

HORAPOLLO

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FORTUNA*

The two books of Horapollo's (Horus Apollo's) *Hieroglyphica* present symbols for celestial and natural events, as well as for various human conditions and attitudes. They were thought to have been written in Egyptian by Horapollo and

translated by a Greek named Philippus. Few scholars doubted the reliability of the text until the seventeenth century.

The author cannot be identified, and the translator is completely unknown. The translation, which uses rather bad Greek, dates from around the fourth century A.D. Two strong arguments

* I wish to thank Professor Charles G. Dempsey for his helpful criticisms of the "Fortuna" and for informing us of the existence of Beroaldo's epitome, which is unknown in literature on Horapollo. I am also very grateful to Professor Robert Aulotte, who examined several editions in Paris, and

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throw doubt on the authenticity of the text: it contains words taken over from the Latin (noted by Nicolas Caussin in his edition of 1618); and some of the puns work only in Greek (noted by De Pauw in his edition of 1727). Moreover, most of the symbols originated in Greek and Latin sources, such as various *Physiologi* and *Hexaemera*. On the other hand, in the first book a group of hieroglyphs representing Egyptian officials have been verified elsewhere; and, as Champollion pointed out, at least thirteen of the hieroglyphs are found in other Egyptian sources.

Hieroglyphs are mentioned by several classical writers, including Ammianus Marcellinus, Apuleius, Clement of Alexandria, Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, Iamblichus, Macrobius, Pliny, Plotinus, and Plutarch. With the possible exception of the *Suda*, however, no classical writer discusses Horapollo's text. In general, these authors viewed hieroglyphs as symbolic expressions of divine truth. Except for Clement, they did not realize that Egyptian writing was phonetic and ideographic.

Chairemon (Nero's tutor) wrote a treatise on hieroglyphs that was used by Tzetzes, the twelfth-century Byzantine grammarian, in his commentary on the *Iliad*. Tzetzes' examples of hieroglyphs illustrate their allegorical nature. Although Byzantine scholars were familiar with hieroglyphic symbols, there is no proof that they knew of Horapollo's text.

The earliest known Greek manuscript (now Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, LXIX, 27) of the *Hieroglyphica* was acquired by the Florentine priest Christoforo Buondelmonti in 1419 on the Greek island of Andros. A few years before Buondelmonti brought his Horapollo manuscript to Florence, Poggio Bracciolini discovered a manuscript of Ammianus Marcellinus that had excited his and Niccolò Niccoli's interest in hieroglyphs. The two humanists later linked hieroglyphs in the *Hieroglyphica* with those on obelisks described by Ammianus, thus increasing the validity of Horapollo's text.

Marsilio Ficino followed the symbolic interpretation of hieroglyphs found in the works of classical writers. Ficino saw that Plotinus had imbued hieroglyphs with philosophical meaning. In one of his glosses on Plotinus, Ficino described hieroglyphs as a visualization of Platonic ideas (*Ennead* V, Book VII, ch. 6; see Ficino's *Opera*, II [Basel, 1576], 1768). Although Ficino drew his information on hiero-

glyphs from several sources, he specifically mentioned symbols which he could have found only in Horapollo's work.

Ficino learned from Iamblichus that the Pythagoreans had continued the hieroglyphic tradition of the Egyptians, transmitting the secrets of the wisdom of Egypt to Plato and the Alexandrian Neoplatonists. Ficino's translations of and commentaries on such writers as Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Proclus taught his contemporaries that divine truth may be embodied in esoteric symbols. Many Renaissance writers (Erasmus and Marguerite of Navarre, for example) believed that an understanding of hieroglyphic symbols contributed to an understanding of philosophical ideas, especially those described in Platonic treatises.

The Greek text of Horapollo was first published by Aldus Manutius in 1505, at least five years after Georgius Valla completed his Latin translation. Willibald Pirckheimer presented his translation to Maximilian I around 1514, and Bernardinus Trebatius' translation, the first to be printed, appeared in 1515. Filippo Fasanini, a former student of Beroaldo the Elder, published a translation of the *Hieroglyphica* in 1517. In 1522 Beroaldo's own epitome of Horapollo was published in a compilation meant to be read in the schools. Andrea Alciati, author of the often-reprinted and widely influential *Emblemata* (first edition 1531), had studied under Fasanini in Bologna. Although Alciati drew the subjects for his emblems more from medieval literature than from Horapollo, the *Hieroglyphica* helped determine Alciati's interpretations of his emblems.

About the same time that Fasanini completed his translation, the mythographer Celio Calcagnini considered writing a commentary on the *Hieroglyphica*. Although he wrote an essay on Egyptian symbols, "De Rebus Aegyptiacis Commentatio" (in *Opera* [1544], 229–52), the first real commentary on Horapollo's text did not appear until 1548, when the Hebrew scholar Jean Mercier published his Latin translation with *Observationes*. Mercier prepared a second edition of his translation and commentary in 1551 after he had studied the Greek manuscripts in more detail. This improved translation appears with all subsequent editions that include Horapollo in Latin, except for that of De Pauw (1727), who gives Mercier's 1548 version. David Hoeschel, a student of Jerome Wolf, wrote the only other

sixteenth-century commentary on the *Hieroglyphica* (1595), in which he summarized previous work on Horapollo and hieroglyphs in general.

One of the scholars mentioned by Hoeschel was Giovanni Piero Valeriano (1477–ca. 1560), nephew of Urbano Bolzanio Valeriano (ca. 1443–1524), the informal head of hieroglyphic studies in northern Italy. Urbano helped to popularize Horapollo's work in Italian artistic and intellectual circles. Piero Valeriano established himself in Rome as an expert on hieroglyphs, where his lectures were received by an international audience of scholars and artists. After the death of Leo X, Piero became tutor to Clement VII's nephews in Florence. There he also taught Vasari, who used Horapollo and other hieroglyphic sources for the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio. Piero's lengthy treatise interpreting hieroglyphic symbols, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* (Basel, 1556), which includes Horapollo's text as one of the principal sources, describes hieroglyphs as a Christian symbol. Valeriano derived this methodology from Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and St. Jerome.

Mercier appended the text of seven extra hieroglyphs, which he may have written himself, to his 1551 edition. Half of them contain Christian symbols (a cross and the lamp of life, among others), demonstrating that a close relationship between Egyptian mysticism and Christian revelation was taken for granted by Renaissance scholars. (These seven hieroglyphs also appear in the editions of 1597, 1599, and 1606; the 1574 Trebatius Latin presents these seven plus four more.) This strong belief in the value of hieroglyphs as religious and philosophical symbols prevented most scholars from understanding the true nature of hieroglyphs for centuries.

Even though Caussin found problems in the text, his commentary (1618) on the *Hieroglyphica* followed Valeriano's argument. Athanasius Kircher taught a similar erroneous view of hieroglyphs as mystical symbols. Such mistaken opinions concerning the *Hieroglyphica* and other sources of hieroglyphs were the major content of Egyptology until the discovery of the Rosetta Stone and Champollion's subsequent explanation of the linguistic nature of hieroglyphs.

Although Horapollo's work can contribute little to modern Egyptology, it obviously is of great historical interest to those who seek a thor-

ough, unbiased knowledge of Renaissance literature and art. The *Hieroglyphica* was taught to schoolchildren, discussed in scholarly colloquia, and consulted by artists throughout Europe. By 1554 it had been translated into French, Italian, and German; the Latin translations alone went through at least thirteen editions during the sixteenth century and fourteen during the seventeenth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. EDITIONS

Editio princeps: 1505, Venice, Aldus Manutius. With Aesop, *et al.*

Critical edition: 1941, Naples, *Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica*, ed. Francesco Sbordone. See this edition for information on the Greek manuscripts and editions. References in the article to chapters of the Greek text follow Sbordone's edition.

II. HORAPOLLO

George Boas, tr., *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo* (New York, 1950); C. de Goulianof, *Essai sur les hiéroglyphes d'Horapollen* (Paris, 1827); C. Lenormant, *Recherches sur l'origine, la destination chez les anciens, et l'utilité actuelle des hiéroglyphiques d'Horapollen* (Paris, 1838); G. Roeder, "Horapollo," in Pauly-Wissowa, XVI (1913), 2313–19; B. van de Walle, "Informations complémentaires au sujet des Hieroglyphica d'Horapollen," in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, VI–VII (1975–76), 543–54; E. Zeller, "Die Hieroglyphiker Chäremon und Horapollo," *Hermes*, XI (1876), 430–33.

III. THE HIEROGLYPHIC TRADITION

Robert Aulotte, "D'Egypte en France par l'Italie: Horapollen au XVI^e siècle," in *Mélanges F. Simone*, I (Geneva, 1980), 555–72; F. Brunon, "Les sculptures ou gravures sacrées d'Orus Apollo, 1543–53" (thèse de 3^e cycle, Montpellier, 1977); J. F. Champollion, *Précis du système hiéroglyphique des anciens Égyptiens*, I (Paris 1828), 348; Liselotte Dieckmann, *Hieroglyphics: The History of a Literary Symbol* (St. Louis, 1970); Adolf Erman, *Die Hieroglyphen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1912); Karl Giehlow,

"Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXII (Vienna 1915), 1–232; Erik Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and Its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (Copenhagen, 1961); Ludwig Volkmann, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1923); Rudolf Wittkower, "Hieroglyphs in the Early Renaissance," in Bernard Levy, ed., *Developments in the Early Renaissance* (Albany, 1972), 58–97.

I. HIEROGLYPHICA

TRANSLATIONS

1. Cyriacus Anconitanus

Cyriacus Anconitanus prepared excerpts from Horapollo for his third trip to Egypt, in about 1436. His list contains thirty-five entries from Book I.

Hieroglyphica. Signa egyptia Hieroglyphica (ed. of Vienna, 1915). [Inc.]: Seculum significatur pictura solis et lunae aut basilisci cauda equa [?] se cooperientis et habentis christam auream . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Cor significatur pictura ibidis. Ludus aut infantia significatur pictura roris.

Manuscript:

(*) Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, V-E-5, early XVI (Karl Giehlow, "Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXII [1915], 161–62).

Editions:

1915, Vienna, in Giehlow, "Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus." Published as excerpts by an unknown humanist.

(*) 1958, in C. C. van Essen, "Cyriaque d'Ancône en Egypte," *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks*, XI, no. 12, 292–306.

Biography:

See CTC, II, 63. Add to the Bibliography:

Cosenza, II, 1169–71; Michaud, IX, 614–15.

F. Babinger, "Notes on Cyriacus of Ancona and Some of His Friends," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXV (1962),

321–23; P. Maas, "Ein Notizbuch des Cyriacus von Ancona aus dem Jahre 1436," *Beiträge zur Forschung: Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Antiquariat Jacques Rosenthal*, ser. I, Heft 1 (Munich, 1913), 5–15; "Nachträglich," Heft 3, p. 9.

2. Anonymus A

A Vatican manuscript of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century contains an anonymous Latin translation of Horapollo. The translation presumably cannot be earlier than Buondelmonti's discovery of the Greek text in 1419. Entries II.5, 26, and 105 are omitted.

Hieroglyphica (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3898). [Inc.]: *Quomodo saeculum significant* (I.1) *Saeculum significare volentes solem ac lunam pingunt quoniam elementa sunt sempiterna . . . / . . .* [Expl.]: *Hominem amantem aedificare volentes significare manum hominis pingunt. Haec enim omnia aedificia facit.*

Manuscript:

(photo.) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3898, s. XV ex., misc., fols. 1–16 (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 323 and 586).

3. Anonymus B

A second anonymous translation is found in two manuscripts, the first from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, the second from the early sixteenth century. The translation presumably cannot be earlier than Buondelmonti's discovery of the Greek text in 1419. Entries I.9, 40, 66, and II.105, 112, 113, 114, and 116 are omitted; II.118 and 119 are transposed; I.10 and 11 are inserted after I.27; and I.28–39 are inserted after II.24.

Hieroglyphica (Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Fondo Gesuitico, ms. 344). [Inc.]: *Aevum cum volunt Aegyptii significare solem lunamque describunt, ea ratione quia sunt elementa aetatis . . . / . . .* [Expl.]: *Hominem aequem omnibus iustitiam administrantem strutocamelii penna significant quia hoc animal circa prae caeteris animalibus pennas aequales habet.*

Manuscripts:

(micro.) Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Fondo Gesuitico, ms. 344 (misc.), XV–XVI, fols. 171–91 (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 119).

(photo.) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 6887 (misc.), XVI, fols. 1–24' (Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 341 and 584).

4. Anonymus C (Bonifatius?)

A partial translation, including the first twenty entries from Book I, is found in a Magliabechiana manuscript of the sixteenth century. The translation is anonymous in the manuscript, but it is probable that the author was an otherwise unknown Bonifatius. In the manuscript *Hieroglyphica* immediately follows a translation of the *Oracula Chaldaica*, and both translations are dedicated to the same person, who is not named. The heading to the dedication to the *Oracula* has been crossed out but is still partly legible, and the translator seems to be a Bonifatius, whom it has not been possible to identify more precisely. The same Bonifatius is accordingly the probable translator of the *Hieroglyphica*.

The dedication to the *Hieroglyphica* mentions two Greek manuscripts of the *Hieroglyphica*, one in the pontifical library at Rome and the other in Bessarion's collection at Venice. It might be noted that a partial sixteenth-century index of the *Hieroglyphica* was discovered in a manuscript catalogue of books in Bessarion's library, among a group of manuscripts from the library of the Spanish humanist and bibliographer Juan Paez de Castro. The index is now owned by H. P. Kraus of New York.

Dedication (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, cod. Magl. XXX 3). [Inc.]: (fol. 321v). Ad eundem in hieroglypha sive ἱερογύψικά. Quae passim in disiectis obeliscorum truncis atque alibi per urbis vicos interque ruinas visuntur figurae variae quem (quom?) aliarum rerum tum animantium Reverendissime pater ac domine, eae graece ἱερογύψικα vel etiam ἱερογύψικά in artis religionisque significationem appellantur. Fuere autem in usu vetustissimis ac sapientissimis mortalium quod authoribus idoneis placuisse video quamvis ut meliora omnia adeo vadere iampridem contemptu fastidioque maiorum ut unus etiam scriptor qui ex aliena lingua eiusmodi figurarum interpretationem ad graecos traduxerut (traduxerit?) lacer et mille inhonestis vulneribus confossus ad nos vix evaserit. Quod non dicerem nisi duabus in uribus clarissimis omniumque nostro aevo urbium principibus id comperisset. Nam et Venetiis prius / (322) inter ingentes illos librorum acervos quos Bessarion Venetae reipublicae donavit et Rome postea in bibliothecis pontificiis eundum auctorem mancum ac debilem in angulo delitescit inveni. Quom vehementer integrum illum cuperem nostris hominibus latine lo-

quentem tradere, paucula igitur quaedam eius auctoris experiundi gratia quid ex tempore possem praestare Mediolani amici rogatu verteram a quo tametsi cursim ac pene per iocum dictante me excepta fuere. Ea tamen propter singularem eruditionem quam continent amplitudini tuae dicare visum est una cum magorum sententiis a quibus nec antiquitate nec auctoritate Aegyptiorum sententia vincitur. Caetera in iis sunt eiusmodi ut tantum a sapientissimis, hoc est tui similibus, dijudicari possint. Vale.

Hieroglyphica. [Inc.]: (fol. 322). Ex Oro Apolline de sacrarum figurarum quae scalpendo apud Aegyptios fiebant interpretatione.

Quod significatur in fronte cuiusque capitis ponemus et subjungemus id quod significat.

Aevum saeculumve sol et luna signant quoniam aeterni sunt. Item serpens qui sub caetero corpore caudam occulit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Crocodilus quid significat. Crocodilus ibidis penna tactus torpescit ad stuporem. Is hominem ignavum raptoremque significat, addita capiti eius penna ibidis.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Fondo Magliabechiano, Magl. XXX 3, fol. 321^v–328 (Kristeller, *Iter I*, 140. I am indebted to Professor Kristeller for help in the transcription of the manuscript).

5. Georgius Valla

Georgius Valla probably completed his translation of the *Hieroglyphica* toward the end of his life, ca. 1500. George's adopted son, Johannes Petrus Valla, dedicated the translation after his father's death first to Jacobus Trivultius and later to Cardinal Hercules Gonzaga. Entries II.2, 5, and 103 are omitted; II.102 and 104 are transposed. Entries for "Aer" and "Filius" are inserted between II.26 and 27.

Dedication I (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 2154 [J 83]). [Inc.]: Iohannes Petrus Valla Illustri Principi Iohanni Iacobo Trivultio Sal. D. Aeternam. Et has tui Georgii Vallae lucubratiunculas Illustris princeps invictissime, tibi dicandas esse existimavi . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quare huc profectus eum ad te, inclyte princeps, viendum destino eius interprete tuo Georgio Valla. Vale.

Dedication II (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3537). R(everendissimo) ac illustrissimo Herculi Gonsaghe cardinali Mantuano Jo. Petrus Cademustus Laudensis

arrogatus filius s(alutem) d(icit) ae(ternam). [Inc.]: Cum aliquot monumenta doctissimi viri Georgii praeceptoris ac patris mei quae apud me remanserant necdum in lucem edita . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et liber tuarum alarum umbra munitus tuaque amplitudine a qua hilari fronte ut semper susceptus fuerit dignus a viris censeatur eruditissimis. Vale aeternum maximum litterarum fomentum.

Hieroglyphica (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 2154 [J 831]). Horus Apollo Nilous cognomine appellatus hieroglyphica lingua interpraetatus est aegyptica . . . / . . . [Inc.]: Aevum (*De Aevo in Vat. lat. 3537*) in quo et de basilisco (I.1). Aevum significantes aegyptii solem lunamque depingebant quod elementa sint aeterna . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Cupidus possessionum* (II.119). Hominem possessionum cupidum volentes ostendere hominis pingunt manum quando quidem ipsa quae possidemus fabricat.

Manuscripts:

(micro.) Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 2154 (J 83), s. XV ex., 49 unnumbered folios (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 364).

(micro.) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3537, s. XVI, fols. 75^v–106^r (J. L. Heiberg, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Valla's und seiner Bibliothek* [1896], in *Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XVI, 353–54).

Biography:

See CTC, I, 126, and p. 56 f., below.

6. Philippus Beroaldus

A short paraphrase by Beroaldus of selections from the *Hieroglyphica* was published in Venice in 1522 as the final section of a book intended for schoolchildren. The book has neither title page nor pagination; the first title is "Servii Honorati vocabula in Vergiliū annotata." According to the dedication to Petrus Guarinus, Joannes Vincentius Biffus (Giovanni Biffi) compiled the book (on Biffus, see J. P. R. Lyell, *A Fifteenth Century Bibliography* [London, 1918]). The colophon reads: Venetiis per Ioannem Antonium et Fratres, de Sabbio. Anno Domini. M.D. XXII. Mense Octobris.

Hieroglyphica. Epithome quaedam litterarum Aegyptiarum Hori Apollonii Beroaldo interprete (ed. of Venice, 1522). [Inc.]: Mundum pingere volentes Aegyptii Serpentem effigiabant cau-

dam sibi mordentem . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Hominem autem misanthropum omnibusque invisum anguilla exprimunt; illi enim nulli alii pisces conveniunt.

Edition:

(photo.) 1522, Venetiis (Venice): Joannes Antonius et fratres, de Sabio.

Biography:

See CTC, III, 188. Add to the Bibliography: M. Cytowska, "Erasme et Beroaldo," *Eos*, LXV (1977), 265–71; M. T. Casella, "Il metodo dei commentarii umanistici esemplato sul Beroaldo," *Studi Medievali*, XVI (1875), 627–701; E. Garin, "Note in margine all'opera di Filippo Beroaldo il Vecchio," in *Tra Latino e Volgare, per C. Dionisotti* (Padua, 1974), II, 437–56.

7. Willibaldus Pirckheimer

Pirkheimer presented his translation, illustrated with watercolors by Dürer, to Maximilian I in 1514. The one extant manuscript was copied from the original shortly thereafter. It is incomplete, ending at II.1.

Dedication (ed. K. Giehlow [Vienna, 1915]). Immortalis ac sempiternae famae Heros, antiqua ab origine natus princeps optimus animosissimus, fortissimus, vigilantissimus, cunctis naturae bonis praeditus, artibus et disciplinis egregie eruditus, divus Maximilianus Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus ac magnae terrarum orbis partis Dominus, virtute bellica summaque animi modestia, Victoria excellenti, superavit Regem Gallum potentissimum quod universis ferme impossibile videbatur hominibus sicque ab insidiis inimici sapienter se vindicavit.

Hieroglyphica. Hori Apollinis Niliaci Hieroglyphica quae ipse lingua edidit aegyptiaca, Philippus autem in grecum transtulit idioma. [Inc.]: *Quomodo aevum designetur* (I.1). Aevum designantes, solem pingunt ac lunam quoniam elementa sint aeterna . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Quid stellam pingentes ostendant* (II.1). Stella apud aegyptios picta, aliquando Deum significat, nonnunquam noctem, interdum vero tempus, animam quoque virilem.

Manuscript:

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 3255 (formerly Ambras 498) s. XVI in., fols. 1–82 (*Tabulae*, II, 245).

Edition:

1915, Vienna, in Karl Giehlow, "Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXII, 172–209.

Biography:

See CTC, II, 70. Add to the Bibliography:
Jöcher, III, 1587–88; *Nouvelle biographie générale*, XL (1862), 303–6.

W. Pirckheimer, *Opera politica, historica, philologica, et epistolica* (Frankfurt, 1610; repr. Hildesheim and New York, 1969); H. M. F. Aufess, *Willibald Pirckheimer. Feldobrist und Humanist, ein Leben an der Wende der Neuzeit* (Nuremberg, 1969); W. P. Eckert and C. V. Imhoff, *Willibald Pirckheimer. Dürers Freund im Spiegel seines Lebens, seiner Werke, und seiner Umwelt* (Cologne, 1971); K. B. Glock, *Willibald-Pirckheimer-Bibliographie* (Nuremberg, 1970); Niklas Holzberg, *Willibald Pirckheimers: Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland* (Munich, 1981); K. Kerenyi, "Pirckheimer und der Humanismus," in *Studia Humanitatis E. Grassi zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich, 1973), 12–22; W. Maurer, "Humanismus und Reformation im Nürnberg Pirckheimers und Dürers," *Jahrbuch für Fränkische Landesforschung*, XXXI (1971), 19–34; E. Reicke, *Willibald Pirckheimers Briefwechsel*, I, in *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation, Humanistenbriefe*, IV (1940–); *Willibald Pirckheimer 1470/1970. Dokumente, Studien, Perspektiven* (Nuremberg, 1970); *Willibald Pirckheimer, 1470–1970. Eine Dokumentation in der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg* (Nuremberg, 1970).

8. *Bernardinus Trebatius*

Conrad Peutinger, to whom Trebatius dedicated his *Hieroglyphica*, had encouraged Trebatius to translate Horapollo. Trebatius used the Aldine edition for his Greek text. The author's dedication is dated May 1515. Entry I.26 is inserted after 28, entries 30 and 31 after 33; I.12, 66, and I.2, 5, 23, and 109 are omitted. The 1574 edition contains eleven extra entries, not found in Sbordone's Greek, the first seven of which can be found also in Mercerus' 1551 edition. Entries I.12, 66, and II.2, 5, 23, and 109 are omitted in 1574; II.12 and 13 are transposed.

Froben's Preface (ed. of Basel, 1518). Johannes Frobenius Studiosis S.D. [Inc.]: Damus nunc vobis Orum Apollinem Niliacum de Hieroglyphicis notis a Bernardino Trebatio Veicetino [sic] Latinitate donatum. In quo veteris Aegyptiorum sapientiae thesaurum reperietis, vulgo haud dum cognitum, et miras rerum ac animantium naturas ac proprietates. Eum insignis ille meliorum literarum antistes Chonradus Peutinger apud Vindelicos Augustani senatus a consilio, liberaliter non ita dudum nobis communivit. Bene valete, et Frobenium amate.

Trebatius' Preface. [Inc.]: Qui gratiam libellis aucupantur, eos pumice poliunt, purpura vestiunt, ut etsi mali sint, curatura boni videantur. Qui vero eodem modo debita solvunt negligenteres sunt, hos ego imitor, ex his enim sum, et libellum, ut peperi, nudum tibi trado. Tu, si non pessimae indolis videbitur ac tollendum putabis, indui facies. Sin minus, proxima foetura aliquod fortasse melius aedam. Vale. Trebatius.

Dedication. Conrado Putingero Augustano Iurisconsulto Bernardinus Trebatius Vicentinus S.D. [Inc.]: En Orum latinum, si modo id sum consecutus, exhibeo tibi, patrone optime, sit enim haec tui verissima appellatio. Nam, ut omittam dicere de hominibus, patronus es Reip. literariae, debet tibi omne genus scriptorum. Si quidem sic omnium es studiosus ut omnes habere velis, conquiras undique, nonnulli multos annos desiderati nunc demum tua opera legantur. Historiarum vero series omnis per te explicatur, ac habent in te vivum exemplar. Antiquitas ipsa nullo magis gaudet alumno. Romani autem Caesares quem alium malint curatorem? Non tibi eorum gesta cognovisse satis, eos ipsos signatos omnes in chartis, aere, argento, solido auro demonstras. Et quod vivi non potuerunt, mortui adepti sunt ut eodem tempore et iuvenes et senes et in omni aetate quales fuerint conspici possint. Sed et ipsi Romani duces, quod non secundo perierint, tibi acceptum referunt, tu eorum epigrammata colligis undecunque, et iam vetustate collapsa, dimidiata fere, restituis, ac das ut, postquam in marmore nequeunt, in chartis legantur. Sed quid ego haec de te ad te? Aliis melius aliquando narrabo. Quin Graeci ipsi, si quis inferis sensus, tibi bene precantur. Nam cum iam desint ex eorum genere qui legant, curas tu ut a Latinis legi possint: optarem vel hac caussa patere mihi Graecorum penetralia, ut satis tuae possem facere voluntati. Debeo enim tibi omnia cum ob benevolentiam, tum ob merita

multa: tu mihi viso tantum omnia amicitiae vel antiquissimae officia praestitisti, domo me suscepisti, petenti omnia tribuisti, multa etiam ultra obtulisti idque nullis meis in te meritis. Quod etsi in omnes itidem humanus es et liberalis, me tibi tamen plus caeteris debere sentio. Verum in praesenti, qui me memorem ostendam, habeo nihil praeter animum et hoc quicquid est libelli, quem, quia non ingratum tibi fore sentiebam, transtuli maiori voluntate quam facultate. Nam et adhuc in hac lingua peregrinor, et est libellus eiusmodi, ut ne a Graecis quidem ipsis totus legi possit. Inerunt et quae fortasse nugatoria ac frigida videantur, quae tamen ego non omissi (*sic*). Non enim Censoris, sed Interpretis fungabar officio. Nec animus fuit ita religiose vertere, ut verbum verbo redderem, quid enim ineptius? Latinis enim, non Graecis laboravi. Quantum autem effecerim, tu facillime iudicabis, et statues an eiusmodi sit opusculum, ut ei in tua refer-tissima bibliotheca locus esse debeat. Vale decus patriae ac meliora, si deus annuerit, aliquando expectes. Augustae, duodecimo Calend. Maias. Anno M.D.XV.

Hieroglyphica. Ori Apollinis Niliaci Hieroglyphica, per Bernardinum Trebatium Vicentium de Graecis translata. [Inc.]: *Quomodo Aevum significant* (I. 1) Aevum significantes solem et lunam describunt, eo quod sint hii Planetae aevi elementa . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Quomodo hominem laboriosum* (II. 119) Hominem laboriosum significare volentes, manum hominis pingunt, haec enim omnia opera perficit. Ori Apollinis Niliaci *ἱερογύλυφικῶν* Bernardino Trebatio interprete finis.

Bibliography:

Ludwig Volkmann, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1923), 29, 41, 79, 81.

Editions:

(*) 1515, Augustae Vindelicorum (Augsburg). Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 101; C. Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica* (Amsterdam, 1835), xix; Sbordone, lx. I was unable to locate a copy of this edition.

(micro.) 1518, Basileae (Basel): Ioannes Frobenius. Panzer, VI, 204, 216; Adams H-844; Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 101; Graesse, III, 376; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxix; Sbordone, lx; NUC. BL; BN; (ICN).

(micro.) 1521, Parisiis (Paris): Petrus Vido-

vaeus. (Gr.-Lat.) Panzer, VIII, 300. 1284; Adams H-845; Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 102; Graesse, III, 375; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxx; Sbordone, lxi; NUC. BL; BN; (MH).

1530, Parisiis (Paris): Robertus Stephanus. With L. G. Gyraldus, etc. Panzer, VIII, 135, 1927; Adams H-848; Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 101; Graesse, III, 376; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxix; Sbordone, lxi; NUC. BL; BN; (IU; CtY; DFo).

1534, Basileae (Basel): Iohannes Hervagius. With Augustinus Niphus. Panzer, VI, 135, 970; Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 101; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxix; Sbordone, lxi; NUC, under Nifo, Agostino. BL; (ICN; MH).

(micro.) 1538, Venetiis (Venice): Iacoba Burgofranco. Adams H-849; Sbordone, lxi; NUC. Cambridge University Library; (CtY; DFo).

1542, Lugduni (Lyons): Seb. Gryphius. (With Hermolaus Barbarus, 1544.) Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 101; Leemans, *Horapollonis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxix; Sbordone, lxi; NUC, BL; BN; (CtY; DFo).

1574, Parisiis (Paris): Galeotus a Prato and Ioannes Ruellius. Includes a French translation with the Latin, with an appendix of eleven extra hieroglyphs. [Inc.]: *Quomodo futuram vitam, aut salutem expectandam* (Appendix, 1). Ad denotandam vitam futuram, aut salutem speratam, duas lineas ducunt, unam transversam cadentem in perpendicularem, alteram in formam Crucis: nullam aliam huius rei rationem assignantes, nisi quod id esset significatio divini mysterii . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Duobus vero qui ex numero trigesimo restant ad mensem perficiendum, dicimus illam esse in suo occasu. Adams H-852; Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 102; Graesse, III, 376; Leemans, *Horapollonis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxi; NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; MH).

Doubtful Edition:

1515, Basileae (Basel): Frobenius. Panzer, VI, 194, 144.

Biography:

Bernardinus Trebatius (Bernardino Trebazio) was born in Vicenza in 1480. Among his teachers were Celius Rhodiginus, Philippus Beroaldus, and Johannes Parrasius. He studied German in Augsburg, where he was part of Hutten's circle

of friends in 1518. Trebatius had strong ties with Rome, which he visited several times, but we do not know his exact connection with the church. In 1548 he was buried in Vicenza.

The inscription on Trebatius' tombstone credits him with elegant Latin translations of Aristotle's *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Rhetoric*. In the privilege given by Paul III for the 1547 edition of these works, Trebatius is praised as "literarii disciplinis eruditissimus."

Bibliography: Angiolgabriello di Santa Maria, *Biblioteca e storia di quei scrittori . . . di Vicenza*, III (Vicenza, 1775), clviii–clxvii; G. Friedländer, *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1837), 99; Erich König, *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel* (Munich, 1923), 257–59, reprints a letter from Trebatius to Peutinger dated Augsburg, April 20, 1515, which concerns Trebatius' translation of Horapollo.

9. Philippus Phasianinus

Phasianinus' translation appeared in 1517, when it was published with his *Declaratio sacrarum literarum ex diversis auctoribus*, which, although not a commentary, includes comments on Horapollo. According to the colophon, the translation had been completed by September of 1516: Opusculum autem hoc latinitate donabat Calendis Septem. anni. MDXVI. Philippus Phasianinus, ad communem studiosorum utilitatem, qui illud etiam in gymnasio Bononiensi, dum lectiones suas auspicaretur, publice recitavit. Phasianinus dedicated this work to Cardinal Laurentius Campegius. Entry II.32 is inserted after II.100.

Dedication (ed. of Bologna, 1517). Ad Amplissimum Antistitem et Dominum D. Laurentium Campegium tituli S. Thomae in Parione Apostolicae Sedis Cardinalem Meritissimum, Philippi Phasianini Bononiensis Epistola. [Inc.]: Pherecides Syrus Badis filius, qui primus repudiato versuum nexus soluta oratione conscribere ausus est cum libros de Diis atque natura luculentos exarasset, Antistes amplissime, eos quamdiu vixit, ut ederet, nullis perquam amplissimis sibi propositis praemiis et conditionibus perquam honestissimis dimoveri umquam potuit. Ne tamen laborum ac vigiliarum suarum fructu partaque iam gloria omnino fraudaretur, ad Thaletem Milesium, unum ex septem Graeciae sapientibus, cum adversa valetudine conflictaretur, literas in hunc modum scripsisse fer-

tur, ut diceret: Mandavi familiaribus meis ut cum me sepelierint, quae scripsi ad te perferant. Tu autem, si quidem ea probaveris, cum sapientibus reliquis ita legenda demum trades. Sin autem improbabaveris, nolite edere. Mihi certe necdum satis placebant. Quod sapientis viri consilium tantum abest ut ipse umquam improbare ausus sim, ut pedibus quoque in eius ipsius sententiam semper ire peroptaverim. Nam cum sub hac ipsa norma atque praescripto mecum statuisse, ut in caeteris lucubrationibus atque vigiliis meis, sic in his proximae foeturae libellis duobus de graeco in latinum sermonem plusculis iam mensibus a me versis, tale documentum sedulo observare, ut tantisper quae composuisse, domi continerem atque supprimerem, quamdiu alter curam hanc sibi muneric huius defungendi atque haec nostra, qualiacumque sint, divulgandi ex officio sumeret (et si parum providum sit, ut inquit Plinius Cecilius, ex aliis sperare, quod tibi ipse non praestes) sententiam hanc meam atque propositum tu unus, Praesul ornatissime, ut mutarem effecisti; neque (ut puto) opinionis huius meae tam repentina commutatio vitio mihi dari debet, quando non semper in una sententia perpetua permansio laudari soleat. . . . Ne solus inter eos in hac communi laetitia, cum tantae res ac gratulationes de te essent, parum officiosus gaudiique huius publici expers, cum hilaritate maxime diffluam, esse viderer, quin meum quoque officium, si non ut debeo, saltem qua possem parte persolverem, committere nolui, atque ita cum adventus in patriam tuus propediem fore nuntiaretur, donum quodpiam ex professione mea, si non secundum fortunam tuam, at quod fidei servitutisque meae verum pignus et concopti gaudii de accessione hac tua honorifica indicium esset, amplitudini tuae offerre constitui. Non auri nobis argenti gemmarumque usus suppetit aut tale quodpiam, quod celsitudinem ac sublimitatem tuam amplissimam deceat. Cum Musis nobis et libris commertium frequens est, et inde veluti e promptuaria cella aut Gazophilacio nostro, cum quempiam reverenter adire aut dona ad aliquem transmittere est animus, literaria munuscula depromimus. Levia quidem non nullis fortasse visa ineruditisque praesertim, sed quae, si diligenter expendantur, caeteris omnibus quamvis maximis pretiosisque muneribus anteponenda sint, quaeve nullis magis hominibus quam tui similibus, hoc est honoratissimis sacri illius Collegii procuribus et literis et dignitate conspicuis debeantur.

tur. Quamobrem in te uno deligendo, cui opusculum hoc meum dicarem, cum rei literariae honori, tum mihi quoque optime consuluisse videor. Cui enim magis, per immortales deos, sacras Aegyptiorum literas nuncupare, quam sacratissimo viro, et quo nemo absolutior omnibusque numeris perfectior esset, aut potui vel debui . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quem si manibus oculisque tuis dignum vel semel feceris, iacentem prope animum meum ob vilem curam et rationem, quae ferme nulla apud nostrates de literatis viris hac tempestate habetur, veluti flores pluvia gravati ad solis radios attolluntur, eriges, et ad provinciam in Rep. literaria quamlibet arduam atque difficilem subeundam excitabis. Vale Decus patriae.

Hieroglyphica. Hori Apollinis Niliaci Hieroglyphica, hoc est de sacris Aegyptiorum literis Libelli duo de Graeco in Latinum sermonem a Philippo Phasianino Bononiensi nunc primum translati. [Inc.]: *Quomodo saeculum significant* (I. I). Saeculum Aegyptii significare volentes Solem et Lunam pingere consueverunt, quando quidem ea elementa sempiterna existunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Hominem aedificare gaudentem significare volentes manum hominis notis suis eisdem Aegyptii figurant. Ipsa enim omnia mortaliū aedificia, ut caetera quoque negocia, peragit. Hori Apollinis Niliaci Hieroglyphicarum literarum finis.

Declaratio sacrarum literarum ex diversis auctoribus. Eiusdem Philippi Phasianini ad Studiosos. [Inc.]: Quae autem ratio ad haec symbola aenigmataque literarum Aegyptiarum Hori Apollinis interpretanda me potissimum hoc tempore impulerit, nunc tandem reddetur, ne quis forte nos difficiliora mutilataque semper sectari credat, quod et anno superiore in Palaephato vertendo et in hoc opusculo in praesenti fecisse videmur in quorum utrisque exponendis. . . . [discusses symbols; tells where hieroglyphics are mentioned by classical authors; says that someone else already may have translated Horapollo (perhaps Trebatius?); blames those who promised a better text but have not yet produced one] [Expl.]: quando querelae cum vel maxime necessariae sunt, ne tum quidem, ut ait Livius, gratae habeantur. Finis.

Closing dedication. Clarissimi viri Ioannis Baptistae Pii Bononiensis Endecasyllabon. [Inc.]: *Memphitae magicis profata linguis / Ostentant animantium figuris, / Horus Mercurius Iovis minister / Interpres dei tenebricosi /*

Hinc dictus, geminis palam libellis / Expromit, reserat, reponit, ornat. / Curtis, Iuppiter, et laccinosis / Aevi vulnere cuncta lancinantis. / Miratus, miseratus, hospitali / Doctus excipiens sinu Philippus: / Philippus Latii novella Siren / Donat munificus latinitati / Vultus restituens probe integellos / Interpres simul ac parens parentis / Et vanus Samius, nisi Horus Hori.

Bibliography:

Karl Giehlow, "Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance," in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXII (Vienna, 1915), 129–36; Ludwig Volkmann, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1923), 29–30.

Edition:

(photo.) 1517, Bononiae (Bologna): Hieronymus Platonides. Panzer, VI, 330, 93; Adams H-843; J. C. De Pauw, *Horapollinis Hieroglyphica Graece et Latine* (1727) **4; Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 101–2; Graesse, III, 376; C. Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica* (Amsterdam, 1835), xxx; Sbordone, Ixi–Ixii; NUC. BL; (CtY; MH). The section beginning with the *Errata*, which contains the poem of Johannes Baptista Pius, was added later and is lacking in many copies of the edition; the poem is here reprinted from the BL copy in a microfilm held by the Indiana University Library. For the printing history of the edition, see Giehlow, "Hieroglyphenkunde," 129, n. 4.

Biography:

Philippus Phasianinus (Filippo Fasanini), son of Bernardino Bolognese, was graduated in philosophy at the University of Bologna on November 19, 1512. Soon thereafter he was teaching at the university. Phasianinus became secretary of the senate of Bologna in 1525 and in 1528 began teaching in the Palazzo Publico, which he continued to do until his death on November 4, 1531.

Andrea Alciati (1492–1550), author of the *Emblematum*, is thought to have been influenced by Phasianinus' lectures on hieroglyphs during the year when he studied in Bologna. Achilles Bocchius admired Phasianinus' scholarship and honored his friend with a short Latin poem entitled "Lusus." Phasianinus was also famous for his own Latin verse.

Works: His scholarly works include a Latin translation (1515) of the excerpts of the mythographer Palaephatos and a translation of and commentary on the *De natura deorum* of L. Annaeus Cornutus.

Bibliography: Cosenza, III, 2722; G. Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi* (Bologna, 1783), III, 300–302, IX, 56; Karl Giehlow, “Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance,” in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXII (Vienna, 1915), 137–38, 146–47; C. Malagola, *Della vita e delle opere di Antonio Urceo* (Bologna, 1878), 110–11; Serafino Mazzetti, *Repertorio di tutti i professori . . . di Bologna* (Bologna, 1847), 122; Ludwig Volkmann, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1923), 41–42, 49, 70.

10. Caelius Calcagninus

Caelius Calcagninus sent a summary of the complete *Hieroglyphica* to his nephew Thomas Calcagninus in a letter written after Aldus' publication of the Greek text in 1505. The letter probably dates from about 1517, when Fasanini published his translation; Calcagninus included variant readings from Trebatius and Fasanini.

Hieroglyphica (ed. of Vienna, 1915). [Inc.]: Aevum ab Aegyptiis luna et sole, interdum serpente, qui caudam sub reliquo corpore abderet, expressum fuisse . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Substructionum studiosum hominis manus.

Editions:

1544, Basel, in *Epistolicarum quaestionum et epistolarum familiarium libri XVI*, 18ff. Adams C-177; Graesse, II, 13; NUC. BL; BN; (ICU; ICN).

1915, Vienna, in Karl Giehlow, “Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXII, 163–69.

Biography:

See CTC, II, 318. Add to the Bibliography:

Bibliography: Cosenza, I, 763–65; V. Narchetti, A. De Ferrari, and C. Mutini, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, XVI (1973), 492–98. Michaud, VI, 380–81; Nicéron, XXVII, 236.

H. Blumenberg, “Der archimedische Punkt des Celio Calcagnini,” *Studia Humanitatis E.*

Grassi zum 70. Geburtstag (Munich, 1970), 103–12.

11. Johannes Mercerus

Mercerus' translation, accompanied by his own erudite commentary, was well received when it was first published in 1548. Only three years later, after he had studied the Codex Morellianus, Mercerus published a second edition of the translation with only minor changes in the commentary (Sbordone, lxiii–lxiv). In the editions of 1551, 1597, 1599, and 1606 seven extra hieroglyphs, not found in Sbordone's Greek, are added in an appendix. (These appear also in the 1574 edition of Trebatius' translation.) In the editions of 1597 and 1599 Julius Franceschinus censored entries I.32, 33, 48, and II.7, 26, 40, 59, 95, 107, 111, and 115.

A. Edition of 1548.

Lectori (ed. of Paris, 1548). Habes, humane lector, in Orum Apollinem, novam versionem. De qua illud abs te impetratum velim, ne prius iudicium feras, quam cum vetere eam contuleris simulque ei annexas observationes legeris, quibus et translationis nostrae rationem subiicimus, et loca aliquot in Oro hactenus corrupta, si non restituimus, certe restituere conati sumus. Iam ergo frontem exporrigi, et Orum ipsum audi, sacras et mysticas Aegyptiorum sculpturas Romano sermone promulgantem ac edocentem.

Hieroglyphica. Ori Apollinis Niliaci sacrae sculpturae, quas ipse quidem Aegyptio sermone prodidit, Philippus vero lingua Graeca donavit. [Inc.]: *Quo pacto aevum significant* (I.1). Aevum innuentes, solem ac lunam pingunt, quod haec aeterna sint aevique fluxum producta elementa . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Aedificandi cupidum hominem volentes innuere, hominis manum pingunt. Haec enim omnia absolvit opera. (Ori Apollinis Niliaci sacrarum sculpturarum finis.)

In Ori Commendationem Ioannis Corvini ad Lectorem. Si te sacra iuvant, amice lector, / Aegypti monumenta, cerne quaeso, / Orus quae tibi nunc refert Apollo. / Nam sacris aperit notis, docetque, / Summus quis deus orbis autor huius, / Phoebi quaeve soror, Cyprique diva, / Mars atrox, hominum crux laetus, / Et divum pia iussa ferre promptus, / Tellus ut medio librata mundi / Centro proxima, pontus, ignis, aer, / Et quaecumque cavo geruntur orbe.

Eiusdem ad Io. Mercerum Tetrastichon. Pal-

ladis atque Iovis dulci te nectare potum / Credo
quippe sacris nocte dieque vacas. / Sacra doces,
scribis, legis, assidue meditaris. / Iure igitur
sacro nomine dignus eris.

Merceri ad Eundem. Nescio quod tibi me con-
stanti foedere iungit / Sidus, et aeterna nectit
amicitia. / Aetatis tenerae primus vestigia recti /
Nunc etiam ex te vir pendo sollicitus. / Ergo
sacri si quid meditari aut scribere possum, /
Haec accepta tibi, a cunctipotente, refers.

Bibliography:

J. C. De Pauw, *Horapollinis Hieroglyphica
Graece et Latine* (1727), *2–**4; Sbordone,
lxiii.

A. Editions:

(micro.) 1548, Parisiis (Paris): Christianus
Wechelus. Adams H-846; Fabricius and Harles,
Bibliotheca Graeca, I, 102; Graesse, III, 375;
C. Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*
(Amsterdam, 1835) xxx; Sbordone, Ixiii; NUC.
BL; (ICU; RPB).

1727, Trajecti ad Rhenum (Utrecht): Mel-
chior Leonardus Charlois. (Gr.-Lat.) Fabricius
and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 103–4;
Graesse, III, 375–76; Leemans, *Horapollinis
Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxiii–xxxiv; Sbordone,
lxv; NUC. BL; BN; (DLC; NNUT).

B. Edition of 1551

Epistola Nuncupatoria (ed. of Paris, 1551).
Observando in Christo patri Ioanni Sangelasio,
viro et eruditione et morum integritate cele-
bratissimo, dignissimo Uticensium Episcopo,
Io. Mercerus S.D.P. [Inc.]: Cum nunquam non,
lectissime Praesul, mihi a teneris, quod aiunt,
unguiculis, quodam naturae instinctu persuasis-
sem eorumque sententiae obfirmato animo insis-
tendum duxissem, qui virtute et humanitate
praestantius nihil in hac vita parari posse tra-
diderunt, hinc factum est, ut omni via et conatu
ad ea semper studia contenderim, quae harum
rerum facultatem hominibus suppeditant. . . .
Hic cum in Orum Apollinem vetustissimum sane
autorem incidissem, Deus bone, quam recon-
ditam in eo doctrinam, quantam ad mysteria plu-
rima pernoscenda fenestram patefactam de-
prehendi, quid non synceroris occultiorisque
philosophiae? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Bene vale, di-
gnissime Praesul, et munusculum nostrum can-
dido animo suscipe. Lutetiae Parisiorum. 13.
Cal. Maias. 1548.

Ad Lectorem. Admonitum te velim, lector, in

hac Ori editione pleraque secus habere quam in
prioribus idque propter oblatum nobis a doc-
tissimo et diligentissimo homine Guil. Morelio
vetustum huius autoris exemplar manuscriptum.
Ex quo in primo libro (qui in eo tantum, nec
tamen totus descriptus erat) multa restituimus.
Hoc tamen scito, ubi alia illic lectio occurrebat,
iudicio adhibito nos eam secutos quae potior vi-
deretur, adiecta interim margini vetusti codicis
lectione, ubi nostra non displicebat. Illud in-
super es admonendus in vetusto exemplari capi-
tibus titulos non praeponi, sed ad marginem
adscribi. Quod cum parvi referret, morem iam
hic receptum, temere immutare noluius. Quod
ergo iam castigatiorem Orum habeas, benevole
lector, venerandae vetustati tribuito, et nostrum
hac in re atque aliorum, quorum opera cas-
tigatio nunc prodit Orus Apollo, laborem boni
consulito.

Hieroglyphica. Ori Apollinis Niliaci, De sac-
ris notis et sculpturis libri duo, ubi ad fidem
vetusti codicis manuscripti restituta sunt loca
permulta, corrupta ante ac deplorata. [Inc.]: The
incipit is the same as in the 1548 edition; see
p. 25 above . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Aedificandi
cupidum hominem volentes innuere, hominis
manum pingunt. Haec enim omnia absolvit
opera. Ori Apollinis Niliaci sacrarum sculp-
turarum Finis.

Appendix. Hieroglyphicis Ori Apollonis alia
quaedam subiecimus hinc inde excerpta, quae
quod eodem tendant, tibi non ingrata fore, be-
nevole lector, augurabamur. [Inc.]: *Quo modo
futuram vitam aut salutem* (Appendix, I). Vitam
aut salutem futuram indicantes, geminas lineas
ducebant, quarum transversa altera alteri in per-
pendiculi modum ductae supersterneretur. At-
que eius rei nulla illis alia suppetebat ratio, nisi
quod haec divini cuiusdam mysterii significatio
esset . . . / . . . [Expl.]: oculis deos, ut iam dic-
tum est, intelligentes, facie autem absque oculis
eos qui apud Inferos sunt atque in tenebris.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Lyons, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms.
170 (102), s. XVI ex., fols. 190–201^v (with
Polyhistor symbolicus). [Inc.]: *Quo pacto ae-
vum significant* (I. I). Aevum innuentes solem ac
lunam pingunt, quod aeterna sint . . . / . . .
[Expl.]: *Quomodo hominem aedificandi stu-
diosum* (II. I 19). Hominis manum pingunt. Haec
enim omnia efficit opera. The same entries are
omitted as those censored in the 1597 and 1599

editions, except that II.59 is included. This manuscript could have been copied from a printed text. (*Catalogue général*, Départements, XXX (1900), 33.)

Editions:

1551, Parisiis (Paris): Iacobus Kerver. (Gr.-Lat.). Adams H-850; Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 102; Graesse, III, 375; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxx–xxxii; Sbordone, lxiii–lxiv; NUC. BL; BN; (DFo; MH; NNC).

1595, Augustae Vindelicorum (Augsburg): Max Welser. (Gr.-Lat.) Edited and with commentary by David Hoeschel: *Horapollinis Hieroglyphica a Davide Hoeschelio, fide Codicis Augustani MS. correcta, suppleta, illustrata, Graece Latine, cum observationibus Io. Merceri, et notis Hoeschelii.* Hoeschel made only minor changes in the Latin; the translation is that of the second edition of Mercerus. Adams H-847; Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 103; Graesse, III, 375; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxi–xxxii; Sbordone, lxiv; NUC. BL; BN; (NcD; NN).

(micro.) 1597, Rome: Aloysius Zannettus. (Gr.-Lat.) Edited by Julius Franceschinus. [Inc.]: *Quo pacto aevum significant* (I.1). Aevum innuentes, Solem ac Lunam pingunt, quod aeterna sint elementa . . . / . . . [Expl.]: oculis deos, ut iam dictum est, intelligentes: facie autem absque oculis, eos qui apud Inferos sunt atque in tenebris. Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxii; Sbordone, lxiv; NUC. BN; (DFo; IaU; TxU).

(micro.) 1599, Rome: Aloysius Zannettus. (Gr.-Lat.) Edited by Julius Franceschinus; text follows that of the 1597 edition, with a preface explaining why some entries have been censored: *Iulius Franceschinus Ferentillus Bibliopola Studioso Lectori. Quum datum esset mihi negotium a viris doctis Hori Apollinis sive (ut recentiores nonnulli scribunt) Horapollinis Hieroglyphica typis, ut nunc loquimur, excudendi, quae in publicis gymnasiis adolescentibus proponerentur, monendus mihi visus es, Lector humanisme, curatum esse diligenter, ut ea non modo emendationia quam antea, tum Grace, tum Latine, prodirent, verum etiam ut pauca quae-dam omitterentur, quae pudicas aures offendere posse videbantur, adolescentium praesertim, quorum caussa potissimum edebantur. Id spero nemini, qui amet verecundiam, ingratum fore.*

Vale. Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 103; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxii; Sbordone, lxiv–lxv; NUC. (IaU; DFo).

1606, Rome: Carolus Vulliettus. (Gr.-Lat.) Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxii; Sbordone, lxiv; NUC (IU).

(*) 1614, Francofurti ad Moenum (Frankfort): Antonius Hieratus. With G. P. Valeriano Bolzani, *Hieroglyphica*. Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 103; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxii; Sbordone, lxiv; NUC. BL (DLC; IaU; MeB).

1618, Parisiis (Paris): Romanus de Beauvais. (Gr.-Lat.) With Nicolaus Caussinus, *De symbolica Aegyptiorum sapientia*. Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 103; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxiii; Sbordone, lxv (no date given); NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; NN; WaU).

1623, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): I. Kinckius. With Nicolaus Caussinus. NUC. (CtY; NN; WaU).

1626, Lugduni (Lyons): P. Frellon. (Gr.-Lat.) With G. P. Valeriano Bolzani, *Hieroglyphica*. Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 103; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxii–xxxiii; Sbordone, lxiv; NUC. (ICN; CU).

1631, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): Ioannes Kinckius. With Nicolaus Caussinus. Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxiii; NUC; BL; (CU; ICN; RPB).

(*) 1631, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): Hierati fr. With G. P. Valeriano Bolzani, *Hieroglyphica*. BN.

1633, Parisiis (Paris): J. Jost. With Nicolaus Caussinus. NUC. (ICN; WU).

(*) 1634, Parisiis (Paris): J. Jost. With Nicolaus Caussinus. Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 103; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxiii; NUC. BL; BN; (MH; NNUT).

(*) 1634, Parisiis (Paris): A. Taupinart. (Gr.-Lat.) With Nicolaus Caussinus. Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 103; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxiii; NUC. BN; (NcD).

1647, Parisiis (Paris): S. Piget. (Gr.-Lat.) With Nicolaus Caussinus. Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxiii; NUC. BN; (ICU; NN; MH-AH).

1654, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne):

I. Kinckius. With Nicolaus Caussinus. NUC. (IU; DLC).

(*) 1678, Francofurti ad Moenum (Frankfort). With G. P. Valeriano Bolzani, *Hieroglyphica*. NUC. (DLC; NNC).

1835, Amstelodami (Amsterdam): J. Muller. (Gr.-Lat.) Graesse, III, 376; Sbordone, lxv; NUC. BL; BN; (DLC; Md BP; NcD).

Doubtful Edition:

(*) 1605. Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 103; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxi; Graesse, III, 375 ("Une éd. de 1605 n'existe pas.").

Biography:

Johannes Mercerus (Mercerius, Jean Mercier) was born in the early sixteenth century in Uzès of noble parents and studied law in Avignon and Toulouse. Languages fascinated him; he quit his law studies to pursue Hebrew, Syrian, and Chaldean. Mercier succeeded his professor Vatable in the Hebrew chair at the Collège Royal in 1546. Political unrest during the reign of Charles IX drove Mercier to Venice in 1567. Upon returning to France to arrange for the printing of some of his works, Mercier died in 1570, a victim of the plague that had ravaged Languedoc.

Works: Mercier's interpretations of the Scriptures were remarkable for their rabbinical erudition. They include *Evangelium Matthaei Hebraicum, recens e Judaeorum penetralibus erutum, cum interpretatione latina . . .* (1555); *Targum in XII: prophetas minores latine* (1559); *Syriaca paraphrasis Ruth . . .* (1564); *Commentarii in V. prophetas minores* (1565).

Bibliography: M. Eug and E. Haag, *La France Protestante*, VII (Paris, 1857), 328–31; Grente, *Dictionnaire . . . seizième siècle*, 509–10; Jöcher, supp., IV, 1479; Michaud, XXVIII, 8–9.

COMMENTARIES

a. Johannes Mercerus

Mercerus' commentary, which is mainly on the Greek text, was first published with his 1548 Latin translation. In the commentary, Mercerus explains some of his editorial decisions and gives examples of hieroglyphic images in literary works; he mentions Alciati's use of hieroglyphs.

In Orum Apollinem Observationes (ed. of Paris, 1548). [Inc.]: "Ὀρου Ἀπόλλωνος Sol Aegyptiis ὄφες dicitur, idque ut infra apud hunc

autorem videre est, ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν ὥρῶν κρατεῖν, quod eius motu (ut qui non temporum modo, quemadmodum scribit Plinius libri 2. cap. 6, terrarumque, sed siderum etiam ipsorum coelique rector sit) horarum ac temporum distinguantur intervalla . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Atque hic nostrarum Observationum finis sit. Quas, etsi non ipsis omnia quae in hoc autore mutila erant loca restituimus, eo tamen nomine boni, Lector, consules, quod et pleraque vix possunt restitui, nisi adsit vetusti alicuius codicis copia, et ipsum etiam Venetianum exemplar, unde haec transcripta sunt, multis scatebat mendis, atque haud scio an paucioribus, quam quod iam a multis annis hic typis mandatum fuerat. Tu interim bene vale, et his fruere. Finis Observationum in Hieroglyphica Ori Apollinis.

Editions:

See the editions of 1548 and 1727 of Mercerus' Translation A (p. 26, above) and the editions of 1551 and 1595 of Mercerus' Translation B (p. 27, above).

Biography:

See above.

b. David Hoeschelius

The commentary of Hoeschelius was first published with the Augsburg edition of 1595. The accompanying translation is that of Mercerus (1551). Hoeschelius discusses variant readings and refers to earlier translations. He mentions hieroglyphic symbols appearing in literary works and ecclesiastical writings, such as those of Homer, Plutarch, Censorinus, Philo, and G. P. Valeriano Bolzani.

Commentary (ed. of Paris, 1595). Notae Davidis Hoeschelii Aug. ad I. Librum Hieroglyphic. Horapollinis. [Inc.]: 'Ὀραπόλλωνος Ita liber Aug. calamo diligenter exaratus. Videatur is, cuius vitam ex Suida initio praefiximus; isti enim libelli ad τεμενικά referri possunt. [Expl.]: (II. 119) adeo ut Anaxagoras ille priscus humanae sapientiae causam manibus imputaverit. Falso quidem hoc; non enim propter manus homo est sapientissimus, sed quia natura eum ratione et arte praediderat, instrumenta quoque talia est nactus. Eadem Galeni sententia, lib. I. de usu partium corporis humani. Notarum D. H. Finis.

Editions:

1595, Augustae Vindelicorum (Augsburg): Max Welser. (Gr.-Lat.) Adams H-847; Fabricius

and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 103; Graesse, III, 375; C. Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica* (Amsterdam, 1835), xxxi–xxxii; Sbordone, lxiv; NUC. BL; BN; (NN; NcD).

1727, *Trajecti ad Rhenum* (Utrecht): Melchior Leonardus Charlois. (Gr.-Lat.) Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 103–4; Graesse, III, 375–76; Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica*, xxxiii–xxxiv; Sbordone, lxv; NUC. BL; BN; (DLC; NjP; NNUT).

Biography:

David Hoeschelius (David Hoeschel) was born in Augsburg on April 14, 1556; he died there in 1617. Upon completing his classical studies in 1579 at the University of Wittenberg (paid for by his generous benefactor, Welser), Hoeschel was appointed to a teaching post in Lauingen.

In 1581 Hoeschel returned to Augsburg to accept the chair in humanities procured for him by Jerome Wolf, his former teacher. Hoeschel succeeded Simon Fabricius as professor of Greek in 1593. A few years later he was named librarian for the city of Augsburg and finally rector of the

college of St. Anne. His humanist friends included Isaac Casaubon, Scaliger, and Justus Lipsius.

Works: Hoeschel was justifiably famous for organizing and editing Greek manuscripts (*Catalogus codicum graecorum qui sunt in biblioth. reipubl. August. Vindelicorum*, 1595). He published editions and translations of several Church Fathers (Athanasius, Chrysostomus, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Origin) and of many other ancient authors, including Appian, Lamprias, Philo, Photius, Procopius, and Terence.

Bibliography: H. Kaemmel in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XIII (1881), 176–77; *Neue deutsche Biographie*, IX (1971), 368–69; Jöcher, II, 1646–47; Michaud, XIX, 496; Nicéron, XXVIII, 125–34.

A. Severyns, “Nouvelles recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus. La seconde édition de Schott (1615),” *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l’Académie Royale de Belgique*, LV (1969), 513–33.