PRISCIANUS LYDUS

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Fortuna*

Priscianus Lydus was probably a student of Damascius, who was teaching at Athens until both were expelled by the Edict of Justinian (529) forbidding the further teaching of pagan philosophy in Athens. Upon leaving Athens Priscianus went, along with a number of other philosophers including Damascius and Simplicius, to the court of King Chosroes I of Persia (see Agathias, Historiae II, 30; compare with Suda s.v. Πολέμας). When Chosroes concluded a peace treaty with Justinian in 533, the latter allowed the philosophers to return to Athens. Apart from these facts we have little precise information about Priscianus, his life and activities.

* I am most grateful to F. E. Cranz, H. B. Gottschalk, E. Jeanneau, P. O. Kristeller, and F. W. Zimmerman for a number of helpful suggestions which greatly aided me in the preparation of this article.

There are only two works of Priscianus which are known: a Metaphrasis in Theophrastum and a work entitled Solutiones eorum de quibus dubitavit Chosroes Persarum Rex, which survives only in a Latin translation. Both of these works show the same eclectic character as others deriving from the Athenian School. The Metaphrasis, in addition to containing some genuine Theophrastan doctrine, also incorporates a good deal of material from other sources, especially Neoplatonic ones. The Solutiones contain information derived from Aristotle, Theophrastus, Posidonius, Strabo, Albinus, Iamblichus, Proclus and others. Though presumably Priscianus Lydus wrote other works, all trace of them seems to have been lost. A tradition going back at least to the eleventh century indicates that Joannes Philoponus wrote a work against Priscianus (see the excerpt from an eleventh-century Byzantine ms. [Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Coislin 387, fol. 154], which besides mentioning Priscianus, indicates that
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Philoponus "... κατὰ Πρισκιανοῦ ἡγομένου το...", cited in B. de Montfaucon, Bibliotheca Coisliniana olim Segueriana... Parisii, 1715, pp. 589-98, esp. 598. Cf. PW IX, 2 [1916], col. 1791).

The fortuna of Priscianus Lydus follows two completely different traditions, one for each of his extant works. The critical edition of 1886 brings these works together for the first time.

Fortuna of the Solutiones

All trace of the original text has been lost, but the work was translated into Latin sometime in the sixth or seventh century (for details see below II 1). From this translation all later influence seems to derive. Moreover, there is no indication that the work was known to non-Latin writers of the Middle Ages. The treatise apparently served as a compendium of information on certain aspects of natural philosophy, especially before the reintroduction of Aristotle's writings. The author has been often confused with the grammarian Priscianus Caesariensis, e.g. see C. Gesner, Bibliotheca universalis... (Zurich, 1574), 587, who attributes the Solutiones to the grammarian, but the Metaphrasis in Theophrastum to Priscianus Lydus.

The known fortuna seems to begin with a manuscript of the work made at the scriptorium of Corbie in the ninth century, a codex which later went to S. Germain. Another copy appears in the library of S. Amand in the middle of the twelfth century. During the thirteenth century the Solutiones gained in popularity. It served as a source for one of the Salernitan Quesiones phisicales, a collection which took shape in the early years of the century. In Vincent of Beauvais († 1264) the work was used extensively, particularly in the Speculum naturale, but also in the Speculum historiale. In the next century Walter Burley mentioned the work, attributing it to Priscianus Caesariensis, in his De vita et moribus philosophorum. It was also mentioned by Guglielmo da Pastrengo in his De originibus rerum. During the fifteenth century the work retained its popularity and new manuscript copies of it were made.

One, for example, was prepared for the Urbino library (now Urb. lat. 1412). Among the fifteenth-century authors who mentioned the work are Sicco Polenton and Johannes Trithemius. In commenting upon Trithemius' Liber de ecclesiasticis scriptoribus (by whom the work was attributed to the grammarian) J. A. Fabricius distinguished, perhaps for the first time in a modern scholarly work, between the two authors who go under the name of Priscianus. Fabricius' note (BE, p. 60) reads as follows: [Trithemius] qui Priscianum Lydum cum Caesariensi et Cosroêm secundum cum primo confundit. Nam Cosrois primi tempore in Persiam profectus Priscianus Lydus, teste Agathia lib. 2, p. 69. Sed utroque Cosroê antiquiorem constatuisse hunc Priscianum, qui non in Persia sed Constantinopolis docuit. After Fabricius, Priscianus' Solutiones seem to have been lost sight of until Quicherat rediscovered them in 1853.

Fortuna of the Metaphrasis

Though the work was presumably preserved in Byzantium during the Middle Ages, thus far no information has come to light regarding knowledge of it before Ficino. Only one of the extant mss. dates from before the fifteenth century. Marsilio Ficino gained access to a Greek manuscript of the work and translated it into Latin about 1488 (see below I 1), as well as referring to Priscianus' work several times in his Opera. The Neoplatonic and eclectic character of the Metaphrasis appealed to Ficino. Through his translation, the work became known to numerous sixteenth-century writers on psychology, including Teofilo Zimara and Simone Simoni. At the end of the century Francesco Piccolomini noted the strong doctrinal similarity between Priscianus' work and Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's De anima.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. MODERN EDITION OF PRISCIANUS LYDUS

Prisciani Lydi Quae extant: Metaphrasis in Theophrastum et Solutionum ad Chos-

II. GENERAL AND CRITICAL WORKS


III. PRISCIANUS LYDUS AND PERSIA


IV. THE FORTUNA OF THE SOLUTIONES


V. THE FORTUNA OF THE METAPHRASIS

P. O. Kristeller, Suplementum Ficinianum (Florence, 1937) esp. CXXVIII-CXXIX; R. Marcel, Marsile Ficin (1433-1499) (Paris, 1958) ad indicem; B. Nardi, Saggi sull’Aristotelismo padovano dal secolo XIV al XVI (Florence, 1958) ad indicem.

I. METAPHRASIS IN THEOPHRASTUM

Editio princeps: Theophrasti... Opera quae... adhuc res tant omnia... Basel: J. Oporinus, 1541, pp. 273-91. [It should be noted that, although this work is listed on the title page, it is not contained in the following edition: Questiones Alexandri Aphrodisiensis naturales... Prisciani Lydi Metaphrasis in libros de sensu et phantasia, ed. V. Trincavellus. Venice, 1536. For further details see above, vol. II, 275-76 and Bywater’s edition, p. VII].


The Metaphrasis in Theophrastum is divided into two parts: De sensu and De phantasia. Since the second part also contains a section on the intellect, it is sometimes given the title (as in the translation of Ficinus) of De phantasia et intellectu. The Metaphrasis is apparently based upon Books IV and V of Theophrastus’ Physica in Eight Books (mentioned, e.g. by Diogenes Laertius; for evidence see E. Barbo-
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tin, La th\'eorie aristotelicienne de l'intellect d'apr\'es Th\'eophraste, Louvain-Paris, 1954, 52-57). Although entitled Metaphrasis, the work is by no means a straightforward exposition of Theophrastus' work, but, owing to Priscianus' syncretic tendency, also contains a good deal of Neoplatonic material (e.g. from Iamblichus), in addition to fragments of genuine Theophrastan doctrine. This has been shown by Regenbogen (in PW Supplementband VII 1940, 1398 sq.), Zeller-Mondolfo (La filosofia dei Greci nel suo sviluppo storico, part II, vol. VI Firenze, 1966, 432-33) and Barbotin (op. cit.). It is, however, Barbotin's conclusion (op. cit., 56) that Priscianus very probably had direct access to Theophrastus' Physica and did not know it only through an intermediary source.

There is no indication that this work was known in Western Europe during the Middle Ages and it apparently reappeared only with Ficinus' translation (see below). The editors of Theophrastus' Opera have differed in their opinion on whether this work should be included as a legitimate work of Theophrastus. It is not contained in the Aldine editio princeps of Aristotle and Theophrastus (1495-98), nor in the important early seventeenth-century editions (1605, 1613), nor in Schneider's edition (1818-21). It is to be found in the Basel, 1541, edition of Theophrastus, as well as in Wimmer's standard Teubner edition (1854-62), though it is omitted from the latter editor's Didot edition (1866 etc.).

Translations

1. Marsilius Ficinus

Marsilius Ficinus translated Priscianus Lydus' Metaphrasis into Latin sometime between 1487 and 1489. It was already completed, however, by 6 January 1489, when Ficinus mentioned it in a letter to Franciscus Bandinus, to whom he had not written of his recent work since September, 1486 (See Ficinus, Opera, Basel, 1576, 895). For further information see P. O. Kristeller (ed.), Supplementum Ficinianum (Florence, 1937), CXXVIII-CXXIX and R. Marcel, Marsile Ficin (Paris, 1958), 487-94, the latter to be used with caution. According to Bywater, ed. cit., p. VIII, Ficino used a Greek ms. with a text similar to that found in the present ms. London, British Museum, Harl. 6299, but not that specific ms., which was written after Ficino's death.

Prefatory letter to Philippus Valor [The text printed here is based on a collation of the first edition (Venice, 1497) = V (fols. N vii) with ms. Wolfenbüttel, Landesbibliothek, 10 Aug. 4° = W (fols. 2-4). Minor variants have not been indicated, but 'ae' (of V) has been preferred to 'e' (of W). I am grateful to Dr. W. Milde for supplying a microfilm of the relevant section of the Wolfenbüttel ms.]

Marsilius Ficinus Florentinus Philippus Valori viro nobili atque magnanimo P.S.D. [W: nobili et magnanimo viro S.D.]. [Inc.]: Qui praecepta cognosce teipsum nos admonere videtur ut animam cognoscamus, quae quoniam est media [V: medicina] rerum, nimimum est et omnia. Hac itaque cognita facile sumus omnia cognituri. Ego igitur ut animam in primis assequerer, per quam consequatur omnium forem, ad philosophos non plebeos illos quidem, sed egregios iam diu studiose me contuli. Cum vero hinc quidem Platonicos, inde vero Peripateticos anxius percontanter eorumque responsa dissidere invicem viderentur, diffidebam ab initio me voti compotem unquam fore. Verum non multo post Themistius spem mihi praebuit optimam affirmans tantos inter se philosophos non sententia quidem dissentire [V: dissidere], sed verbi, eamdemque de anima Platonis, Aristotelis, Theophrasti sub diversis verbi esse sententiam. Incidi denique divina quadam sorte in librum Theophrasti de anima a Prisciano quodam Lydo breviter quidem, sed tamen diligenter expositum ea potissimum ratione, qua Plutarchus et Iamblichus, Platonici Peripateticique insignes, Aristotelici et de anima sententiam explicaverant. Cum igitur in his legendis Platonicos Peripateticosque esse concordes animadverterem, habui ferme tota quod mente petebam. Atque ut et caeteri quam primum habeant, librum hunc et Graeca lingua translitus in Latinam. Adiunximus praeterea

Priscianus Lydis, *Metaphrasis in Theophrastum*.

Part I, *De sensu*.

[Inc.]: (fol. Nq9) Theophrasti deinceps institutum est de sensu disserere, quoniam vero Aristoteles instrumenta sensuum a sensibilitibus mota...[Expl.]: (fol. q9r) sed pergamus ea deinceps, quae sequuntur, ab alio iam principio reliqua ad librum pertinentia tractaturi.

Part II, *De phantasia et intellectu*.

[Inc.]: (fol. q9v) Phantasiam de qua Theophrastus deinceps Aristoteles secutus agit, esse non alteram praeter sensum ex eius libris est confitendum...[Expl.]: (fol. S9r) Haec autem de intellectu quidem secundum actum accepto dicta fuisset non affirmarem. Ille enim non est potentia, nec unquam fieri potest.

*Manuscripts*:

Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, plut. 82, cod. 15, s. XV, fol. 148r-208r (Bandini, Catalogus, III, 197; Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum*, XII).

(*) Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, plut. 84, cod. 16, s. XV, fol. 68 sqq. (Bandini, Catalogus, III, 247; Kristeller, *Supplementum*, XIII).


(*) Praha, Státní knihovna ČSR (= Universitní knihovna), VI E f. 11, s. XV, written in Italy and from the Lobkowitz collection in Raudnice, pp. 89-218 (Communication of P. O. Kristeller; see E. Gollob “Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften in Oesterreich”, SB Vienna 146 [1903], no. 7 p. 136).

Wolfenbüttel, Landesbibliothek, 10 Aug. 4° (2994), s. XV. Deluxe, illuminated copy for King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary (Kristeller, *Supplementum*, II; Heinemann, VII, 161 sgg.).

*Editions*:


1516, Venice: In aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri. In reprint of the preceding, fol. 53r-74r. BM; BN, Renouard, Alde, 77-78.


*Biography*:

See vol. I, 139-40.

*Additions to Bibliography*:


2. Jacobi Dalechampius

Jacobus Dalechampius translated the *Metaphrasis*, along with the extant works
of Theophrastus, at Lyon about 1574-75. This seems to be the first time that a Latin translation of this work was included with the works of Theophrastus. In a marginal note to his translation, Dalechampius tells us: "Haec Prisciani commentaria vertit Ficinus, quod nescivi antequam interpre- tandem labor iam fere ad extremum processisset" (ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11, 857, fol. 305f). For further information on the date and circumstances of this translation see C. B. Schmitt, "Some Notes on Jacobus Dalechampius and His Translation of Theophrastus (Manuscript: BN. lat. 11, 857)", Gesnerus XXVI (1969), 36-53.

Priscianus Lydus, Metaphrasis in Theophrastum (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11, 857).

Part I: Prisciani philosophi Lydi eorum quae de sensu Theophrastus scriptit, enarra- tio sive metaphrasis.

[Inc.]: (fol. 292v) De sensu verba facere deinceps ei propositum est. Quoniam vero censuit Aristoteles sensuum instrumenta . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 304v) sed ad ea quae sequuntur deinceps iam transeamus, et aliunde initium duceamus expositorii quae ex libro quinto supersunt.

Part II: Prisciani philosophi Lydi scriptorum Theophrasti de visis ac imaginatione interpretatio.

[Inc.]: (fol. 305v) Imaginacionem de qua tractat deinceps Aristoteles consecutione quadam potestatem esse diversam a sensu, itemque opinione et existimatione . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 314v) Haec equidem non arbitror dicta de mente quae est actuosa; non enim illa potestas est aut eiusmodi ut cum exiterit tum demum esse mens ceasatur.

Manuscript:
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11, 857, ca. 1574, fols. 292v-314v (L. Delisile, Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes, XXVI, 1865, 208).

Biography:
See above, vol. II, 258.

Commentary

a. Marsilius Ficinus

Prefatory letter (see above I 1).

Part I, De sensu.

[Inc.]: (fol. N7r) Ad hoc ut fiat sensus oportet instrumentum eius evadere simile sentiendis. Non in forma eorum materiali atque naturali . . . [Expl.]: (fol. q8r) id est affectio quaedam huic instrumento naturaliter insita ad hoc sensibile potius, quam ad illud conformis, ut ita dixerim, atque propensa.

Part II, De phantasia et intellectu.

[Inc.]: (fol. q8r) In sensu et imaginatione sunt innatae rationes sensibilium assimila- tivae, hae in sensu provocantur ad actum ex passionibus instrumenti . . . [Expl.]: (fol. S3r) Sententia haec de intellectu tri- plici et aeterno quodam in nobis intelligentiae actu a Plotino et Iamblichou saepius approbatur.

Manuscripts and editions:
The same as for above section I 1.

Biography:
See vol. I, 139-40.

II. Solutiones eorum de quibus dubitavit Chosroes Persarum Rex

The Greek text of this work has not been recovered. See below for further information.

Translation

1. ANONYMOUS

Publishing history of the text: After the Latin translation of this work had apparently been lost sight of for several centuries, it was rediscovered by Jules Quicherat in a Paris ms. (BN, lat. 13, 386) in the middle of the nineteenth century and partially published by him ("Solution des problèmes proposés par Chosroès. Traité inédit de Priscien le Philosophe", Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes, sér. 3, tom. 4, 1853, 248-63). Two years later, F. Dübner published the entire text found in the same ms. (in an Appendix to his Plotini Enneades . . ., Paris, 1855, 545-79). In 1862 Valentin Rose found two additional mss., both more complete, in the British Museum (Harl. 3969 and Cotton Vesp. A. II) and published several sections not found in the Paris ms. (in Aristotelis Pseudepigraphus, Leipzig, 1863, 338-41 and
Anecdota Graeca et Graecolatina I, Berlin, 1864, 53-58). Finally, I. Bywater prepared a critical edition of the entire extant text, utilizing the Mantua ms. in addition to the three which had been previously known (Prisciani Quae extant ... Berlin, 1886, Supplementum Aristotelicum, vol. I, pars II, 39-104). The three additional manuscripts later found by Wilmart (“Les réponses de Priscien le philosophe sous le nom de Saint Augustin”, Revue Bénédictine IL (1937), 3-12) do not make any significant change in Bywater’s critical text.

The Solutiones were apparently composed by Priscianus during his stay with King Chosroes I of Persia, in the years 531-533. The work is cast in the form of a series of answers to various philosophical questions raised by Chosroes, who had a reputation for his strong interest in philosophical subjects (e.g. see Agathias, Historiae II, 28). For the text of a similar work dedicated to Chosroes see Paul of Persia’s Logic of which a Syriac text survives. This, along with a Latin translation, and what little information is known on the author is collected in J. P. N. Land, Anecdota Syriaca, Leiden, 1862-75, vol. IV, 1875, 1-30, 99-113 and 1-32 of the Syriac texts. Though the Greek original of this work does not survive, it has been recovered in an early medieval Latin translation. Jules Quicherat, who discovered this translation (for this and further references see the Bibliography below) in a ninth-century manuscript copied at Corbie, attributed the translation to Johannes Scotus Eriugena. This attribution has been widely repeated by a variety of later scholars. That such a translation could not have been by Scotus has been convincingly shown by Esposito and re-affirmed by Cappuyns and Wilmart. Esposito argued (1) that a careful analysis of the language used in the translation indicates that it is pre-Carolingian, probably from the sixth or seventh century and (2) that Scotus’ own works show no evidence of having been influenced by Priscianus’ treatise. Therefore, his conclusions were that Scotus not only did not translate the Solutiones, but did not even have access to the work.


Prooemium.

[Inc.]: (p. 41) Cum sint multae et variae in quasitione propositiones, et unumquodque capitulum differentes habeant interrogationum occasiones, necessarium est per singula separantes similiter quasitionibus apte adunare solutiones, et eisdem diligentius ac validas approbationes quantum possibile est adhibere ueterum excerptas libris; ... / ... [Expl.]: (p. 42) per quos apud Platonem animae immortale ostenditur [sic]. Prima igitur quasatio composita multiformiter, ubi haec ait.

Cap. I: De anima et maxime humana. [Inc.]: (p. 42) Primum quidem: quae est animae natura, et utrum in omnibus corporibus una atque eadem est, an differt? ... / ... [Expl., of Cap. 10]: (p. 104) haec enim sunt ex multis scriptoribus accepta approbatione nobis sollicita de ventorum generatione et in quantum moventur et quomodo aera commoveunt proprium motu.


Manuscripts:


GREEK AUTHORS

(*) Mantova, Biblioteca comunale, A. IV. 25, s. XIV (?) (Bywater ed., XI).

(*) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2684, mbr., s. IX, fols. 82-115 (here under the title of S. Augustinus, De quantitate animae) (Lauer II, 578; Wilmart, op. cit., 3-7).

(*) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 13, 386 (olim S. Germain 1314), mbr., s. IX, fols. 160-208 (Delisle in Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes, sér. 6, tom. 4, 1868, 228; Bywater ed., IX-X).

(*) Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Vaticana, Urb. lat. 1412, s. XV (Stornaiolo III, 315; Wilmart, op. cit., 11).

(*) Vaticano, Città del, Biblioteca Vaticana, Chigi 1953 (H.VI.189), s. XV, cols. 99-122 (Wilmart, op. cit., 11).

Edition:

NOTE:
In an article by F. Bossier and C. Steel, published in 1972 (see above for full reference), it was argued that the commentary on Aristotle's De anima previously attributed to Simplicius is probably by Priscianus Lydus. The precise arguments advanced by Bossier and Steel are involved and detailed, but hinge principally upon stylistic similarities between the De anima commentary and the works of Priscianus, as well as several references within the works indicating them to be by the same author.

As noted above at the end of the fortuna section Francesco Piccolomini recognized a doctrinal similarity between the Metaphrasis in Theophrastum and the De anima commentary attributed to Simplicius. He seems, however, to be the only one to suggest such a connection before the article of Bossier and Steel. Therefore the De anima commentary which has come down to us under Simplicius's name will be dealt with in a later volume of the CTC in the article dealing with Simplicius.