

NEMESIUS EMESENUS

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FORTUNA*

The treatise commonly known as *Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου*, *De natura hominis*, was very widely read and quoted almost from its own day until the seventeenth century and even later. A remarkable feature of the fortuna of this work is that in spite of its dissemination in whole or in part in both Eastern and Western scholarly circles, more individuals probably read the text under the name of Gregorius Nyssenus or as anonymous rather than as the product of its real author, Nemesis of Emesa. His exact identity has long been a matter for speculation among scholars. That he was a scientist-physician as well as a cleric can hardly be questioned. Some scholars have advanced the

suggestion that he was Nemesis, the friend of Gregorius Nazianzenus and governor of Cappadocia, who was raised as a pagan but who later embraced Christianity.¹ Many men were named Nemesis at the time, however, and it has not been possible to identify the author of *De natura hominis* definitely with any one of them.² It can be said with some certainty that he was a bishop of Emesa, modern Homs in Syria, possibly the fifth to occupy that see, and that by the year A.D. 400 at the latest, he had written his famous book.³

As the late Benedict Einarson pointed out, *Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου* was not the title of the entire work, which was unfinished, but of the first chapter, although it became generally used as the title for the whole.⁴ There were exceptions as is evidenced by the remark of Johannes Diaconus Veronensis (s. XIV) in an extant fragment of his *Historia Imperialis* in which he spoke of Burgundio's Latin version of the entire treatise as "De anima . . . librum de anima valde obscurum qui a iudice Pisano translatus fuit in Latinum tempore Friderici II [sic] Imperatoris."⁵

Uncertainty about the identity of the author is reflected in the common though erroneous attribution of the work to Gregory of Nyssa in one branch of the Greek tradition and hence in the Latin and Eastern-language versions dependent on it. The tremendous popularity of *De natura hominis* was not attributable to the reputation of a prominent writer, but to its content. That same popularity, however, led readers and copyists to

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1. See Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Epistolae*, 198, 199, 200, 201 (PG XXXVI, 321–29), and *Carmen ad Nemesium* (Carmen II.2.7).

2. Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. VII (1940), 562; William Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesis of Emesa*, Library of Christian Classics, IV (London, 1955), 207–10.

3. Otto Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, III (Darmstadt, 1962); W. Jaeger, *Nemesis von Emesa* (Berlin, 1914), 3 and 5, n. 2; J. Quasten, *Patrology*, III (Utrecht, 1960), 354; Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem, and Nemesis* 206; G. Verbeke, *Filosofie en Christendom in Het Mensbeeld van Nemesis van Emesa* (see General Bibliography, II.B), 6–7.

4. On the unfinished character of the treatise see B. Domanski, *Psychologie des Nemesis* (Münster, 1900), 80, n. 1; K. Burkhard, "Zur Kapitelfolge . . .," *Philologus*, LXLX (1910), 38.

5. See J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis*, I (Florentiae, 1858), 282. In addition, it is possible that the title *De natura humana et de providentia* in a now lost manuscript (Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale J V 27; see Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 179) refers to a Latin version of *De natura hominis*; see CTC, V, 120.

seek for, or to assume, a well-known figure as the author. It cannot now be determined who first attributed Nemesius' treatise to Gregory of Nyssa, but a reader or hearer presented with the name of Nemesius Emesenus, which was unfamiliar to him, and knowing that Nyssenus, an illustrious figure of the same era, had written a work with approximately the same title, *Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου* *De opificio hominis*, obviously would not find it hard to conclude that "Nemesius" was an error for Nyssenus, or that the latter name could be spelled "Emis(s)enus" or "Emsenus" or the like.⁶ More obscure or involved explanations probably should not be sought for the resultant confusion of authorship. So although the content of the two treatises was quite different, the similarity of the authors' names and of the titles of their works contributed heavily to the erroneous attribution of *De natura hominis* to Nyssenus, with few exceptions in the West, and even in the Greek and Near Eastern traditions, before the mid-sixteenth century.⁷ Hence Nemesius' work is found in printed editions of the Latin Nyssenus from 1512 through 1562,⁸ which certainly influenced the popularity of the work.⁹

Several manuscripts contain another variant of the author's name, unrelated to the confusion with Nyssenus, and we find Adamantios or Adamantion used separately or together with Nemesius.¹⁰ F. Turrianus in his scholia to Johannes Cyparissiotis, Dec. V, ch. 9, quoted Nemesius Adamantius, liber II, *de homine*; the passage is from *De natura hominis* chapter II. Though the origin of the appellation is unknown, the case bears some analogy to that of Origines Adamantius (see Hieronymus, *De vir. illustr.*, ch. LIV.

6. See CTC, V, 5 and 16, for attribution to Nyssenus. For confusion in spelling see, e.g., Honorius of Autun (s. XII) in *De luminaribus ecclesiae*; and Trithemius (1462–1519) in *De script. eccles.* For the concern of an early sixteenth-century translator see below, p. 58.

7. A scholion in one manuscript of the Latin version of Alfano gives the real author's name; the versions of Valla and Anonymus B (1541), which named Nemesius, were not well known.

8. See CTC, V, Gregorius Nyssenus, Composite Editions.

9. G. Verbeke, *Filosofie en Christendom in Het Mensbeeld van Nemesius van Emesa* (Brussels, 1971), 6.

10. K. Burkhard, *Wiener Studien*, XI (1889), 150 (see Bibliography C, below); the Praefatio to Matthaei's edition, p. 33, in which Fabricius discusses the question; and especially M. Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta del "De natura hominis" di Nemesio*, (Milan, 1981), 11, 15.

The note on this passage in PL XXIII, 664, suggests one meaning; J. Quasten, *Patrology* [Utrecht, 1960], II, 38, and Liddell and Scott prefer another. See also Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI, 14; Pauly-Wissowa, I, 343, Adamantios 3).

Another unusual rendering of Nemesius' name occurs in attributions of quotations from *De natura hominis* to a "Remigius." This was first brought to light by Ignatius Brady in the course of his preparation of an edition (1948) of a newly discovered *Liber de anima* by William of Vaurillon (Vorillon), a Franciscan scholar who died in 1453.¹¹ William quoted from a Remigius, *Liber de anima*; the quotations almost certainly came from Nemesius' work. The investigations revealed that the same work was quoted as Remigius' by a number of others in that era such as Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, ps. Bonaventure, and John of Rupella. The earliest known use of Remigius for Nemesius is by Philip the Chancellor (d. 1236). One hypothesis attempting to explain the substitution of Remigius for Nemesius suggests that there existed one or more manuscripts whose prototype was the work of an unlearned copyist who, as described above, was unfamiliar with the obscure name Nemesius and changed it to the more familiar (to him) Remigius (of Auxerre, s. IX). This error might well have arisen in France. Benedict Einarson offered another suggestion based on a scribal hand in which "n" looked like "r" and "s" like "g." The problem awaits further study.

There are roughly one hundred Greek manuscripts extant today containing all or part of Nemesius' treatise.¹² Recent studies by Moreno Morani have refined the older grouping of the manuscripts by Karl Burkhard.¹³ There are, broadly speaking, two main manuscript families. The first, β , includes the prototype of the

11. I. Brady, "Remigius and Nemesius," *Franciscan Studies*, VIII (1948), 275–84. On William's *De anima*, see Ignatius Brady, "Liber de Anima of William of Vaurillon," *Mediaeval Studies*, X (1948), 224–97, and XI (1949), 247–307. See also Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 26–28.

12. Information on the number of manuscripts was obtained from the late Benedict Einarson's Introduction to his critical edition of the Greek text and was kindly furnished by Phillip De Lacy, who is preparing the text for publication. See also Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 220–24.

13. See Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, which is devoted to this subject. See also General Bibliography below, p. 45, under Manuscript Tradition. Burkhard's work appears in *Wiener Studien*, X (1888), 93–135; XI (1889), 143–52, 243–67.

now unknown exemplars used by Alfano, Anonymus B, and Valla, as well as by the Georgian translator. In them Nemeseus is named as author of *De natura hominis*. The prototype of the second family, γ , lies behind Vatican Library, Chis. R. IV.13 (s. X–XI), a manuscript very like if not the same as that used by Burgundio. John of Damascus' text is related indirectly to this group.¹⁴ Gregory of Nyssa is usually named as author in these copies, although some manuscripts seem to cross strictly drawn boundaries.¹⁵

A discussion of chapter divisions is beyond the scope of this article. Einarson concluded from his research that the divisions were probably in the archetype but do not go back to the author himself.¹⁶ The sequence of material is about the same for chapters I–XVIII, but at times two chapters are combined into one (e.g., chs. IV and V by Burgundio as also by his source resembling Vatican Library, Chis. R. IV.13 (s. X–XI) or a close relative. Ellebodius' text and others based on it, those of Christian Friedrich Matthaei and J. P. Migne, followed John of Damascus in placing "De metu" (their ch. XX) before "De ira" (their ch. XXI). Their exemplar must have shown this order also; but Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.1.6 (Misc. 184), with whose text John's excerpts have been demonstrated to have an affinity, gives the order "De ira," "De metu."¹⁷ This succession also appears in Burgundio, Valla, and Cono. Alfano's translation has a confused order of the contents and in addition omits seven sections. There exist a number of other irregularities in the arrangement of materials. Among them is the transposition of chapter I to the end of the treatise in at least one instance (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana Nazionale gr. 266, s. XV). One eleventh-century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. E. V. 4 (misc. 69), is described by H. O. Coxe, *Cat. Bodl.*, I (1953), 655, as "liber in capita lvi distributus."

Some Greek manuscripts contain only chapters II and III, *De anima*; among them are Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale II.4837 (s. XVI); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek gr. 512

(s. XV) and 291 (s. XVI); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holk. 107 (s. XVI); Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale 107 (120 Cosentini) s. XVI. They all attribute the text to Nyssen.¹⁸ Fabricius mentions in addition an Augsburg manuscript of this type.

The two manuscripts Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E.1.6 (s. XIV) and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 4758 (s. XVI) also contain these two chapters and assign them to Nyssen. Nicholas of Cusa and Erasmus both used the Oxford manuscript and it was Johannes Cono's *only* Greek source for the text of Nemeseus (See below p. 57.). But these two manuscripts also contain Nemeseus, Chapters XXIV and XXV, *De pulsibus* and *De generandi facultate*, a fact which has not heretofore been emphasized; they are obviously unusual companions for the *De anima* chapters. Moreover, immediately following them is a series of pericopes drawn from the genuine Nyssen, Irenaeus, and Theodoretus which furnish a kind of commentary by parallel passages. The well documented histories of the Oxford and Madrid manuscripts seem to preclude any direct connection and require positing of a common ancestor for the Nemeseus portions; the remaining contents of both manuscripts differ completely.¹⁹

J. Draeseke's hypothesis that Chapters II and III were already in s. VIII ascribed to Nyssen as yet lacks verification but merits further study although generally rejected. The explanation for the separate circulation of Chapters II and III (though obviously not of all of the material in the Oxford and Madrid manuscripts) may be quite simple. The subject matter, *De anima*, was very popular. It could have appealed to the religious-philosophical community in a way that the medical-scientific chapters could not have. Separate copies of just the *De anima* chapters may well have been in demand, possibly for comparison with Aristotle's famous work on the subject. Nemeseus was not well known. An unlearned scribe might easily have thought that he saw "Nyssen," who was renowned for his spiritual writings, when in reality "Nemeseus" was written. As late as 1638 the two chapters

14. Morani is continuing his study of the Vatican manuscript. On John's text see Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 114–19, regarding an Oxford manuscript (unfortunately, a misprint gives T.1.6, rather than T.1.4).

15. See, for example, *ibid.*, 55.

16. Information furnished by Phillip De Lacy.

17. G. Richter, *Die Dialektik des J.v.D.*, *Studia Patristica et Byzantina*, Heft 10 (Ettal, 1964), 33.

18. Benedict Einarson initially provided information on these manuscripts. More recently, Phillip De Lacy confirmed the list; he also furnished a microfilm of Taur. 107.

19. For the Oxford manuscript, see below, p. 57. For the Madrid manuscript, see M. Sicherl, *Die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Übersetzungen von Jamblichos de Mysteriis, Texte und Untersuchungen*, LXII (1957), 62–67.

were printed in an edition of Nyssen's works. Indeed, J. P. Migne took that edition as the basis for his edition of Nyssen in his *Patrologia Graeca*, and the Nemesius chapters were reprinted in its several editions, although scholars had long since recognized their real author (see below, p. 42).

Chapters II and III were not the only ones to circulate separately. Chapters I–III appear in several Greek manuscripts. Chapter I alone appears in the Greek *Florilegium Coislinianum* (ca. A.D. 850). The well-known manuscript, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek 58 (s. XV) contains only chapters XXXIV–XXXVII. Many other examples could be cited.

One other work has at times been attributed to Nemesius of Emesa, the *De contemnenda morte* (see below, p. 68). In the present era Draeseke alone has supported Nemesian authorship, but he has failed to convince the majority of scholars. The treatise is generally accepted as the work of Demetrius Cydones, a fourteenth-century monk.

1. NEMESIUS IN THE GREEK AND BYZANTINE WORLD

Nemesius' name is first mentioned in Greek literature in s. VII, when both Maximus Confessor and Anastasius Sinaiticus²⁰ quoted passages from *De natura hominis* and named Nemesius as its author. The anonymous compiler of the treatise *De anima ad Tatianum*, who some think may have been a Syrian and who lived at some time in the period between s. V and s. VII, used Nemesius extensively without naming him.²¹

By the early eighth century something had happened to confuse the question of authorship of *De natura hominis*; no Greek witness is extant from this period (for the 716/717 Armenian ver-

sion attributed to Nyssen, see p. 39 below). There is no proof that John of Damascus (ca. 650–749) had any responsibility for the attribution of Nemesius' treatise to Nyssen. He does incorporate in the *De fide orthodoxa* portion (742–749) of his monumental *Fons scientiae* large blocks of quotations from *De natura hominis*. John sometimes names his sources. He never mentions Nemesius; he sometimes mentioned Gregory of Nyssa when quoting him; on other occasions he did not. Later writers, noting his fondness for Nyssen, suggested that John attributed his quotations from *De natura hominis* to him. Subsequent generations of scholars followed them. One must recall that John was also fond of Maximus Confessor, quoting him often; Maximus assigned *De natura hominis* to Nemesius. The importance of the Damascene in the *fortuna* of Nemesius lies both in the sheer volume of text quoted and in the immense popularity of the vehicle (*De fide orthodoxa*) that carried it, spreading knowledge of the portions quoted. John's chapters XXVI–XLIII (Book II.12–II.29) are made up largely of quotations from Nemesius loosely strung together by connecting sentences. John must have had a text in front of him because there are many verbatim quotations in addition to paraphrased passages. Whether he used a copy of *De natura hominis* or a florilegium has been debated.²² The hundreds of still extant manuscripts of *De fide orthodoxa* give evidence of the wide circulation of John's work containing the excerpts from Nemesius.

Since *De fide orthodoxa* was so important in both the Greek East and the Latin West in the *fortuna* of Nemesius, *De natura hominis*, there follows a much simplified list of the chapters of Nemesius from which John excerpted to a greater or lesser extent. It is intended only for the general reader. Those wishing to make a detailed study should consult the studies listed in the footnote.²³

20. See Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua* and *Opusculum theol. ad Marinum* (PG, XCI) and detailed list of quotations in Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 101–4; see Anastasius Sinaiticus', *Quaestiones* (PG, LXXXIX) and detailed list of quotations in Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 121–25; see also F. Heinzer, "Anmerkungen zum Willensbegriff Maximus Confessors," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, XXVIII (1981), 372–92. Jacob Gretser made a Latin translation of this work of Anastasius which was published in Ingolstadt in 1617. In spite of unresolved problems relating to the date and authorship of the *Quaestiones*, the quotations in Anastasius are still an early testimony to recognition of Nemesius' authorship.

21. See CTC, V, 63 ff.

22. See Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 114–19, for a discussion of the Oxford florilegium.

23. *Ibid.*, 105–13, offers a revision of Burkhard's list of passages from *De natura hominis* incorporated by John of Damascus in *De fide orthodoxa*. Burkhard's list is in *Wiener Eranos* (Vienna, 1909), 89–101. B. Kotter's edition of *De fide orthodoxa* also has a list of passages on pages 256–57. Buytaert's edition of Burgundio of Pisa's translation of *De fide orthodoxa* and Verbeke and Moncho's edition of Burgundio's Nemesius identify specific parallels on each page. See also D. Bender, *Untersuchungen zu Nemesius von Emesa* (Leipzig, 1898), 82.

The first column lists the main chapters of the *De fide orthodoxa*, in the translation of Burgundio, in which Johannes Damascenus makes use of the *De natura hominis*; the sec-

Johannes Damascenus

De fide orthodoxa

(tr. Burgundio)

Ch. XXVI (II.12) De homine

Ch. XXVII (II.13) De laetitiis

Ch. XXVIII (II.14) De tristitia

Ch. XXIX (II.15) De timore

Ch. XXX (II.16) De ira

Ch. XXXI (II.17) De imaginativo

Ch. XXXII (II.18) De sensu
(includes topics
in Nemesis, VI–X)

Ch. XXXIII (II.19) De excogitativo

Ch. XXXIV (II.20) De memorativo

Ch. XXXV (II.21) De interioribus . . . sermone

Ch. XXXVI (II.22) De passione

Ch. XXXVIII (II.24) De voluntario et
involuntario

Ch. XXXIX (II.25) De libero arbitrio

Ch. XL (II.26) De iis quae fiunt

Ch. XLI (II.27) Propter quam causam
liberi arbitrio facti
sumus . . .

Ch. XLIII (II.29) De providentia

In the ninth century, Meletius, a monk from Tiberiopolis in north Phrygia, made extensive use of Nemesis' work in the course of compiling his *Synopsis*, a collection of opinions from writings of philosophers and fathers of the church on the nature of man.²⁴ He quoted so many passages almost verbatim that his treatise came to have almost the value of another manuscript of Nemesis. Meletius did not name his

ond column lists the corresponding chapters of the *De natura hominis*, also in the translation of Burgundio.

Nemesis

De natura hominis

(tr. Burgundio)

I De homine

XVII De voluptatibus

XVIII De aegritudine

XX De timore

XIX De ira

V De imaginativo

VI De visu

IX De auditu

X De odoratu

VIII De gustu

VII De tactu

XI De excogitativo

XII De memorativo

XIII De logo endiatheto

XV Alia divisio

XXVIII De voluntario et
involuntario

XXIX De involuntario

XXX De involuntario quod
est propter ignorantiam

XXXI De voluntario

XXXII De electione

XXXVIII De libero arbitrio

XXXIX De eo quod sunt
quaedam in nobis

XL Propter quam causam . . .

XLI De providentia

source for the quotations in the body of his work, but the anonymous author of the prooemium to the *Synopsis* lists authors whom he thought Meletius used. Nyssen, not Nemesis, appears in the list.²⁵

Leo Medicus, who may or may not be identical with Leo Philosophus, and who may have lived at the end of the ninth century, composed *Synopsis de natura hominum*, which was noth-

24. A good case for placing Meletius no earlier than s. XII has recently been made by Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 132–50. This theory must be weighed against the undisputed fact of the use of Meletius by Leo Medicus/Philosophus, who may have lived in the late ninth century. On the uncertainty of date, see R. Renehan, cited in footnote 26, below.

25. E. Amman, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XI, 1.65, believed Meletius himself compiled the list. For further information on Meletius see D. Bender, "Meletius u. die Dresdener Handschriften des Nemesis," *Untersuchungen zu N.v.E.* (Leipzig, 1898), 79–99; G. Helmreich, "Handschriftliche Studien zu Meletius," *Abhdg. der königl. preuss. Ak. d. Wissenschaften Phil.-hist. kl.* (1918), 3–61.

ing more than a series of excerpts from Meletius, *Synopsis*. Since Leo was primarily interested in medical matters, however, he quoted only a few of the Nemesius excerpts in Meletius.²⁶

Moreno Morani has called attention to the quotations from Nemesius which appear in the ps. John of Damascus, Barlaam and Joasaph tale²⁷ and to the extensive use made of Nemesius by Nilus Doxapatrius (fl. ca. A.D. 1145)²⁸ in his *De oeconomia Dei in homines*.

Michael Glykas (last two-thirds of s. XII) quoted Nemesius a number of times in his *Annales*. Sometimes he referred to him by name (e.g., PG, CLVIII, 141; 213); elsewhere he quoted a passage without mentioning the author (e.g., PG, CLVIII, 149). Awaiting further study are the questions raised by Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 94 (s. XV), which contains the epitomes by Andrea Dono of Nemesius' treatise and of Nicephoras Blemmydes (s. XIII), *Epitome physica*. For whatever reason the first portions of both epitomes are identical.

In assessing the influence of Nemesius on later writers, care must be taken to avoid naming Nemesius as the source in cases when the material that appears both in his and in later writers' work was borrowed or adopted by Nemesius from earlier authors. This is especially true of the medical chapters and those that treat of the soul. For an illustration of such a situation, see H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* (Berlin, 1879), 386ff.

2. NEAR EASTERN TRANSLATIONS

Knowledge of *De natura hominis* began to spread in Syriac- and Arabic-speaking circles at least by s. VI. Around that time an anonymous writer compiled a treatise *De anima ad Tatianum* in which he quoted Nemesius. The work was later generally ascribed to Gregorius Thaumaturgus, but at times Nyssenus or Maximus Confessor was named as author. The treatise was obviously put together in several stages. A Syr-

iac manuscript in the British Library (Add. 14658, Wright, *Cat. of Syriac Mss in the B.M.*, III, 1157) contains this work ascribed to Aristotle. The Syriac version of all works in the manuscript is attributed to the well-known Sergius of Reschaina (s. VI), who was probably unaware that he was translating passages from Nemesius, not Aristotle. See CTC, V, 63ff. on the treatise itself and, on the Syriac manuscript, see B. Einarson, "On a Supposed Pseudo-Aristotelian Treatise on the Soul," *Classical Philology*, XXVII (1933), 129–30.

By the middle of the eighth century, during the flowering of learning under Harun al Raschid (ca. 764–809), the Catholikos Timotheos I was also promoting Syriac translations of Greek works. In his Letter 43 addressed to Rabban Mar Petion, he asked him to look up a number of Greek writings. Then he said, "Seek also for the proposition of a certain philosopher who is named Nemesios, which is about the ordinance of man, and its beginning is this: man is very beautifully fashioned from a spiritual soul and a body. And he completed this in five sections, more or less, and promised to take up concerning the soul. But this second one does not exist." Timotheos perhaps had in front of him a catalogue listing Nemesius' treatise among others and giving an incipit and explicit. He asked Petion for a copy of the first work and said the second, promised one did not (as far as he knew) exist.²⁹

Though nothing positive can be drawn from Timotheos' letter about Syriac translations of Nemesius, we do have proof that they existed. A scholiast on an Armenian version must have had a Syriac translation in front of him when he stated, "Here the Syriac version translates *zotikon*" (rather than *pathetikon*). Some scholars believe that Syriac versions bore the name of Nyssenus.³⁰ On the other hand, we know that the ninth-century bishop of Mosul, Moses bar

26. On Leo, see R. Renehan, *Leo the Physician: Epitome on the Nature of Man, Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, x, 4.

27. No author for the quotations is named. The Greek version dates from s. XI and is probably the work of Euthymius the Georgian. For details see Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 120.

28. *Ibid.*, 127–32. See also H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 619–21. Nilus Doxapatrius knew Nemesius as author of *De natura hominis*.

29. Text in O. Braun, "Briefe des Katholikos Timotheos I," *Oriens Christianus*, II (1911), 1–29, esp. 8–11; J. Draseke, "Ein Testimonium Ignatianum," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, XLVI (1903), 505–12; Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 216–17. I am indebted to R. A. Henshaw, Professor of Old Testament, Colgate Rochester Divinity School, for his translation and analysis of Timotheos' statement on Nemesius' work. He states that the Syriac cannot bear the meaning that Timotheos lacks only a copy of the second work; Timotheos has neither work.

30. A. Zanolli, "Sur une ancienne traduction syriaque," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétienne*, XX (1915), 333.

Kepha (ca. 815–903), paraphrased some passages of chapter II of Nemesius' treatise in his *De anima* without naming his source. In his *De paradiso* he said, "Hanc sententiam firmat Numysius philosophus Christianus sic scribens." The passage that follows has never been located in *De natura hominis*.³¹ Likewise the Syrian Job of Edessa (d. 835) incorporated passages from Nemesius, without naming him, in his *Ketaba de Simata* (*Book of Treasures*).³²

Our knowledge of the influence of Nemesius in Arabic-speaking circles has recently increased measurably and continues to expand.³³ Four different versions are now established as a result of the investigations of Khalil Samir.³⁴ They can be dated from ca. 815 to ca. 911 and are mentioned here in the order in which they came to the attention of scholars. For many years only one Arabic version of *De natura hominis* was known. It was attributed, at least by the time of Abu al Barakat (s. XIV), to the great Nestorian scholar, physician, and translator, Hunain ibn Ishāq (d. 873) (see Bibliography under Graf and Sarton). Some manuscripts and a number of later scholars assigned the version to his son, Ishāq ibn Hunain (d. 910/911) (Morani, Van Riet, Verbeke). More recently Samir, basing his conclusions on more manuscripts, chronological considerations, and a careful analysis of the language and style, pointed out that there were two distinct recensions of this version; he believes that Hunain himself was responsible for the first because it must date from before 873 (see his argument). His son may have been the reviser of his father's translation. Both recensions name Nyssenens as author of *De natura hominis*.

In 1942 Paul Kraus called attention to another, earlier Arabic version, which appeared in con-

nection with a treatise that formed part of the Jabir Corpus. This collection was compiled later but went under the name of Abu Musa Jābir ibn Ḥayyān (721–813), who was a celebrated chemist. He, or the later compiler, acknowledged his use of the work of one Balinas, which was entitled either *Kitab sirr al-haliqa* (*Liber secreti creationis*) or *Kitab al-'ilal* (*Liber de causis*). Balinas quoted Nemesius' work. Scholars have long identified Balinas with a ps. Apollonius (s. V–VII), as distinguished from the real Apollonius of Tyana, who lived around 100. Some believe a Greek original underlay this *De causis*; others argue for an intermediate Syriac version, possibly the work of Sergius of Reschaina (d. 535). In any case, Nemesius was not only quoted by Balinas; in some manuscripts of Recension B of the work, *De causis*, there is appended to the text as an extended footnote on a quotation an abridged version of the first thirty chapters of *De natura hominis*. All allusions to Christian doctrine are removed for Islamic readers. Moreover, the language is more archaic than that of the text on which it is a comment.³⁵ Samir's recent detailed study offers proof for the earlier conclusion of Kraus and Weisser that this version dates from ca. 815 during the caliphate of Ma'mun (813–833). It is the earliest known Arabic version of Nemesius' work. A Latin translation of Balinas, *De causis*, but not of the appended Nemesius text, was made in the twelfth century by Hugo Sanctelliensis.³⁶

A fourth, partial Arabic translation, of chapter I only, appears in the manuscript Sinai, arab. 481. Attention has been called to it by Samir, who considers it the most accurate of the four with respect to the Greek text. He dates it ca. 850. It alone of the four versions names Nemesius as the author.³⁷

A study of the quotations from Nemesius found in works of Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl (s. XI

31. See G. Klinge, "Die Bedeutung der syrischen Theologen . . .," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Folge 3, no. 9 (1939), 363ff. For the passage in *De paradiso*, ch. XX, see PG, CXI, 508. For *De anima* see Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 100. See also Paul Kraus (Bibliography E, below), p. 78 and note on text, p. 340.

32. There is an English translation edited by A. Mingana (1935).

33. I am indebted to the late Benedict Einarson for bringing to my attention the use of Nemesius in the Jabir corpus, and to Gerard Verbeke for his assistance in locating a copy of U. Weisser's work.

34. Moreno Morani apprised me of the research of Khalil Samir, who subsequently generously provided a copy of his as yet unpublished conclusions regarding the Arabic versions of *De natura hominis*.

35. See especially the study of Khalil Samir, and, in addition, Paul Kraus (see Bibliography E, below), 280; the critical edition of U. Weisser and her comment, pp. 23ff.

36. Paris lat. 13951 (fols. 1–31) (s. XII in.). Hugo probably came from northwestern Spain, which may have been the cause of P. Nau's belief that a Hebrew version underlay the translation. See C. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge, 1927), 79–80. There is also an anonymous version in Vienna, ÖNB, 3124, s. XV. A critical edition is in preparation by D'Alverny and Hudry in Paris.

37. Khalil Samir is preparing a critical edition of this version.

med.) and Mu'taman al-Dawlah ibn al-Assāl (s. XIII med.) is being carried on by Khalil Samir.³⁸

Around 980 Ibn an-Nadim, compiler of the encyclopedia *Fihrist*, referred to *De natura hominis* as the work of Nyssenens.

The first Armenian translation appeared in 717.³⁹ It named Nyssenens as author. This version omitted a number of passages but is still a valuable witness to a form of the text somewhat different from that commonly known. Only the manuscripts in Western libraries have thus far been studied.⁴⁰ The four codices of the Biblioteca dei Padri Mechitaristi, Isola di San Lazzaro at Venice belong to family β; the codex in Vienna follows tradition γ. The translation claims to have been made at Constantinople by David Hypatos, the cellarer, and Stephanos, a priest, grammarian, and pupil of Moses, bishop of Siunia. This Armenian version was published by the Mechitarists of Venice in 1889. The notes of Moreno Morani anticipating a new critical edition have already been published. There also exists an unpublished Armenian commentary from the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Morani suggests that it might be called an epitome.⁴¹

De natura hominis was translated into Georgian by Johannes Petric'i around 1000. It was edited by S. R. Gorgadse at Tbilisi in 1924. Unfortunately, he had no Greek text at hand and worked from the Georgian with only the help of Theodor Vladimirkij's Russian translation from the Greek. Georgian manuscripts belong to family β and attribute the treatise to Nemesius. A new edition of the works of Petric'i including his Nemesius has been in preparation at Tbilisi, according to the late Benedict Einarson.

3. NEMESIUS IN THE LATIN WEST

There is no firm evidence for direct acquaintance with the *De natura hominis* in the West in the early Middle Ages. Julianus Pomerius (ca.

450–98) composed a now lost work, *Libri octo de anima*, and the summary of its contents by Gennadius of Marseilles (d. s. V ex.) in his *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (ch. 98, PL, LVIII, 1117–18) indicates that the resemblance to Nemesius, *Libri octo de philosophia*—to use the title given *De natura hominis* by Johannes Cono in the sixteenth century—was probably confined to the titles of the books. Those of the first two (1. Quid sit anima vel qualiter ad imaginem Dei credatur facta, and 2. Utrum anima corporea an incorporea debeat credi) obviously dealt with some of the same topics as did Nemesius in his chapters II and III. One cannot, however, say, as did William Cave (1637–1713) followed by Gallandi (1709–79), that Pomerius was directly indebted to Nemesius. “De anima” was a favorite topic with many writers across the centuries, and dependence of the opinions of one author upon those of another “De anima” is difficult to prove.

A portion of chapter V of Nemesius' work (PG, XL, 626C–631A; Matthaei [Lat.], 45, 4–46, 28) is inserted into the sixth-century Latin translation by Dionysius Exiguus of Gregory of Nyssenens, *De opificio hominis*, in the edition of 1537 and in some later editions. This insertion (in the revision of J. Cono of Burgundio's version of Nemesius) is the work of the sixteenth-century editor, not of Dionysius. See CTC, V, 121.

An incomplete translation of the *De natura hominis*, lacking seven chapters, appeared in the eleventh century. It was the work of Alfano, bishop of Salerno. He gave no indication of the author's name; he even entitled the work *Prenon Physicon* (on the title see below, p. 47). Either the manuscript he used did not name the author, or he himself had doubts about the one indicated. Moreover, only one manuscript of this version bore Alfano's name, and that in the margin. Hence it is not surprising that little attention has been paid to the widespread knowledge of his translation. In the middle of the next century John of Salisbury (1115–80) had obviously read at least part of it. In his *Metalogicon*, Bk. IV, ch. XX (ed. C. C. J. Webb, 928b, p. 187), he stated, “Nam et doctores Ecclesiae et post eos Claudianus (Mamertus) et alii moderniores de anima multa scripserunt, quos si quis non potest evolvere, vel *Prenonphysicon* legat, librum de anima copiosissime disputantem. Eum tamen aliis omnibus non prepono. Sed haec hactenus.” Webb believed *Prenonphysicon* referred to William of

38. At present see Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 95–96.

39. Morani has refined the previously accepted date, *ibid.*, 71.

40. Numerous manuscripts in Eastern libraries are listed *ibid.*, 72ff.

41. Manuscript no. 194 of Bzomar convent and seven manuscripts in Erivan (ss. XV–XVIII). Nyssenens is named author. See Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 87; and Morani, “Un commento inedito al *De natura hominis* di Nemesio,” *Rendiconti dell' Istituto Lombardo* (Cl. Lett.), CVI (1972), 407–10.

St. Thierry's *Physica animae*. This was the title of chapter II, which quoted liberally from Eriugena's version of Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis*; William's treatise as a whole bore the title *De natura corporis et animae*. Moreover, in the late twelfth century the monks of St. Edmundsbury had in their possession a manuscript, possibly copied by one of their community, containing *Premnon Physikon*, though it did not mention Alfano's name. It also contained an anonymous translation of a chapter of Nemesius, *De elementis*. Interest in scientific subjects had been cultivated in England by thinkers such as Adelard of Bath, who visited Salerno before 1109, not long after Alfano's death. John of Salisbury's own travels in Italy may have brought him into contact with circles in which Alfano was known.

One should keep in mind that in the Latin West, as in the Greek East (see above, p. 35), the *De fide orthodoxa* of John of Damascus was an important vehicle for the indirect transmission of large segments of *De natura hominis*, though not under the name of Nemesius.⁴² There are four known Latin versions of *De fide orthodoxa* before 1500: by Cerbanus (ca. 1145) though only chapters XLV–LII (i.e., III.1–III.8); by Burgundio of Pisa (1153–54); by Grosseteste, a revision of Burgundio (1235–40); and by Baptista Panaetius (ca. 1495). Three additional Latin versions appeared in the sixteenth century, all owing something to Burgundio (by Jacques Lefèvre d'Estaples, Jacques de Billy, and Henry Grave) and another in 1712 (by M. Le Quien). The most influential by far of these versions was that of Burgundio. There are still extant at least 117 manuscripts of it. In addition, there are two thirteenth-century concordances which testify to its widespread use.⁴³

The revision of Burgundio's translation by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, assured even greater use of John's *De fide orthodoxa* with its large blocks of Nemesius' text, especially in England. It was known to Roger Bacon (*Opus maius* [ed. 1900], I, 70; III, 84). Duns Scotus (ca. 1265–1308) also knew of the version, "translatio lincolniensis" (*Op. Oxon.*, III, dist. 21, no. 4 [ed. of 1639], VII.435). There are many other references to the "Lincoln" transla-

tion.⁴⁴ Outside of England the monk Salimbene (1221–87) spoke in his *Chronicle* of this translation, "Hic (sc. Robertus Grossa Testa) secundo post Burgundionem iudicem Pisanum transtulit Damascenum et . . . multos alios libros." (MGH, SS XXXII.233).

Some translators of Nemesius stated plainly that they used *De fide orthodoxa* for their work, for example, Johannes Cono (see below, p. 57). He used the Latin version of his friend Jacques Lefèvre (and possibly a Greek text also). Ellobodius transposed the order of chapters XX and XXI; he mentioned that John had also done so. Modern editors, Matthaei and Migne, have followed him in that order.

The reader may consult page 53 below for a selection of parallel texts that will permit comparison of Burgundio's and Grosseteste's versions of passages in *De fide orthodoxa* with the same ones in Burgundio's Nemesius. On page 62 selections from Lefèvre's (Faber's) version of John are offered for comparison with Burgundio's Nemesius and Cono's revision of it. For a detailed study, see M. Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, pages 105–13.

To return to the translations of Nemesius, in 1165 Burgundio (who has been mentioned above in connection with John of Damascus), a lawyer from Pisa and a friend of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, made a Latin version of the *De natura hominis* and dedicated it to Frederick. More than ten years earlier, as already noted, Burgundio had made a Latin version of *De fide orthodoxa*; the passages in it from Nemesius represent a separate translation and were not used in the later complete translation of that author.⁴⁵

John of Salisbury (ca. 1115–80), as mentioned above, knew of Alfano's version though not under the author's name. He also knew of some writings of his contemporary, Burgundio. He may have known his version of John, but since his *Metalogicon* was finished by 1159 and Burgundio's Nemesius can be dated 1165, he was not referring to the latter when he mentioned the

44. See P. Hocedez, "La diffusion de la translatio lincolniensis," *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et archéologie chrétienne*, III (1913), 188–98; E. M. Buytaert, "Damascenus Latinus," *Franciscan Studies*, XIII (1953), esp. 5, 53; S. H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (Cambridge, 1940), esp. 48–50.

45. G. Verbeke and J. R. Moncho, eds., *Némésius d'Emèse, De natura hominis, traduction de Burgundio de Pise* (Leiden, 1975), LXXXIXff.

42. See above, p. 35–36.

43. See the Introduction to Buytaert's edition, pp. xx–xxlii.

Pisan in *Metalogicon*, Book IV, chapter 7. But one of the Englishman's contemporaries knew both Alfano's and Burgundio's translations. He was Hugh of Honau, who was chaplain to the Emperor Frederick's court. Hugh mentioned two translations of Nyssen's (sc. Nemesius') treatise, that of Burgundio and that of another whose name he did not know (Alfano), and he had copies of both versions at hand. Chapters X–XV of his *Liber de ignorantia* consist almost entirely of excerpts from Nyssen's (sc. Nemesius). For each passage Hugh selected the version he considered most accurate. Sometimes he inserted a single term or phrase from one version into the text of the other.⁴⁶

Peter Lombard (ca. 1100–1160), despite assertions to the contrary, did not in his *Sententiarum libri quatuor* quote Nemesius in Burgundio's version. Since Burgundio's complete translation can be dated in 1165, after the death of Peter, he could have quoted Nemesius only from the passages in Burgundio's version of John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*. He did indeed quote from John's work, but only from III.2–8, a section in which there are no Nemesius quotations, and he apparently quoted the translation of Cerbanus (ca. 1138–45) of III.1–8. Scholars suggest that later, while in Rome, Peter may have seen a draft of Burgundio's version of John and made some emendations, but none of these involved a quotation of Nemesius.⁴⁷

On the other hand, when on a number of occasions Alexander of Hales (d. 1245) quoted "Damascenus" he was unwittingly quoting Nemesius. He seems to have known the translation of Burgundio.⁴⁸

Some of the most brilliant minds of the thirteenth century were familiar with *De natura*

hominis, attributing it to Nyssen since most used the version of Burgundio. The writings of Albert the Great⁴⁹ abound in instances of "Gregorius Nixenus [*sic*]" or "Nicens et Johannes Damascenus dixerunt." One may deduce that Albert had at hand when he wrote *Tractatus III de temperantia* both Burgundio's translation of Nyssen's (sc. Nemesius) and his version of John of Damascus (see, for example, Q V, Art. 1, No. 4, Albertus Magnus, *Opera omnia*, vol. XXVIII, *De bono*, ed. C. Feckes (Münster, 1951), 196⁵⁰ and Q V, Art. 2, No. 41, 42, *ibid.*, 202⁵¹). On occasion Albert quoted "Remigius" (see above, p. 33); the passages are from Nemesius; for example, *Opera omnia*, ed. Feckes, XXVIII, 219, 34–35 = PG XL, 673B.

Albert's famous pupil, Thomas Aquinas, does not often quote Nemesius verbatim. But E. Amman⁵² pointed out that one cannot doubt that the *De natura hominis* underlay Thomas' arguments in *Summa Theologiae* I from Q. LXXV to Q. LXXXIII and also Q. CXVI. There are numerous instances of paraphrasing; for example, ST I, Q. 103, Art. 6, Ob. 1.⁵³ Aquinas also compares Nyssen's (sc. Nemesius) and the Damascene; for example, ST I, Q. 82, Art. 5. a.⁵⁴

The voluminous writings of the fifteenth-century scholar Dionysius the Carthusian (1402–71) contained many quotations and paraphrases of passages from Nemesius under the name of Nyssen and most often coupled the name with that of John of Damascus as Albert had done before him. The reader can compare, for example, Dionysius, *Summa fidei ortho-*

46. N. M. Haring, "Hugh of Honau and the Liber de ignorantia," *Mediaeval Studies*, XXV (1963), 209–30, esp. notes on pp. 220–27.

47. For detailed analysis see E. M. Buytaert, "St. John Damascene, Peter Lombard and Gerhoh of Reichersberg," *Franciscan Studies*, X (1950), 336: "No text of the Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa* is quoted outside of the chapters translated by Cerban." See also J. de Ghellinck, "Les citations de Jean Damascène chez Gandulphe de Bologne et Pierre Lombard," *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique*, X (1909), 278–85, esp. 284; P. Mingès, "Zum Gebrauch der Schrift 'De fide orthodoxa' des Joh. Damaszenus in der Scholastik," *Theol. Quartalschr.* XCVI (1914), 226–27.

48. For evidence that he knew Burgundio's version, see Mingès, "Zum Gebrauch der Schrift des Joh. Damaszenus," 233ff.

49. See list in Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 39–40.

50. Burgundio's Nemesius, ch. XVII (ed. Verbeke, p. 96); Burgundio's *De fide orthodoxa*, ch. 27 (ed. Buytaert, p. 119).

51. Burgundio's Nemesius, ch. XX (ed. Verbeke, p. 103); Burgundio's *De fide orthodoxa*, ch. 29 (ed. Buytaert, pp. 121–22).

52. *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XI, 1.66. See also list in Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 40–41.

53. Burgundio's Nemesius, ch. XLII, (ed. Verbeke, p. 159).

54. *Ibid.*, ch. XVI (ed. Verbeke, p. 95); cf. Burgundio's *De fide orthodoxa*, ch. 26. On the question of use of Nemesius by Albert and Thomas, see Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 39–41, and M. Meier, "Die Lehre des Thomas von Aquino de passionibus animae" (dissertation, Münster, 1912). On an instance of Thomas' possible knowledge of Alfano's version, see I. Brady, "Remigius-Nemesius," *Franciscan Studies*, VIII (1948), 281.

doxae, Lib. II, Art. XLIX, with Nemesius, ch. XXI (M, p. 234.8) and Io. Damascenus, *De fide orthodoxa*, ch. 30 (ed. Buytaert, p. 122.8) and with Aquinas, *ST II*, II, Q 158, Art. 5.3.

Toward the end of the fifteenth century (ca. 1485/94) the Italian encyclopedist Georgius Valla (1447–1500) made a Latin version of *De natura hominis* and correctly assigned it to Nemesius of Emesa. His translation was published posthumously in 1538, but his version and ascription of authorship were not widely known. In addition, Valla's version of chapter II and a portion of chapter III, as they appeared in his *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus* (1501), hold the distinction of being the first printing of any portion of *De natura hominis* (see below, p. 55–56).

In Basel in the early sixteenth century, Johannes Cono was urged by his pupil Beatus Rhenanus to revise Burgundio's translation of *De natura hominis*. Cono did so and was responsible for a new division of the forty-two chapters into eight "books," which resulted in a new title, *Libri octo de Philosophia*. Cono did not question Burgundio's ascription of the treatise to Nyssenius. In a letter to J. Lefèvre (Faber Stapulensis), Beatus Rhenanus mentioned that Faber himself had already in 1507 translated into Latin sizable portions of the work of Nyssenius (sc. Nemesius), which appeared in John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*.⁵⁵ Cono used this text along with other material in his efforts to revise Burgundio's work without having available a complete Greek text.⁵⁶

Around the middle of the century an anonymous Italian scholar made a Latin translation of sixteen chapters of *De natura hominis*; he attributed them to Nemesius. His version remains unprinted.

Apart from the complete translations, the mid-sixteenth century provided another medium through which numerous quotations from Nemesius were read—the *Centuriae Magdeburgenses* (D. Flacius Illyricus). Most appear to be taken from Cono's revision of Burgundio's version. Selections from the chapters "De providentia," "De libero arbitrio," and "De volun-

tario et involuntario" were especially favored. Usually the text was copied verbatim although sometimes a few sentences considered unnecessary to prove a point were omitted. At times a larger section was paraphrased. The compilers of the *Centuriae* were not concerned about authorship and desired only to support their theses with statements from one or another of the fathers. They followed Cono in assigning the treatise to Nyssenius. By the end of the century the opponents of the Centuriators, Baronius, Bellarminus, and Possevinus, recognized Nemesius as the true author of this material in the "Centuriès."

After Cono's translation of *De natura hominis* was printed, Burgundio was almost forgotten. By 1567, when Johannes Levvenklaius wrote his introduction to his Latin version of Nyssenius, *De opificio hominis*,⁵⁷ he clearly confused the translation of the genuine Nyssenius work by Dionysius Exiguus (s. VI) with Burgundio's version of the Nemesius work. After seeing Ellebodus' 1565 edition of *De natura hominis*, which was correctly ascribed to Nemesius, Levvenklaius realized his error and persuaded Episcopus, the printer, to omit the Nemesius treatise from the 1571 edition of works of Nyssenius. Thus in 1571 for the first time an *Opera omnia* edition of Nyssenius was published that did not also contain the Nemesius work.

Nicasius Ellebodus, as was just mentioned, had published the editio princeps of the Greek text of Nemesius' work, along with his own Latin version, in 1565. He knew Valla's translation, but he did not mention Burgundio's. Unfortunately, his dedication to Cardinal Perrenot was in Greek, which prevented its being widely read, though both he and the printer, Plantin, had brief Latin letters "To the Reader." Ellebodus' translation, with some emendations made by revisers who used additional manuscripts and Latin versions, was basically the one that appeared in all later editions.

No new edition of the entire work appeared for two centuries. But in 1615, in the *Opera omnia* edition of the works of Gregorius Nyssenius, edited by Claudius Morellus with the assistance of Fronto Ducaeus, there could be found a little treatise, *De anima*, assigned to Nyssenius. It was nothing more or less than chapters II and III of

55. *Theologia Damasceni*, translation by Jacobus Faber Stapulensis (Paris, 1507; Venice, 1514; Basel, 1535, 1539); and with Clichtove's commentary (Paris, 1512, 1519).

56. See correspondence mentioned below under Cono, p. 57.

57. See CTC, V, Gregorius Nyssenius, p. 131, and PG XLIV, 1345ff.

Nemesius, *De natura hominis*. Claudius Morcellus had found it in a manuscript provided by Jacques Auguste de Thou in the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris. His brother Federicus made the Latin version. This portion of *De natura hominis* continued to be printed among Nyssen's works in the editions of that author in 1638 and in the three subsequent editions of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (see above, p. 68).

In 1671 the Oxford Sheldonian edition came out. It was little more than a hasty revision, generally thought to have been done by John Fell,⁵⁸ bishop of Oxford, of Ellebodus' translation with supplementary readings taken from several Bodleian manuscripts, one of which attributed the treatise to Adamantion. In 1788 Galland reprinted Fell's revision in his *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*.

With the revival of interest in classical studies in the late eighteenth century, interest in Nemesius also increased. A new Greek-Latin edition appeared at Halle in 1802. Its editor was Christian Friedrich Matthaei, a Thuringian scholar who taught classics for a time in Moscow.⁵⁹ While there he acquired a large collection of Greek manuscripts. Back in the West, he eventually taught at Wittenberg. He had apparently had an interest in Nemesius for some years. In the *Praefatio* to his edition, dated March 6, 1801, he commented on what he considered the poor quality of Ellebodus' Greek text and that of the Oxford editor as well. He aimed at producing a "textum . . . emendatiorem (p. 4)." In May 1796 he collated two Augsburg manuscripts. In the same year he saw two more codices in Munich but was unable to study them, although when his edition was nearing completion, he received "varias lectiones" from these, which were sent to him by Ignatius Hardt, prefect of the Munich library. He inserted the information in his edition. Matthaei's Latin text was based on Ellebodus, though he consulted independently Burgundio, Valla, and Fell as well as the excerpts in Anastasius of Sinai and John of Damascus. Matthaei's edition, as it was reprinted by J. P.

Migne in his *Patrologia*, became the standard reference, particularly because of its availability. The 1802 edition has recently been mechanically reprinted.

Today research on various aspects of Nemesius is continuing at a steady pace. Of special importance are new editions of the text. Work on a critical edition of the Greek text was begun before the middle of this century by Friedrich Lammert, but he did not live to finish it. Later Benedict Einarson worked on an edition and had almost completed it before his death in 1978. His text is being readied for publication by Phillip De Lacy, who is also preparing an English translation. Another critical edition, prepared by Moreno Morani, is being published in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*. G. Verbeke and J. Moncho brought out a critical edition of Burgundio's Latin version in 1975. Morani has prepared an Index verborum for the Alfano translation which parallels that in the new Burgundio edition. There is much scholarly activity in the area of Eastern-language versions (see above, p. 38). Thus at last in the twentieth century *De natura hominis* is again receiving much attention, and under the name of its true author, the obscure Nemesius, bishop of Emesa.

4. WESTERN VERNACULAR VERSIONS

The earliest Western vernacular translation was made by Domenico Pizzimenti into Italian, probably in the first half of the sixteenth century. It included only most of the first chapter, and it appeared in a volume also containing Pizzimenti's version of a *Physiologus*. The exact date and place of publication are not indicated, but it probably was printed in Naples, certainly before 1559, at which time a reader made a note in a margin. There is a dedication to one Aurelia Carafa in which the translator says he would have had the book printed abroad had not France closed the Adriatic, which led E. Teza to conclude that the date might be related to the strife for control of Naples in the early years of the century, ca. 1509.⁶⁰ This date would appear to be too early in view of the few facts known about

58. For a detailed account, see Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 220–21; also Fell in *Dictionary of National Biography*, VI, 1157–59.

59. On Matthaei see O. von Gebhardt, "C. F. Matthaei und seine Sammlung griechischer Handschriften," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XV (1898), 345–57, 393–420, 441–82, 537–66. The University of Wittenberg was founded in 1502 and merged with Halle in 1815.

60. *Operetta d'un auctor incerto raccolta dal sapientiss. Salomone e dal gran Basilio, della natura degli animali*, trad. da greco in volgare da Dom. Pizzimenti. Seven pages at the end of the *Physiologus* proper contain the material from Nemesius' chapter I. The text is reproduced by Teza on pp. 1253–57 of his article, "La natura dell'uomo di Neme-

Pizzimenti's life.⁶¹ It is noteworthy that Pizzimenti's translation had as its source a text that attributed the treatise to its real author, Nemesius.

After Pizzimenti's translation, more than a century passed before George Wither, an obscure English poet, came into possession of copies of Valla's and Ellebodus' versions. He apparently could not read the original Greek; so he made an English translation from the Latin ones at hand. Some years later, before embarking on very different enterprises, Wither sold what was left of the printing of his version. In 1657 it turned up under the name of the bookseller, R. Croft, who had removed the introductory pages and added others of his own. The translation was, of course, Wither's, not Croft's. The story is told in detail by W. Telfer, who in 1955 produced a new English translation accompanied by an excellent introduction. A new English version is in preparation by Phillip De Lacy to accompany Einarson's Greek text. There is an English version of John of Damascus, *Fons scientiae*, and hence of the sections from Nemesius included in the *De fide orthodoxa* portion of it, by F. H. Chase, Jr., entitled *The Fount of Knowledge*, published in the Fathers of the Church, vol. XXXVII (1958).

In 1791 G. G. Füllerborn made a German translation of some selections from *De natura hominis*, entitled "Von der Freiheit." It was published in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie*, I (Münster, 1891), 81–90. In 1819 in Salzburg, W. Osterhammer published a German version of the first eleven chapters. Another German version, including all chapters and the prefaces of Alfianus and Burgundio, came out in Saarbrücken; it was the work of Emil Orth.

The only French translation was made by M. J. B. Thibault and published in 1844.

There is a Russian version by Theodor Vladimirkij, *Nemesij episcop Emesskij, O prirode celoveka, perevod s greceskago* (1904).

There exists a French translation of the ps. Nemesius–Demetrius Cydones, *De contem-*

nenda morte, entitled *Traité du mépris de la mort, traduit du grec de Cydonius en français*, made by M. Menard and published in Paris in 1686.

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II. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND GENERAL STUDIES

A. Bibliography

Works listed below in general concern the transmission of Nemesius' treatise in both Eastern and Western circles, whether under his own name or that of another. Older material pertaining to the content and sources of his work is generally not included because it falls outside the scope of this article and is available elsewhere. Useful bibliographies appear in B. Altaner and A. Stuiber, *Patrologie* (1979), 224–25, 593; E. Amman, "Némèse d'Emèse," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XI.1, 66–67; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Darmstadt, 1962), IV, 279–80; M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (Turnhout, 1974), II, no. 3550; J. Quasten, *Patrology*, III (Utrecht, 1960), 354–55; E. Skard, Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. VI (1940), 562–66, and a number of articles in *Symbolae Osloenses*, XV–XXII (1936–42); W. Vanhamel, "Némésios d'Emèse," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, VII (1981), 92–99.

B. General Studies

In addition to the works listed immediately above, see C. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge, 1927), esp. 142, 145, 207–9; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore, 1927), IV-2, 373–74, 725–27; W. Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa*, English translation with a

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61. On Pizzimenti, philosopher and medical doctor from Calabria, see CTC, II, 194–95. On his probable use of the text quoted by Anastasius of Sinai, *Quaestiones*, rather than the text of Nemesius himself, see Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 124–25.

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born, St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1955); P. Dausend, "Johannes Damascenus in der Chronik des Salimbene," *Theol. Quartalschr.*, CXVIII (1937), 173–92; J. de Ghellinck, "Les citations de Jean Damascène chez Gandulph et Pierre Lombard," *Bulletin de Litt. Ecclés.*, X (1909), 278–85; Ghellinck, "L'entrée de Jean de Damas dans le monde littéraire occidental," *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, XXI (1912), 448–57; Ghellinck, *L'essor de la littérature latine au XII^{ème} siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1946), esp. ch. IV; G. Helmreich, *Handschriftliche Studien zu Meletius*, Abhandl. Berliner Ak. (1918), 4ff.; E. Hocedez, "La diffusion de la 'Translatio Lincolniensis' (i.e. of Grosse-teste) du *De fide orthodoxa* de saint Jean Damascène," *Bulletin d'anc. littérature et d'archéol. chrét.*, III (1913), 189–98; Hocedez, "Les trois premières traductions du *De fide orthodoxa*," *Musée Belge*, XVII (1913), 109–23; B. Kotter, Introduction to his critical edition of *De fide orthodoxa*, Patristische Texte und Studien, XII (Berlin and New York, 1973); Kotter, *Die Überlieferung der Pege Gnoseos*, Studia Patristica et Byzantina, V (Ettal, 1959); P. Mingès, "Zum Gebrauch der Schrift 'De fide orthodoxa' des Johannes Damazenus in der Scholastik," *Theol. Quartalschrift*, XCVI (1914), 225–47. C. Vansteenkiste, "Le versioni latine del *De fide orthodoxa* di San Giovanni Damasceno," *Angelicum*, XXXV (1958), 91–98.

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Syriac: O. Braun, "Briefe des Katholikos Timotheos I," *Oriens Christianus*, II, pt. 1, 1–29; J. Draeseke, "Ein Testimonium Ignatianum," *Zeitschr. für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, XLVI (1903), 506ff.; G. Klinge, "Die Bedeutung der syrischen Theologen als Vermittler der griechischen Philosophie an den Islam," *Zeitschr. für Kirchengeschichte*, IX (1939), 363ff.; A. Zanolli, "Sur une ancienne traduction syriaque," *Rev. de l'Orient Chrét.*, XX (1915), 331–33.

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The most comprehensive and up-to-date study is Kh. Samir, *Les versions arabes de Némésios*

de Hom̄s; it was scheduled for publication in early 1985. Other important recent treatments include the critical edition of the abridged text found in connection with some manuscripts of the ps. Apollonius (Balinas), *De causis*, and the introduction to the same by U. Weisser, *Das Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung und die Darstellung der Natur*, Institute for the Study of Arabic Science (Aleppo, 1979); and S. Van Riet, "Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta Arabica, à propos de Némésius d'Emèse," *Mélanges d'Islamologie dédiés à Armand Abel* (Leiden, 1974). The older study of Paul Kraus is basic, *Jabir et la science grecque: Mémoires présentées à l'Institut d'Égypte*, XLV (1942), 174–85, 270–85, esp. 278. Other literature relating to the ps. Apollonius material is S. De Sacy, "Le livre du secret de la créature, par le sage, Belinous," *Notices et extraits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, IV (1799), 107–58; M. L. Leclerc, "De l'identité de Balinas et d'Apollonius de Tyane," *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 6, XIV (1869), 111–31; Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, IV (1971), 77–81; M. Steinschneider, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLV (1891), 439–46.

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GENUINE WORK

I. DE NATURA HOMINIS

TRANSLATIONS

1. Alfano Salernitanus

Alfano, bishop of Salerno, made the earliest known Latin translation of Nemesius of Emesa,

De natura hominis. Alfano's death in 1085 gives a *terminus ante quem* for his version, but the exact date is unknown. It might be narrowed down, however, if one could identify the ruler (*dominus*) to whom his prologue is addressed. A secular rather than a religious leader would seem to be indicated. Gisulf of Salerno has been suggested. Alfano did address a poem to him. Gisulf, however, was expelled from Salerno in 1076–77 by Robert Guiscard. Obviously, the addressee was Gisulf if the version was made prior to that date, but Guiscard if completed later. The latter possibility seems more likely since Robert Guiscard is known to have encouraged the development of the medical school already existing in Salerno. He also promoted Latin translations of Arabic and Greek medical works. He held in high esteem Constantinus Africanus, who translated from Arabic into Latin works of Hippocrates and Galen and who dedicated one of his works, *De stomacho*, to Alfano. In addition, both Guiscard and Alfano were supporters of Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII).

In the surviving manuscripts Alfano fails to name either the dedicatee or the Greek author. His own name appears in only one extant manuscript (Avranches, Bibliothèque de la Ville 221, s. XII ex.) and then only in the margin. He gave *De natura hominis* a new title, *Premnon Physicon* (literally "Trunk of Natural Things" and rendered "Key to Nature" by Quasten and Telfer; "Key to Natural Things" by McKeon). Several variants appear in the manuscripts: *prenon fisicon*; *prepon fisicon*; *fisicon protheron*. In his prologue Alfano explains the title: "Eritque ei (i.e., Nemesius' treatise) titulus Premnon physicon, hoc est Stipes naturalium, quia sicut ex uno stipite multi ramusculi pullulant, sic ex huius fonte doctrinae plurimi scientiae naturalium rivuli exuberabunt" (p. 3, ed. Burkhard). The now unknown Greek source of Alfano may not have given the author's name, or the translator may have had doubts about the individual named. This exemplar stemmed from family β , as did the source of Valla and Anonymus B as well as of the Georgian version. Friedrich Lammert suggested that Alfano may have used the *Lexicon* of ps. Philoxenos in making his translation (see F. Lammert, "Über die Neuausgabe der Schrift des Nemesios von Emesa," *Hellenika*, Paratema IX: 2–3 (1958) 169–77).

When Holzinger in 1887 first edited the Latin text of Alfano, he used two manuscripts

(Prague and Bamberg), which gave neither Nemesius' nor Alfano's name. The following year Dittmeyer discovered the Avranches codex (s. XII) in which Nemesius' name appeared in the margin as author and Alfano's name as translator; the hand of the scholiast probably can be dated as s. XIII. The prologue was missing from these manuscripts, but C. Baeumker found a s. XI manuscript in Paris which contained that part of the work. In 1917 C. J. Burkhard's edition was published.

In manuscripts of Alfano's version chapter divisions are not indicated. Burkhard conveniently supplied them. The reader immediately notices that Alfano's translation is not complete. Moreover, the order of the chapters is irregular. The following list indicates Alfano's, and hence probably his source's, handling of the contents as contrasted with the current standard text of Matthaei.

Alfano	Matthaei
I–XIX	I–XIX
XX	XXI
XXI	XX
XXII	XXII
XXIII	XXVI
XXIV	XXVII
XXV	XXIX
XXVI	XXX
XXVII	XXXI
XXVIII	XXXII
XXIX	XXXIII
XXX	XXXIV
XXXI	XXXIX
XXXII	XL
XXXIII	XLI
XXXIV	XXVIII
XXXV	XXV
XXXVI	XXIII
XXXVII	XXIV

Although the influence of Alfano's version was not great either in his own or later times, it was more extensive than has generally been recognized. Within a century of Alfano's death it was quoted by Hugh of Honau (see above, p. 41). John of Salisbury seems to have known of it (see above, p. 40).

Of extant manuscripts one, Paris, BN, lat. 15, 078, was copied within a few years of Alfano's work on the version. Two others date within a century.

Prologus (ed. Burkhard, 1917). [*Inc.*]: (p. 1)

Cum constet hominem cunctis sibi subditis innata ratione praestare eum necesse est vel hac exserta eorum dominari, vel hac depressa ipsis adaequari. Unde unumquemque oportet eniti medulla tenus disciplinis studiisque rationem intendere, ne statuatur famulari magis ut bruta animalia, quam principari ut ratione utentia. Et tibi quidem in hoc, domine, tanto prae ceteris curiosius adlaborandum est, quanto cum ceteris hominibus quoque ipsis imperare decerneris. . . . Quia igitur et abicienda et recipienda non sine rata ratione deligentur atque improbabuntur, cumque probabilius ad haec atque demonstrativis satagendum sit argumentis: liberalium artium documenta huic libello necessaria pro aedificatione conferentur ut effectiva instrumenta, ipsis quoque postmodum artibus non parum profutura, nec ipsis quidem solummodo, sed medicinae quoque divinaeque doctrinae. Et ut dicam compendiosius, quamvis physicae adscribendus sit principalius, ab omnibus tamen philosophicis demulctus uberibus ipsi quoque matri praestabit fomitem non ex toto inutilem. Eritque ei titulus Premnon physicon, hoc est Stipes naturalium, quia ex huius fonte doctrinae plurimi scientiae naturalium rivuli exuberabunt. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 4) Probator etenim non minore quam auctor donaberis merito. Sic equidem et aemulorum hiantia ora picea offa compescas et a virosis eorum morsibus tuum prudentem tueberis clientulum.

Text. Chapter I. [Inc.]: (p. 5) Multis et prudentibus viris confirmatum est hominem ex anima intelligibili et corpore tam bene compositum, ut nequaquam oportuerit eum aliter fieri vel consistere. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ch. I: (p. 23) Sed quia hominem ex anima esse et corpore praecedens sermo proposuit, prius de anima incipiamus, derelinquentes ea, quae valde sunt subtilia et difficilia plurimisque inquirentibus ignota.

Chapters II–III. [Inc.]: (p. 23) Non ignotum est antiquorum sententias de anima esse diversas. Democritus namque et Epicurus et omnis Stoicorum secta animam esse corpus fatentur. . . . / . . . [Expl.] Ch. III: (p. 58) Gradus autem animarum et ascensiones et descensiones quas Origines inducit, nihil obaudientes divinis scripturis neque accedentes Christianorum doctrinis praetereundum est.

Chapter IV. [Inc.]: (p. 59) Omne corpus ex quattuor elementis est compositum et ex his factum est. Singulariter autem sanguineorum animalium corpora ex quattuor humoribus con-

stant: sanguine, phlegmate rubeaque cholera et nigra. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ch. XXIV, "De pulsibus (Alfanus' final chapter): (p. 146) Sed elevata quidem a vicinis venis cum violentia trahit sanguinem subtilem, qui vaporans nutrimentum sit spiritui vitali, deposita autem, fumositates, quae sunt in ipsa, movet per totum corpus et per poros invisibiles, quemadmodum cor per eos et per nares in expirationibus eicit suas fumositates.

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(*) Avranches, Bibliothèque de la ville, 221; s. XII, fols. 89–112v, 113–114v (Cat. gén., Quarto ser., vol. IV, p. 535; Burkhard, *praef.* p. vi). See also G. Nortier, "Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie," *Revue Mabillon*, XLVII (1957), 57ff., and LII (1962), 222.

(*) Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek M.IV.16 (Klass. 1); s. XIII, fols. 45v–69 (Cat. Bamberg L.2 (1895), p. 2; Burkhard, *praef.*, p. vii; and Holzinger, *praef.*, pp. iiiff.).

(*) London, BL Cotton, Galba E.IV; s. XII ex., fols. 205–14 (Cat. Planta, p. 359; Burkhard, *praef.*, p. vi).

(*) London, BL Harley, 3969; s. XII, fols. 168–96 (Cat. Nares III, p. 100). The title is "phisicon protheron." This ms. contains the marginal notes of Thomas Baker (1656–1740).

(*) Paris, BN lat. 15,078; s. XI ex.–XII in., fols. 111v–190v, 191–200 (see L. Delisle, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, XXX (1869), 71; Burkhard, *praef.*, p. vi).

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Biography:

Alfanus came from a noble family of southern Italy, possibly related to the Guaimar. The date of his birth cannot be precisely established, although it can reliably be placed between 1015 and 1020 (A. Lentini, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, II [1960], 253). Alfanus' education included the study of literature, music, philosophy, science, and religion. He acquired a well-deserved reputation as a poet. His interest and skill in the field of medicine left its mark on the two famous institutions with which he was associated during his lifetime.

In 1056 Alfanus entered the monastery of Monte Cassino at the behest of Desiderius, later Pope Victor III (1086–87), who had received medical advice from him. Desiderius presided over what has been called the Golden Age of Monte Cassino. He became abbot in 1058, a year after Alfanus' departure for San Benedetto, Salerno, of which Gisulf, prince of the region, had asked him to become abbot. Frederic of Lorraine, who in 1057 became Pope Stephen IX, was also at Monte Cassino during Alfanus' stay there. Alfanus' name continued to be associated with the famous monastery long after he had gone on to other responsibilities. Its medical school and that at Salerno were closely allied. One of Alfanus' friends in the latter was Constantinus Africanus, who went on to Monte Cassino, where he gained fame as a translator of medical works from the Arabic into Latin. A lasting memorial for Alfanus at Monte Cassino were the poetic lines from his pen which Desiderius had caused to be inscribed over the apse and main arch of the monastery (see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius* [Oxford, 1983], 15, n. 73).

In 1058 Alfanus was named archbishop of Salerno by the aforementioned Stephen IX (1057–58). In 1059 he attended the council at Rome called by Pope Nicolas II (1059–61) at

which assembly the procedure for papal elections was revised and the theological controversy surrounding the conflicting views of Berengarius and Lanfranc was discussed. Twenty years later the same issues were brought up, and settled, at another council also attended by Alfanus. At the 1059 gathering he met Hildebrand, later Pope Gregory VII, although it was to be many years before they established a lasting friendship.

Alfanus was closely associated with the next pope, Alexander II (1061–73). In 1062 he accompanied Gisulf, the Lombard prince, to Constantinople and proceeded on to Jerusalem, a pilgrimage he had long intended to make but which now took on political undertones. Returning to Constantinople, he suspected Gisulf of trying to kill him and went back to Italy secretly, eventually to cast his lot with the party of Guiscard, the Norman, although he was reconciled with Gisulf for a time. Facts and speculations about Alfanus' involvements in the politico-religious strife of the era can be sorted out only by consulting some of the excellent detailed studies available (see Bibliography below). Alfanus was a participant in the important ecclesiastical gatherings of the time: the council of Melfi in 1067, the council of Salerno in 1068, and those held in Rome in 1074 and 1079.

In 1077 the Normans triumphed and Salerno fell to Robert Guiscard and his supporters. Alfanus, who had previously for the most part taken an anti-Norman position, and his friend of many years Desiderius, who had been largely pro-Norman, joined in promoting concord between Guiscard and Hildebrand, who in 1073 had become Pope Gregory VII and was eager for a cessation of the strife.

Alfanus was credited in 1080 with rediscovering the relics of St. Matthew and with Guiscard's aid rebuilt the cathedral bearing the saint's name in Salerno. It was dedicated by Gregory VII in his final days. When Guiscard aided the embattled pope to safety at Salerno after his attempts at settling differences with Henry IV had failed, it was Alfanus who sheltered him during his exile until his death in 1085. Some months later Desiderius reluctantly succeeded Gregory. Alfanus himself died on October 9, 1085, and was buried in the cathedral at Salerno.

Works: In addition to the Latin version of Nemesius, *De natura hominis*, Alfanus was responsible for a number of other writings, both

poetry and prose. The majority are listed by Peter Deacon in his biography (PL, CLXXIII, 1030–31): *Passio S. Christinae* and two hymns on the same; verses on St. Benedict and St. Peter, Apostle; the *Song of St. Sabina*; *In laudem monachorum Casinensium*; *De situ, constructione ac renovatione eiusdem coenobii*; verses on St. Maurus; three hymns on St. Matthew (the discovery of whose bones was credited to Alfanus by Pope Alexander II), two hymns on St. Fortunatus and on St. Nicolaus; on the church of St. John Baptist in Cassino; many epitaphs on famous men. Mari (in his edition of Peter Deacon) adds that there were also in the monastery of Monte Cassino (plut. 8, sinistr.) three other works of Alfanus: *De unione corporis et animae, liber unus*, which according to Capparoni refers to the like-titled chapter of Nemesius; *De quattuor humoribus corporis humani, liber unus*; *De unione Verbi Dei et hominis, liber unus* (apparently lost). A *De pulsibus*, sometimes attributed to Alfanus, is not his work, but could be a later reworking of a treatise, perhaps an expansion of Nemesius' chapter of like title (XXIV) with which Alfanus ends his translation of *De natura hominis*. In some editions of Surius under September 1, there is an item attributed to Alfanus: *Passio sanctorum martyrorum duodecim Fratrum Beneventanorum, ad fratrem Rofridum Casinensem monachum*. In addition to the above, Thorndike mentions two unpublished items: *Tractatus Alfani Salernitani de quibusdam medicinalibus* (Canterbury, Christchurch, no. 1903, s. XIV) and *Experimenta archiepiscopi Salernitani* (Cambridge, Trinity College, 1365, s. XI in.).

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Alfano I Arcivescovo di Salerno (sec. XI) (Rome, 1928); H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius* (Oxford, 1983); O. Delarc, *St. Grégoire VII et la Réforme de l'Église au XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1889), III, 208ff.; G. Falco, "Un vescovo poeta del sec. XI, Alfano di Salerno," *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria* (Rome, 1912), XXXV, 439–81; P. O. Kristeller, "The School of Salerno," *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, (Rome, 1956), 506–7; M. Schipa, *Alfano I, Arcivescovo di Salerno* (Salerno, 1880); J.-M. Vidal, *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclés.*, II, 401–3.

2. Burgundio Pisanus

Burgundio of Pisa made a Latin translation of *De natura hominis*, probably in 1165. He used a Greek manuscript that closely resembled Vatican, Chis. R. IV.13 (s. X–XI), in which the treatise is assigned to Gregory of Nyssa. Hence Burgundio and all who later used his version name Nyssenius as author. The Vatican manuscript contains marginal notes giving the Latin translations for selected Greek terms. Even though these translations correspond in many cases to those of Burgundio, the notes might be by a later scholiast since Burgundio's version exhibits a number of divergences from the Greek of Chisianus R. IV.13. M. Morani is devoting further study to the connection of this manuscript with Burgundio. The Pisan's translation was quoted in his own day by another member of the circle around Frederick Barbarossa, Hugh of Honau (in his *Liber de ignorantia*, cap. X).

Burgundio dedicated his version to the emperor. Around 1154–55 Burgundio had a conversation with Frederick during which the emperor expressed a desire to learn more about the "nature of things." His wish was fulfilled when Burgundio and some others in court circles made translations from the Greek (see J. de Ghellinck, *L'essor de la littérature latine au XII^e siècle*, 2 vols. [Paris, 1946], II, 31–32, and p. 41 above).

One can hardly overemphasize the importance of Burgundio's versions, both the partial one (ca. 1146–54, most likely 1153–54) of the large blocks of the Nemesius work included in John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*, and the complete one of 1165. The former was revised by Robert Grosseteste (ca. 1235–40) and the latter by Johannes Cono (see below, p. 57).

Burgundio's method of translation, as he

tells us in the prologue to his Latin version of John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Evang. sec. Johannem*, did not aim at literary perfection but at a faithful and literal translation: "Verbum de verbo reddidi, non sensum solum, sed et ordinem verborum in quantum potui sine alteritate conservans" (E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum Scriptorum . . . amplissima collectio* [Paris, 1724–33], I, 829).

After the treatment of the *De natura hominis*, the reader will find for purposes of comparison three translations of the same Greek passage: (a) Burgundio's translation in the *De fide orthodoxa*, (b) the revision by Robert Grosseteste of this translation, and (c) Burgundio's translation in the *De natura hominis* (see below, pp. 52–53).

The chapter divisions in Burgundio's translation differ somewhat from those in the present standard text of Matthaei. A list of correspondence follows:

Burgundio	Matthaei
I–III	I–III
IV	IV–V
V–XVIII	VI–XIX
XIX	XXI
XX	XX
XXI–XL	XXII–XLI
XLI (to p. 158.50 of Matthaei)	XLII
XLI (p. 158.50–159.66 of Matthaei)	XLIII
XLII	XLIV

Dedication (ed. Verbeke and Moncho, 1975). Dominatori Frederico invictissimo Romanorum Imperatori et Caesari semper Augusto, a Burgundione, iudice natione Pisano, translatus incipit liber, anno incarnationis Domini MCLXV, indictione XIII. Invictissimo et gloriosissimo domino Frederico, Dei gratia Romanorum Imperatori et Caesari semper Augusto, Burgundio iudex natione Pisanus fidelitatem et de inimicis triumphum. [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Quia in meis, serenissime Imperator, Vobiscum locutionibus naturas rerum cognoscere et earum causas scire Vestram Maiestatem velle perpendi, idcirco librum hunc Sancti Gregorii episcopi Nyssae, fratris Sancti Basilii, de Graeco in Latinum Vestro nomine statui transferre sermonem. In quo philosophice de natura hominis pertractat, de corpore, de anima, de unitione utrorumque, de imaginativo et discretivo et memorativo et de irrationali, quod est vel pars vel vis vel potentia

animae nostrae rationalis . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (pp. 2–3) Si in his Vos exercitari persenserō, et altiora Vobis transferre curabo: de corpore caeli, de forma et motu eius et de omnibus passionibus quae sunt a caelo deorsum, ut de lacteo circulo et cometis et ventis et coruscationibus et tonitruis et iride et pluviis et grandine et pruina, et cur mare salsum est et cur tot fluminibus influentibus nec augetur nec dulcoratur, et de terrae motu qualiter fiat. Quae omnia si Vestro interventu Vestris temporibus in lucem Latinis redacta fuerint, immensam gloriam et aeternum nomen Vestra Maiestas consequetur et Vestra res publica utilitatem maximam adipiscetur. Hunc igitur librum fideliter translatus et, ut potui, studiose emendatum Vestrae celsitudini porrigo, me meaque Vestro servitio offerens, praedicta vero et si qua alia praeceperitis, ad voluntatem Vestram perficere sum paratus, quia Vobis in omnibus fidelis ac devotus existo.

De natura hominis. Chapter I. [*Inc.*]: (p. 4) Hominem ex anima intellectuali et corpore optime constructum et ita bene quod non conveniebat aliter genitum esse, multis et sapientibus viris visum est. Ex eo autem quod intellectualis dicitur anima dubitationem habente, utrum adveniēns intellectus animae ut alius alii intellectualem eam fecit, vel intellectuale a se ipsa et natura anima habet . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] Chapter I (pp. 22–23): Quia vero hominem ex anima esse et corpore communis submittit sermo, age dividentes prius de anima tractemus eas quae valde subtiles et femineae et quae multis difficile intelligibiles quaestionum sunt, derelinquentes.

Chapter II. [*Inc.*]: *De anima* (p. 23) Dissonat autem omnibus fere antiquis is qui de anima sermo. Nam Democritus quidem et Epicurus et omnis Stoicorum philosophorum coetus corpus animam enuntiant . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] Chapter III (p. 57) Gradus enim animarum et ascensiones et descensiones, quas Origenes inducit, nullo convenientes divinis scripturis neque concordantes Christianorum dogmatibus, relinquendae sunt.

Chapter IV. [*Inc.*]: (p. 58) *De corpore*. Omne corpus quattuor elementorum est concretio et ex his factum est. Proxime vero sanguineorum animalium corpora ex quattuor humoribus genita sunt: sanguine, phlegmate, rubra cholera et nigra . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] Chapter XLII. (p. 170) Eadem et in invasoribus et rapiētibz pecunias; etenim his quibus auferuntur, ut decet, confert non possidere; sed avari qui rapuerunt, iniusti

sunt; propter avaritiam enim, non propter utilitatem illorum abstulerunt. Beati Gregorii Episcopi Nyssae liber explicet.

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Manuscripts:

(*) Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica: Delta IV, 10: s. XV, fols. 1–70 (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 7; Verbeke and Moncho, *Némésius*, ci–civ; Heiberg, *Philologus*, LV [1896], 736; De Bartolomeis, *Studi Romani*, XII [1914], 12ff.).

(*) Bologna, Biblioteca del Collegio di Spagna 19: s. XIV, fols. 1–45 (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 28; Verbeke and Moncho, *Némésius*, civ–cvi).

(*) Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale 949 (II, 960): s. XIII–XIV, misc., fols. 1–48v (Cat. Van den Gheyn, II, 33–34, no. 949; Verbeke and Moncho, *Némésius*, cvi–cxix).

(photo.) Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana. 152 (N III, 29): s. XV, misc., fol. 97. Three excerpts corresponding to the text in Verbeke and Moncho, *Némésius*, 147, 92–93; 163, 65–66; 169, 14–17. P. O. Kristeller assisted with the transcription of the text. He noted that the collection of the texts for this manuscript is attributed to Bartholomaeus Fontius. The majority of items are from Latin authors. A photo was provided through the kindness of Millicent Phillips of Firenze (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 188; S. Caroti and S. Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio di Bartolomeo Fonzio*, Documenti delle Arti del Libro X [Milan, 1974], 41–45).

(*) Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1292: s.

XIII, misc., fols. 372–439 (Verbeke and Moncho, *Némésius*, cxix; Cat. Wisłocki, I, 325).

(*) Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vat. Urb. lat. 485: s. XV, misc., fols. 105–56 (Cat. Codd. Urb. lat. I, 494; Martène and Durand, *Veterum script. ampl. coll.* [Paris, 1724], 827; Verbeke and Moncho, *Némésius*, cvi–cxi).

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1975, Leiden: *Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum*, Suppl. 1, *Némésius d'Émèse, De natura hominis, traduction de Burgundio de Pise, édition critique avec une introduction sur l'anthropologie de Némésius*, by G. Verbeke and J. R. Moncho. NUC. BL; BN (CU; MH).

Editions of Epistola Nuncupatoria only:

(*) 1724, Paris: in E. Martène and U. Durand, *Collectio Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum*, I, 827. NUC. BN; (CoU).

1968, New York: Reprint of the above. NUC. (CU).

Three translations of part of *De natura hominis*, Chapter, *De ira*.

A. Burgundio's translation in the *De fide orthodoxa* (ed. Buytaert, 122–23): Ira est fervor eius qui circa cor est sanguinis, ex evaporatione fellis vel returbatione fiens; ideoque fel dicitur vel fellea. Est autem quando ira est et desiderium vindictae. Iniustitiam enim passi, vel estimantes iniustitiam pati, irascimur, et fit tunc mixta haec passio ex concupiscentia et ira.

Species autem irae sunt tres: ira quae vocatur fel, et mania, et cotus (id est furor). Ira enim principium et motum habens, ira et fel vocatur. Mania vero est fel permanens, scilicet memoria mali; dicitur autem a manendo et a memoriae

tradendo. Cetus autem (id est furor) est ira observans tempus ad vindictam; dicitur autem a kisthe (id est ab iniaciendo).

Est autem ira id quod audax est mentis, vindex concupiscentiae. Cum enim concupiscimus quid et prohibemur ab aliquo, irascimur adversus eum ut iniusta passi, mente scilicet iudicante dignum angustia quod factum est, in custodientibus secundum naturam proprium ordinem.

B. Robert Grosseteste's revision of Burgundio's translation of the *De fide orthodoxa* (Oxford, Pembroke College, ms. 20, fol. 10, and ms. 34, fol. 220V): Ira autem est fervor eius qui circa cor sanguinis ex evaporatione colere seu fellis vel perturbatione factus propter quod et colera dicitur et cholos idest mocio colere seu fellis; est autem et ira et appetitus repunitionis. Iniusticiam passi enim vel existimantes iniusticiam pati irascimur. Et tunc sic mixta hec passio ex concupiscentia et ira. Species autem ire tres: furor qui vocatur colera et cholos, et menis, et kotos. Ira quidem enim principium et motionem habens furor et colera et cholos dicitur. Menis autem colera permanens scilicet memoria mali. Menis dicitur a meno quod est maneo; dicitur autem a manere et memorie tradi. Kotos autem furor observans tempus in punitionem; dicitur autem et iste a keistae, idest iacere. Est autem ira lanciferum cognicionis iudex concupiscentie. Cum enim concupiscimus rem et prohibiti fuerimus ab aliquo irascimur adversus ipsum velut iniusta passi cognicione videlicet iudicante dignum angustia quod factum est secundum naturam et proprium ordinem.

C. Burgundio's translation of the *De natura hominis* (ed. Verbeke and Moncho, 102–3): Ira est fervor eius qui circa cor est sanguinis et ex evaporatione vel returbatione fellis facta. Ideoque et fel dicitur et fellea. Est autem quando ira est et concupiscentia recruciacionis; laesi enim vel existimantes laedi, irascimur et fit tunc mixta passio ex desiderio et ira. Species autem irascibilitatis sunt tres: ira, quae vocatur fel et fellea, et mania, quae dicitur insania, et furor. Ira enim principium et motum habens, ira adhuc est. Mania vero bilis est permanens et in vetustatem deveniens, scilicet memoria mali; dicta est autem a manendo et memoriae tradendo. Furor autem est ira observans tempus in supplicium. Ira vero est audacia mentis vindex desiderii; cum enim haec dignum existimaverit quod ei fit angustia, tunc ira exit, si secundum naturam propriam naturam custodierint.

Biography:

Burgundio was born early in the twelfth century, possibly around 1110, in Pisa; hence he is usually referred to as Pisanus. There is no reliable evidence for assigning either Johannes or Ricardus as a first name, nor for Burgundius Bernardus Cremonensis, which appears in one manuscript (of his Latin version of the *Pandectae*). A manuscript of his translation of Chrysostom's *Commentaries on Matthew* calls him Burgundio Leulus, civis Pisanus, possibly confusing him with a nephew of that name. Johannes probably came about because of the Cardinal Johannes Burgundio of the preceding century. The basis for "Ricardus" used by Beatus Rhenanus is not apparent.

Little is known of Burgundio's early life. His education was in all likelihood received in his native Pisa. By 1135 he had acquired a reputation as a lawyer and also for his facility in the Greek language. From 1135 to 1138 he was in Constantinople, along with Moses of Bergamo and Jacob of Venice, as an interpreter in the discussions between the Greek and Latin churches. The talks were directed by Anselm of Havelberg, who wrote of them in his *Dialogi* I.II. c. 1 (PL, CLXXXVIII, 1163). In 1146 Burgundio was named an "advocatus" of Pisa and in 1155 a "publicus iudex" of that town. In 1152 he was named an "iudex" of the Lateran Palace. Around 1154–55, he must have met Frederick Barbarossa, who may have learned of him through Anselm's *Dialogi*. He dedicated several works to the emperor, among them his translation of the *De natura hominis*. He also dedicated some other translations to Henry VI and to Pope Alexander III. There is no proof that Burgundio taught law, as some have suggested. Moreover, it cannot be proved that Hugh Etherian was his pupil. It is known that he undertook a number of diplomatic missions for the city of Pisa. In 1169 he went to Ragusa to conclude a treaty between that city and Pisa. He proceeded on to Constantinople as a representative of his native city and remained until 1171. On his return he was again sent out, this time to Messina, Naples, and Gaeta. He was present at the Third Lateran Council in Rome in 1179. On this occasion he presented his translation of Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Gospel of John* to the curia. He made a final journey to Constantinople in 1192. He died on October 30, 1193, and was buried in St. Paul's on the Arno. Of his four sons two survived him.

Works: No original work is extant under Burgundio's name with the exception of his dedicatory letters. His talents lay in making Greek writings available to the Western world by way of his Latin versions. Classen (see Bibliography below) calls attention to the parallel activity of Burgundio for Greek works and that of his contemporary, Gerard of Cremona, for Arabic writings. In addition to his translations of Nemesius and John of Damascus, Burgundio made Latin versions of Johannes Chrysostomus, *Homiliae in Matthaeum*, in *Johannem*, in *Genesim*; Basilii Magnus, in *Isaiam* (largely lost); Hippocrates, *Aphorismoi*; Galen, ten works; *Pandectae*, the Greek passages. Some other fragmentary and doubtful translations have been attributed to Burgundio, among them the *Geoponica*; Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Apologia de fuga* (see Dausend, p. 355, and F. Liotta, "Burgundione," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, XV [1972], 427). A version of the nine authentic homilies of Basil, *In Hexaemeron*, preserved in several manuscripts, has been attributed to Burgundio by some (see Liotta, "Burgundione," 426). Oudin's statement that he translated John of Damascus, *Logica*, *Elementarium de duabus naturis*, and other works, is without foundation. P. Classen's detailed discussion of the works of Burgundio is found on pp. 34ff. (see Bibliography).

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Geschichte des römischen Rechts im MA (2d ed.), IV, 394–410; Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, III (1806), 336–40.

3. Anonymus A

An anonymous Latin translation of most of chapter V, *De elementis* (from M. 150.7 through 170.7) of the *De natura hominis* is found in a late twelfth-century manuscript, British Library, Cotton, Galba E. IV (I am indebted to Thomas P. Halton for calling my attention to this translation.) The passage had long been unrecognized as Nemesius' work by scholars who used the manuscript until in 1965 it was identified by Richard C. Dales.

Dales dated the manuscript ca. 1190–1200. The codex was compiled for, perhaps written by, the monks of Bury St. Edmunds. It contains a number of works: several on the elements, a *Liber physiognomiae* and Adelard of Bath's important *Quaestiones*; in addition, a few folia beyond the translation of chapter V (fols. 200–201) on fols. 205–14 is the complete version of *De natura hominis* by Alfano, entitled here *Prenon phisicon*. The copyist seems to have been unaware of the duplication of material if not of translation. Dales suggested that the collection may have been put together by a scientist for teaching purposes.

One cannot rule out the faint possibility that the Nemesius chapter was excerpted from a complete version, now lost. The unknown translator showed greater freedom in his Latin style than was usual at a time when translations from the Greek were generally quite literal, and transliterations, rather than translations, of Greek scientific terms were common. This is not the only occasion in which chapter V was excerpted, and an editor in 1537 inserted Cono's version of it into an edition of Gregory of Nyssa, *De opificio hominis* (see CTC, V, 121). The popularity of the chapter stems from its being a convenient compendium of classic Greek scientific thought on "the elements."

De natura hominis, chapter V, *De elementis* (ed. of 1966). [*Inc.*]: (p. 14) Elementum in mundo totius est corporis minima pars. Elementa quatuor sunt, id est, terra aqua aer ignis. Talis enim ordo ab inferioribus ad superiora a minus dignis ad digniora factus videtur. Hec quatuor corpora sunt simplicia quodammodo ad eorum que constituunt comparisonem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 19) Quod ut supra dixi

sapientes suis rationibus approbarent. Quicquid tamen dicant, confirmantur eadem elementa vicissim mutabilia esse. Quia cum sit, mutabilia necesse est omnia esse elementa. Quodcumque enim horum accipies, alterum ab altero nasci videbis. Explicit.

Bibliography:

R. C. Dales, "An Unnoticed Translation of the Chapter, *De elementis*, from Nemesius' *De natura hominis*," *Mediaevalia et Humanistica*, XVII (1966), 13–14. See also Dales, "Anonymi *De elementis*: From a Twelfth Century Collection of Scientific Works in the British Museum Cotton, Galba E. IV," *Isis* LVI (1965), 174–79. On Adelard of Bath, see C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, ch. 11, "Adelard of Bath."

Manuscript:

(*) London, British Library, Cotton, Galba E. IV, s. XII ex., misc., fols. 200c–201c (Cat. Planta, p. 359; Burkhard, *Praef.*, p. vi).

Edition:

1966, Cambridge: in *Mediaevalia et Humanistica*, XVII (1966), 14–19. NUC. (CU).

4. Georgius Valla

Georgius Valla made a Latin translation of Nemesius, *De natura hominis*, at some time before his death in 1500. The manuscript from which it was published in 1538 was found in the library of Georgius Merula (d. 1494), the humanist and classical scholar of Venice, so it seems probable that the version was made after Valla's arrival in Venice in 1485 and not later than 1494, the year of Merula's death. Gaudentius Merula, who had the translation published by Sebastian Gryphius of Lyons almost half a century later, dedicated the volume to Jacobus Philippus Sacchus, president of the senate of Lombardy.

It may be that Valla came across the *De natura hominis* while compiling material for his encyclopedic work in forty-nine books, *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus*. This project was not completed until July 1498, but work must have been going on for several years previously. M. Verhelst has pointed out that chapter 1 and the last two-thirds of chapter 9 of Book XLVI of *De expetendis* contain Valla's translation of Nemesius' chapter II (*De anima*) and the first half of chapter III (*De iunctione corporis et animae*) (see M. Verhelst, "Georges Valla, com-

pilateur de Nicéphore Blemmyde," *Diotima*, VIII [1980], 144–46). She states that the translation as it appears in chapter XLVI is not exactly the same as that found in Valla's version as printed in the 1538 edition of his translation of the entire work. There is no way of knowing whether the case is analogous to that of Burgundio (see above, p. 40), or whether the differences arose in the editing process.

It is noteworthy that Valla's exemplar attributed the *De natura hominis* to Nemesius, not to Nyssenius as had Burgundio's Greek manuscript. Valla's version was not widely known because for almost thirty years after the publication of the complete Latin translation in 1538, Nemesius' treatise continued in most circles to be assigned to Nyssenius.

Valla's translation has been called defective by Ellebodius and by some modern scholars; however, he made no claim to be a philosopher or literary person; he was a scientist and an encyclopedist.

Valla's version is divided into forty-three chapters. He combined the material in chapters XIV and XV into a single chapter.

Valla	Matthaei
I–XIII	I–XIII
XIV	XIV–XV
XV–XLIII	XVI–XLIV

Dedication (ed. of Lyons, 1538). Illustrissimo et excellentissimo D. Iacobo Philippo Saccho Caesarei Senatus amplissimi apud Insabres Gallos Praesidi ac Moderatori iustissimo Gaudentius Merula S.D. [*Inc.*]: (p. 3) Statueram iamdiu aliquod ad te, ex quo meam erga te observantiam vel me tacente cognosceres, munus, quod et tuae amplitudini et professioni meae foret idoneum, mittere. Numquam tamen facere id licuit mihi, quod ea quae ex officina nostra exeunt, tuo videantur intuitu prorsus indigna, et quae tua sunt maiestate digna, ex farina (quod aiunt) vix sint nostra. Quamobrem hac re super angebar maxime idque facturum me numquam sperassem, nisi desperatis Fortuna salutem prope rebus attulisset. Siquidem Georgii Merulae viri candidissimi et de Repub. literaria tam bene meriti, quam qui maxime, bibliothecam mihi revolventi, statim Nemesius occurrit quem cum raptim legissem, tuis dignum manibus munus existimavi quod sit homini vel moribus vel aetate composito opere (prout mea fert sententia) isto conducibilius nihil, ei prae-

sertim qui sacrosanctum Christi dogma profiteatur. Quod item eum in dispositione totius operis admirabilem invenerim, multifariae suppellectilis copia varium, ordine conspicuum, numero et elocutione (prout aetatis traductoris conditio ferebat) splendidum satis. Quid praeterea Nemesio hoc nostro sublimius dici vel fingi potest? Nonne humani ingenii vires longo intervallo excedit, dum animantium cuiusque generis corporum abditam harmoniam ob oculos nobis proponit? Dum de anima tam subtiliter philosophorum, qui ethnikoi vocantur, opiniones impugnat? Dum de anima corporisque copula evidentia sic argumenta subtextit? Quis enim umquam (si tamen vera fateri volumus) de totius corporis compositione eiusque seminibus sic argute disputavit, dum aperit, quae dumtaxat corpus, postea quae animam, mox quae utrumque consequantur? Item quae in nostra sint manu, et quae item extra. Dii rursus boni, quo mentis impetu Manichaeos unam omnium solam animam esse putantes, prosternit? Quo spiritu veterum philosophorum de rebus sublimibus decertantium sententias colligit, committit, confert? Ignorabam per Deos immortales, ignorabam antequam legissem Nemesium, quid fatum esset quod in astris est, quid entelecheia Ciceroni dictio fortasse minus cognita, quid divina providentia, et ea quae ratione se cunctis rebus ingerat? Quid imaginarium esset? Unde visus, tactus, gustus? . . . Merula continues his summary of the subjects treated in the Nemesius treatise. [Expl.]: (p. 6) Verum haec iudicent alii, tu interea Nemesio oblectare et Merulam tui splendoris studiosissimum ea humanitate, qua optimos quosque amplecteris, fove. Mediolani VIII. Kal. Maiæ, MDXXXVIII.

De natura hominis. Chapter I. [Inc.]: (p. 7) Hominem ex anima intellecta, et corpore absolutissime definitum, et tam recte ut ne aliter quidem definiri posse videatur, multi et boni viri censuere. At cum intellectiva ipsum constare anima definimus, ambiguum sane videri potest, utrum animam subiens intellectus, tamquam alius, aliam fecerit intellectivam, an intelligentiam ipsamet anima, et natura suapte assecuta sit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 27) Denique cum ex anima et corpore hominem constare, ut ostensum, communis omnium sit opinio, nos iam quae restant, prosequamur, primum de anima tractantes, valde tenuia, ac minutatim descripta, et a multis difficulter intellectiva exquirentibus relinquamus. Chapter II, *de anima*. [Inc.]: (p. 27) De anima veterum prope omnium

inter se dissentit oratio. Democritus enim et Epicurus, et totum Stoicorum concilium, corpus esse definiunt. [Expl.] Chapter III, *de animae et corporis copula*: (p. 63) Enimvero animarum gradus ascensus atque descensus, quos inducit Origenes, utpote divinis scripturis non conducentes, neque Christianorum convenientes sententiis, relinquamus. Chapter IV. [Inc.]: (p. 64) Corpus omne quatuor elementorum concretio et ex eis progenitum est. Et animalium quidem sanguinem habentium continuo corpus ex quatuor coit humoribus, sanguine, phlegmate, flava bile et atra . . . / . . . [Expl.] Chapter XLIII. (p. 188) Quae quamquam iis quibus sublatae sunt, quippe quod illorum merito factum sit, conferat eas nequaquam habuisse, verum tamen fuit in acervum cumulare iniusti, nam tales ideo ei rei student, quo accumularent, non ut auferendo illis commodum pariant. Finis.

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Editions:

(*) 1501, Venetiis (Venice): in aed. Aldi Romani, impensa ac studio Io. Petri Vallae filii pientissimi. mense decembri. *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus*, ch. XLVI, contains a translation of Nemesius, ch. II, and the first half of ch. III. Adams V-147; NUC. BL; BN; Cambridge, University Library, Trinity College (DLC; MH; PU).

(photo.) 1538, Lugduni (Lyons): apud S. Gryphium. Graesse, IV, 657. Adams N-156; NUC. BL; BN; Cambridge University Library (DNLM; MH).

Biography:

See CTC, I, 126. Add to the Bibliography the following more recent studies: W. S. Anderson, "Valla, Juvenal and Probus," *Traditio*, XXI (1965), 383–424 (on the text of Valla's 1486 edition of Juvenal); G. Arico, "De Statii Carminis, quod De bello Germanico inscribitur, fragmento," *Annali del Liceo Classico G. Garibaldi di Palermo*, XI–XIII (1974–76), 249–54; A. Bartucci, "Il Probus di Giorgio Valla e il Commentum Vetustum a Giovenale," *Studi Ital-*

iani di *Filologia Classica*, XLV (1973), 233–57; I. Cassaniga, “Il frammento di Sulpicia, Orazio, Ep. XII e Tertulliano, Apol. 46, 10,” *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*, XCV (1967), 295–300; G. Forlini, “Una lettera di Giovanni Pico all’umanista piacentino Giorgio Valla,” *Convegno di Studi Pichiani* (Modena, 1965), 85–88; E. Gamillscheg, “Supplementum Mutinense,” *Scrittura e Civiltà*, II (1978), 231–43; P. Landucci Ruffo, “Note sulla Physiologia di Giorgio Valla,” *Physis*, XIII (1971), 13–20 (sources of Valla); Landucci, “Le Fonti dei Libri dell’Astronomia nella Enciclopedia di Giorgio Valla,” *Il Rinascimento nella Corti Padane. Società e Cultura* (Bari, 1977); Paul L. Rose, “Bartolomeo Zamberti’s Funeral Oration for the Humanist Encyclopaedist Giorgio Valla,” *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. C. H. Clough (Manchester, 1976), 299–310; M. Verhelst, “Georges Valla, compilateur de Nicéphore Blemmyde,” *Diotima*, VIII (1980), 144–47; *Giorgio Valla tra scienza e sapienza*, ed. V. Branca (Florence, 1981).

5. Johannes Cono

Johannes Cono Norimontanus revised Burgundio of Pisa’s Latin translation of Nyssenius (sc. Nemesius), *De natura hominis*. This revision is usually considered as a separate translation. Cono divided the treatise into eight books rather than into forty-two chapters as had Burgundio, and he gave it a new title, *Libri octo*. I. *De homine*, etc. He arrived at the new division by combining into a single “book” chapters whose content related to one general subject. Thus Liber IV, *De viribus animae*, included all of the material in Burgundio’s chapters VI–XXVIII; it dealt with a wide range of subjects pertaining to the human body: the senses, emotions, and physical functions. Each “book” was further subdivided into chapters; for example, Liber IV, *De viribus animae*, was divided into twenty chapters, a number of which corresponded to single chapters of Burgundio. There appears to be no connection between Cono’s divisions and the *Libri octo de anima*, written a thousand years earlier by Julianus Pomerius (see above, p. 39).

Details of the process of revision are described in the correspondence of Cono, Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, and Beatus Rhenanus. In a letter to Faber, dated March 1, 1512, Rhenanus, pupil of Cono and well-known scholar, said that

Johannes Stabius, the mathematician, had discovered a manuscript of Burgundio’s translation of the *De natura hominis*. When Cono learned that it had come into the hands of Matthias Schurer for printing, he expressed reluctance to see such a poor version published. Rhenanus urged him to revise it. Cono proceeded to occupy himself with that task during the winter of 1511–12. One scholar (Saffrey) has offered the interesting suggestion that the project may have been a subject of discussion in Cono’s Greek classes during that period. Some detail is available in the correspondence of the scholars. When Cono began his work he did not have available a complete Greek manuscript of *De natura hominis* in the library of the Dominican convent in Basel, where he resided after 1510. He had at hand as primary sources only Burgundio’s Latin version and a partial Greek text. Scholars have demonstrated that this was Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E. 1, 6 (s. XIII according to Hunt; s. XIV according to Coxe). It had belonged to John Stoković of Ragusa (1390–1443). He had acquired it while in Constantinople as a member of a delegation from the Council of Basel, which was working for the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches. There between 1435 and 1437, Nicolaus of Cusa borrowed it from Stoković. It may well contain Cusanus’ notes (see Krchňák, Bibliography, below). Stoković willed this and his other manuscripts to the Dominican convent at his death (1443). It was there in 1511 that Stabius called Rhenanus’ attention to it. On fols. 364–74v it contained chapters II and III of *De natura hominis* under the caption, *Different Opinions of philosophers and Christians on the soul and a true exposition of these*. Following this item is an unascribed work, the incipit of which indicates that it is chapter XXIV, the medical explanation of pulses, of the Nemesius treatise. The next item is likewise unascribed. Its title is *De spermate ex Aristotele et Galeno*. The incipit indicates that it is Nemesius, chapter XXV, concerning the generative faculty. Thus Cono had a Greek text of these four chapters at hand, but whether he recognized the latter two as belonging to the same treatise as did the *De anima* is not known. For the rest of his work he relied on Burgundio’s Latin and the long passages quoted by John of Damascus in his *De fide orthodoxa*. He used Faber’s Latin version of this work and perhaps a Greek manuscript as well, today’s Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste, 106 (see Sicherl, pp. 66ff. and 136ff., Bibliography,

below). Cono tells us that he also used Basil's *In Hexaemeron* together with scholia of Elias of Crete. Cono's use of Basil's work was influenced by his knowledge that Basil and Nyssenius (sc. Nemesius) had used a common source, and possibly because he considered Basil's brother to be the author of *De natura hominis*. The Greek text of Basil's *In Hexaemeron* was available in the same manuscript that contained part of the treatise he was working on (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E. 1.6). The scholia of Elias to which he referred were those written by the Greek theologian and canonist (s. XI ex. – XII in.) on nineteen orations of Gregory Nazianzen; they were available in several manuscripts in the Dominican convent library, although there is evidence for the use of only one of them by Cono (see Sicherl, p. 136, Bibliography, below). The scholia were printed following each sermon in the 1583 edition of Nazianzen's works.

In addition to these written and printed sources Cono also had the assistance of Beatus Rhenanus, who, "working day and night because the printers were asking for the promised copy," himself made a copy of Cono's version, smoothing out as he did so some still remaining roughness of style (*stilum ubique evexi*), which he feared might cause readers to peruse the text superficially, "ne tam rustica barbarie deterriti lectores, veluti de Nilo canes, ut vetus verbum usurpem, biberent et surgerent," (see A. Horawitz and K. Hartfelder, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus* [Leipzig, 1886], 44). Jodocus Badius Ascenius also, in his letter to Rhenanus which prefaces the 1513 edition of *Libri octo*, says that he owed much to Rhenanus: "tibi qui et auxisti et expolivisti" (see Ph. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des oeuvres de Josse Badius Ascenius*, 3 vols. [Paris, 1908], II, 477). But in spite of the labors of both men a substantial improvement over Burgundio's earlier effort was not evident (Matthaei, p. 12; Burkhard, "Handschriftliche Überlieferung von Nemesius," *Wiener Studien*, X (1888), 132ff.; Verbeke and Moncho, *Némésius*, xcvi). Nevertheless, Cono had produced the first complete printed edition of Nemesius, though in Latin only.

Finally, Cono was concerned about the spelling of Nyssenius' name and about the correctness of titles of works. Five days after dedicating his version of Nyssenius' (sc. Nemesius') work to Beatus Rhenanus, he wrote a dedication for his

translation of Nazianzenus, *Oratio 11 (Ad Gregorium Nyssenium)* to Thomas Truchses, vicar-general of Speyer. In it he expressed his distress with the careless copying of authors' names and of the titles of their works. "Error enim nominis usque adeo nocere solet ut huius mutatione conditio et qualitas personae deprimatur. Quamobrem non parum profecto admirandum venit, quo nam oestro perciti quidem scioli nostrae tempestatis tam leviter et inhumane in priscos illos innocentissimos authores desaeviant, quorum nomina invertunt, transponunt, titulos inscriptionum corrumpunt. . . . Denique ut alterius nomen corruptum querar, cuius gratia haec tuae excellentiae scribere coepi, Gregorius, is est Nyssenius sive Nysae [*sic*] episcopus, cuius sane felicitatem ipsa impensa fortuna varie quidem quamquam frustra tentavit. Nam cum illius sancti et eruditissimi viri praeclarus in philosophia liber, quem a graeco nuper fonte, magna ex parte emaculatum intuebere, longo postliminio a situ et squalore, inventione Io(hannis) Stabii mathematici rursus emergeret, nomen illius et laudis titulus, auctoritates denique cepit [*sic*] demergi. Cuius vero incuria vel libidine potius id gestum sit, non constat. Id scio quod pro Gregorio Nyseno, vel Nyssenio, Gregorius Emissenus substitutus est."

To permit the reader to judge the extent and character of Cono's revision of Burgundio's translation, several portions of the *De natura hominis* in his version as well as in that of Burgundio will be found following the treatment of the text.

Cono's division of the text as compared with that of Burgundio and Matthaei follows:

Cono	Burgundio	Matthaei
Liber I, De homine	I	I
Liber II, De anima	II and III	II and III
Liber III, De elementis	IV	IV – V
Liber IV, De viribus animae	V – XXVIII	VI – XXVIII
Liber V, De voluntario et involuntario	XXVIII – XXXIII	XXIX – XXXIV
Liber VI, De fato	XXXIV – XXXVII	XXXV – XXXVIII
Liber VII, De libero arbitrio	XXXVIII – XL	XXXIX – XLI
Liber VIII, De providentia	XLI – XLII	XLII – XLIV

Divini Gregorii Nyssae Episcopi qui fuit frater Basilii Magni Libri Octo. I. De homine. II. De anima. III. De elementis. IV. De viribus animae. V. De voluntario et involuntario. VI. De fato. VII. De libero arbitrio. VIII. De providentia. (The elaborate title page is described in detail by Horawitz and Hartfelder, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, 599.)

On the reverse of the title page is a Latin poem by Johannes Stabius to Johannes Graccus in which he thanks God for giving his blessing to this work of Gregory of Nyssa (sc. Nemesius).

There follows *Matthias Schurerius Lectori* (ed. of Basel, 1512). Lector quod hoc Gregorii Nysseni opus leges, Ioanni Stabio viro doctissimo, gratias habeto.

Dedication. F. Io. Cono Norimontanus Beato Rhenano Selestensi S.P. [*Inc.*]: (p. A ii) Gregorii Nyssae episcopi librum, quem de homine nominant, olim a Burgundione Pisano, Friderici imperatoris praefecto, vel indocte e Graeco versum vel vetustate temporis aut librariorum inertia depravatum, nativo splendori restituendum, ut par est, hortaris et efflagitas, indignum arbitratus tam doctam tamque praeclaram tanti viri philosophiam Attico lepore defluentem peregrina Gothicaque barbarie offundi, ut neque legentibus sensa elucere possint, immo fastidium illa barbaro-latina (ut ita dicam), structura et vocum extorta affectataque fictio ingerat. . . . (Cono remarks that Rhenanus had studied Aristotle under Faber Stapulensis at Paris and had now turned his attention to the Christian Platonism of Gregory of Nyssa.) Quod itaque Burgundio versione sua, ne dicam inversione, verbo verbum reddens foedavit, Graeca quidem bona et lepidissima sordidis Latinis immergens, tibi rursus emaculare et ad meliorem frugem referre studui non sine multa et assidua lucubratione. Cum enim translationem illius inter legendum inspicio, Latina conferendo Graecis, crede mihi isti tabulae fore librum persimilem, cuius veluti egri somnia, vanae finguntur species, ut nec pes nec caput uni reddatur formae. Sed placidis coeant immitia. Verum nullo horum animo fractus per verborum portenta et sensorum vepres, tametsi omnia scatere mendis, omnia inversa, cuncta fere Gothica et peregrina contemplatus, a capite ad calcem usque transcurri. . . . Atque in hunc modum totam hyemem (re fortasse utiliori neglecta, divi Chrysostomi inquam traductione) absumo. . . . Si sustines, verum dicam, facilius, purius et elegantius li-

brum hunc tibi recentem a Graeco vertissem, si integrum exemplar succurrisset, quam quod haec Burgundionis interpretamenta, non tam operosa quam enervata, tibi lecturo non nihil emendata, ne dicam culta pro tuo fortassis desiderio nunc offeram. Quis enim non novit difficilius inveterata et confracta revocare quam nova cudere? Effeci igitur tuo nomine, quod potui, Graeco exemplari deficiente undequaque conquirens, unde reliqua resarcirem. Hinc multa ex Basilii Magni hexamero Graeco emendavi et Helia Cretensi ac Io. Damasceno, qui verbatim etiam multa capita divini Gregorii Nysseni tamquam eo longe posterior suis sententiis inseruit, quem praeceptor tuus, Iacobus Faber, nuper Latinitate cultiori decoravit (1507), utinam tamen non inter aulicorum (ut ipse ait) tumultus et diversorum angulos. Nihilominus maiorem Burgundione laudem faciliiori opera commertuit. Ceterum absit a me haec indignitas, ut Burgundionem, *παραφραστήν* illum Latinae linguae ignarum, vel operosum illius studium et conatum ab omni prorsus laude proscribam, quin potius illi gratias non mediocres habeamus, cuius occasione nostra clariora reddere potuimus et quasi in sordibus repertum aurum suo nitore restituere. Absque enim Burgundione nec penitus haberemus hanc praeclaram Gregorii Nysseni philosophiam. Demusque potius hoc horrisonum et Gothicum dicendi genus temporum vitio, quo omnes bonae artes et cultiores literae sepultae erant et quasi extinctae. . . . Ad Gregorium tuum redeo. Hunc tibi tamquam hyemis istius lucubrationes reddo. Hunc tibi etiam ex Graeco fonte emaculatum a portentosis saltem voculis et minime Latina dictione et phrasi sua sensa ex omni fere parte redolentem profero et assigno. . . . Porro quod ad stili illustrationem attinet, tu Aristarchus esto. Cum enim per te sapias ingenio facili praeditus et Latinam phrasim calleas, de tuo Gregori fac ut lubet. Et vel sic talem sinas, vel cultiorem redde, quod tibi aut ceteris forsitan lecturis noveris fore conducibilis. . . . (Cono goes on to discuss the content of Nyssenius' philosophy and writings. The other opera mentioned are of course works of the "real" Gregory of Nyssa, not Nemesius. He refers to the *De conditione hominis* "quod Basileae in bibliotheca fratrum nostrorum habetur." He also falsely ascribes a "vita divi Gregorii Nazianzeni" to Nyssenius. He repeats his earlier statement that John of Damascus and Elias of Crete incorporated much of *Libri octo* in

their writings. He concludes with the Western influence exerted by the treatise.) . . . Veniam inde ad nostros Latinos, sanctum illum doctorem imprimis Thomam Aquinatem, clarum ecclesiae catholicae lumen, omni laude, favore, lectione dignum, cui tanta Nysseni Gregorii visa est autoritas, ut in multis etiam difficillimis hunc in robur suarum probationum adducat, quod palam liquet ex summula illa, quae prima secundae nominatur. Albertus quoque Magnus tum libro secundo de mirabili scientia dei tum in libro de homine huius venerandi patris ex hoc opere plurima loca in probationis testimonium allegat. Merito igitur tam clari tamque probati philosophi Gregorii dico librum summo studio et favore prosequamur, quem sibi tot sancti et docti patres non dubitaverunt habere autoritate dignissimum. Tu enim beate et iucunde legas. Vale et deum pro me ora. Ex coenobio Fratrum ordinis Dominici ex Basilea cursim. VII luce Martii an. MDXII.

Text. Chapter I. [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Hominem ex anima intellectuali et corpore tam optime constitutum, quod non conveniebat aliter factum esse, multis et sapientibus viris visum est. Ex eo autem quod intellectualis dicitur anima, dubitationem habet, adveniensne intellectus animae, ut alius alteri, intellectualem faciat eam, an intellectum a seipsa et sua natura anima habet, ut haec sit optima eius particula, vel uti oculus in corpore . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] Chapter I. (Cono's Lib. I, cap. V): (p. 33) Quoniam autem ex anima et corpore hominem esse, communis submittitur sermo, age dividendo prius de anima disse-ramus, subtiles et summas multisque intellectu difficiles quaestiones derelinquentes. Primi libri Gregorii Nysseni de Homine, Finis.

Chapter II, De anima. (Cono's Lib. II, cap. I). [*Inc.*]: (p. 33) Varius apud antiquos fere omnes de anima sermo est, nam Democritus, Epicurus et omnis Stoicorum turba corpus animam enunciant . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] Chapter III. (Cono's Lib. II, cap. X): (p. 40) Gradus vero animarum et ascensiones et descensiones quas Origenistae inducunt, nihil divinis scripturis convenientes neque Christianorum dogmatibus concordantes relinquendae sunt. Secundi libri Gregorii Nysseni de anima. Finis.

Chapter IV. (Cono's Lib. III, cap. I). [*Inc.*]: (p. 42) Omne corpus quatuor elementorum est concretio, et ex his conflatur. Corpora vero animalium sanguinem habentium proxime ex quatuor humoribus genita sunt, sanguine, phleg-

mate, rubea cholera et nigra . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Chapter XLIV. (Cono's Lib. VIII, cap. VIII): (p. 69) Etenim his quibus auferuntur, confert non possidere, sed avari qui rapuerunt iniusti sunt. Ob avaritiam enim, non propter illorum utilitatem abstulerunt, Octavi et ultimi Libri Gregorii Nysseni de providentia finis.

Beatus Rhenanus Selestensis Iacobo Fabro Stapulensi, praeceptori suo. S.D. [*Inc.*]: (p. xlv) Literas tuas et elegantissimas et optatissimas Argentorati mihi reddidit Michael noster Humelbergius, bonis disciplinis mirum in modum ornatus, quas vix dici potest, quanto ardore ὑπο τῆς ἡδονῆς gestiens etiam perlegerim. . . . (He goes on to mention Germany's preeminence in scholarship, giving a long list of names.) . . . Porro ab horum instituto minime alienus est Io. Stabius, excellens mathematicus, qui agens in aula Maximiliani Augusti variis subinde chorographiis illum oblectat. . . . Is inquam Stabius rarum et multis saeculis non visum opus Gregorii Nysseni quodam in loco reperit, quod Richardus Burgundio Pisanus aut Foederico Aenobarbo Caesari Augusto, omnium gentium terrori, qui Patavinam academiam primus instituit, tralatum dicavit, aut Foederico II (id enim incertum est, cum sub utrisque floruerit) sed tam indocte, tam ineleganter, ut legi possit, intelligi nequeat. Quare cum id Matthias Schurerius, municeps meus, ex Vienna Pannoniae, quae illustrissimorum Austriae archiducum regia est, imprimendum recepisset, non passus F. Io. Cono Norimbergensis, praeceptor meus, tam nobilem authorem ineptissimis et plus quam Gothicis dicendi abusionibus undique scatentem, tam foeda barbarie deturpatum in publicum prodire, sed inter librariam Graecanicorum codicum suppellectilem, quae hic apud divum Dominicum ex testamento cardinalis Ragusini derelicta asservatur, quibusdam capitibus sparsim inventis, suo labore et studio effecit, ut depulsis tenebris, quibus incultior tralatio offundebat, nitidior cognobiliorque in lucem exierit. Is itaque divinissimus pater omnium primum de homine philosophatur deque creationis tum ordine tum ratione. . . . Nam quemadmodum in excellenti opere industriam suam exprimit artifex, ita et deus sapientiam suam maxime in hominis effictione non obscure declaravit, ut Nicolaus Cusanus, omnium pie philosophantium princeps, multis in locis monstrat. . . . (He goes on to mention some of the subjects considered by "Nyssenens.") . . .

Laudabiliorem tamen censeo, quae a christianis profluens eorum, quae ad hominis salutem attinent, simul admonet, velut haec subtilissima divini Gregorii Nysseni doctrina, quae cum multorum errores coarguat, solidae veritati innititur. E cuius penu sanctissimus pater Io. Damascenus non pauca, cum sententias patrum colligeret, mutuatus est, quem tu superioribus annis (1507) diu ignotum et semilacerum ad studiosorum utilitatem reconcinnasti. . . . Ego vero huius operis utilitatem apud me perpendens, cum id ante praeceptor meus obeliscis undique confodisset, etsi aliis rebus et maxime literarum Graecarum studiis praepedire, excubendum duxi. Quod mihi tanto difficilius fuit, quanto vicinius tum nundinae Germanicae instabant, chalcographis promissum exemplar exposcentibus. Plenum itaque laboris negocium extitit adeo, ut opus mihi fuerit iuxta illud Luciani de Demosthene *συνάψαι νύκτας ἐπὶ πόνοις ἡμέραις*. Inter describendum autem Burgundioniana tralationis stilum ubique fere exevi, ne tam rustica barbarie deterriti lectores, veluti de Nilo canes, ut vetus verbum usurpem, biberent et surgerent. Burgundio enim verbum verbo reddens Graecorum *σχήματα* ad Latini sermonis proprietatem nequaquam reduxit, quo sane fit, ut nullus sensus etiam curiosius introspectanti nunquam elucescat. Verum in emendando non omnem prorsus barbariem extirpare potuimus (nova enim omnino tralatione opus fuisset), sed levigantium instar intolerabiliores salebras abrasimus, aliis quoque amplius poliendi materiam relinquentes. Eapropter, observande praeceptor, divini Gregorii Nysseni in publicum prodeuntis patrocinium suscipe, quem, etsi verborum phaleris atque ampullis minime intumescat, certe scio neutiquam spernes, sed altissimam eius philosophiam plurimum admiraberis, commendabis, efferes. Et interpolationem nostram boni consule. Dic verbis meis salutem Iodoco Clichtoveo theologo et Roberto Fortunato, optimis literarum patronis. Bene vale et Rhenanum tuum mutuiter ama. Ex Basilea, Calendis Martiis an. MDXII.

Bibliography:

The complete text of the correspondence of Cono and other scholars which pertains to the revised translation of Nemesius is printed in A. Horawitz and K. Hartfelder, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus* (Leipzig, 1886). On Oxon. Bodl. Auct. E. 1.6, used by Cono, see

B. Altaner, "Zur Geschichte d. Handschriftensammlung des Kardinals Johannes von Ragusa," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XLVII (1927), 730–32; K. Burkhard, "Die handschriftliche Überlieferung von Nemesius . . .," *Wiener Studien*, X (1888), 132ff.; R. W. Hunt, "Bodleian Manuscripts of John Stoković," *Studia Patristica*, VII (1966), 81; A. Krchňák, "Neue Handschriftenfunde in London und Oxford," *Mitteil. u. Forschungsbeiträge d. Cusanus-Gesellschaft*, III (1963), 105ff.; G. Knod, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, II (1885), 263ff.; A. Vernet, "Les manuscrits grecs de Jean de Raguse," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, LXI (1961), 75–108. On the 1507 edition of John of Damascus, used by Cono, see, in addition to the letter of Rhenanus to Faber mentioned above, the letter of M. Hummelberger to Jodocus Badius Ascensius (Josse Bade) printed in Ph. Renouard, *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, II (1969), 386. See also E. F. Rice, Jr., *The Prefatory Epistles of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples* (New York, 1972), 161ff. and 261ff. Recent treatments of Cono's life and works include H. D. Saffrey, "Un humaniste dominicain, Jean Cuno de Nuremberg, précurseur d'Erasmus à Bâle," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XXXIII (1971), 19–62; M. Sicherl, *Johannes Cuno. Ein Wegbereiter des Griechischen in Deutschland. Eine biographisch-kodikologische Studie* (Heidelberg, 1978); Sicherl, "Zwei Briefe Johannes Cunos an den Bischof von Basel, Christoph von Utenheim," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, LXXVII (1977), 45–55. Sicherl's biographical study has a very complete bibliography. See in addition M. Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 38–39.

Editions:

(photo.) 1512, mense Maio, Argentorati (Strasbourg): ex officina Matthiae Schurerii. Maittaire, II, 227; Hoffmann, II, 187; Panzer, VI, 55, 249; NUC. BN; (DFo; NNUT). See Composite Editions in the article on Gregorius Nyssenus, CTC, V, 37. Copies of some pages were kindly supplied by Virginia Woods Callahan.

(*) 1513, sabbato post Pentecosten, Parisiis (Paris): in aedibus Ascensianis. Contents as in 1512 edition except for prefatory letters. Renouard, *Badius*, II, 477; BN.

(photo.) 1537, Coloniae (Cologne): ex offi-

cina Melchioris Novesiani, ed. J. Antonianus Noviomagus. With works of Gregory of Nyssa. Graesse, II, 148; Hoffmann, II, 187; Adams G-1116. Cambridge, Trinity College and Emmanuel College. A copy of pertinent pages was kindly supplied by F. H. Stubbings of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

(micro.) 1551, Coloniae (Cologne): ex officina M. Novesiani. Contains the same works as the 1537 edition. NUC. (MB; NcD).

(photo.) 1562, Basileae (Basel); apud N. Episcopium Iuniorum. Graesse, II, 148; Hoffmann, II, 187; Adams G-1111; NUC. BL; BN; Cambridge, Emmanuel College; (DCU; ICN; MH). With thirty-two works of Gregorius Nyssenus. Copies kindly supplied by F. H. Stubbings of Emmanuel College.

(*) 1562, Basileae (Basel): Another edition listed by Adams G-1112, "excudebat Nic. Episcopus F. sibi et haeredibus Arnoldi Birckmanni." Cambridge, Peterhouse.

Doubtful Edition:

(*) 1512, Basileae (Basel): *De philosophia Libri VIII, Jo. Conone int.*, Panzer, VI, 190, no. 110, quoting Quétif, II, 28. No trace of this edition has been found.

Passages illustrating the extent and character of Cono's revision: In the Cono translation changes of words as against Burgundio have been italicized; changes of order have not been noted.

A. Where Cono had Burgundio's Nyssenus (sc. Nemesius) and Faber Stapulensis' Latin translation of John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*:

Cono

Liber IV, cap. X (ed. 1551, p. 49)

Voluptatum hae sunt *animae*, *illae autem corporis*. *Animae* quidem quae ipsius sunt secundum seipsam, sicut hae quae sunt circa disciplinas et contemplationem. Hae enim et *quaecunque* tales solius animae existunt. *Corporis* vero sunt, quae cum communione corporis et animae *sunt*, et propterea corporales vocantur, ut quae circa escas et *venerea* sunt. At solius corporis nequaquam quis *invenerit* voluptates, sed passiones ut puta incisiones et effluxiones et complexionis qualitates.

Burgundio

Cap. XVII (ed. 1975, p. 96, 1.69ff.)

Voluptatum hae quidem sunt animales aliae vero sunt corporales. Animales quidem sunt quae ani-

mae ipsius sunt secundum se ipsam, sicut hae quae sunt circa disciplinas et contemplationem; hae enim et quae tales sunt, solius animae sunt. Corporales autem sunt quae cum communione animae et corporis fiunt et propterea corporales vocantur, ut quae circa escas et coitus sunt. Solius vero corporis nequaquam inveniet quis voluptates, sed passiones ut puta incisiones et effluxiones et eas quae secundum complexiones qualitates.

Faber Stapulensis, translation of J. Damascenus, *De fide orthodoxa*, Cap. XVIII (ed. 1507, p. 36) Voluptatum he sunt anime, ille corporis; voluptates anime: quaecunque solius anime sunt, ipsi secundum seipsam convenientes, ut quaecunque sunt circa disciplinas et contemplationem. Corporis vero, que ob anime et corporis communionem contingunt, propterea et corporea vocantur: quaecunque circa cibos et venerea et eiusmodi sunt. Solius autem corporis non utique reperiat quis voluptates. Rursus voluptatum quedam vere sunt; quedam mendaces et false: ille solius mentis secundum scientiam et contemplationem; he cum corpore secundum sensum.

B. Where Cono had available both Burgundio's *De natura hominis* and the Greek text of Nemesius:

Cono

Liber II, cap. I (ed. 1551, p. 34)

Varius apud antiquos fere omnis de anima sermo est. Nam Democritus, Epicurus et omnis Stoicorum *turba*, corpus animam enunciant. Et hi *de substantia eius diversa sentiunt*. Stoici enim spiritum calidum et igneum esse dicunt, Critias sanguinem, Hippon philosophus aquam, Democritus vero ignem. *Sphaericas etenim* atomorum figuras *contractas* et ignem et aerem animam perficere affirmat. Heraclitus autem *omnem* animam ex humidis. . . .

Burgundio

Cap. II (ed. 1975, p. 23)

Dissonat autem omnibus fere antiquis qui de anima sermo. Nam Democritus quidem et Epicurus et omnis Stoicorum philosophorum coetus corpus animam enuntiant. Sed et hi ipsi qui corpus animam enuntiant, differunt de substantia eius. Nam Stoici quidem spiritum dicunt eam calidum et igneum esse, Critias vero sanguinem, Hippo vero philosophus aquam, Democritus

vero ignem. Sphaeriformes enim figuras atomorum concretas, et ignem et aerem, animam perficere ait. Heraclitus vero totam quidem animam evaporatione ex humidis. . . .

C. Where Cono had available only Burgundio, *De natura hominis*:

Cono

Liber VI, cap. II (ed. 1551, p. 59)

Adversus vero sapientes Aegyptiorum *verum* esse *fatum* astruentes quod per astra est, verti autem orationibus et aversionibus. Esse enim quasdam *astrorum* curationes quae illa *mitigent*, et alias item *superadditas* virtutes, quae *fatum* *avertere possint*, propterea orationes *curationesque* deorum et aversiones excogitatas esse dicemus quoniam contingentium et non necessariorum faciunt esse *fatum*.

Burgundio

Cap. XXXV (ed. 1975, p. 135)

Adversus sapientes autem Aegyptiorum dicentes veram quidem esse eam quae per astra est fortunam, verti autem orationibus et aversionibus. Esse enim quasdam et horum ipsorum astrorum curationes quae mansuefaciunt illa, et alias quasdam superiacentes virtutes quae vertere eam possunt, et propterea orationes et curationes deorum et aversiones excogitatas esse dicemus quoniam contingentium et non necessariorum faciunt esse fortunam.

Biography:

See CTC, II, 113; V, 80, and the additional bibliography cited p. 61 above.

6. Anonymus B

An anonymous Latin translation of Nemesius, *De natura hominis*, appears in a Paris manuscript, BN lat. 2121. The text breaks off abruptly not long after the beginning of chapter XVI (M. ch. XVIII). Two dates appear in the manuscript. Above the title at the top of the first page is 1541 23 Maii. On fol. 27, at the end of the complete (see below) version of chapter III is 5 Decembris MD43.

There are no clues as to the identity of the translator except that the hand is sixteenth-century Italian. The translator worked from a Greek exemplar which attributed the treatise to Nemesius. The manuscript appears to be an autograph, not a copy, since there are many instances of a word being crossed out and another

preferable one being written above it in the same hand. At times the writing is very careless (e.g., fol. 42). There are two quite different translations of the opening portion of chapter III (see below).

A comparison of the chapter divisions of Anonymus B with those of Matthaei follows:

Anonymus B	Matthaei
Chapters I–IX	I–IX
De auditu missing	X
Chapter X	XI
Chapters XI–XII	XII–XIII
Chapter XIII	XIV–XV
Chapters XIV–XVI	XVI–XVIII

a. Complete Translation

De natura hominis (Paris, BN lat. 2121). 1541. 23. maii [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1)

Nemesii episcopi Nemesae (?) De anima et corpore caput p(rimu)m. Hominem optime atque adeo concinne esse ex anima intelligente et corpore comparatum itaque concinne ut cum multis probisque viris non aliter fieri ac constare possit visum est. Cum autem in dubitationem veniat de ipsius anime intellective appellatione utrum mens anime accedens ut alia ipsam intelligentem efficiat an anima sua sponte ac natura vim habeat intelligendi cum idque sit pars ipsius praeclarissima ceu in corpore oculus. Nonnulli quidem inter quos habetur Plotinus animam dicunt ab animo omnino aliam esse ac diversam hominemque ex tribus constare volunt rebus corpore anima atque mente quos Appollinaris episcopus Laodicensis est sequutus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] Chapter I. (fol. 9) haec dicta sint quandoquidem homo ex anima et corpore constare ab omnibus habetur atque divisione facta primum de anima disseremus omissis questionibus iis quae nimis subtiles et aspere ac plerisque ob difficultatem non intellecte fuerunt.

Chapter II. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 9) De anima caput 2^m. Que autem sit animi definitio inter omnes fere magna dissensio est. Democritus enim et Epicurus atque universa Stoicorum secta animam corpus esse definientes de essentia ipsius quenam illa sit inter sese discrepant. Nam Stoici spiritum dicunt eam esse calidum atque igneum, Critias sanguinem . . . / . . .

Chapter III [*Inc.*]: (fol. 24). De unitione animae et corporis. Cap. 3. Quaerendum autem est quonam pacto animae et inanimati corporis conexio fiat. Est enim res perplexa . . . / . . . calidum atque igneum, Critias sanguinem

. . . / . . . [Expl.] Chapter III (fol. 27) Animarum enim gradus conditionesque earumque ascensus et descensus quos Origines introducit quippe qui divinis minime inveniant(ur) scriptis neque cum Christianorum secta consentiant pretermittendi sunt. 5 decembris MD43

Chapter IV. [Inc.]: (fol. 27) De corpore caput 4^m. Omne corpus est ex quatuor concretum elementis, iis autem proxima sunt animantia que sanguinem habent ex quatuor constantia humoribus, sanguine scilicet flegmate ac bile cum flava tum nigra. ex iis enim sanguine predictis aliqua sunt que ex aliis constant humoribus atque ex eo quod in ipsis proportionem cum sanguine habet . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Chapter XVI (M p. 222, line 5) De voluptatibus. (fol. 43v) He enim ad universi generis conservationem institute sunt, fieri autem potest et sine his in virginitate vivere. He autem neque necessarie neque naturales sunt ut ebrietas, luxuria, magna preter usum cibi expletio, neque enim ad generis propagationem conferunt ut legitimus congressus neque ad vite salutem sed plurimum nocent, qui igitur. . . .

b. Partial Translation of Chapter III

The anonymous translator began a translation of chapter III on fol. 22v. At the bottom of fol. 23 (at M, p. 129, line 12) he broke off this attempt. At some point he resumed his work but apparently chose to discard the first effort and begin anew on chapter III. A single diagonal line is drawn through fols. 22v and 23, from right to left. This first translation of a portion of chapter III differs noticeably from the second, complete one. Fol. 23v is blank.

Chapter III. [Inc.]: (fol. 22v) De copulatione animae et corporis. Cap. 3. Quaerendum autem est quonam pacto animae et inanimati corporis copulatio fiat . . . est enim res . . . digna (The scribe has crossed out three words; then appears one in which the ink appears smudged; the final word of this incipit is "digna"). [Expl.]: (fol. 23) . . . the final two words are "natura habent." That the version ends at M, p. 129, line 12, can be determined from the previous line of the manuscript.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2121: s. XVI, misc. My transcription of passages from this manuscript was checked and corrected by Paul Oskar Kristeller. He ascertained that the letter at the end of the manuscript belonged to a much later period (Cat. BN II, 328).

7. Nicasius Ellebodius

Nicasius Ellebodius prepared the editio princeps of the Greek text of Nemeseius of Emesa, *De natura hominis*. It was printed along with his Latin translation by Plantin in Antwerp in 1565. Unfortunately, Ellebodius did not follow the printing process closely enough, and as a result there were many typographical errors—some passages printed twice and others transposed. In 1566 a now unknown scholar in Esslingen had a copy of the edition and noted some errors in the margins. Later C. Seybold of Tübingen transmitted this information to Matthaei (1801), who printed it in his 1802 edition (pp. 403–5). This material was preceded by the copious notes of the 1671 editor (John Fell?).

In his dedication to Cardinal Granvelle, Ellebodius indicated that he had seen Valla's edition and found it wanting. From the same source one learns that he used two manuscripts in preparing his text and from his Preface that with their aid he corrected numerous errors. His main Greek source was Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, gr. 27 (11351–52); the other was probably Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. graec. 419 (s. XIV) (information kindly furnished by the late Benedict Einarson; see also Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 63–64).

Ellebodius divided the treatise into forty-four chapters rather than the forty-two of Burgundio. Chapter IV (Burgundio's *De corpore*) was divided into chapter IV, *De corpore*, and chapter V, *De elementis*. Chapter XLI (Burgundio's *De providentia*) became chapter XLII, *De providentia*, and chapter XLIII, *Quarum rerum sit providentia*. *De metu* became chapter XX and *De ira*, chapter XXI, not vice versa as in most previous texts. Ellebodius followed John of Damascus in this latter order (John's chapters XXIX and XXX, pp. 121–22, ed. Buytaert).

Ellebodius wrote his dedication in Greek. His style of translation was labored, and as Verbeke and Moncho have pointed out, he was prone to circumlocutions.

Ellebodius' version formed the basis of all later Latin editions beginning with that of Oxford, 1671, generally attributed to John Fell, bishop of Oxford. Though subsequent editors emended the Greek and Latin on the basis of further manuscript evidence and other translations, Matthaei's text of 1802, which found its way into J. P. Migne's *Patrologia*, is still largely that of Ellebodius.

Dedication (ed. of Halle, 1802). [*Inc.*]: (p. 17).

ΝΙΚΑΣΙΟΣ ΕΛΛΕΒΟΔΙΟΣ
ΚΑΣΛΕΤΑΝΟΣ
ΤΩ ΠΕΡΙΦΑΝΕΣΤΑΤΩ ΚΑΙ
ΑΙΔΕΣΙΜΩΤΑΤΩ
ΚΑΡΔΙΝΑΛΕΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΩ
ΠΕΡΡΕΝΟΤΤΩ
ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

[*Inc.*]: Τὸ περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου τοῦ Νεμεσίου βιβλίον προειλόμην σοι προσφω-νῆσαι, κράτιστε Ἀντώνιε Καρδινάλι, οὗ τοσοῦτον εἰς τὴν τοῦ γένους σου λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀποβλέψας. . . . (Following these laudatory remarks in the usual manner, Ellebodius says he is sending the book to Cardinal Granvelle to aid him in his studies. Only Hippocrates among the ancients is worthy of mention, and he dealt only with the body. Nemesius dealt also with the soul. Ellebodius goes on to mention some of the content of the treatise, including the popular "De voluntario et involuntario," "De fato," and "De providentia." He remarks that Nemesius held generally orthodox views. The date for Nemesius, suggests Ellebodius, can be narrowed down because he must have flourished later than Basil and his circle but have lived before the time of Justinian, when Origen's views were condemned. He mentions that his manuscripts were not in good condition, but by using two he was able to avoid some errors. He mentions Valla's version, which he felt was defective.) [*Expl.*]: ἡ μὲν οὖν ἡμετέρα σπουδὴ τε καὶ προαίρεσις αὐτῇ σοι, λαμπρότατε Καρδινάλι. σὺ δὲ ταύτης ἡμᾶς ἀποδεξάμενος, δίκαιος ἂν εἴης τῶν μὲν κατωρθωμένων ἐπαινεῖν, τῶν δὲ παρειμένων συγγνώμην ἔχειν. ἔρρωσο. ἐκ Παταβίου. α φ ξ δ. μεταγεινιώνος μηνὸς τρίτη φθίοντος.

Nicasius Ellebodius, Lectori S. [*Inc.*]: (p. 20) Quae me ratio ad Nemesii editionem adhortata sit, Lector optime, pluribus mihi verbis exponendum esse non arbitror. Nam si quis est qui veteres scriptores e bibliothecarum latebris evocari et in aspectum lucemque proferri nolit, aut non magnum iudicio suo fructum eorum laudi tribuendum existimet, quorum industriae curriculum in hoc genere studiorum elaboret, huic a iudicio et omnino ab humanitate derelicto studere probare se nemo debet . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 21) Hoc in genere cum viderem esse

Nemesium, qui Graece de praecipua ac necessaria philosophiae parte, et quae proprie ad nos pertineat, hoc est, de natura hominis, apte, dilucide, et in quo plus est positum, quam in ceteris omnibus, pie disserat; dedi operam, ut et Graecum exemplar prodiret in publicum, quod sexcentis locis, etsi in tam parvo opere credibile vix est, mirabiliter mendis inquinatum duorum vetustorum codicum ope expurgavimus, et Latina quoque interpretatio, quo omnium intelligentiae serviremus, adiungeretur. Haec pauca de consilio meo et opera, quam probari tibi cupio, nescire te nolui. De ceteris, cum leges, pro arbitrio tuo existimabis. Vale.

C. Plantinus Lectori S. [*Inc.*]: (p. 22) Non inutilem studiosis viris, neque irritam rem facturus mihi videbar, si, quia Nemesium nunc primum in lucem producimus, paucula de ipso Nemesio adderem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 22) Meminit ipse Origenis et Apolinarii, quod adolescens vidisse fortasse potuit. De loco nihil comperi. Nunc ad epistolam. Vale.

De natura hominis. Chapter I (ed. of Antwerp, 1565). [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Hominem ex animo intelligente et corpore rectissime constructum esse, atque ita quidem recte ut aliter fieri ac cohaerere non possit multi iique boni viri existimarunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Chapter I. (p. 16) Quoniam autem hominem ex animo constare et corpore communis omnium sententia docet, age ut distribute procedat oratio, prius de anima tractemus, sed ita ut subtiles et spinosas admodum et vulgo ad intelligendum difficiles quaestiones praetermittamus.

Chapter II. [*Inc.*]: (p. 17) De anima omnium fere veterum rationes inter se dissentiunt. Democritus enim et Epicurus et omnis Stoicorum philosophorum chorus, corpus esse animam dicunt . . . / . . . Chapter III. [*Expl.*]: (p. 45) Nam gradus animarum, ascensus item et descensus, quos Origenes inducit, nihil pertinentes ad divinas litteras, neque cum Christianorum decretis consentanei, relinquendi sunt. Chapter IV. [*Inc.*]: (p. 45) Omne corpus e quatuor elementis concretum et conflatum est. Proxime quidem eorum quae sanguinem habent corpora, e quatuor humoribus, sanguine, pituita, flava bile, et atra . . . / . . . Chapter XLIV. [*Expl.*]: (p. 142) Etenim, et iis, quibus eripitur, verisimile est conducere, non possidere; et qui alienam pecuniam concupierunt, iniusti. Nam habendi cupiditate inducti, non quia illis fit utile, ademerunt.

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K. Burkhard, "Zur Kapitelfolge in Nemesius' *περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου*," *Philologus*, LXIX (1910), 38ff.; E. Teza, *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, vol. L, ser. 7, tom. 3 (1892), 1239–79, esp. 1241–45; and especially, G. Verbeke and J. Moncho, *Némésius*, xcix–c.

Editions:

(partial typescript) 1565, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina C. Plantini. (Gr.-Lat.) Graesse, IV, 657; Hoffmann, II, 615; NUC. Adams N-157, 158; NUC. BL; BN; Cambridge, Emmanuel College and Trinity College (= Adams N-157); Cambridge, Kings College and Trinity College (Adams N-158). The BL copy contains manuscript notes by Isaac Casaubon. The copy at Yale was inspected for me by F. E. Cranz.

(*) 1576, Parisiis (Paris): ap. M. Somnium, in *Sacra bibliotheca sanctorum patrum . . .*, ed. M. de la Bigne. NUC. (MH; NcD). Reference verified by Jesse M. Savage of NcD.

(*) 1577, Basileae (Basel): Petri Pernae impensa. Chapters XVIII (M), "De voluptate," and XIX (M), "De aegritudine," in *Doctrina recte vivendi ac moriendi ad mores*. (Gr.-Lat.) Adams D-712. See Fabricius and Harles, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, XI, 401.

(*) 1586, Basileae (Basel): apud C. Waldkirch. Reprint of the 1577 edition, ed. Valentin Thilo. BN.

(*) 1609, Paris: in *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, vol. VIII. BL.

(*) 1618, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, sumptibus A. Hierati, ed. M. de La Bigne, vol. V, pt. 3. BL; BN.

(*) 1624, Paris: in *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, sumptibus Aeg. Morelli, ed. F. Ducaeus, II, 464ff.; Hoffmann, II, 615; NUC. BL; BN; (DLC).

(*) 1644, Paris: in *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*. NUC. BN; (NNC; MBtS).

(*) 1654, Paris: in *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, XII, 708–804; Hoffmann, II, 615; NUC. BL; (IU; MH; NNC).

(*) 1671, Oxford: e theatro Sheldoniano. (Gr.-Lat.) Graesse, IV, 657; Hoffmann, II, 615; NUC. Ellebodius' text with revisions probably by John Fell. The copy at McGill University, Montreal, contains the notes of Sir William Osler. BL; BN; (MH; NN; DNLM).

(*) 1677, Lugduni (Lyons): in *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, ed. Philippe Despont, VIII, 618–48. NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; MB; NNUT).

(*) 1780, Augsburg: in P. D. Schram, *Analysis Operum SS Patrum*. An epitome only. NUC. (PLat).

(*) 1765, Paris: in A. Galland, *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* (Gr.-Lat.), VII, 355ff.; Hoffmann, II, 615; NUC. (NN; NjPT; ICN).

1802, Halae Magdeburgicae (Halle): (Gr.-Lat.) Graesse, IV, 657; Hoffmann, II, 615; NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; CU; MH). This edition was mechanically reproduced in Hildesheim in 1967.

(*) 1858, Paris: Petit Montrouge, in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus . . . Series graeca et orientalis*, XXII. BN Cat. vol. CXXIII, 479. BN.

1858, Paris: in J. P. Migne, PG, XL. NUC. BN. The new BL Cat., CCXXXIII, 355, gives the date 1857. Text of Ellebodius with revisions by Fell and Matthaei. NUC. BN; (CU).

1863, Paris: in J. P. Migne, PG, XL. Another edition of the above. NUC. BN; (MH; MdBp).

(*) 1967, Turnhout: in J. P. Migne, PG, XL. Another edition of the above. NUC. (MdU).

Biography:

Nicasius Ellebodius Casletanus (Nicaise van Elleboudt or Helbaut or Ellebode), a doctor, philosopher, and poet, was born at Cassel in Flanders in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, probably around 1535. In 1555 he began studies at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome. He soon became proficient in the Greek language. From 1558 to 1561 he taught Greek and Latin at the seminary in Tyrnan to which he had been called by Nikolaus Oláh, archbishop of Gran (Hungary). When the Jesuits opened a new college in Tyrnan, he returned to Italy, to Padua, to continue his studies. Ellebodius was a close friend of Michael Sophianos from Chios, who taught in Padua and with whom he worked on Greek texts. His reputation as a scholar won for him friends in many different fields, among them Paulus Manutius, Giovanni Vincenzo Pinelli, Antoine Perrenot Cardinal Granvelle, Melchior Guilandinus the botanist, and Stephan Radecki (Radicius) of Hungary. In 1565 he published his *Nemesius*, dedicating it to Cardinal Granvelle. In early 1568 he moved to Pinelli's house, a gathering place for scholars, and began further study

of medicine under the guidance of Girolamo Mercuriale. Ellebodus received doctorates in both philosophy and medicine, but he still found time to make a Latin version of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* I–XI. In 1571 his friend Stephan Radecki, who had become bishop of Grosswardein and president of the Hungarian parliament, invited him to come to Pressburg. Ellebodus renewed his acquaintance with former fellow medical students from Padua, including Georg Purkircher with whom he practiced in Pressburg, although he lived in the home of Radecki. When the latter became bishop of Eger in 1572, he appointed Ellebodus a canon. When the bishop became viceroy of Hungary in 1573, Ellebodus accompanied him on his travels throughout the realm. In 1575 he revisited Cassel, seeing his aged parents, before returning to Hungary by way of Antwerp, Prague, and Vienna, in each of which towns he met with scholars. Two years after his return he fell victim to the plague and died on June 4, 1577. After the death of his brother, his library went to his benefactor, Radecki.

Works: Letters on various scientific subjects which have been published in Daniel Heinsius, *Epistolae illustrium Belgarum*; also an *Epistola ad Carolum Clusium*, the botanist; several poems in *Deliciae Poetarum Belgarum* of Gruter. D. Wagner, G. Verbeke, and J. Moncho have called attention to some little or unknown Latin translations and commentaries of Ellebodus. They appear in manuscripts in the Ambrosian Library. The items are listed in A. Rivolta and D. Bassi, *Catalogo dei codici Pinelliani dell' Ambrosiana* (1933); cf. Kristeller, *Iter I* (1963), index under Ellebodus (p. 473). They include a translation with notes of Aristotle, *Magna Moralia*; notes or commentaries on a number of other works of Aristotle including the *Physics*, *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Parva Naturalia*, *Problemata*, and *Poetics* (of which Ellebodus made a paraphrase). The notes and emendations on the *Poetics* have been included in the latest critical edition (R. Kassel, Oxford, 1965), whose editor called attention to them earlier ("Unbeachtete Renaissance-Emendationen zur aristotelischen Poetik," *Rheinisches Museum*, CV [1962], 111–22). See D. Wagner (see Bibliography, below), 5–6; G. Verbeke and J. Moncho, *Némésius*, xcvi, and n. 5, and for Pinelli, see P. Gualdi, *Vita Vincentii Pinelli* (1607), 346ff. Also unpublished are translations

of the Greek grammar of Apollonius Dyskolos and of a work on Polybius.

Bibliography: *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, V, 553–54 (by E. Varenburgh); Hoefer, XV, 888; J. Marchant, *Descriptio Flandriae*, I, 63; J. N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas*, (Louvain, 1765), I, 659; Sander, *De scriptoribus Flandriae*, 128; D. Donnet, "Nicaise van Ellebode et l'ecdote. A propos des Ambrosiana Gr. n. 274 Sup et Z 132 Sup," *L'antiquité classique* (Louvain, 1975), XLIV, 654–63; Donnet, "Un travail inédit de l'humaniste Nicaise van Ellebode. Notes sur le traité de grammaire de Michel le Syncelle," *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, XLIII (1973), 410–57; Tibor Klaniczay, "Nicasius Ellebodus es Poetikaja," *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* (Budapest), LXXV (1971), 24–34; Klaniczay, identical title, in *A Mult Nagy Korszakai* (Budapest, 1973); Klaniczay, "Contributi alle relazioni padovane degli umanisti d'Ungheria: Nicasio Ellebodio e la sua attività filologica," *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento* (Firenze, 1973), 317–34; F. Schreiber, "Unpublished Renaissance Emendations of Aristophanes," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, CV (1975), 313–32; D. Wagner, "Zur Biographie des Nicasius Ellebodus (1577) und zu seinen Notae zu den Aristotelischen Magna Moralia," *Sitzungsber. der Heidelberger Ak. der Wissenschaften*, Phil-hist. Kl. Abh. (1973), no. 5, 5–42.

8. Federicus Morellus

Federicus Morellus made a Latin translation of chapters II and III of Nemesius of Emesa, *De natura hominis*, at some time before its publication in the 1615 bilingual edition of works of Gregory of Nyssa. The title, *De anima*, and the ascription of the treatise to Nyssenius were probably taken by Morellus from the Greek manuscript which he used. It remains unidentified. C. Morellus, brother of Federicus and nominal editor of the 1615 edition, said that the manuscript came into his hands by way of his friend Jacques Auguste de Thou, librarian of the Bibliothèque Royale (see "Lectori Aequanimo," reprinted in PG, XLIV, 53). W. Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa*, 220, states that the manuscript came from the library of Federico Borromeo. For a discussion of the

manuscript tradition underlying Morellus' version, see M. Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta*, 58–59. On the question of manuscripts containing only chapters II and III, *De anima*, see above, p. 34. Morellus' translation subsequently appeared in the 1617 Latin and 1638 Greek-Latin editions of the works of Nyssen. From the latter it made its way into J. P. Migne's *Patrologia* among the works of Nyssen, although it had for many years been recognized as an excerpt from Nemesius, *De natura hominis*.

Text (ed. 1615, I, 922). [*Inc.*]: Dissident fere antiqui omnes de animae vi et natura. Democritus enim et Epicurus, et omnis Stoicorum philosophorum coetus, animam corpus esse asseverant, et illi ipsi qui corpus asserunt esse animam, de essentia ipsius dissident . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 946) Caeterum animarum gradus et ascensus et descensus quos Origenes inducit, ut nulla in re divinis eloquiis concinnantes neque Christianorum decretis congruentes praetermittere par est.

Editions:

(photo.) 1615, Paris: apud M. Somnium (Gr.-Lat.) NUC. BN; (MH).

1615, Paris: apud S. Cramoisy (Gr.-Lat.) BN; (CU).

(*) 1615, Paris: apud C. Morellium (Gr.-Lat.) Graesse, II, 148; Hoffmann, II, 184.

(photo.) 1617, Coloniae (Cologne): sumpt. Ant. Hierati. Examined by the late B. Peebles at DCU. NUC. (DCU).

1638, Paris: sumpt. Aeg. Morelli (Gr.-Lat.) Graesse, II, 148; Hoffmann, II, 184; NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; CU; MH).

1858, Paris: Petit-Montrouge. (PG, XLV, 187–222. NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; CU; MH).

1863, Paris: PG, XL, 187–222. Another edition of the above. NUC. (MB; NcU). The copy at the University of San Francisco was used.

1959, Turnhout: PG, XL, 187–222. A reprint of the above. NUC 1963–67. (MdU).

Biography:

See CTC, I, 162, and V, 107. See also J. Dumoulin, *Vie et oeuvre de Frédéric Morel (imprimeur du 16^e siècle)* (Genève, 1969) (reprint of ed. of Paris, 1901); H. Giroux, "Trois maisons de la Rue des Forges à Dijon," *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités du Département de la Côte-D'Or*, XXIX (1974–75), 195–217.

9. Doubtful Translations

(a) Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, J V 27. This manuscript was lost in a fire in 1904. It contained, according to *Appendice al Pasini*, the only catalogue mentioning it, a Latin translation on fols. 26ff. of Gregorius Nyssen, *Opuscula de natura humana et de providentia*. Direttore D. Dondi of the Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino kindly informed me that there is no indication that the attribution to Nyssen was questioned. The inclusion of "et de providentia" (the final portion of Nemesius, *De natura hominis*), however, raises the possibility that it might have been a version of Nemesius' work. The manuscript is listed in Kristeller, *Iter*, II, 179.

(b) H. Diels in his *Handschriften der antiken Aerzte*, p. 68 (*Abhldg.* I of the *Königl. preuss. Akademie zu Berlin* [1906]) under "Nemesius-Übersetzungen," lists three manuscripts which are in fact only Greek texts, two of which are well known: Dresden: Da 57, Da 58. Nevertheless, a further check was made. Professor Dr. Burgemeister and Dipl. Phil. Stein of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, confirmed that the two manuscripts contain only Greek texts. Regarding the third manuscript mentioned by Diels, Hamburg, Bibl. urb. Loescheri 12788, an inquiry was made of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg. Eva Horvath of the Hamburg library staff referred me to the Dresden library, where Dr. Burgemeister informed me that Loescher 12788 is identical with Da 57, the above-mentioned Greek manuscript.

SPURIOUS WORK

II. *DE CONTEMNENDA MORTE*

Editio princeps: 1553, Basel (ed. R. Seiler).

Recent editions: PG, CLIV (1866), 1169–1212; 1901, Leipzig (Bibliotheca Teubneriana) ed. H. Deckelmann.

The treatise *De contemnenda morte* has been connected with the name of Nemesius of Emesa in modern times since Hieronymus Wolf in 1577 pointed out that in a manuscript from the library of John Jacob Fugger, now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. graec. 100 (s. XV), there is a work that contains the greater part of *De contemnenda morte* (up to chapter 20, τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω = PG, CLIV, 1203–1204C) and

which bears the title Νεμεσίου λόγος ὡς ἄλογος ἐστὶν ὁ θανάτου φόβος. Wolf's information appears in his short essay "De Cydonio," which follows the Greek-Latin text in some editions (see below). In contrast to Monac. gr. 100, the rest of the manuscripts, including the one used by Seiler, Monac. gr. 58 (s. XV–XVI), name Demetrius Cydones as the author. Most scholars have accepted this attribution. The case of Monac. gr. 100 is suspect because *De contemnenda morte* is the final treatise in the collection and is immediately preceded by two chapters (De voluptate and De aegritudine, M. XVIII and XIX) from the genuine work of Nemesius, *De natura hominis*. The words τοῦ αὐτοῦ preceding *De contemnenda* may originally have been written by a careless scribe; then later Νεμεσίου λόγος and the title could have been added.

J. Draeseke alone has made a case for Nemesian authorship. He believed that the Platonism of the writer was not that of the High Middle Ages but of an earlier era. He pointed out that the treatise most often occurs in collections of works of Plato, Aristotle, and other earlier philosophers, not of later medieval writers. He suggested that the theological and social ideas expressed were not those of a fourteenth-century Byzantine writer. Finally, he advanced the hypothesis that Demetrius Cydones found *De contemnenda morte* in a manuscript either under the name of Nemesius or without ascription of authorship. Following the custom of many in his day, he then made the treatise his own and put it out under his own name. Most scholars remain unconvinced by Draeseke's arguments and believe that the author was the above-mentioned Cydones, friend and adviser of the Emperor John VI Kantakuzenos (1341–55). When the latter left the throne for the solitude of the monastery, Demetrius accompanied him but did not himself become a monk. He remained active in the theological controversies of his times into the last decade of the century, as his correspondence with Manuel II Palaeologos testifies. He knew Nicolas Cabasilas and numbered among his acquaintances such diverse personalities as Barlaam (whose views he supported) and Gregory Palamas. An enthusiastic Thomist, he eventually left the Eastern church for the Latin branch of Christendom. Demetrius authored many works. He is especially remembered for translating into Greek such Latin writers as Augustine, Anselm, and Thomas Aquinas.

Bibliography:

E. Amman, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XI, 1, 65; Pius Cammelli, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondence* (Paris, 1930), v–xxiv; H. Deckelmann, Praefatio to his edition of *De contemnenda morte* (Leipzig, 1901); J. Draeseke, "Demetrius Kydones oder Nemesios?" *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, XLIV (1901), 391–410; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, XI, 398–405; H. Hunger, *Byzantinische Geisteswelt* (Amsterdam, 1967), 67–69 and 203–8 (Cydones' involvement in the ecclesiastical problems of his age, especially as seen in his letters); K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byzantinischen Literatur*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1897), I, 487–89; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, V (Modena, 1789), 478–79.

Cydones' correspondence has been discussed and edited on several occasions by R. J. Loenertz: *Les recueils des lettres de Démétrius Cydonès, Studi e Testi 131* (1947); *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance, Studi e Testi 186* (1956) and 208 (1960).

TRANSLATION

1. Raphael Seilerus

Raphael Seiler made a Latin translation of the treatise *De contemnenda morte* and edited it along with the Greek text in 1553. Seiler used a manuscript from the library of John Jacob Fugger, now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. graec. gr. 58 (s. XV/XVI). Seiler's notes appear in the margins. This copy attributed the work to Demetrius Cydones, who was generally, and continues to be, considered the author. Seiler's text and translation were reprinted in 1559 in a collection of works by various Greek theologians edited by Conrad Gesner. It was entitled *Veterum aliquot theologorum Graecorum orthodoxorum libri graeci latinitate donati*. Gesner added nothing except the index. In 1577 Hieronymus Wolf, who had been curator of the Fugger library from 1551 to 1557, again edited Seiler's work; he added a short essay, "De Cydonio," and seven pages of notes "Anonymi." Wolf himself may have written these notes (see below, p. 71). His volume was entitled *Doctrina recte vivendi ac moriendi*. Like Gesner's edition, it was a collection assembled from a wide variety of authors. This edition, in turn, was reprinted under the editorship of Valentin Thilo of Liegnitz in 1586. In 1786 the text was revised, further annotated, and published by

Christoph Kuinoel. Kuinoel's revision of the Greek text, along with Seiler's Latin, was incorporated by J. P. Migne in his *Patrologia Graeca*.

De contemnenda morte (ed. of Paris, 1857). [Inc.]: (PG, CLIV, 1170). Caput I. Animi a corpore discessum quem mortem nominare solemus, omnes oderunt, omnes omnium malorum perniciosissimum ducunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 1211) deinceps non modo mortem non timebit, sed eius etiam cunctationem moleste feret eamque a Deo exoptabit ut eo pacto suaviori vita fruatur.

Editions:

(*) 1553, Basileae (Basel): ap. Ioan. Oporinum. (Gr.-Lat.) *De contemnenda morte, oratio, Hermiae philosophi Irrisio gentilium philosophorum. Ex inclyti ac generosi D. D. Ioannis Iacobi Fuggeri splendidiss. ac ornatiss. bibliotheca desumpta et nunc primum cum graecum latine Raphaelis Seileri Augustani, Geryonis filii, opera ac versione in lucem prolata*. Adams D-249; NUC. BL; BN; Cambridge, Emmanuel College; (IU).

(*) 1559, Tiguri (Zurich): per Andream Gesnerum. (Gr.-Lat.) in *Theologorum aliquot Graecorum veterum orthodoxorum libri graeci et iidem latinitate donati*, ed. Conrad Gesner. Adams T-555-57. Cambridge University Library.

(*) 1559, Tiguri (Zurich): per A. Gesnerum. In *Theologorum*, as above, ed. C. Gesner. In this copy the third oration (Athenagoras) is dated 1560. Adams T-558. Cambridge, Peterhouse.

(*) 1560, Tiguri (Zurich): per A. Gesnerum. As above except that all but one work (not Cydones') are dated 1560. Adams T-557. BL; BN (s.v. C. Gesner); Cambridge, Emmanuel College.

(photo.) 1577, Basileae (Basel): Petri Pernae impensa. in *Doctrina recte vivendi ac moriendi ad mores pie ac honeste confirmandos etiam adultis ad linguae utriusque exercitia iuvenibus potissimum conducens* (Gr.-Lat.), ed. H. Wolf. Adams D-712. BN; Cambridge University Library.

A copy of H. Wolf's essay, "De Cydonio," and of the Annotationes Anonymi was kindly provided by D. J. McKitterick of the Cambridge University Library.

(*) 1586, Basileae (Basel): apud C. Waldkirch. In *Vitae et mortis compendium auctorum diversorum graece et latine ad morum honestatem et linguae exercitia* (ed. Valentin Thilo). BN.

(*) 1786, Lipsiae (Leipzig): *Demetrii Cydonii opusculum de contemnenda morte, graece et latine rec., emend., explicat.* Christoph Theoph. Kuinoel. NUC. BL; BN; (DLC; MH; PU).

1866, Paris: in J. P. Migne, PG, CLIV, 1170-1211. NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; CU; MH).

1901, Leipzig: *De contemnenda morte* (Bibliotheca Teubneriana), ed. H. Deckelmann. NUC. BL; BN; (CU; IU; NjP).

Biography:

Raphael Seiler (Seyler) was born in 1535 in Augsburg. His father was Gereon (Geryon) Seiler, a physician who was also active in political affairs. Some details of Raphael's early life appear in the correspondence of his father with Philip of Hesse. At about fifteen years of age he had already written Latin and Greek poems to a number of individuals, including members of the Fugger family. They were printed in 1551. His father wrote that at age twenty-one he had an excellent command of Greek and Latin and spoke and wrote French well. He wanted his son to spend a year in Italy to learn the language. He suggested to Philip of Hesse that he might use the young man as his emissary. Raphael studied in France and then proceeded to Italy, where in 1558 he received a doctorate in law from the University of Padua. He continued to read in law for some time and also to perfect his knowledge of ancient and modern languages. He traveled extensively as Philip's legate in judicial matters, on one occasion spending seven months in Rome. He is on record as having paid the fee for registration as a doctor of laws in Bologna. In June 1558 he was named assistant judge of the court of appeal on the French circuit and removed to Speyer. There he pursued his profession for some years, but for an unknown reason gave up that responsibility and went to Worms, where he was a civil lawyer. He died at Worms late in 1573 or early in 1574.

He was acquainted with members of the Fugger family as well as with Hieronymus Wolf and Conrad Gesner, among others. He is largely remembered for his work on the history of the German courts. He published in 1572-73 a collection of decisions from the beginning of the court system until 1573, which was later expanded by C. Barth.

Works: In addition to the Latin version of *De contemnenda morte* and the above-mentioned poems: *Camergerichts. Bei und End Urtheil*.

pts. I and II (1572); *Remissiones seu relegationes legum* (1571); *Annotata de personis iudicii cameralis ab illius exordio usque ad an. 1572*; *Der Römischen Kaiserlichen Mayestät und . . . Cammergerichts Ordnung* (1573).

Bibliography: C. Gesner and J. Simler, *Bibliotheca Universalis* (Zurich, 1583), 283 and App., 93; W. Roth, "Raphael Seyler," *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung, Germ.*, XXI (1900), 218–22, with further bibliography of Seiler's legal works; Schottenloher, II, nos. 19836–38 (lists two poems composed on the occasion of Seiler's marriage to Anna Maria Diefstetterin in 1559); Zedler, XXXVI, 1536–37.

COMMENTARY

a. Anonymus (Hieronymus Wolfius?)

Following the Greek-Latin text of *De contemnenda morte* in some editions are several poems, a short essay, "De Cydonio," by the editor, Hieronymus Wolf, and seven pages of *Annotationes*, ostensibly by an anonymous writer who might well have been Wolf himself, Conrad Gesner, or another. Wolf and Gesner (both b. 1516) had edited Seiler's translation and edition of the Cydones work and were scholars of note; both moved in the same circles as he did. The notes are obviously the work of a competent scholar. The note on "τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω," (see below, p. 71b) closely resembles what Wolf says in his essay, though of course he could merely have copied the statement. The poem with which the writer ends his *Annotationes* was clearly written by a close friend and mentor of Seiler who had been present at his baptism. The identity might be disclosed by church records in Augsburg if they have survived. Fabricius seems to have suspected that Wolf was the annotator when he said that Wolf added the notes, although, again, he may merely have meant that Wolf included them.

In the essay, Wolf first gives some facts, taken from Raphael Volaterranus' biography of Cydones. Then he mentions the manuscript in the Fugger library (Monac. gr. 100), which contained a large portion of *De contemnenda morte*, attributing it to Nemesius. He expressed the opinion that the identity of the author was not of great concern; the treatise had merits of its own.

The majority of the notes that immediately follow the essay are purely textual; for example, the first note deals with the anonymous' prefer-

ence for a genitive rather than an accusative construction. A few of them comment on the text or translation; for example, the next to the last note on the first page (p. 553) on "ὅτι εὐθύς" presented the annotator with the opportunity to explain Seiler's opinions on judgment. The most important note in this category appears on page 558 on "τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω" and should be compared with what Wolf says in his "De Cydonio."

The notes are followed immediately, on the next line, by a fourteen-line Greek poem addressed "To the translator." As mentioned above, it contains clues to the identity of the anonymous writer. Seiler, who of course knew who he was, is addressed as "son, beloved by God," and "Oh, dear child." The poem, aside from the opening line, is devoted to chiding Seiler for a character weakness: the baptismal vow that he be both beloved by God and pleasing to God had not been entirely kept. The writer spared no words: "A belligerent spirit, fighting over your cups, has seized hold of your life. The reward of drunkenness is not a noble one." "Take heed of my wise counsel, so that you may always be dear to me and death may not seem terrible."

De Cydonio (ed. of Basel, 1577). [*Inc.*]: (p. 551) De hoc certi nihil statuere possumus, nisi forte is sit, de quo Volaterranus ita scribit: . . . extat in bibliotheca Fuggerana libellus eiusdem argumenti, qui inscribitur, Νεμεσίου λόγος ὡς ἄλογός ἐστι θανάτου φόβος e quo magna pars huius opusculi videtur esse transcripta, usque ad illud: τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω. Ea quae sequuntur, ἱκανά (δοκῶ μοι) [τοὺς μὴ παντάπασι βραδεῖς καταπεῖσαι] etc., usque ad finem, in Nemesio illo desunt. Sed parum referre puto cuius sit auctoris . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 552) Num qui in sacris literis versat philosophantur multis parasangis in iudicio rerum vincunt eos qui nudis ingenii sui coniecturis et hominum opinionibus nituntur.

Anonymi in Cydonium Annotationes (ed. of Basel, 1577).

[*Inc.*]: (p. 553) περὶ καταφρονεῖν τὸν θάνατον Malim . . . τοῦ θανάτου (p. 558) τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω. Haec Nemesii nomine anno 1552 in Fuggerano quodam codice me legere memini et hic libellum eum finiri. Sed altero interpretis usus est, et haec et quae sequuntur usque ad finem Cydonio tribuebat. Eiusdem quidem auctoris esse omnis, sive illius (quod verisimilius est) styli similitudo indicat . . . / . . .

[*Expl.*]: (p. 560) Nolim ego meum quantulumcunque de Graecis literis iudicium, longo usu et indefesso studio partum, cum mille cariosis codicibus commutatum. There follows a Greek maxim and the fourteen line poem, "To the translator," which concludes: μήτ' ἀνύοντι βίον τέλος σὺν θεῷ.

Editions:

1577. See above, p. 70.

1586. See above, p. 70.