alexandri Magni gestis accurate aeditam a Bartholomeo Facio in latinum tractam et demum a Ludovico Odaxio emendatam non invitus Hieronymo in hebraica et caldea lingua nemini cedenti, et in latino minime rudi, tradidi imprimendam. Praeclara enim et rara sunt, quae litterarum monumentis mandavit Arrianus ad rei militaris decus spectantia. Nam ita signate regiones, montes, campos, convalles, flumina, lacus, civitates et oppida descripsit, ut qui legerint constat eis illuc non modo concessisse, sed in loco adesse, armorum strepitus et fragorem aures obtundere, conationes audire, stratagemata struere, acies ordinare, proelia committere, castra diripere, ac gentes avertere, et, ut summatim dicam, nec legentis desiderio nullum reliquit locum. Vale. Ex Villula Pestanarii. Nonis Aprilis MDVII. (April 5, 1507).

*Dedication IV*: (ed. 1508, Pisauri) Alexander Gabuardus Turcellanus Thomae Plovatatio patricio Constantinopolitano iurisconsulto S. P. D. [*Inc.*]: Multum debebunt bonarum litterarum indagatores Sigismundo Golpho Pergolano viro doctrina multiplici totiusque antiquitatis curioso, Thoma iurisconsultorum consultissime, qui exstinctam pene de Alexandri magni rebus gestis Arriani historiam resurgere et in lucem prodire enixissime curaverit. . . (Gabuardus goes on with an account of the known information on Arrian from ancient sources, referring as well to the supposed translation by Sagundinus in the passage cited above). . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: Vale Caesareii pontificiique iuris lumen splendidissimum. Alexandrum semper tuum ama, qui te ob tuas amplissimas virtutes amat, colit et observat. Subsisgnatum Pisauri MDVIII eid. Iun. (June 13, 1508).

*Anabasis* [Title]: Arriani praefatio in libris rerum gestarum Alexandri regis, traductis per Bartholomaeum Facium. [*Inc.*]: Ex omnibus Alexandri rerum scriptoribus quae Ptolemaeus Lagi et Aristobolus Aristoboli de rege ipso consentientes memoriae prodiderunt, utpote verissima litteris mandavi. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: cuius rei gratia et ego absque divino quodam instinctu ad hanc historiam scribendam me contuli.

*Indica* [*Inc.*]: Regiones quae cis Indum flumen sitae sunt adversus occidentem et Cophenum amnem Astaceni atque Asaceni Indicae gentes incolunt. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: Et haec quidem de rebus Indicis seorsum a me conscripta in ipsum Alexandrum Philippi referantur.

*Bibl.*: B. Vulcanius, pref. letter to Thomas Redigerus, in *Arriani Anabasis Alexandri*, Geneva 1575, ff. \*iiiv-\*iiiiv (Vulcanius' criticisms of Facio's translation; Vulcanius' translation is I, 6 below); Laurentius Mehus in *B. Facii De viris illustribus liber* (Florence 1745) XLIV-XLVIII; Apostolo Zeno, *Dissertationi Vossiane* I (Venice 1752) 62-64: and 340 (Sagundinus' letter to Aurelio); Georg Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*<sup>3</sup> (Berlin 1893, rep. Berlin 1960) II, 176-177; Ubaldo Mazzini, 'Appunti e notizie per servire alla bibliografia di Bartolomeo Facio,' *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria* IV (1903) 437.

*Greek Source*:

Although Facio and Curlo worked from the Latin of Vergerio, they did compare the Latin occasionally with a Greek text, aided by Sagundino and Gaza (see the letters of Sagundino and Curlo, above). In Facio's translation, as found in the manuscripts and the edition of 1508, Books VI and VII were separated (correcting Vergerio's text) but the *Indica* was called simply the eighth book of the *Anabasis*. The only Greek manuscripts which call the *Indica* book VIII of the *Anabasis* are those of Roos' third family of the second class, descended from V. Of these, to my knowledge only f (Par. gr. 1407) omits the title *Indica* completely, as does the translation of Facio. Copied in 1438, f is said to have belonged to Antonello Petrucci, holder of many high positions in the Ara-

gonese court at Naples (died 1487. See G. Mazzatinti, *La biblioteca dei re d'Aragona in Napoli*, Naples 1897, p. L; there is no sign of Petrucci's ownership at present). Afterwards it belonged successively to Card. Niccolò Ridolfi, Catherine de' Medici and Henry IV of France, and eventually to the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. Two other manuscripts of this class also come from Naples, where both were owned by Janus Parrhasius: Leiden. Periz. F(olio) 6 and Neapol. gr. III B 20. The latter contains only the *Anabasis*.

*Manuscripts:*

(\*) Escorial, N. II. 2; mbr. s. XV. Seems to lack the letter of Curlo (P. Guillermo Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, III [Madrid 1913] 131-132).

(\*) Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V G 1; mbr. s. XV. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 401).

Naples, Biblioteca Oratoriana, detta dei Girolamini, S. M. XXVIII, 1-37 (olim Pil. VI, no. VII); mbr. s. XV (E. Mandarini, *I codici manoscritti della Biblioteca Oratoriana di Napoli* [Naples 1897] 28-29; T. De Marinis, *La Biblioteca napoletana dei Re d'Aragona* [Milan, 1952] II, 19; Kristeller, *Iter* I, 396; II, 545).

Padua, Conte Novello Papafava, cod. 21, fasc. 17 part 2, fols. 13v-14 (preface only). Reported by P. O. Kristeller.

Piacenza, Bibl. comunale Landiana, ms. Landi 176; cart. s. XV. Lacks the letter of Curlo (A. Balsamo, *Catálogo dei Manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale di Piacenza*, [Piacenza 1910] 57, Kristeller, *Iter* II, 69).

Vatican City, Vat. Lat. 5268, mbr. s. XV. Once belonged to Matthias Corvinus (D. J. A. Ross, *Scriptorium* 11 [1957] 104-108, Kristeller *Iter* II, 332).

Vatican City, Urb. Lat. 415, mbr. s. XV (C. Stornaiolo, *Codices Urbinales Latini* I [Rome 1902] 427, T. De Marinis, *La Biblioteca napoletana dei Re d'Aragona* [Milan 1952] II, 18-19).

*Editions:*

1508, Pisauri (Pesaro): Hieronymus de Soncino (*Index Aureliensis* 109.022). Besides the letters of Facio (Ai<sup>v</sup>) and of Curlo (Riiii<sup>v</sup>) found in the manuscripts, this edition adds two new letters. The first, from Sigis-

mundus Golphus of Pergola, secretary of Francesco, Marchese of Mantua, to Aloysius Gonzaga, explains that the text of Facio's translation given by Sigismundus to the printer Soncino, had been emended by the learned Ludovicus Odaxius. In fact numerous small corrections, not requiring recourse to the Greek text, appear in this edition. The second letter, from Alexander Gabuarius Turcellanus to Thomas Diplovatatus, dated at Pesaro June 13, 1508, collects what was known of Arrian from ancient writers. The notes printed in the margins of this edition were by its editors, as can be seen from that at the death of Alexander (*Anab.* 7, 26. 1) "Idem tertio idus apriles MDVIII [April 11, 1508] in Guidum Ub. Ducem [Guidubaldo of Urbino] morientem Foro Sempronii a populo factum." NUC, BM, Fab. BG V 95; cf. Maittaire II, 188 for long quotations from the letters. Copy in Morgan Library, New York.

1539, Basileae (Basel): Robert Cheimerinus (Winter) (*Index Aureliensis* 109.031). in 2 vols., vol. I Greek, vol. II Latin. Many corrections by the editor, Nicolaus Gerbelius: e.g. 340, the *Indica* is identified as a separate book: "Arriani. . .de rebus gestis Alexandri. . .Liber octauus. Videtur hic liber seorsum ab Arriano de Indicarum rerum tractatione scriptus esse, neque ad praecedentium alioqui seriem pertinere. Eius autem libro 6 pagina 227 meminit." The letter of Gabuarius is printed, that of Sigismundus Golphus is omitted. NUC; BN.

1552, Lugduni (Lyons): Seb. Gryphius (*Index Aureliensis* 109.033). Reprint of 1539 Latin text and letters. NUC; BN, Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise VIII*, 258.

1554, Bernae (Berne) and Basel: Mathias Apiarius, at the expense of J. Oporinus (*Index Aureliensis* 109.034 and 109.036). Reprint of 1539 Latin text and letters. BN.

(\*) 1556, Tiguri (Zurich): Andreas and Jacobus Gesner. (Selections from *Anabasis* I, pp. 613-621 in Aelian, *Opera Omnia*). BM, BN, Fabricius BG V, 96; L. Mehus, ed., *Bartholomaei Facii De viris illustribus liber* (Florence 1745) xxxvii; U. Mazzini, 'Appunti e notizie. . .', 437.

*Biography:*

Bartholomaeus Facius (Faccius; Facio, Fazio) was born in La Spezia before 1410 and died at Naples in November 1457. He studied with Guarino in Verona several years, and in 1429-1430 studied Greek in Florence. After various minor offices in Genoa and Lucca, he was named official envoy of the Genoese Republic to Alfonso of Aragon on September 20, 1443, to negotiate a truce in a long-standing war. He went to Naples, where in July 1445 he was taken into the service of King Alfonso. He became Alfonso's official historiographer at an annual pension of 300 ducats. At Naples he was a close friend of Antonio Panormita, and a bitter enemy of Lorenzo Valla.

His writings cover many of the genres of humanistic literature: grammatical treatises, letters, invectives (against Valla), a vernacular translation of Isocrates' *Ad Nicoclem* (from the Latin), various historical works (*De bello Veneto Clodiano*; *Aliud parvi temporis bellum Venetum*; *De rebus gestis ab Alphonso primo libri X*), a collection of contemporary biographies (*De viris illustribus*), a historical novella, *De origine belli inter Gallos et Britannos historia*, and two moral treatises, *De humanae vitae felicitate* and *De excellentia ac praestantia hominis*.

*Bibl.*: *Enc. Ital.* 14, 710 (by R. Sabbadini); Rossi 89, 170, 190, *Diz. storico della Lett. Ital.* (Torino 1959) 436-37.

F. Gabotto, 'Un nuovo contributo alla storia dell'umanesimo ligure,' *Società ligure di storia patria* 24 (1892) 129-84, 275-83. P. O. Kristeller, 'The humanist Bartolomeo Facio and his unknown correspondence,' in *From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation, Essays in Honor of Garrett Mattingly*, ed. C. H. Carter, New York 1965, 56-74; U. Mazzini, 'Appunti e notizie per servire alla bio-bibliografia di Bartolomeo Facio,' *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria* IV (1903) 400-454; R. Sabbadini, 'Bartolomeo Facio scolaro a Verona, maestro a Venezia' in *Scritti storici in memoria di Giovanni Monticolo*, Padua (ca. 1922), 27-36.

*Biography:*

Jacobus Curlus (Curulus) Ianuensis. Curlo was born ca. 1400 in Genoa or its territory, for he calls himself Genoese. Little is

known of his early years: he copied manuscripts for Cosimo de' Medici in Florence in 1423 and in Rome in 1425, and another in Milan in 1428. In 1428 he planned to go to Cyprus, though nothing is heard of his journey. In 1441 he was sent by the Doge of Genoa to the Queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, in 1445 he was *scriptor* to Alfonso of Aragon, King of Naples. Thereafter he filled positions of responsibility for both Genoa and Naples: in 1446 he was Genoese legate to Florence, and in 1448 and 1450 he was sent by the republic to Francesco Sforza in Milan. In June 1451 he was in Naples, but preparing to go to Genoa. He transcribed manuscripts in Naples between 1455 and 1459. After Alfonso's death in 1458 we find him in Venice (see the letter quoted by Mittarelli). His last dated work was a Latin poem celebrating the victory of the Genoese Paolo Campofregoso over the French in 1461. Presumably he died not long thereafter.

He studied with Cassarino, who dedicated to him his translation of the *Apophthegmata Laconica* of Plutarch. Bartolomeo Facio and Antonio Panormita were his close friends.

His chief work appears to have been that of a copyist (see mss. listed by Ullman and De Marinis). Other items are the Latin poem mentioned above, a rewriting in vocabulary form of the epitome of Donatus' commentary on Terence, and the translation of Arrian.

*Bibl.*: T. De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei Re d'Aragona* I (Milan 1952) 13-15; G. B. Mittarelli, *Bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiarum prope Murianum* (Venice 1779) cols. 295-300; B. L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Rome 1960) 96-98 with his supplementary article, 'More Humanistic Manuscripts' in *Calligraphy and Palaeography, Essays presented to Alfred Fairbank* (London 1965) 49-50, and the review by P. O. Kristeller, *Manuscripta* 5 (1961) 35-40, esp. 37-38.

## 4. CAROLUS VALGULIUS.

The translation had been begun, and perhaps finished, before April, 1507, as we

learn from his statement in his "Prooemium in Musicam Plutarchi ad Titum Pyrrhium" (published April 1, 1507 at Brescia): "Arrianus in rebus Alexandri quem nos in latinum sermonem vertimus." It first appears complete in a pre-publication copy, dedicated to Bartolomeo Liviano d'Alviano, a condottiere for Venice, in or shortly before April 1508. Various corrections were made in the official printing, containing a new gathering, which can be dated between July 13, 1508, when d'Alviano was made governor general of the Venetian armies, and May 14, 1509 when he was taken prisoner by the French. The extra gathering includes a second title page with the words "Ad Bartholomeum Livianum, Buclani ducem, felicissimi exercitus Venetorum gubernatorem generalem" as well as letters of Valgulus and the humanist Ianus Parrhasius to Antonius Moretus, the publisher, the first concerning misprints, the second a testimonial to the high quality of the translation.

*Prooemium* (A 1<sup>v</sup>) Charoli Valgulii Brixiani Proemium in Arrianum Rerum Alexandri Macedonis Scriptorem. [*Inc.*]: Quantum spe atque opinione falluntur homines suaque eos frustrant consilia qui divino illi oraculo non parent quo monemur ne hominibus fidamus. . . . Bartholomeo autem Liviano Duci Buclani artis militaris peritissimo viro et consilio atque virtute praestantissimo quia nominis Alexandri praecipue cultor est eiusque vestigia si praesidia adessent aemulaturus hanc historiam dedico. . . . [*Expl.*]: quos inscripsit sermones familiares Epicteti, quosque nos et ipsos vertimus, T. Livium quoad possumus imitati in secessibus philosophiae vacantes quietam atque tranquillam vitam procul ambitione ducentes.

*Valgulo's letter to Moretus* (A 5): Charolus Valgulus Antonio Moreto salutem. Antoni Morete salve. Tandem ultimum quinterionem Arriani a famulo tuo habui, sed postquam venales proscripsisti libros velut absolutos. Accipe infrascriptos errores proponendos: aliquos praetermisi, quia si quis suoapte ingenio non est intellecturus nec recte scripta intelliget nec dignus erit qui librum legat. Tu melius eos dispones. Vale.

Brixiae xi. Aprilis. (There follows a list of errors).

*Parrhasius' letter to Moretus* (A 6): Ianus Parrhasius Antonio Moreto salutem. Audio, mi Morete, ex officina tua exisse Arrhianum. Si ita est, libet affirmare excultum tersumque esse et te dignum. Novi ingenium elegantiamque in auctorum delectu tuam. Nihil in publicum das nisi ad amussim factum. Quare miro quodam desiderio quom teneat operis inspiciendi abs te peto, ut huic ad me des unum. Ipse tibi quodcumque pretium dixeris a me numerabit. Ego vero siquid est his quod efficere pro tuo tuorumque commodo possim, polliceor operam meam quantulamcumque. Vale. Veicetiae. xv. Kalendas Maii.

*Anabasis. [Inc.]*: Res gestas Alexandri Philippi filii quascumque Ptolemaeus Lagi et Aristobulus Aristobuli consentientes perscripserunt tamquam ex vero haustas et usquequaque certas sum scripturus. . . . [*Expl.*]: tum hominum etiam utilitatis causa. Pro quibus haudquaquam sine divino instinctu ad hos commentarios perscribendos ipse quoque accessi.

*Indica*: Arriani Indici Commentarii Interprete Charolo Valgulio Brixiano. [*Inc.*]: Trans Indum flumen quae pars occasum spectat ad Cophenum usque amnem ab Astacenis Assacenisque Indicis gentibus incolitur. . . . [*Expl.*]: Ultra silphium deserta atque harena obtinent. Hic quoque commentarius qui et ipse ad Alexandrum Philippi filium spectat mihi perscriptus esto.

*Bibl.*: Lloyd W. Daly, "Charolus Valgulus' Latin Version of Arrian's 'Anabasis'," *The Library Chronicle* 17 (1951) 83-89; T. M.-T. Guarnaschelli, *Bibliofilia* 51 (1949) 94; A. Moricca-Caputi, "Appunti su alcuni incunaboli Casanatensi," in *Studi di bibliografia e di argomento romano in memoria di Luigi de Gregori* (Roma 1949) 307-309.

*Greek source*:

Valgulo is known to have twice borrowed Vat. gr. 325 (P), containing among other things the *Anabasis* and the *Indica*: on June 24, 1494 (returned Oct. 7) and on Sept. 27, 1498 (no date of return marked). See Maria Bertóla, *I due primi registri di prestito della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (cod. Vat.*

lat. 3964, 3966) (Vatican City 1942) 56-57. However, at *Anab.* 3.13.3 Valgulio is closest to a unique reading of Vind. hist. gr. 111 (Q). Since Q is very similar to P, and was copied at the end of s. XV (one watermark is Briquet 3677, in use at Lucca 1482-1498), it may have been copied from P for Valgulio. In any case, Valgulio supplemented P (or Q) with other manuscripts, since he divides Books VI and VII of the *Anabasis* and gives a separate title to the *Indica*, whereas they do not. He could have used Vat. gr. 143 (F), already present in the Vatican inventory of 1475, #99 (see R. Devreesse, *Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V* [Studi e Testi 244, Vatican City 1965] p. 49). Valgulio also seems to have used other Vatican manuscripts for his translations: the text of Epictetus is present in Vat. gr. 325 and he borrowed a copy of Cleomedes from the Vatican May 4, 1483.

*Manuscripts:*

None are known. Probably only the author's copy ever existed.

*Editions:*

[1508] Venice: [Bernardinus de Vitalibus]. It has sometimes been thought to be an incunabulum: cf. Hain 1811, Reich. II, #406, *GW* II, 704. The printer is uncertain, but the type is that of de Vitalibus, and the work frequently appears with other volumes printed by him. Since the volume is rather rare, I will supplement the list of copies given by Daly: Brera (Milan) 2 copies: AB.XIV.8, bound with Philostratus' *De vita Apolloni Tyanei* (Venice 1502) and AP.XX.18, bound with Caesar's *Commentaria* (Venice 1499) and Merula's *Historia Vicecomitum* (n.p., n.d.). Biblioteca Colombina (Seville): see Simon De la Rosa y Lopez, *Biblioteca Columbina: Catalogo de sus libros impresos* (Sevilla 1888) I, 158-159. Biblioteca Vaticana, ex / Inc / II.648.

*Biography:*

Carolus Valgulius (Carolo Valgulio) was born in the mid-fifteenth century in Brescia, and died there Jan. 17, 1517. He first appears as the recipient of a Greek epigram from Politian in 1472. He seems to have been on good terms with the humanists in Florence, and is warmly mentioned by

Marsilio Ficino in letters of the mid 70's. In 1481-85 he was in Rome using the Vatican library. There he served as secretary first to the Apostolic Treasurer, Falco Sinibaldi, then to Cesare Borgia, to whose fortunes he seems to have been tied for a period. From 1497 on he published his translations in his native Brescia. Valgulio fought on the side of Venice in the battles of 1508, serving under Bartolomeo d'Alviano, to whom he dedicated the *Anabasis*.

*Works:* Valgulio translated Plutarch's *De virtute morali*, *De tuenda sanitate*, *Praecepta coniugalia*, *Praecepta rei publicae gerendae*, and *De musica* (the last with an introduction and commentary), Cleomedes' *De contemplatione orbium excelsorum*, and speeches of Dio Chrysostom and Aristides. According to the dedicatory letter to the *Anabasis*, he also translated Epictetus, but no trace of this translation has survived. Besides the commentary to *De musica* and various letters, his only known original works are a pamphlet supporting the Brescian sumptuary laws on funerals, and another *Contra vituperatores musicae*.

*Bibl.:* P. O. Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum* (Florence 1937) I, 114-115; A. Valentini, *Carlo Valgulio letterato bresciano del XV secolo* (Brescia 1903); A. Zanelli, *Archivio storico lombardo* ser. IV, fasc. I (1904) 125-133 (a review article on Valentini). The indices to Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* bring to light many mss. of Valgulio's works hitherto unknown.

## 5. FRANCISCUS PORTUS

Portus translated six speeches from Arrian's *Anabasis* for a collection of speeches from Latin and Greek historians published by H. Stephanus (Estienne) at Paris in 1570. There is no dedicatory letter or other statement concerning the translation, but the version of each speech is preceded by the statement, "Eadem latine, Francisco Porto interprete." They appear to have been made at the request of Stephanus only shortly before the publication of the collection. The speeches are 1) Alexander to his troops before Tyre, 2.17; 2) Acuphis to Alexander on the history of Nysa, 5.1.5-6;

3) Alexander to his generals at the Hyphasis, 5.25.3-26.8; 4) Coenus to Alexander on the same occasion, 5.27.2-9; 5) Alexander's speech to his mutinous troops at Opis, 7.9-10; 6) Callines' reproach and Alexander's reply, 7.11.6-7.

*Translation.* [*Inc.*]: *Anab.* 2.17.1: Equidem non video nobis, amici atque socii, tutum esse iter in Aegyptum, Persis imperium maris obtinentibus. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: *Anab.* 7.11.7: *Quibus verbis exceptis, Alexander, Ego vero vos, inquit, omnes facio meos cognatos, atque hinc deinde cognatos appellabo.*

*Edition:*

1570, Paris: H. Stephanus (Gr.-Lat.) Excerpts from the *Anabasis* in *Conciones, sive orationes ex graecis latinisque historicis excerptae*, ed. H. Stephanus, pp. 266-273. BM, BN, Brunet II, 212; Fab. *BG* V, 97. A.A. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Estienne*<sup>2</sup> (Paris 1843) I, 133-34. Copy in RPB.

*Biography:*

See above, vol. II, 198.

## 6. BONAVENTURA VULCANIUS

Vulcanius made a thorough revision of the Facio-Curlo translation in Geneva at the request of the printer Henricus Stephanus (Estienne). In his dedicatory letter, dated August 1, 1575, he states that he had first intended merely to polish the old translation, but that its innumerable faults forced him to rewrite it completely. He calls it a seven-month's labor, and says that he used the 1539 Basel edition of Gerbelius and an old and mutilated manuscript of the Greek text given him by Stephanus. A draft of part of the translation bears the date March 17, 1575 (see below, *Manuscript*).

*Dedication.* Domino Thomae Redigero Silesio Bonaventura Vulcanius Brugensis S. P. D. [*Inc.*]: Quanta sit historiae utilitas, domine Redigere, ad omnes humanae vitae actiones recte instituendas. . . Ex quo quidem meo erga Alexandrum vere magnum studio factum est, ut nuper, post meum a dubiis Ubiis [i.e. Cologne] discessum, ab Henr. Stephano. . . postulante a me ut Arriani De Expeditione Alexandri historiam

recognoscendam susciperem, facile induci passus sim. . . . Accepto itaque ab Henrico Stephano codice manuscripto, eoque pervertusto, sed aliquot chartis mutilo. . . totum me magna animi alacritate ad Arrianum contuli. Quumque vetustum codicem cum eo qui Basileae olim graece Gerbelli opera editus fuit conferrem, summamque lectionis discrepantiam offenderem, coepi etiam quid Bartholomaeus Facius, qui illum Latine olim vertit, praestitisset explorare: quumque in ipso statim limine et primis aliquot paginis magnam varietatem invenissem, facile non ex ungue (quod aiunt) leonem, sed ex auriculis asinum agnovi, nihilque totius triennii quod huic auctori vertendo impendit labore dignum. Ita passim quamplurima de suo addit, quamplurima summa quadam confidentia demit, temere innumera pulcherrime ab Arriano dicta truncat, conciseque transfert, in aliis sexcentis locis a se non intellectis turpissime labitur, ut alibi Arriani paraphrasim, alibi epitomen te legere putes, alibi ipsum Arrianum non agnoscas. [Vulcanius goes on to state at some length that it was therefore necessary for him to retranslate the whole work. His method of working with the manuscripts he describes as follows:] Quantus vero veteris codicis usus fuerit quem ab Henrico Stephano accepi (Constantinopoli ad eum una cum quibusdam Aristotelis aliorumque Graecorum scriptorum libris missum) ad Arriani inveterata vulnera curandum, ex pauculis aliquot eis que selectoribus locis quos huic epistolae subiungam constabit. Leviora enim errata quae illius manuscripti exemplaris ope restitui, tot propemodum fuerunt, quot sunt periodi. Nonnulli tamen loci, de quorum integritate vehementer dubito, incurati a me sunt relictis, quod exemplar manuscriptum multis locis (ut dixi) mutilum fuerit, et ego nudis meis coniecturis niti noluerim neque id religiosa Henr. Stephani diligentia permissura fuerit. . . . [*Expl.*]: quod quidem, si tibi (ut confido) non ingratum fuisse intellexero, magnum me operae pretium fecisse iudicabo. Deus Optimus Maximus te reipublicae literariae diu servet incolumem. Ex musaeo meo. Anno MDLXXV. Kal. Aug. [Aug. 1, 1575].

*Translation of Anabasis. [Inc.]*: Ptolemaeus Lagi et Aristobulus Aristobuli filius quaecumque de Alexandro Philippi filio scribentes eadem ambo commemorant, ea tamquam verissima conscribam. ./. . .

*[Expl.]*: Facta vero nonnulla improbavi et veritatis meae et publicae utilitatis causa, in cuius gratiam huius historiae descriptionem, non absque numine etiam, aggressus sum.

*Translation of Indica. [Inc.]*: Quae extra Indum amnem occidentem versus sunt regiones ad Cophenem fluvium usque, Astaceni atque Assaceni, Indicae gentes, incolunt. ./. . .*[Expl.]* Ulteriora eius loca deserta altisque arenis obruta sunt. Atque hic qui (sic) quidem liber seorsim a me conscriptus sit etiam ipse ad Alexandrum Philippi filium Macedonem pertinens.

*Greek source :*

Vulcanius used for the text the 1539 edition of Gerbelius and a manuscript "pervetustum sed aliquot chartis mutilum" procured by Stephanus from Constantinople. Frequent allusions are made to this manuscript in his correspondence in 1575. Vulcanius saw the Augsburg manuscript (now in Munich, gr. 451) only after his translation had been published, as we learn from his correspondence. See Jean-Baptiste Heinzl's letter to Vulcanius and his reply, *Correspondance* p. 354, no. CLXXII and p. 180, no. LXXIX; and the notes dated 1576 in Munich gr. 451, inside the front cover and on f. 275<sup>v</sup>.

*Manuscript :*

(\*) Leyden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, cod. Vulcanianus 36, A.D. 1575. A collection of notes made by Vulcanius. Fols. 54-58 contain a draft of *Anabasis* I, Praef. and cc. 1-6, dated by Vulcanius "Gen[evae] 17 Martii 1575 coepta." See *Bibliothecae Universitatis Leidensis Codices Manuscripti I: Codices Vulcaniani* (Leyden 1910) 15.

*Editions :*

1575, [Genevae]: Henricus Stephanus (*Index Aurelianus* 109.037). (Gr.-Lat.; with other works on Alexander). NUC, BM, BN, A.A. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Estienne*<sup>2</sup> (Paris 1843) I, 142.

1668, Amstelodami (Amsterdam): Joannes Janssonius a Waeberge and the widow of

Elizaeus Weyerstraet. (Gr.-Lat., with commentary by Nicolaus Blancardus; Vulcanius' translation emended by Blancardus). NUC, BM, BN, Fab. BG V, 97.

(\*) 1698, Oxoniae (Oxford): Sheldonian Theatre. (The voyage of Nearchus, taken from the *Indica*. Gr.-Lat., with commentary by the editor. In vol. I of *Geographiae veteris scriptores graeci minores*, ed. John Hudson). BM, BN, Fab. BG V, 100.

1704, Lugduni Batavorum (Leyden): Petrus van der Aa (Gr.-Lat.; translation revised by the editor, Iacobus Gronovius). NUC, BM, BN, Fab. BG V, 97.

(\*) 1757 Amstelodami (Amsterdam): Wetsten. (Gr.-Lat.) NUC, BM, BN, Brunet I, 497.

(\*) 1798 Halis Magdeburgicis (Halle): Gebauer. (*Indica* only. Gr.-Lat.) NUC, BM, BN. 1846, Paris: F. Didot (Gr.-Lat. In *Arriani Anabasis et Indica*, together with fragments of other Alexander-historians). NUC, BM, BN.

1855 Paris: F. Didot. (*Indica* only. Gr.-Lat.) In *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. Karl Müller, I, 306-369.) BM, BN.

1865, Paris: F. Didot (reprint of 1846 edition.) NUC.

1877, Paris: F. Didot (reprint of 1846 edition) NUC.

*Biography :*

Bonaventure de Smet (Bonaventura Vulcanius) was born in Bruges on June 30, 1538. His father Peter was a friend of Erasmus and a lawyer in Bruges. As a youth Vulcanius studied at Ghent with J. Otho, but in 1554 he went to Louvain, where he studied under Petrus Nannius and others. A brief sojourn in Cologne in 1559 preceded his departure for Spain, where he held the position of secretary and librarian first for Francisco a Mendoza, archbishop of Burgos, then for Mendoza's brother Ferdinand, archdeacon of Toledo, until the latter died in 1570. After a brief stay in the Low Countries, he was named in 1573 professor of Greek at Cologne, but he was forced to resign the following year, after offending the influential Gilbert Regius. In September 1574, Vulcanius went to Geneva, attracted by the fame of Theodorus de Beza and the promise of work with the celebrated publisher Stephanus. He soon moved to the



more congenial atmosphere of Basel, where he remained until his return to the Low Countries in 1577. A period as secretary to Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde intervened before he assumed the position of professor of Greek at Leyden in 1581, three years after his nomination to the post. He died in Leyden on October 9, 1614 at the age of seventy-six. His large collection of manuscripts was acquired by the Library of the University of Leyden.

The translation of Arrian is his first published work. He devoted himself chiefly to editing and translating Greek works, preparing first editions of Agathias, *De imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani* (1594) and Nilus, *De primatu papae Romani* (1595), and editions of such works as Iordanes, Isidore's *Chronicon Gothorum* and Procopius, as well as a treatise *De literis et lingua Gothorum* (1597). Unpublished Latin translations of Cyril and others are preserved in manuscripts at Leyden.

His *Album amicorum*, a collection of signatures of his friends (*Correspondance* pp. 495-498) attests a wide circle of acquaintances among scholars in Switzerland and the Low Countries.

*Bibl.*: *Biographie Nationale de Belgique V* (Bruxelles 1876) 753-759, s.v. De Smet (Bonaventure), by J. Roulez; *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek X* (Leyden 1937) 1143-1145, by van ter Horst.

*Correspondance de Bonaventura Vulcanius pendant son séjour à Cologne, Genève et Bâle (1573-1577)* ed. H. de Vries de Heekelingen (The Hague 1923), esp. pp. 5-12; Alphonse Roersch, review of *Correspondance*, in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 4 (1925) 531-534; idem, "L'Album Amicorum de Bonaventure Vulcanius" *Revue du Seizième Siècle* 14 (1927) 61-76; Grypdonck, M., "Een brief van Vulcanius aan Marnix van St. Aldegonde in verband met Jacob v. Marnix," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 18 (1939) 492-98.

## II. *Periplus Ponti Euxini*

Editio Princeps: 1533, Basileae (Basel): Froben, ed. S. Gelenius. In *Arriani et Hannonis Periplus*, etc., pp. 1-16.

Critical Editions: *Flavius Arrianus II: Scripta Minora*, ed. A. G. Roos (Leipzig, Teubner, 1928), 103-128, corrected stereotype ed. by G. Wirth, Leipzig 1968.

Arriano: *Periplo del Ponto Eusino*, ed. G. Marengi (Napoli, Libreria Scientifica Editrice, 1958)

A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (n.p. 1952) provides an indispensable account of the manuscripts and editions of this work and of III. *Periplus Maris Erythraei*.

## TRANSLATIONS

### 1. ADRIANUS TURNEBUS

This translation appears in the edition of Turnebus' collected works published in 1600. There is no preface or other indication of authorship, nor any information on the time or place of the translation. Turnebus died in 1565.

*Translation. [Inc.]*: Trapezuntem venimus urbem Graecam, ut Xenophon ille dicit, maritimam, Sinopensium coloniam. Ac Pontum quidem Euxinum libenter illinc unde tu et Xenophon aspeximus. . ./. . .[*Expl.*]: inde ad portum Daphnes cognomento furiosae 40. A Daphne Byzantium 80. Haec etiam itineris summa est a Bosphoro Cimmerio ad Bosphorum Thracium, et urbem Byzantium.

#### *Manuscript*:

Vat. Barb. gr. 196. Ff. 42-57 contain the *Periplus*, interleaved with Turnebus' Latin translation, much corrected by Lucas Holstenius. See Diller, *The Tradition*. . ., p. 57, Z 58. S. De Ricci, in 'Liste sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliotheca Barberina', *Revue des Bibliothèques* 17 (1907) 97.

#### *Editions*:

1600, Argentorati (Strassburg): Lazarus Zetzner. In *Adriani Turnebi regii quondam Lutetiae professoris opera nunc primum ex bibl. Stephani Adriani f. Turnebi senatoris regii in unum collecta, emendata aucta et tributa in tomos III*, vol. II, 146-149. BM, BN, Diller, *The Tradition*. . ., p. 49, Z 11.

#### *Biography*:

See above vol. I, 150, and vol. II, 15.

## 2. IOHANNES GUILIELMUS STUCKIUS

The translation was probably completed at Zurich shortly before its publication in 1577. It no doubt was influenced by the Italian translation of G. B. Ramusio, mentioned in the dedicatory letter. Ramusio in the second volume of his *Le navigationi et viaggi*, Venice 1559 (reprinted in 1574 and 1583), ff. 137v-140r printed an Italian translation without commentary of Arrian's *Periplus*, under the title "La lettera che mandò Arriano all' Imperadore Adriano nella qual racconta ciò che si truova navigando d'intorno al Mar Maggiore."

*Dedicatory letter* : . . . Ioanni a Schellemburg, filio illustrissimi viri Gebharti a Schellemburg, Domini in Randek Stauffen et Huffingen. . . [Inc.] : Praeclarum atque eximium Dei donum, Ioannes Schellemburgi vir ornatissime. . . / . . . Quam [scil. peregrinationem Arriani] equidem D. Josia Simlero praeceptore, compatre atque collega meo observando authore atque suasore, ut Latine. . . redderem, cum adhuc non nisi Italice, quod sciam, a doctissimo viro Rhamnusio fuerit conversa, facile in animum meum induxi. . . / . . . [Expl.] : Vale nobilissime ornatissimeque domine, ac parentibus tuis honorandis oro quaesoque honorificentissimam meo nomine salutem dicas. Datae Tiguri. Cal. Martiis MDLXXVII [March 1, 1577].

*Translation*. [Inc.] : Trapezuntem pervenimus, urbem, ut Xenophon ille inquit, Graecam, in mari sitam, Sinopensium coloniam. Ac ipsum quidem mare Euxinum. . . / . . . [Expl.] A Daphne Byzantium usque, octaginta. Atque haec sese offerunt in navigatione illa quae est a Bosporo Cimmerico ad Bosporum Thracium ipsamque urbem Byzantium.

*Editions* :

1577, Genevae (Geneva) : Eustathius Vignon (*Index Aureliensis* 109.038). (Gr.-Lat., with comm., is part I, *Periplus Maris Erythraei* forms part II.) NUC ; BM ; BN ; Brunet I, 497 ; Fab. *BG* V, 101. Diller, *The Tradition*. . . , p. 49, Z 16.

1577, Lugduni (Lyons) : Bartholomaeus Vincentius (identical with preceding, except for title page.) (*Index Aureliensis* 109.039)

Brunet I, 497 ; Fab. *BG* V, 101. NUC, BM, BN.

1683, Amstelodami (Amsterdam) : Janssonius a Waesberge (Gr.-Lat., edited with other minor works of Arrian by Nicolaus Blancardus, 113-137). NUC, BM, BN, Brunet I, 496. Fab. *BG* V, 103, Diller, *The Tradition*. . . , p. 64, Z 92.

(\*) 1698, Oxford : Sheldonian Theatre. (Gr.-Lat., in *Geographiae veteris scriptores Graeci minores*, ed. J. Hudson). BM, BN, Diller, *The Tradition*. . . , p. 65, Z 96.

1750, Amsterdam and Leipzig : apud Arksteum et Merkmum. (Reprint of 1683 edition). BM, BN.

(\*) 1831, Paris : ex typographia regia (Gr.-Lat., in *Geographi Graeci minores*, III ed. J. F. Gail, pp. 43-85.) Brunet II, 1538 ; BM ; BN, Diller, *The Tradition*. . . , p. 74, Z 158.

(\*) 1842, Lipsiae (Leipzig) : C. L. Fritzsche. (Gr.-Lat., in *Arriani periplus Ponti Euxini*, etc. ed. S. F. G. Hoffmann, pp. 35-99.) NUC, BM, BN, Diller, *The Tradition*. . . , p. 77, Z 197.

1846, Paris : F. Didot. (Gr.-Lat., in *Arriani Anabasis et Indica*, ed. Fr. Dübner, *Reliqua Arriani*, ed. C. Müller, pp. 254-265.) NUC., BM, BN, Diller, *The Tradition*. . . , p. 81, Z 228.

1855, Paris : F. Didot. (Gr.-Lat., in *Geographi Graeci minores*, ed. C. Müller, I, 370-401.) BM, BN, Diller, *The Tradition*. . . , p. 81, Z 231.

*Biography* :

Johannes Guilelmus Stuckius (Johann Wilhelm Stucki) was born on May 21, 1542 at Töss in Switzerland. He studied successively at Zurich, Lausanne, Strasbourg, and Paris. He entered fully into the humanistic life of Paris, besides becoming involved in the religious controversies there, serving as interpreter for Pietro Vermigli (Peter Martyr) at the debate at Poissy (Sept. 1561). In 1564 he was at the University of Tübingen, in 1567-68 on a trip to Italy. On his return he became professor (1568-71) at Zurich at the *Collegium Carolinum* founded by Zwingli. In 1571 he became professor of Old Testament theology at Zurich, a post which he held until his death Sept. 3, 1607. In religious matters Stuckius was a Calvinist.

Among his works the most important are the *Antiquitatum convivialium libri III* (a discussion of customs and rites among the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, and other nations, 1582), the *Sacrorum sacrificiorum-que gentilium brevis et accurata descriptio* (1598), and his translations and commentaries to the *Periplus Ponti Euxini* and *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. See also Jöcher, and Zedler, *Universallexikon* 40, 1183-84.

*Bibl.*: *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* 36 (Leipzig 1893) 717-720; Jöcher 4 (Leipzig 1751) 904; *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse* 6 (Neuchâtel 1932) 392.

## COMMENTARY

## a. IOHANNES GUILIELMUS STUCKIUS

The commentary was probably completed with the translation, shortly before their publication in 1577.

*Commentary.* Io. Guilielmi Stuckii Scholia in Periplusum Ponti Euxini. [*Inc.*]: Arriani haec ad Adrianum Imperatorem epistola graeca brevis licet admodum sit atque exigua, tamen historica plane est atque philosophica...[*Expl.*]: In eadem Daphne reliquiae S. Martyris Babylae repositae quibus Iulianus cum oraculi Apollinei silentium tribueret, eas inde amoveri iussit, unde illud incendium consecutum.

*Editions, Biogr., Bibl.* See above under II.2.

The commentary appeared only in the editions of 1577.

- III. *Dissertationes Epicteti ab Arriano digestae.* See the article on Epictetus, to be published in a later volume.
- IV. *Encheiridion Epicteti.* See the article on Epictetus, as above.
- V. *Cyneticus*: no translations or commentaries before 1600.
- VI. *Ars Tactica*: no translations or commentaries before 1600.
- VII. *Acies contra Alanos*: no translations or commentaries before 1600.

## SPURIOUS WORK

VIII. *Periplus Maris Erythraei.*  
*Editio Princeps*: 1533, Basileae (Basel):

Froben. ed. S. Gelenius. In *Arriani et Hannonis Periplus*, etc. pp. 16-38. (*Index Auliensis* 109.024. The reference to an edition of 1523 in BN = 109.023 seems an error.)

*Critical Edition*: In A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (n.p., 1952) 118-138. With commentary and analysis of the tradition, editions, and earlier studies.

## TRANSLATION

## 1. IOHANNES GUILIELMUS STUCKIUS

The translation, together with the accompanying commentary, probably was completed at Zurich shortly before their publication in 1577. Giovanni Battista Ramusio had published an Italian translation of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* in the first volume of his *Le navigationi et viaggi*, Venice 1550 (second edition in 1554, reprinted in 1563, etc.), preceded by a "Discorso sopra la navigatione del Mar Rosso fino all' India orientale scritta per Arriano" which served as commentary. Ramusio had argued against the work's ascription to Arrian.

*Dedicatory letter*: . . . Domino Hieronymo Manuelli Amplissimae Reipublicae Bernensis Quaestori. . . [*Inc.*] Quum universa haec rerum natura, atque machina, quae ob admirabilem suam potius quam explicabilem speciem, ordinem. . . . Horum autem fere omnium cum egregius sane testis sit maris Erythraei Periplus, Graece. . . ab Arriano. . . conscriptus: facile in animum induxi meum, ut illum abhinc aliquot annis Rhamnusii. . . versione atque annotatiunculis Italicis illustratum, in Latinum sermonem converterem, scholiisque paulo uberioribus explicarem. Graecum exemplar Basileae anno MDXXXIII a Frobenio typis excusum, quod mihi venerandus meus affinis D. D. Volffius ex Gesneri, quam possidet, uberima bibliotheca depromptum communicavit, multis in locis mancum est, et mutilum, plurimisque mendis deformatum. Itaque ut Rhamnusio, quemadmodum ipsemet conqueritur, ita mihi quoque vel manuscripti vel emendationis alicuius exemplaris, ex quo et lacunas illas supplere et menda

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corrigere possem, facultas defuit. Nihil tamen praetermisi operae quo loca quaedam corrupta pro ingenii mei tenuitate emendarem. Est enim (ut ille inquit) aliquid prodire tenus, si non datur ultra. ./. . . [Expl.] Vale. Deus Optimus Maximus te Reipublicae tuae cui natus es, nobisque omnibus quam diutissime saluum incolumemque conservet. Datum Tiguri Calendis Martiis MDLXXVII (Zurich, March 1, 1577).

*Translation.* [Inc.]: Inter insignes, celebresque maris Erythraei portus et emporia primus est Aegypti portus *μὲν δὲ ὄρμος*, id est muris portus appellatus. ./. . . [Expl.]: Regiones autem, quae loca ista sequuntur, sive quod propter saevas tempestates, maximaque frigora, difficilimi sunt accessus, sive etiam deorum quadam virtute atque potentia, non potuerunt adhuc investigari.

*Greek source:*

The 1533 Basel edition, as stated in the dedicatory letter.

*Editions:*

Since the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* has always been printed with Arrian's *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, only short references are given. See the complete indications under II.2.

1577, Genevae et Lugduni. part II.

1683, Amstelodami. pp. 143-179.

(\*) 1698, Oxford.

1855, Paris. I, 257-305.

*Biography:*

See above II.2.

COMMENTARY

a. IOHANNES GUILIELMUS STUCKIUS

The commentary was probably completed with the translation, shortly before their publication in 1577. It appears to use the commentary of Ramusio mentioned in VIII.1 above.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: *Arriani*. Inscriptio opusculi duo continet, subiectum et auctorem. Quoad subiectum illud dicitur *periplus* (de quo nomine in Ponto Euxino dictum est) hoc est, navigatio sive lustratio maris Erythraei. ./. . . [Expl.] *Malabathrum*, quod alii *pernegant*, alii de eo dubitant. Mihi quidem *Betrum Malabathri* quaedam species videtur esse.

*Editions, Biogr., Bibl.:* See above VIII.1 and II.2.

The commentary appeared only in the editions of 1577.