# GREGORIUS NYSSENUS. ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

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The Addenda comprise a) additional material for the Fortuna and Bibliography, b) a number of new translations and commentaries, and c) additional manuscripts and printed editions of translations and commentaries already known. Particular thanks are owed to Virginia Brown for her helpful suggestions and assistance in many areas. Paul Oskar Kristeller gave generously of his expertise in reading difficult passages in some manuscripts and brought to my attention many useful references. He also supplied material from unpublished volumes of his *Iter* when the Addenda were in the early stages of preparation. F. Edward Cranz kindly provided information on some editions which were not easily available to me. Without the help of these scholars the Addenda could not have been completed.

The Addenda et Corrigenda are arranged in the order of the article on Gregorius Nyssenus in CTC V, 1–250.

# vol. V, 18b3ff. Insert:

P. Maraval has recently called attention to important quotations from the *Vita Macrinae* which were included in the *Vita Eutychii* (Patriarch of Constantinople 552–565 and 577–582) written by his contemporary Eustratius. See P. Maraval, "Un lecteur ancien de la Vie de Macrine de Grégoire de Nysse," *Analecta bollandiana*, CIV (1986), 187–90.

### p. 21a3off. Insert:

An example of indirect transmission to Western scholars by way of Arabic versions is seen in the case of Ps.—Nyssenus, *De anima ad Tatianum*. Both a long and a short Arabic version are extant; the former has come to light only recently. These translations attribute the text variously to Aristotle, Gregorius Thaumaturgus, and in one instance to Avicenna where it is erroneously described as an abridgement of Aristotle's famous treatise. In the tenth century

Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (d. 912) compiled, from a variety of sources, a treatise *De differentia spiritus et animae;* in ch. III he included passages from Ps.—Nyssenus, *De anima*. In the twelfth century Johannes Hispalensis, who was associated with Dominicus Gundissalinus at the School of Toledo, produced a Latin version of *De differentia*... which was widely read; eighty—two manuscripts of his version are extant and an edition was published in 1878. The direct debt to our *De anima* is obvious in ch. III, 131.12—133.20. See Bibliography, p. 302 below.

### p. 21b19ff. Add:

Discovery in the last few years of sizeable portions of additional works of Gregory of Nyssa in Coptic manuscripts dating from the ninth and tenth centuries testifies to a wider knowledge of Nyssenus in Egypt than was previously thought. De anima et resurrectione and In Ecclesiasten were obviously read in Coptic monasteries in that era along with the two previously known works. See Bibliography, p. 302 below.

### p. 22a8. Add:

Golubinsky (Historiia . . . IV, 135) lists translations into Slavonic of Oratio catechetica and Contra Eunomium. Joseph of Volokolamsk (1439–1515) made versions of Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi and In annuntiationem (Praecedenti Dominica . . .). To Maximus Graecus (1480–1576) is attributed a translation of De oratione Dominica, Or. II, IV, V. A Table of Contents of Archbishop Makarios' Meneii Chetii, based on the most complete copy, the Uspensky, is printed in Cheteniia IV (Moscow, 1847), 1–78. Some of Nyssenus' works not mentioned by Geerard in CPG are listed here: De anima et resurrectione. In annuntiationem (Praecedenti Dominica), In s. Meletium, De opificio hominis XXV-XXVII, Vita Macrinae. In 1976 V. A. Kuchkin published a detailed

study on the formation and contents of Makarios' great work in *Problemy Rykopisnoi* I (Akademia Nauk, Moscow), 3–101.

### p. 33a30. Add:

Following the death of Heinrich Dörrie in 1985, Friedhelm Mann of the Münster Forschungsstelle became coordinating editor of GNO X.1 published in 1990.

# p. 33b24. Add to the General Bibliography:

Bibliographie zu Gregor von Nyssa. Editionen-Übersetzungen-Literatur (Leiden, 1988), prepared by M. Altenburger and F. Mann, provides valuable lists of printed editions of Nyssenus' works, including recent versions in modern languages. It does not list Latin versions preserved only in manuscript form; for these, the volumes in the GNO series (where published), CTC V, and these Addenda must be consulted.

### p. 36a14. Add:

T. Orlandi, "Gregorio di Nissa nella letteratura copta," Vetera Christianorum, XVIII (1981), 333-39; S. Brock, "Clavis Patrum Graecorum III 7717," Journal of Theological Studies, n.s., XXXII (1981), 176-77; G. Furlani, "Contributi alla storia della filosofia in oriente," Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Cl. di scienze morali, storiche e filosofiche, XXIV (1915), 117–37; H. Gätje, "Pseudo-aristotelische Schriften über die Seele nach Gregorius Thaumaturgus," Studien zur Überlieferung der aristotelischen Psychologie im Islam, Annales Universitatis Saraviensis (Universität des Saarlandes), XVII (1971), 54-129, with extensive bibliography on 9–12 (the article includes the Arabic text and a German translation of both the long and short versions of De anima ad Tatianum, and an analysis of previous attempts to resolve questions surrounding these versions); S. H. al-Ma'sumi, "A Treatise On the Soul Ascribed to Ibn Sina" (an Arabic version of our *De anima*), in *Prof. Mu*hammad Shafi' Presentation Volume (Lahore, 1955), 131–44.

On Qusṭā ibn Lūqā: H. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur I (Weimar, 1898), 204–5 (information not up to date); Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy, ed. N. Kretzmann, A. Kenney, and J. P. Pinborg

(Cambridge, 1982), 47ff. (esp. 74ff. for a list of Latin translations of Qustā, *De differentia*...); E. Gilson, "Les sources gréco-arabes de l'augustinisme avicennisant," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, IV (1929), 79ff.; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* II. I (Baltimore, 1927), 171.

Edition of Johannes Hispalensis' translation of *De differentia* . . . : C. S. Barach, *Costaben-Lucae*, *De differentia* . . . , *ex Arabica in Latinum translata a Joanne Hispalensi cum glossa marginali et interlineari cuiusdam auctoris ignoti saeculi XIII* (Innsbruck, 1878). These scholia do not treat the section of ch. III based on *De anima*.

### COMPOSITE EDITIONS

p. 41b5ff. Add:

The Latin versions are preceded by an *Epistola dedicatoria* and an *Epistola ad . . . lectorem*. The edition also contains Vossius' translations of twenty—three other patristic works including some of Basilius Caesariensis, Johannes Chrysostomus, Pachomius, Leo I, Patricius Hibernicus and *Notae* on them by Vossius.

### A.II. I. ANONYMUS A

p. 48a35. Add under 1551 edition:

Paris, Bibl. Ste-Geneviève. See P. Maraval, "Une querelle sur les pèlerinages autour d'un texte patristique (Grégoire de Nysse, *Lettre 2*)," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, LXVI (1986), 131 and n. 4. Maraval presents a detailed study of the controversy surrounding the early versions of *Epistola* II and calls attention to a previously unnoticed copy in Paris.

### A.II.2. Anonymus B

pp. 48b–49a. Add under 1558 (?) edition: Paris, Bibl. Ste–Geneviève; Strasbourg, Bibl. Collegium Wilhelmitanum. On these copies see Maraval, "Une querelle . . .," 132 and n. 5.

p. 56b27ff. Add:

# VII. Epistolae xxvi–xxviii

These letters also appear in the correspondence between Basilius Caesariensis and Libanius; see PG XXXII, *Epistolae sancti Basilii* CCCXLVII (1092B–C), CCCXLVIII (1092C–1093A), and CCXLII (1088A–B).

## VIII. EPISTOLA AD PHILIPPUM

p. 57a47ff. Add under Editions:

1984, Kaslik. In M. Breydy, "Vestiges méconnus des Pères cappadociens en syriaque," Parole de l'Orient, XII, 241-45 (Mercati's Latin text accompanied by Breydy's edition of the Syriac text from St. Johannes Maron, Expositio fidei, which includes the Epistola ad Philippum from In brevi igitur Deo to the end).

# B.II. DE ANIMA PER CAPITA DISPUTATIO AD TATIANUM

p. 64a26. Read: 8 (1906).

p. 64b11. Add:

(\*) 1574, Venetiis (Venice): apud Z. Zalterium. In Aurea ac divina quaedam trium Gregoriorum . . . opera a Petro Francisco Zino . . . latinitate donata. BN (Cat. BN LXIV, 161).

p. 64b41-43. Omit this edition.

p. 65a38ff. Add translations:

## 3. Anonymus (s. XIII ex.)

An anonymous Latin version of *De anima ad Tatianum* appears in one manuscript, Cracow, Bibl. Jagiellońska 1292, s. XIII ex. (see p. 304 below regarding its date). This translation occurs among selections from works attributed to Maximus Confessor (ca. 580–662) which deal with the soul.

The text lacks the introductory address to Tatian. However, only one Greek manuscript assigning the treatise to Maximus contains this address (Paris gr. 1019A, s. XV), but in that case it is directed to "Anianos" (see Lebreton, "Le traité . . . ," 75 n. 3). The Cracow manuscript contains a number of other works in addition to the selections from Maximus: writings of

Latin authors such as Augustine and Boethius; translations of Greek authors, e.g., Dionysius Areopagita, Johannes Damascenus, Gregorius "Nissenus" (sc. Nemesius Emesenus). The "Nissenus" material is in the version of Burgundio Pisanus (see CTC VI, 52a–b). Works attributed to Maximus (although the manuscript does not so state) occupy fols. 356–370 and include De anima ad Tatianum on fols. 356ra–358ra11. Fols. 358ra12–370r contain selections from other works of Maximus concerning the soul; I have identified passages from the Ambigua, Mystagogia, and Epistolae. No translator's name is evident.

The attribution to Maximus, although somewhat more plausible than that to Thaumaturgus or Nyssenus, is improbable. Several passages resembling portions of his authentic writings and occurring in this *De anima* may well have been entered in the margin of a copy by a reader or scribe who noticed the similarity. They might then easily have been copied as an integral part of the text by a later scribe. The ideas involved are far from unique and can be found in other authors. The question of authorship must remain as J. Lebreton described it in 1906: the treatise is the work of an anonymous compiler who lived, probably in Greece, sometime in the period between s. V and s. VII. The first sentence in the anonymous version corresponds to PG X, 1137.27 and XCI, 353.1, summarizing the content of the work. The section beginning with "Noticiam" (fol. 356ra5-9) may be the translator's own brief statement of the contents. As in the case of other translations, some passages found in the standard printed editions are omitted, which indicates that our translator's exemplar lacked them (for example, the paragraph in PG XCI, 360.4–13). It may be noted as well that the anonymous version concludes at a point corresponding to PG XCI, 361.4. The additional material appearing in the Combesis and Migne editions of Maximus is found in a single Greek manuscript.

On the great variation of the opening portion of the treatise in various Greek manuscripts, see Lebreton, "Le traité . . .," 77.

Text (Cracow, Bibl. Jagiellońska 1292).

Text (Cracow, Bibl. Jagiellońska 1292). [Inc.]: (fol. 356ra; no title) Quoniam entia omnia aut sensu apprehenduntur aut intellectu indagantur, notitiam vero rerum quomodo, sensu vel intellectu, perscrutans primo an sit rimatur . . . /

... [Expl.]: (fol. 358ra). Praecogitatum enim animae nihil aliud est quam ratione agere universa. Anima in hoc distinguitur a sensibus; rationalis ergo est.

### Manuscript:

(micro.) Cracow, Bibl. Jagiellońska 1292, s. XIII ex. (G. Verbeke's dating in Némésius d'Emèse, De natura hominis, traduction de Burgundio de Pise [Leiden, 1975], CXIX; s. XIII–XIV according to Wisłocki, Cat. Bibl. Jagiellońska, 325). I am indebted to Dr. Marian Zwiercan, Deputy Director of the library, for generously providing a microfilm of fols. 356–370 of ms. 1292.

I am also grateful to Virginia Brown for providing the following translation of the Polish language entry in Wisłocki's catalogue: "The manuscript is written by different hands. The title, *De celesti gerarchia* (Ps.—Dionysius Areopagita) of the first work is added on an empty leaf at the beginning by the hand of Jan Dabrowka. He also added on the cover, 'Libri magistri Johannis de Dabrowki theologie et decretorum doctoris, pro Universitate Cracoviensi per ipsum assignatur et reponendus in libraria Collegii artistarum. Oretur pro eo."

## 4. Georgius Valla

A Latin translation of De anima ad Tatianum appears in Book XLVI of Georgius Valla's monumental De expetendis et fugiendis rebus (see CTV VI, 55). The version is almost certainly Valla's own. The topic of Book XLVI concerns the soul (De anima). Most of ch. I and the latter part of ch. IX contain Valla's version of Nemesius Emesenus, De natura hominis, chs. II and III (first half), a portion of the treatise commonly referred to as De anima (see CTC VI, 34–35). The text of the anonymous (Ps.– Thaumaturgus, Ps.-Nyssenus, Ps.-Maximus) treatise De anima begins toward the end of Valla's ch. I, following the quotation of a passage in Nemesius, ch. II, in which opinions of various philosophers about the soul are summarized. The quotation of the anonymous De anima continues, with insertion of other material, particularly from Augustine, through most of ch. VIII. Valla's brief introductory sentence attributes this De anima to a "Graegorius" [sic], whether Thaumaturgus or Nyssenus we cannot tell. Valla includes no title or addressee, and he omits the

prefatory material found in many manuscripts (i.e., "Iussisti, praestantissime Tatiane . . ." in Vossius' version). This omission is not surprising since the material does not, as previously mentioned, appear in all manuscripts. Moreover, it could serve no purpose in the context in which Valla wished to use the material. Valla does give the usual chapter headings for sections of the treatise. However, what is normally ch. I ("Deprehensio de anima") is by Valla labelled ch. II since it refers to ch. II of his *De expetendis*, Book XLVI, *not* to the chapter of the work itself. Thus Valla's final chapter is labelled ch. VIII, not VII.

Valla's translation follows very closely a Greek text resembling that which Vossius later used. But Valla at times omitted a phrase or one or more sentences, e.g.,  $\Lambda \pi o \delta \epsilon i \xi \epsilon \iota$ . .  $\lambda \delta \gamma o \nu$  $\dot{\varepsilon}\nu\tau\varepsilon\hat{\nu}\theta\varepsilon\nu$  (PG X, 1140.10–19). In other instances he inserted material that suited his purpose. This is especially evident in ch. VII ("An sit immortalis anima" = Valla's ch. VIII) where the first sentence corresponds to the opening portion of Vossius' Greek text, but is followed by a short passage from Nemesius, ch. II (p. 124.3-15, ed. Matthaei; p. 37.21-38, ed. Morani) and passages taken from Augustine, De immortalitate animae, chs. X-XII (PL XXXII, 1029C-1031C). He concludes our treatise De anima on line 20 of his ch. VIII (= PG X, 1145.23). His own ch. VIII concludes after further quotations from Augustine, De quantitate animae (PL XXXII, 1048A).

Text (ed. of Venice, 1501). [Inc.]: (Georgius Valla, De expetendis et fugiendis rebus, Book XLVI, cap. 2, line 39; no page numbers visible on photo from DLC) . . . his denique congestis multorum de anima sententiis, superest ut quidnam constituendum nobis videatur explosis multorum opinionibus ostendamus, quod ut efficiamus Divi Graegorii, Divi Augustini et quorundam aliorum, ut nobis succurret disserentibus, sententiam referemus. [Translation of De anima begins here.] Primo itaque inspiciemus quo pacto atque iudicio animam possimus deprehendere. Secundo unde ostendatur esse vel non esse. Tertio essentiane an accidens sit. Quarto sitne corporea an corporis expers. Quinto simplex an composita. Sexto mortalisne an immortalis. Septimo ac ultimo rationalisne an ratione expers. Haec enim fere sunt quae de anima quaeri solent quo ad eius proprietatem exquirendam possimus pervenire ac ut instantibus occurramus expeditiorque sit intelligentia, hinc incipiendo texemus syllogismos.

Deprehensio de anima iudicii. cap. ii . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (An rationalis sit anima nostra, cap. viii, line 19) At animae proloquium esse, nihil aliud est quam duce ratione cuncta administrare, eo namque a sensibus modo distinguitur proinde rationalis esse demonstrata anima est.

Edition:

(photo) 1501, Venetiis (Venice): in aedibus Aldi Romani, impensa ac studio Io. Petri Vallae filii pientissimi, mense decembri. *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus*. Adams V–147; NUC. BL; BN; Cambridge University Library; Trinity College; (DLC; MH; OU).

Biography: See CTC I, 126a.

Bibliography: See CTC I, 126a; CTC VI, 56b-57a. Add: M. Verhelst, "Georges Valla, compilateur de Nicéphore Blemmyde," Diotima, VIII (1980), 144-47.

# 5. Claudius Ancantherus

Claudius Ancantherus (Ancanterus, Anchanterus) made a Latin translation of *De anima ad Tatianum* under the title *De animo seu animi immortalitate ad Tatianum*, probably in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. His version is preserved in a single manuscript (autograph): Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 11662.

Ancantherus dedicated this work to Ferdinand Hofman (also spelled Hoffmann in the manuscript), baron of Grüenspüchl and Strechaw, counselor and historian of Emperor Rudolph II.

The dedication begins in the manner of so many of the treatises "De anima" with a summary of the views on the subject held by ancient philosophers from Thales and Pythagoras to Plato and Aristotle. Ancantherus goes on to mention Lucretius and Cicero and also Averroes ("philosophiae facile princeps" among the Arabs); he appears to be familiar with the writings of these authors and not simply to be quoting various compendia.

After the introductory remarks Ancantherus turns to the *De anima ad Tatianum* (fol. 3r): "Hunc igitur de animi immortalitate libellum mihi probatum, quod ea rationum momenta

contineat, quibus Platonici utuntur in asserenda humanae mentis aeternitate, habeatque scholasticum et minime ambitiosum disputandi genus, latine verti et in tuo multo amplissimo et ornatissimo nomine, Praeses Illustrissime, divulgavi. . . . "He found his Greek exemplar in the library ("omni lectissimorum librorum genere referta bibliotheca") of Rudolphus Coraduccius, royal counselor and friend of both himself and Hofman. After further laudatory remarks, Ancantherus raises the question of the treatise's authorship (fol. 4r): "Libellus Gregorii nomen praefert. An vero sit is Gregorius cuius libros de anima Nemesius in Epitomen redegit, incertum. Quisquis is fuerit, certe non obscure constat Christianum theologum fuisse et de animo sicut illius ordinis paene omnes cum divino Platone sensisse. . . . " In the adjacent margin Ancantherus has jotted down his thoughts on the problem: "fieri possit ut praeter illud maiorum vigiliarum opus, in gratiam Tatiani amici scholasticum hoc de animo opusculum conscripserit." Since modern scholars also ponder the authorship question, Ancantherus' observations are very interesting as well as puzzling.

It is not possible to identify "the Gregory of whose books De anima Nemesius made an epitome." Gregory Thaumaturgus, to whom the treatise has often been attributed, can probably be ruled out. Quotations from Nemesius of Emesa (ca. 400) included in the work make his authorship unlikely. Chapters II and III of Nemesius, De natura hominis, dealt with "de anima," but the entire treatise was also, at times, referred to by this title (see CTC VI, 32). Our De anima contains passages from Nemesius' De natura hominis, but, unlike those from Maximus Confessor, they seem to be an integral part of the text. A further complication in interpreting Ancantherus' statement is that the De natura hominis of Nemesius was, with a few notable exceptions, known in Western circles until 1565 as a product of Gregorius Nyssenus. As late as 1615 a new Latin version of just these two books was published (CTC VI, 67b-68b) under Nyssenus' name. In all extant manuscripts of the Greek text containing only chs. II and III, both are assigned to Nyssenus. These chapters could roughly be called an epitome, although they do not touch upon the medical material which makes up much of the rest of the work. There are extant several Greek epitomes of Nemesius'

De natura hominis; none is the work of a Gregorius (see M. Morani, La tradizione manoscritta . . . di Nemesio [Milan, 1981], 62-63).

Finally, Ancantherus' speculations on the authorship of our *De anima* might have been influenced by his stay in Padua (about which little is known). Nicasius Ellebodius, who produced the first widely circulated edition of *De natura hominis* under the name of its true author in 1565, had been a professor of medicine at Padua in the 1560s and returned briefly in 1571. At present there is no information proving that the two scholars were acquainted, but the possibility bears further investigation.

The concluding portion of the dedication (fol. 4v) sheds light on Ancantherus' personal situation at the time he composed it. He laments that others were jealous of his position (as court historian?) and that envy led them to disseminate untrue rumors about him with a view to removing him from his position ("vix pedem intuli... et ecce invidentiae turbo contra me excitatus, et dissipati sermones atrocissimae contumeliae pleni..."), not wanting him "ad aliquam famam et existimationem emergere." In colorful language he begs Hofman to oppose their requests.

(Note: Prof. Otto Mazal, Director of the Manuscript and Rare Book Division of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, has informed me that fol. 5r-v is blank; the translation begins incomplete on fol. 6r, at PG X, 1140.15. It is possible that a folio was lost before the leaves were numbered.)

Dedication (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 11662, title page). Gregorii De Animo seu Animi Immortalitate ad Tatianum Liber singularis graeco-latinus. Claudio Ancanthero M.D. et sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis historiae interprete. (fol. 1r) D. Domino Ferdinando Hofman, Lib. Baroni in Grüenspüchl et Strechavy, in Gravenstain, Supremo Hered.is Aulae Magistro Duc. Styr. et Hered. Mareschallo Archiduc. Austriae et Ducat. Styr.ae S.ae Caes.ae Maiest.is Consiliario Aulicae Camerae. [Inc.]: De animae natura, Ferdinande Hoffmanne, vir illustrissime, veterum multiplices distractaeque sententiae fuerunt. Neque enim in tantis tenebris certi quidquam aut explorati habuere. . . . (fol. 4r) Quid non vero hoc infelici seculo extimescendum? quo non petulantiae horum tenebrionum processit audacia? Vix

pedem intuli, aut paucis et posthac solo nomine agnitus, et ecce invidentiae turbo contra me excitatus, et dissipati sermones atrocissimae contumeliae pleni, quasi me unum e multis ferre nequeant extra eorum subsellia in litteris educatum et institutum ad aliquam famam et existimationem emergere. O praeligata pectora amentia et furore caeca! . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 4r) confido fore, Praeses Amplissime, ut te causam sic meam recipiente horum petitiones, tanquam umbrae Acheronticae Ulyssis gladii obiectu, ista tua auctoritate evanescant. Vale, Praeses Illustrissime, et ab infestis oblatrantium me tutum defensumque praestes.

Text. [Inc.]: (fol. 6r) Cum autem brevitatis gratia utilitatisque causa in praesens syllogismis dumtaxat utemur, qui demonstrationem habent ad necessitatem rei quaesitae id est ad rem necessariam inferendam . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 9v) Axioma autem vel effatum ipsius animi nihil aliud est quam ratione omnia efficere; ea scilicet etiamsi a sensibus est, animum esse rationis participem demonstratum est.

## Manuscript:

(micro.) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 11662, s. XVI, fols. 1r-9v (Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibl. Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum VII, 27).

I am indebted to Paul Oskar Kristeller for his generous assistance in transcribing my copy of this manuscript. Ancantherus' hand varies greatly; his many changes from his original translation, made either immediately or, more likely, after completing the entire version, are written in a careless hand, sometimes overlapping his first translation of a passage which he had crossed out.

### Biography:

Few details are known about the early life of Claudius Ancantherus (Ancanterus, Anchanterus). He is reported to have come from a family of Barrois and was probably born near the middle of the sixteenth century. His education included studies in Greek and Latin as well as in medicine. He pursued his interest in the latter subject in Padua. Poetry also attracted Ancantherus, and he became a friend of the French poet and fellow Protestant, Boissard, with whom he later spent some time in Metz. A manuscript in Brescia (Biblioteca Civica Queriniana

G.VI.13) contains a letter addressed to Ancantherus in 1590 by Ludovicus Ronconius whose poems occupy fifty—two folia of that codex (see Kristeller, *Iter*, I, 36). A letter in verse by Octavius Plovenus termed Ancantherus "medicum doctorem excellentissimum et omni genere virum clarissimum."

His various talents led to his appointment as physician and historiographer to Emperor Rudolph II in Vienna. As a scholar his interests were very broad. Many volumes in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna bear his thoughtful notes in the margins. Both his prose and poetry were written in elegant Latin, and some of his historical pieces relate to Rudolph II and his circle. Ancantherus' knowledge of ancient languages, along with his love of the poetic form and of history, led him to translate into Latin several other Greek works, including Paulus Silentiarius, Iambics on Epic Themes, on which he had earlier written a dissertation. His latest dated work is from 1598, and it may be assumed that he died not long after that time.

Works: Translations from the Greek in addition to De anima ad Tatianum: Michael Psellus, Nomenclator gemmarum quae magis in usu sunt, with notes; Paulus Silentiarius, Hemiambica dimetra catalectica in themas epicas latine facta epico carmine, with notes. Historical works: Diameron in nuptias Ferdinandi Medicis magni Hetruriae ducis et Christernae Lotharingiae ducis filiae Rudolpho II imperatori semper augusto . . . Panegyricus, Taurino recepto, dicatur.

Bibliography: Dictionnaire de biographie française II, 815; Hoefer II, 497–98; Michaud IV, 586–87.

### 6. Gulielmus Tockerus

A Latin translation of *De anima ad Tatianum* made by William Tooker (latinized as Tockerus on fol. 15r), dean of Lichfield and chaplain to James I, is contained in London, British Library, ms. Royal 16.C.v (s. XVII in.). The work is ascribed to Gregorius Thaumaturgus, but a later hand has drawn a line through his name. The manuscript also contains the Greek text in the hand of the well-known copyist, Jacobus Diassorinus.

The first page contains a Greek dedication to James I in a hand very different from that of

Diassorinus (perhaps that of Tooker himself?). A Latin dedication to James I follows; its content differs from that of the preceding Greek dedication, and it is signed by "Maiestatis tuae humillimus capellanus." The hand is more careless than that which wrote the Latin version, but it is still presumably Tooker's. The leaf which follows (now numbered 2v) was inserted later and bears the date "Londini Cal. Nov. 1622." It is generally accepted that the *Nota* on this page was the work of Patrick Young (Junius), the well-known scholar who was influential in acquiring Greek manuscripts for the royal collection and was also deeply interested in Latin translations, especially of patristic works, from the Greek. At this time Young was prebendary of St. Paul's, London, and was shortly to become Latin secretary. The *Nota* concerns a Greek manuscript belonging to Metrophanes Critopulus (see Young's correspondence, pp. 124ff.). Critopulus had arrived in London in 1617 under the auspices of James I and the Patriarch of Constantinople. By mid-1623 he had returned to the East, and in 1636 he became Patriarch of Alexandria. The manuscript is certainly Royal 16.D.i, s. XII, in which De anima ad Tatianum was ascribed to Gregorius Nyssenus and appears among many of his authentic writings. One can deduce that it was Young who drew the line through Thaumaturgus' name in the inscription of Royal 16.C.v, since he also wrote variants in the margin of the Greek text used by Tooker. Warner and Gilson, in their catalogue of the Royal manuscripts, state, "Patrick Young's note of the (equally ill-founded) attribution of the treatise to Gregory of Nyssa is in a manuscript belonging to Metrophanes Critopulus, now Royal 16.D.i, the readings of which Young has noted in the margin (i.e. of 16.C.v)."

Dedication (London, British Library, Royal 16.C.v, fol. 1v).

τῷ ὑπερέχοντι καὶ πάνυ ἀξιωματικῷ διὰ [βοήθειαν] θείας χάριτος βασιλεὶ Ἰακώβῳ μεγάλης βρετάννιδος καὶ τῶν νήσων παρακειμένων μονάρχη εὐσεβεστάτῳ καὶ δικαιωτάτῳ ἡ εὐδαιμονία.

To the high and most excellent King James, by the grace of God King of Great Britain and its surrounding isles, most holy and just monarch, felicity.

(fol. 2r) Manuscriptum hunc de anima librum multis retro ab his saeculis scriptum et a me Latinitate donatum commentariorumque rationibus logicis et theologicis conscriptum, paulo post editum, de bibliothecis extricatum tamque hospitem in Bibliothecam Regiam magnificentius hospitium, serenissime ac potentissime Rex, transfero, nec minus meipsum quam mea omnia litteraria civilia ecclesiastica officia obseguia servilia maxima mediocria minima ex animo maiestati vestrae offero. Atque utinam animam meam, sicut os vultumque cernis, maiestatis tuae amantissimam, dignitatis regiae incolumitatisque regiae symbolis studiosissimum, virtutis ac pietatis tuae admiratricem ac utinam imitatricem exterioribus oculis videre potuisses. Vive ac vale Christiane Rex ac Britannorum monarcha potentissime. Maiestatis tuae humillimus capellanus W. . . . (surname illegible, but probably Tooker/Tockerus).

Nota (fol. 2v). Codex Ms Metrophanou Critopuli operum Gregorii Nysseni, qui in pergameno antiqua satis manu scriptus est, Nysseno hunc tractatum de anima adscribit. Nos ex eius codice variantes ad oram libri nostri adscripsimus. Londini Cal. Nov. 1622. (No signature, but generally agreed to be in the hand of Patricius Junius.)

Greek text of *De anima ad Tatianum* follows (fols. 3r-14v).

Text. [Inc.]: (fol. 15r) Gregorii Thaumaturgi Neocaesariensis (line drawn through last two words) ad Tatianum de anima liber manuscriptus a Graeco Latine redditus a Tochero decano Lichfeldensi. Commentationem de anima, Reverende Tatiane, iubebas tibi demonstratione exaratam ad te transmitti; et id ipsum fieri oportuisse putabas nequaquam adhibitis sacrae scripturae testimoniis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 24v) Iudicium animae non est aliud praestantius quam omnia cum ratione peragere: hoc enim anima discrepat a sensu. Ostenditur itaque quod rationis maxime particeps sit anima.

### Manuscript:

(micro.) London, British Library, Royal 16.C.v, fols. 15r-24v, s. XVII in. (G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Cat. of Old Royal and King's College Manuscripts*, II, 182; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 203b).

Biography:

William Tooker (Tucker) was born at Exeter in 1557 or 1558, the son of William and Honora Tooker. After an early education at Winchester he attended New College, Oxford, from which he graduated in 1579. He continued his studies, eventually acquiring a doctoral degree in 1594. He was appointed perpetual fellow in 1577, and in 1580 canon of Exeter. During the next few years Tooker held various ecclesiastical appointments; in 1580 he was made chaplain to Queen Elizabeth I. After the accession of James I in 1603, Tooker became (in 1604) dean of Lichfield and then chaplain to James I. He died in Salisbury (where he is buried) in 1620.

Tooker was apparently a good Latin scholar, but he published only a few works. His extant literary efforts reflect the use of his talents in the service of the Crown and the English Church. His writings deal largely with controversial subjects. His *Charisma sive Donum sanationis* (1597) was used as proof of the validity of the succession of Elizabeth I. Another work attacked Puritan support of ecclesiastical democracy. Yet another piece decried the Jesuit Martin Becanus' criticism of the ecclesiastical sovereignty of the English Crown.

Works: In addition to his Latin version of De anima ad Tatianum: Charisma sive Donum sanationis; Of the Fabrique of the Church and Churchmens Livings; Duellum sive Singulare certamen cum Martino Becano Jesuita.

Bibliography: DNB XIX, 978–79.

On Patrick Young (Patricius Junius), see: DNB XXI, 1300–1301; J. Kemke, *Patricius Junius* (Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten XII, ed. K. Dziatzko; Leipzig, 1898) (including Young's correspondence regarding Metrophanes Critopulus' manuscripts).

On Jacobus Diassorinus, see: L. Cohn, "Konstantin Palaeocappa und Jakob Diassorinus," Philologische Abhandlungen Martin Herz zum siebzigsten Geburtstag von ehemaligen Schülern dargebracht (Berlin, 1888), 123–43, esp. 137 ff.; E. Gamillschegg and D. Harlfinger, "Specimen eines Repertoriums griechischer Kopisten," Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik, XXVII (1978), 294–322, esp. 308 (on the identification of Diassorinus as the scribe of the Greek text in London, British Library, Royal 16.C.v).

# B.IX.2. IN ECCLESIASTEN HOMILIAE

p. 88a29. Correction: read 158a22ff.

# B.X.I. EPISTOLA CANONICA AD LETOIUM

p. 90b29ff. Add under Editions:

(\*) 1575/6, Paris: in M. de la Bigne, Sacra bibliotheca sanctorum patrum I (reported by F. E. Cranz). See T. Ittig, De bibliothecis et catenis patrum . . . tractatus (Leipzig, 1707), 30–32, and also 48–49 (for clarification of the dates given for the first edition of La Bigne's work). NUC. BL; BN; (MH; NcD).

(\*) 1589, Paris: in M. de la Bigne, Sacrae bibliothecae sanctorum patrum . . . tomi nouem III. NUC. (CSmH; NIC). See Ittig, De bibliothecis . . . , 79.

### B.XIII. I. CONTRA FATUM

p. 105b24ff. Insert:

Jacob Gretser, in his edition of Anastasius Sinaiticus, Quaestiones et responsiones, did not quote the translation of 1596; instead, he adapted that of Gentianus Hervetus, first published in the 1575 edition of Anastasius, Quaestiones in Sacra bibliotheca sanctorum patrum, ed. M. de la Bigne (Paris), in vol. VIII under Quaestio XVIII where the author's name is given as "Anastasius Nicenus."

J. A. McDonough, editor of the critical text of *Contra fatum* in GNO III.2, has called attention to the significance of the Anastasius passages from *Contra fatum* (GNO III.2, LXVI—LXVIII). He points out that Hervetus' Latin was based on an unknown manuscript, superior to that which Gretser used. Gretser did not realize that it represented an earlier and more accurate text (see Anastasius, *Quaestiones et responsiones* [Ingolstadt, 1617]; reprinted in J. Gretser, *Opera omnia*, XIV [Regensburg, 1734], 164–65 and text 275–77). Migne later reprinted this text in PG LXXXIX, 514–18; here the version was Gretser's own adaptation of Hervetus' translation.

Gretser's method of dealing with the Greek text of the *Quaestiones* was not consistent. In the

case of a quotation from Nyssenus, De oratione dominica, in Quaestio I he took over verbatim the Latin of Laurentius Sifanus' 1562 edition of Nyssenus' works. On the other hand, when he studied the Greek text of the long excerpts from Nemesius Emesenus, De natura hominis included by Anastasius, he chose to add portions of the text which Anastasius had omitted since they were not pertinent to the question under consideration (see M. Morani, La tradizione manoscritta . . . di Nemesio [Milan, 1981], 121ff. for an analysis). The resulting version was Gretser's alone. In the case of Contra fatum, where words or phrases were omitted by Anastasius, Gretser did not attempt to supply them.

If Gretser had made the 1596 translation, would he not have used it in the case of the Contra fatum excerpt here? McDonough (who believes that Gretser is the author of the 1596 translation) has suggested that "the pressure of time limits" for a busy writer and teacher may have led him to make use of Latin versions he had at hand, rather than search for a copy of his own translation which, for some reason, he had never acknowledged making.

Note: I wish to thank James E. Walsh of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, for supplying a copy of the excerpts from *Contra fatum* in Hervetus' version of 1575 as found in La Bigne's *Sacra bibliotheca sanctorum patrum* published in that year.

## B.XXII.1. DE OPIFICIO HOMINIS

p. 123b21. Add:

This manuscript was previously no. 108 in the medieval catalogue of Lobbes. See A. Siegmund, Überlieferung . . ., 17–18; H. Omont, "Catalogues des manuscrits de l'abbaye de Lobbes (1049)," Revue des bibliothèques, I (1891), 11; F. Dolbeau, "Un nouveau catalogue de manuscrits de Lobbes au XIe et XIIe siècles," Recherches augustiniennes, XIV (1979), 191–248, esp. 203.

p. 123b34. Add:

(\*) s'Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 78 J 61, s. XII (*Cat. codicum Konin. Bibl.*, 95, no. 403; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 342b).

p. 124a32. Add:

(\*) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 18095, misc., fols. 40v-45v, s. IX-X (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, XXXI [1871], 540-41; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 268b).

### p. 124a41. Add:

See Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 631a-b for a more complete account.

# B.XXVI.I. DE PROFESSIONE CHRISTIANA AD HARMONIUM

p. 149b31. Add:

Manuscript:

(\*) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12293, misc., fols. 108r–222r, s. XVII (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, XXVIII [1867], 369; Kristeller, *Iter*, III, 253a).

# B.XXVII. DE PYTHONISSA AD THEODOSIUM EPISCOPUM

p. 151a28ff. Add translation:

### 2. Flaminius Priamus Lucensis

Flaminius Priamus Lucensis made a copy of the Greek text and a Latin translation of Nyssenus, *De Pythonissa*; it is found in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 9642, dated "Hispali (Seville), Kal. Maii, 1607." Priamus does not indicate where he found his Greek exemplar, but it was probably in the Vatican Library where, as he stated elsewhere, he had found sermons of Basil of Seleucia. Four of that author's works are also found in the Madrid manuscript along with *De Pythonissa* (here the Nyssenus text alone is accompanied by the Greek text).

The Greek exemplar used by Priamus belonged to the same family as Vallicelliana gr. 125 (= R 26) (s. XVI) and Laur. Ashburnhamianus 1283 (s. XVI). All three exhibit, e.g., the lacuna μὲν . . . τελειουμένοις (GNO III.2, 107.10–12), which occurs in both the Greek and Latin text in the Madrid codex. Fronto Ducaeus, the other known translator of this work, used the latter manuscript, as has been demonstrated by H. Hörner (GNO III.2, CLXII ff.). Both translators recognized a problem with their Greek text as it stood; and both wrote notes on it (Ducaeus, PG XLV, 114A and note, 1348–49; Priamus,

fol. 29r, lines 4ff. and Nota VI).

It is not certain whether Priamus' Latin version of De Pythonissa was made during his stay in Rome, or when he went to Seville at some time after January 1596, the date of the last manuscript associated with Rome. In the dedication of the Madrid manuscript he says only that he had translated "haec opuscula sanctorum virorum (= Nyssenus and Basil of Seleucia) superioribus diebus." If all five works are indicated, which is the most likely case, the versions were probably made in Rome. Of the four works of Basil of Seleucia in the Madrid manuscript, three had previously been copied in one or the other of two codices dated Rome 1595-96. But the dedication can have been composed only after Maximilian, archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, had assumed this office (August 1603). Previously he had held episcopal sees in Cádiz and Segovia.

The dedication raises questions which, given the present lack of biographical details on Priamus, cannot be answered adequately here. Priamus laments that precious manuscripts lie hidden behind walls like the buried talents of the Gospel; they would be of more benefit if they were more accessible. Yet he himself obviously had access to the Vatican Library. The dedication concludes with praise for the nobility of the archbishop's family, his religious piety, and his encouragement of the arts. Priamus begs him to look with favor on this small work ("hunc exiguum laborem").

Dedication (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 9642, fol. 2r). Ill.mo. et Rev.mo D. Domino Maximiliano ab Austria Archiepiscopo et Domino Compostellano Regio Consiliario, Notario maiori Regni Legionensis ac Capellae Regiae maiori capellano, etc. Flaminius Priamus Lucensis pl. fel. [Inc.]: (fol. 2r) Sanctorum patrum ac praecipue graecorum ut multa divini spiritus veraeque plena eruditionis habeamus, vereor tamen interdum ne multo plura sint quae exciderunt quam ea quae hoc tempore eorum scriptorum dictorumve volutamus. Nescio enim qua hominum incuria vel infelicitate potius factum sit, ut tam pretiosi thesauri, ex quibus ecclesiae potissimum divitiae hauriuntur, in abiectis parietibus occludantur ac paene nullo honore, pretio nullo digni reputentur. Sanctorum enim scripta veluti evangelica illa talenta, si muris obiecta ac recondita conserventur, nullum lucrum afferunt; sin in lucem prodeant et emergant aliquando, tum demum maximum colligitur lucrum, utilitas summa percipitur, ingens ad omnia emolumentum auxiliumque comparatur. Quod cum ita esse facile constet, nequaquam reprehendendi mihi videntur ii, qui huiusmodi divina scripta conantur pro viribus in lucem efferre. Quare ego cum superioribus diebus haec sanctorum virorum opuscula a graeco in latinum sermonem transtulerim, facturum me operae pretium existimavi, si ea, Augustissime Princeps et Antistes, serenissimo tuo nomini dedicarem . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 4r) Deus Opt. Max. te magis ac magis in dies fortunet, et tuo totiusque litterariae Reipub. beneficio diu multumque servet incolumem. Hispali. Kal. Maii. MDCVII.

Greek text follows (fols. 5–18).

Text. Sancti Gregorii Nyssae episcopi Epistola De Pythonissa ad Theodosium episcopum . . . [Inc.]: (fol. 19r) Ille qui discipulis suis dixit: quaerite et invenietis (Mt. 7:7; Lc. 11:9), dabit omnino inveniendi quoque facultatem iis qui cupiditate discendi ex Domini praecepto abscondita mysteria perscrutantur atque vestigant . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 30v) Extremum autem eorum capitum quae requisita sunt, de illo scilicet dico, quomodo adsit spiritus ante baptismum, quoniam perscrutatione atque animadversione maiore indiget, cum de eo privato sermone scripserimus, venerationi tuae, Deo favente, mittemus.

#### Manuscript:

(photo) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 9642, A.D. 1607, misc.: with works of Basilius Seleuciensis), fols. 19r–30v; *Notae* on *De Pythonissa* only, fols. 84v–87r (Loewe–Hartel CXIII, p. 227; Gallardo, p. 32; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 564b–565a).

### Biography:

Flaminius Priamus was born in Lugo, Spain, and should not be confused with Flaminius Nobilis (Nobilius) Lucensis, a native of Lucca, Italy, who also translated works from the Greek but who died, at the latest, by 1590. There is at present no information on Priamus' life, education or career apart from what can be inferred from the prefaces to his writings.

His only published work was his reedition in Naples in 1593 of the Greek grammar first published in 1529 in Louvain by Nicolaus Clenardus (Cleynaerts). On September 13, 1595, Priamus dedicated from Rome to Cardinal Franciscus Toletus, S.J. (Francisco de Toledo) his Latin translations of two sermons by Basil of Seleucia (In Chananaeum and In illud: Navigabant discipuli) and one sermon by John Chrysostom (De consummatione saeculi) (Rome, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, ms. APUG 1130; see Kristeller, Iter, II, 138a). The dedication speaks of a victory in some matter of concern to the circle in which he participated; this victory may refer to the impending acceptance by the pope of Henry IV's abjuration of Protestantism a few days later (September 17, 1595). On the calends of January 1596 he dedicated from Rome to Henry IV his translation of four sermons by Basil of Seleucia (In centurionem, In illud: Dic ut sedeant, In Herodiadem, In illud: Navigabant), and of the same sermon by Chrysostom (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Coisl. 373; see R. Devreesse, Le fonds Coislin. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs [1945], 357-58). (Priamus' translation of Chrysostom's sermon is also found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. suppl. grec 533 [undated]; see M. Vogel-V. Gardthausen, Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance [Leipzig, 1909; rpt. Hildesheim, 1966], 440, where the reference to translations of works of "Basilius d. Gr." should read "Basilius Seleuciensis", and also H. Omont, Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque *Nationale* III [Paris, 1888], 274.)

On the calends of May 1607, Priamus dedicated from Seville to Maximilian of Austria, archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, the Latin version of *De Pythonissa* and of four sermons of Basil of Seleucia (*In Chananaeum, In centurionem, In illud: Navigabant discipuli,* and *In sanctos infantes ab Herode trucidatos*), some of which he had previously dedicated to Cardinal Toletus and to Henry IV (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 9642).

The latest manuscript (Braga, Biblioteca Pública 126) is dated from Seville, June 4 ("prid. Non. Iun."), 1607, with a dedication to Archbishop Augustinus de Jesu of Braga. It contains three more sermons of Basil of Seleucia translated into Latin by Priamus, all accompanied by the Greek text (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 445a–b).

Works: Latin translations mentioned above; reedition (Naples, 1593) of Nicolaus Clenardus,

Institutiones linguae graecae (originally published in Louvain, 1529).

Bibliography: Cosenza, Dictionary of Italian Humanists IV, 2956 and V, 1480 (on Priamus as possibly an Italian, but see Note below); J. A. Fabricius, Bibliotheca latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis (rpt. Graz, 1962), V-VI, 316; Enciclopedia ilustrada XXXI, 578 (on Lugo, Spain); Kristeller, Iter, II, 138a; IV, 445a-b and 564b-565a.

On Cleynaerts: Biographie nationale de Belgique IV, 163-72, esp. Bibliography on p. 172.

On Francisco de Toledo: A. Astrain, *Historia de la Compañia de Jésus* (Madrid, 1904), II, 64–65; III, 569ff. and 597ff.; IV, 56–59; *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* XV.1, 1223–25; L. Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexicon*, 1760–61; C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* VIII, 64–82.

On Henry IV of France: *Encyclopaedia universalis* IX (Paris, 1985), 232–34 and Bibliography, 235.

Note: I should like to thank dott.ssa Giovannella Morghen of the *Catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane* and dott.ssa Silvana Palmerio of the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, both of whom responded to my inquiries regarding possible unpublished information. Neither institute, however, has any data concerning an *Italian* Flaminius Priamus Lucensis. I am also grateful to p. Vincenzo Monachino, S.J., for providing a copy of the dedication of ms. APUG 1130.

### p. 151b1ff. Add commentary:

### b. Flaminius Priamus Lucensis

Priamus wrote notes on six passages of the Greek text of *De Pythonissa*. In each case they explain his choice of Latin words. *Nota* III demonstrates Priamus' careful assessment of his exemplar. Only *Nota* VI might be classified as a commentary.

Nota III (fol. 84v) on  $\mu$ ίλιγξ (GNO III.2, 104.7). Priamus read  $\mu$ ιλίγγων and pointed out that  $\mu$ ίλιγξ was "vox . . . vulgaris Graecorum linguae" for which he had chosen "errorem temporum" as the translation. Ducaeus (PG XLV, 109D) and GNO III.2 read  $\mu$ ηνίγγων.

Nota VI (fols. 85r-87r). This note discusses Priamus' handling of the Greek passage PG XLV, 113B1ff.; GNO III.2, 107.10-12. Like

Ducaeus before him, Priamus found that the text of his exemplar expressed ideas which conflicted with the statement of St. Paul mentioned by Nyssenus. Priamus' observations occupy four pages.

[Inc.]: (fol. 85r3) Videtur totus hic locus mutilus et depravatus ac plane huius sanctissimi viri sententiae et Beati Pauli auctoritati contrarius. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 86v3) Huiusmodi enim nominibus sese vicissim soliti sunt appellare sicuti etiam hic idem Auctor initio huius epistolae dixit:  $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma$   $\tau\eta\nu$   $\sigma\eta\nu$   $\delta\gamma\alpha\theta\delta\tau\eta\tau\alpha$  erga tuam probitatem, et alibi passim apud alios reperitur; cui similem consuetudinem etiam hodie in Pontificum, Cardinalium, Legatorum, Antistitum, virorum (fol. 87r) religiosorum et aliorum, qui sunt in dignitate constituti, appellatione retinemus.

# B.XXVIII. DE EO: QUID SIT AD IMAGINEM DEI ET AD SIMILITUDINEM

p. 151b21. Add:

Paris, 1619 and 1624. Some references list Tarinus' first edition as 1618, but this is the date of the dedication to de Gondi; the edition itself was published in 1619.

# p. 152a17ff. Add translation:

### 2. Johannes Tarinus

Johannes Tarinus (Jean Tarin) made a Latin version of De creatione hominis ad imaginem et similitudinem suam, Sermo I, which was attributed to Anastasius Sinaiticus in his Greek exemplar. Tarinus' Latin translation was published along with the Greek text in Paris in 1619 and again in 1624 in a collection of works including: Origen, *Philocalia*; Zacharias Mitylenensis, *De* opificio mundi; and  $\Delta \delta \xi \alpha \iota \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \psi \chi \hat{\eta} \varsigma$  (which he attributed to Anastasius and now is believed to be by Michael Psellus). Tarinus' Greek text corresponds far more closely to that attributed to Gregorius Nyssenus than does the text printed by A. Mai in his Scriptorum veterum nova collectio (see M. Geerard, CPG III [1979], no. 7747, p. 455 for a list of parallels with the text of PG LXXXIX).

The works in the volume are preceded by a long dedication to Johannes De Gondy (Jean de

Gondi), dean of Paris at that time, but shortly (1623) to become the first archbishop of Paris. It opens with Tarinus' statement that those who bring to light and publish "veterum scriptorum litteras" contribute to the public good, although some manuscripts of works which were intended for the public to read have been kept in private collections. Tarinus laments the current state of scholarship: lives of scholars are in a "gravis enim profecto et misera conditio"; if they deviate (presumably from the opinions held by their patrons), they are treated "inhumane ac inclementer"; gentle persuasion would be more desirable. Tarinus points out that de Gondi's assistance is vital for the "antiquorum librorum instaurationem." He himself, although desirous of participating in such projects, is impeded by lack of good health as well as "vitae conditio, laboriosa illa." Adding that he will omit further complaints, he proceeds to laud the dedicatee, de Gondi, and also the latter's brother, Cardinal de Retz (Henri de Gondi). He then discusses (in a Note to the Reader) the translations in the present volume and concludes with a final word in praise of Origen and quotations from St. Paul.

Dedication (ed. of Paris, 1619). [Inc.]: (fol. aij<sup>r</sup>; no other numeration) Admodum Reverendo ac Illustri Domino D. Ioanni De Gondy, Parisiensis Ecclesiae Decano, Coenobii S. Albini Andium Abbati Patrono Ioannes Tarinus S.D. Veterum scriptorum litteras, praesul ornatissime, qui ex situ et pulvere ad lucem splendoremque revocant, ut aliud nihil in publicum prosint, hoc uno certe et hominibus suis et posteritati consulere existimo, quod ea quae privata custodia non sine publica quadam iniuria continentur, publici iuris faciunt. . . . Vitae conditio, laboriosa illa, Deus immortalis, et nisi nos spes solatur in posterum ac bonorum approbatio allevat, ingrata, quae nos homines in id otium traditos sibi totos afferat, nec alii cuiusquam esse addictos operi patiatur. Rei magnitudo et pondus, quod nec satis expensum a me cum hoc mihi onus imposui, et animadverto iampridem, ut ne quis graviori animadversione dignum putet, ipse prae me fero . . . / . . . [Expl.]: tum eorum splendor ac dignitas tum liberalis tua in hasce litteras propensio perbenigne ostendit. Vale.

Note to the Reader. [Inc.]: Lector candide, quod meam interpretationem ubique vides, tam a me illa est invito quam temporis angustiis cir-

cumscripto. . . . Quod cum in Origene secutus sum, tum in Zacharia et Anastasio tenui. Eclogas illas De anima, quas ut corruptissimis exemplaribus turbidissimas defaecare non ita fuit promptum, quia id expetere nec ab Anastasii argumento multum differre videbantur, relinquere ab illis suis quasi comitibus distractas religioni duxi . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Immortalis denique divini Apostoli voci acquiescas: πάντα δοκιμάζετε, . . . τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε (I Thess. 5:21). Vale.

Text. [Inc.]: (p. 561) Anastasii presbyteri in Sina Monte De hominis creatione a Deo et ad imaginem et similitudinem suam Liber (Gr.-Lat.). Qui vultus sui perfectam a Deo pulchritudinem intelligere volunt, non in alio quam in purissimo quodam speculo imaginem . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 586) Qui enim ad Dei erat imaginem factus et nunc est, in eo qui simul Deus et homo est et qui prius imaginis Dei particeps erat, imaginem suam cum Deo communicavit.

#### Editions:

1619, Paris: sumptibus Petri de Forge. (Gr.-Lat.) Origenis Philocalia de obscuris s. scripturae locis a SS. PP. Basilio Magno et Gregorio Theologo ex variis Origenis commentariis excerpta. Omnia nunc primum graece edita ex Bibl. Regis opera et studio Io. Tarini Andegavi, qui et latine fecit et notis illustravit. NUC. BN; (CU; DLC; Jefferson College).

1624, Paris: apud S. Cramoisy. (Gr.-Lat.) Another edition of the above. NUC. (CU).

These editions also include Tarinus' Greek text and Latin versions of works of Zacharias Mitylenensis, homilies of Anastasius Sinaiticus, Secundum imaginem, and the  $\Delta \acute{o} \xi \alpha \iota \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \psi \nu \chi \hat{\eta} s$  of Psellus (here assigned to Anastasius).

### Biography:

Johannes Tarinus (Jean Tarin) was born in Beaufort, Anjou, in 1586. His parents kept a vineyard and were of such modest means that he received little education during his early years. When he was eighteen he entered the Jesuit school at La Flèche where he made rapid progress. By 1615 he had won the chair of rhetoric at the Collège d'Harcourt; then that of Greek and Latin oratory at the Collège Royal. In 1625–26 he was rector of the University of Paris. In 1626 he was instrumental in the condemnation of a treatise by the Jesuit Santarelli, in which the latter subordinated the power of the crown

to the papacy. For his efforts he received a congratulatory letter from Louis XIII, the appointment as "lecteur du roi" and the offer of an episcopate. Instead of accepting these honors, he preferred to give up the ecclesiastical state and marry. He died in Paris in 1666.

Works: Tarin was a scholar, but not a prolific writer. In addition to the texts and Latin translations of works of Origen, Psellus, Zacharias Mitylenensis and Anastasius Sinaiticus mentioned on p. 312 above, he also composed some Latin poetry, together with four other works: Laudatio funebris P. card. de Gondiaco; Virtuti regis invictissimi deditio maxima et summo viro cardinali duci de Richelieu soteria maxima; Eminentissimo et incomparabili cardinali duci soteria: Quod bonum, faustum, felix ac sempiternum salutare sit regi reginaeque christianissimis, natale munus; Reditus optatissimus, sive dies una et vicesima decimi mensis.

Bibliography: Goujet, Histoire du Collège Royal; Hoefer XLIV, 880; Michaud XLI, 18.

The problem of distinguishing among the various Anastasii is beyond the scope of this article; see M. Geerard, CPG III (1979), 453 and 455, esp. the Bibliography offered there. Unfortunately, the presence of *Homilia* I in Tarinus' volume (pp. 561–89) is not mentioned.

On de Gondi and de Retz, see: Michaud XVII, 555-56 and XXXV, 472-73.

# B.XXXIV. IN VERBA: FACIAMUS HOMINEM . . .

p. 163a11-13.

Prof. Hadwig Hörner has brought to my attention the fact that my statement, "She too believes that Gregory may well have had a hand in their final editing," does not correctly represent her conclusions. I regret any confusion this may have caused with regard to her position. On pp VIII—IX of the *praefatio* to her critical edition of *In verba: Faciamus* (GNO *Supplementband* I [Leiden, 1972]), Prof. Hörner clearly states that she believes Gregory's words οὐχ ὡς νοθεύοντες . . . ἐπιφημιζόμενον λόγοις allude to the fact that the two treatises *In verba: Faciamus* were already circulating at the time Nyssenus was preparing the *De opificio hominis* 

(his addition to Basil's *In Hexaemeron*), and that he considered those who were responsible for putting the works out under Basil's name were dishonoring the memory of the great man by this action.

## B.XXXVI. VITA S. MACRINAE

p. 181b17-25. Replace with:

# 1. Petrus Balbus (?)

Petrus Balbus (1399–1479) made a Latin version of Nyssenus, *Vita Macrinae* and also of *De anima et resurrectione*, a dialogue with his sister, Macrina. The manuscript containing Balbus' translation is now lost. For information on the date and circumstances, see pp. 65b–66a.

However, a fragment of his translation of the Vita Macrinae corresponding to the Greek in PG XLVI, 997D-1000A (= GNO VIII.1, 413.17-414.3) may survive in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 89 sup. 16 (a patristic and humanistic miscellany, including also a text of Plutarch). The fragment is found on fol. 78r, at the end of item XV (a Latin version of the "De sacerdotio Christi," an excerpt from Suidas that begins on fol. 76r and is dated 1471). Although the translator of the Suidas excerpt is not named, he has been identified as Lauro Quirini (ca. 1420–80/81), a Venetian patrician born in Crete, who dedicated his translation to Pope Nicholas V (see G. Mercati, Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti, 70–85, esp. 71–74).

The ink and hand of the scribe are the same in the case of both pericopes, as was verified by Virginia Brown, who inspected the manuscript. This, of course, does not prove that the translations were the product of the same scholar, particularly since there appears to be no connection between the contents of the two pieces. There is a possibility that the scribe chose to fill in the blank space left on fol. 78r after the conclusion of the Suidas excerpt with material he had read in another manuscript at hand. The two are not, as far as is known, found juxtaposed elsewhere. Not only is Quirini's name not mentioned here, but he is not known to have had an interest in patristic ascetical literature, while there is testimony that Balbus did make Latin versions of both of Nyssenus' works dealing with Macrina.

Moreover, a number of other works in this manuscript are Latin translations of Balbus: items IX–XII, XXXII, XXXIV, XXXVI, XXXVII. Item XVIII is a letter of Basilius Magnus to his brother, Gregorius Nyssenus, in a Latin translation of an "incertus auctor"; Bandini surmises ("nisi fallor") that this also was Balbus' work. L. Mehus, who edited Traversarius' *Epistolae* in 1759, stated in his *Vita* that he thought Balbus might have made the Suidas translation in ms. 89 sup. 16 because the codex contained many of his other translations. Mehus, however, was apparently unaware of Quirini's version of the Suidas pericope which, by that time, had already appeared in print more than once.

Both Balbus and Quirini lived in the same area in 1471 (the date of item XV in ms. 89 sup. 16). Quirini's version had long been available. Balbus' translation of the Nyssenus work must be dated between 1465 and 1473 when the dedicatee was bishop of Vicenza. Balbus' version of the other Nyssenus work is dated ca. 1471 (see above, p. 66a). The scribe might well have had a copy of the *Vita* in his hands. Thus, although we cannot prove that the excerpt on fol. 78r is from Balbus' lost version of the *Vita Macrinae*, there is a strong possibility that it was taken from that work.

Text (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 89 sup. 16). [Inc.]: (fol. 78r) De vita Macrinae. Quaecunque autem reliqua eiusmodi ab illis audivimus qui cum ea vixerunt atque apprime sciebant, non tutum arbitror me addere narrationi. Quippe cum hominum plures ad suam mensuram id iudicant quod credibile in dictis est, quod autem vires audientis excedit tanquam veritatis expers mendacii suspitione contumeliis afficiunt, ideoque omitto incredibilem illam in tanta caritate et fame agriculturam. Omitto quomodo frumentum triticumque quotidie magis atque magis expositum ad usum atque necessitatem nihil undique ad sensum diminutionis faciebat, sed perpetuo semper in eodem manebat cumulo.

Manuscripts:

- (\*) Capua, Cathedral Library: autograph, now lost (see CTC V, 66a).
- (\*) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 89 sup. 16, fol. 78r, s. XV, misc. (Bandini, Cat. codd. lat. Bibl. Med. Laur. [Bibl. Gaddiana] III

[Florence, 1776], 271). Virginia Brown kindly inspected the manuscript, gave detailed information on the hand and ink, and provided a transcription of the text; Paul Oskar Kristeller offered valuable information on the authorship of the Latin version of the Suidas pericope.

Biography: See CTC II, 139.

Bibliography: P. O. Kristeller, "Tre trattati di Lauro Quirini sulla nobilità," in Lauro Quirini umanista, ed. V. Branca (Florence, 1977), 21–43, reprinted in Kristeller, Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters II (Rome, 1985), 321–39; Ambrosii Traversarii . . . latinae epistolae . . . adcedit eiusdem Ambrosii vita in qua historia litteraria florentina . . . deducta est a Laurentio Mehus I (Florence, 1759), CCCCXXXV-CCCCXXXVI; G. Mercati, Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti (Vatican City, 1939), 70–85, esp. 71–74; A. Segarizzi, "Lauro Quirini umanista veneziano del secolo XV," Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, 2d Ser., LIV (1904), 1–16.

# B.XXXVII. DE VITA MOYSIS

p. 185a-b. Add under Manuscripts:

- (\*) Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2682, s. XV, fols. I–100, with preface (L. Frati, *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, XVII [1909], 87, no. I414; J. Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, 8).
- (\*) Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 1286, s. XV, misc., fols. 147v–191v, with preface (Wisłocki, Cat. Bibl. Jagellonicae I, 324; Monfasani, Collectanea Trapezuntiana, 22).
- (\*) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fiesol. 45, s. XV, fols. 242v-267v, with preface (Bandini, *Bibl. Leopoldina* II, 739-41; Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, 18).

p. 185b21. Add under Editions:

1984, Binghamton: critical edition of the praefatio in J. Monfasani, Collectanea Trapezuntiana. Texts, Documents, and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond, 278–81. NUC. (CU).

# C.I.I. IN ABRAHAM ET ISAAC

p. 187b47. Add:

Manuscript:

(\*) Evora, Biblioteca Pública, C X/I-2, s. XVIII, misc., fasc. I (a manuscript copy of Statius' edition of 1578) (Cunha 2, 17; 18; 19; 20; 628; 639; 4, 27; Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 451b-452a).

# C.VI.3. DE DEITATE FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI ET DE FIDE ABRAHAMI

p. 196b19-22. Read:

Siber's translation was first published in 1606. The "Consecratio" was addressed to Christian II, Elector . . . .

- p. 197a16. Add under Editions:
- (\*) 1606, Wittebergae (Wittenberg): apud Paulum Helwichium, typis Georgii Mulleri.

### 1605

684D contrivit and n.

686C Ascendam (Ex. 3:3) and n.

- 687D proditum sit Virginis pater (ut ex historia quadam incerti auctoris accepi) fuit insignis . . . and n.
- 687D . . . quod de matre Samuelis scriptum est, ad sanctum sanctorum accedit et supplex Deum orat, ne se legis benedictione sinat excidere, cum nihil umquam admiserat contra legem . . . and n.
- 691C Prima peccato aditum patefecit: haec ut testamenti pateret aditus, ministra fuit and n.

### p. 201b29. Add translations:

#### 4. Gentianus Hervetus

Gentianus Hervetus translated the long pericope from *In diem natalem* which deals with the apocryphal story of the birth and childhood of Mary and her betrothal to Joseph, etc. (Greek text PG XLVI, 1137D-1141B) as it appears in Simeon Metaphrastes, *Oratio quae tractat a venerando ortu et educatione dominae nostrae Deiparae* . . . (Menologion under August 15).

Orationes, praefationes, dissertationes, epistolae et carmina . . . (M. Altenberger and F. Mann, Bibliographie zu Gregor von Nyssa, p. 48). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

# C.VIII. IN DIEM NATALEM

p. 200a8ff. Add:

# 1a. Revision of Fronto Ducaeus

Zinus' translation, already subjected to some minor changes by L. Lippomano (above, p. 199b41–44) was further altered by Fronto Ducaeus (above, p. 199b5ff.). Ducaeus' *Notae* for the 1605 (vol. II, 70ff.) edition suggested certain revisions in Zinus' text; none, however, was made by Ducaeus at that time. But in the 1615 edition the text was changed in accordance with his 1605 suggestions, and he revised his notes as well. The resulting Latin text merits the name of a revision. Several examples are offered below:

### 1615

1134B confregit and n.

1135B Transiens (Ex. 3:3) and n.

- quandam historiam apocrypham tales de ea prodentem narrationes. Virginis pater fuit insignis.
- scriptum est, ad sanctum sanctorum accedit et supplicat Deo ne legum benedictione privetur, quae nihil in legem peccasset and n.
- 1147A Prima peccato aditum patefecit, haec ut iustitiae pateret aditus, ministra fuit and n.

The legend enjoyed wide popularity; many patristic writers commented on it (as Ducaeus remarked in his notes) and often urged caution in accepting its veracity. Metaphrastes' *Menologion* was also widely read. The Greek original of the section where Nyssenus is quoted at length is no longer extant, but Hervetus' Latin version indicates that Metaphrastes (s. X) acknowledged Nyssenus as the source of this particular account of the legend. On Hervetus' translation of the *Menologion*, see below, p. 240; it can be dated not long after February, 1552.

Although Metaphrastes' Greek original is no longer extant, it was available at least into the sixteenth century. A sentence in it played a part in a historical episode involving Maximus the Greek (1480–1576). He was given the responsibility of revising the Slavonic versions of the liturgical books of the Russian Church. In 1521 he first translated Metaphrastes' Menologion from Greek into Slavonic. Maximus' inadequate knowledge of the language, coupled with opposition on the part of some religio-political figures to any changes in the liturgical books, even for the sake of accuracy, resulted in an accusation of heresy against him. He was convicted and imprisoned as a result of three especially damaging charges, one of which was his rendition into Slavonic, considered irreverent, of the passage from In diem natalem taken from Metaphrastes (PG XLVI, 1140B): Ἡ δὲ συνάφεια μέχρι μνηστείας ήν.

Text (De probatis vitis sanctorum, ed. of Louvain, 1568). [Inc.]: (vol. I, 231) Iam enim divinus Gregorius in oratione quae de ortu Christi ab ipso composita est, haec de ea tractat: Audivi dicens arcanam quandam et occultam historiam de ea haec narrantem: Erat insignis in accurata vitae quae est ex lege institutione, et inter optimos apprime notus pater virginis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 232) Quemadmodum enim umbra ad praecedentium figuram effingitur, sic forma et indicium divinitatis Dei in virtute ipsius qui pariter ostenditur et imago et signum et adumbratio et splendor exemplaris per admirabilem rerum effectionem demonstrabitur.

#### Editions:

1568, Louvain: in L. Lippomano, *Historiae de probatis vitis sanctorum* I (under August 15). NUC. (CU).

1618, Cologne: in L. Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis* VIII, 134–43. NUC. (CU; CLU; ICN).

1864, Paris: in PG CXV, 531–32. NUC. (CU; MB; NcU).

Biography:

See CTC I, 109b-110a.

Bibliography:

On Simeon Metaphrastes: H. G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich (Munich, 1959), 570–75. On Maximus the Greek: E. E. Golubinsky, Historiia Russkoi Tserkvi III (Moscow, 1900), 720 and n. 1.

# 5. Bonaventura Vulcanius

Bonaventure de Smet, who had adopted the name "Vulcanius," made a Latin translation of a large segment of In diem natalem comprising chapters XXIV-XXVII of Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Contra anthropomorphitas. F. Mann has demonstrated that the inclusion of this portion of Nyssenus' work in the treatise of Cyril is traceable to one manuscript, Venetus Marcianus gr. II, 122 (566), s. XIV (F. Mann, Die Weinachtspredigt . . ., 229ff.), whose scribe inserted the material from Gregory of Nyssa because it was clearly pertinent to the answer to a question regarding the time of the Incarnation. The rest of the Contra anthropomorphitas is made up of two small works of Cyril, plus a letter. Vulcanius published an edition of the Contra anthropomorphitas in Leiden in 1605. Later Aubert included it in his larger edition of works of Cyril, whence it made its way into Migne's *Patrologia graeca* (LXXVI, 1065/6ff). Neither Vulcanius nor Aubert identified chapters XXIV-XXVIII as reproducing a portion of In diem natalem of Nyssenus. However, when P. E. Pusey published his edition of the works of Cyril in 1868, he correctly identified Contra anthropomorphitas as a composite work consisting of two short works of Cyril, plus a letter. He omitted the chapters which he had realized were not by Cyril, but taken from Nyssenus.

Text (Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Contra anthropomorphitas XXIV-XXVIII, ed. J. Aubert). [Inc.]: (PG LXXVI, 1122) Caput XXIV. Cur non statim ab initio apparuerit Dominus, sed ultimis temporibus humanae vitae tribuerit divinitatis suae apparitionem. Quia cum humanae vitae miscendus esset ut nequitiam expurgaret, utiliter praestolatus est donec omnis nequitia, quae inimici opera radices egerat, germen emisisset . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (PG LXXVI, 1131) Caput XXVIII . . . Atque haec quidem fiunt prae beneplacito erga homines. Deus se humanae naturae miscet atque contemperat, ut sublimitati Dei humana quoque natura coaptetur.

#### Editions:

(\*) 1605, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): ex typographia J. Patii. (Gr.-Lat.) Cyrilli Alexandrini Adversus anthropomorphitas, Liber unus . . . int. Bonaventura Vulcanio, cum notis eiusdem . . . loca ex Cyrilli libris nondum editis sunt inserta. BL; BN.

(\*) 1638, Paris (Gr.-Lat.): in *Cyrilli Alexandriae archiepiscopi Opera omnia*, ed. J. Aubert, VI, 394b–398b (reported by V. Brown). NUC. BN; (DLC; ICU; MH; NNUT).

1859, Paris (Gr.-Lat.): in PG LXXVI, 1122–31. NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; CU; MH).

Biography:

See CTC III, 16b-17a.

Bibliography:

See CTC III, 17a; CTC V, 199a.

p. 201b40-42. Delete "(Sifanus) . . . name" and replace with:

The translation of this text which appears in editions of Lippomano–Surius is that of P. F. Zinus (above, pp. 199b–200a). The editions of 1568, 1617, and 1875 contain *only* Zinus' version. F. Mann, editor of the critical text in the GNO edition, confirmed in private correspondence (August 24, 1982) that Sifanus' translation does *not* appear in editions of Lippomano-Surius.

Ducaeus' first edition (1615) of Zinus' version reads, as does the first edition which Zinus himself published (Venice, 1553), "Quamobrem cum voti compos effecta filiam suscepisset, eam vocavit Mariam."

Ducaeus' *Nota* on the passage in the 1605 edition reads, "Interpres alter apud Surium: Confirmata autem nutu divino, donum quod petiit, accepit. Cum autem nata esset puella, Mariam eam vocavit."

Sifanus' version of 1562 reads: "Confirmata autem nutu divino donum quod petiit, accepit. Cum autem nata esset puella, nomen imposuit ei Mariam."

It is obvious that Ducaeus' quotation approximates closely but does not agree verbatim with Sifanus' translation. Possibly Ducaeus intended to say, "Interpres alter, Sifanus . . ." and quoted from memory.

There remains the version of Gentianus Hervetus (see above, p. 316). Here, too, there is no verbatim agreement: "Cum nutu divino confirmata esset ad gratiam, quam petierat, postquam peperit puellam, eam nominavit Mariam" (Historiae de probatis vitis sanctorum I [Louvain, 1568], 221).

Ducaeus was a meticulous scholar; there seems to be evidence that he knew more than one translation in addition to that of Zinus and

quite aside from "interpres alter." In his 1615 Nota on "Audivi ergo" (PG XLVI, 1221, on 1138D), which differs from his note of 1605, he says, "Alii arcanam et occultam historiam vertunt." Both Sifanus and Hervetus chose those words for their versions of the passage. (Since Camerarius was a Protestant, his version would not have been included in Lippomano-Surius, and hence is not under consideration here).

# C.XIII. IN MELETIUM EPISCOPUM

p. 210b. Add translation:

### 3. Anonymus (s. XV)

An anonymous Latin translation of *In Meletium episcopum* is contained in Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Baworowski 74, s. XV. This codex also contains Georgius Trapezuntius' Latin versions of two orations of Gregorius Nazianzenus and an anonymous translation of six works of John Chrysostom. There is no evidence that Trapezuntius translated any work of Nyssenus other than the *De vita Moysis* (see above, pp. 182bff.). John Monfasani suggests that the absence of any preface to the text, and of any reference elsewhere to it by Trapezuntius himself, points to someone else as the translator. The Latin is, however, that of a writer of this period.

Text (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Baworowski 74). [Inc.]: (fol. 50v) Gregorii Niseni episcopi oratio in Meletium episcopum Antiochenum feliciter incipit. Auxit nobis apostolorum numerum ipse novus apostolatus qui nuper eorum sententia et cum apostolis sortitus est. Traxerunt ad se sancti sibi similem moribus, athletam athletae, coronandum coronati, purum animo mundi corde, praeconem orationis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 55v) vinum laetificat cor hominis (Ps. 103:15) ampliori mixtum et abundantioribus spiritualis sermonis calcibus ut nobis rursus in laetitiam exultationemque luctus convertatur unigeniti filii dei gratia per quem et gloria deo patrique in saecula.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Baworowski 74, s. XV, misc., fols. 50v-55v, written in Italy (Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 419b-420b;

J. Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, 75; CTC II, 137b). I am grateful for the assistance of Paul Oskar Kristeller and of Andrzej Piber of the Biblioteka Narodowa in obtaining a reproduction of fols. 50v–55v. I am also grateful to John Monfasani for his useful comments.

# C. XXVII. In sanctum Pascha IV (De sancto et salutari festo Paschae)

p. 230b24. Add translation:

### 4. Theodorus Antonius Peltanus

Theodorus Antonius Peltanus made a Latin version of *In sanctum Pascha* IV (*De sancto et salutari festo Paschae*) which is preserved only in a collection of festal sermons, *Decem et septem excellentissimorum theologorum declamationes*, published in Ingolstadt in 1579. Included in the volume, in addition to the short paschal oration of Nyssenus, were works of Basil of Seleucia and Sophronius of Jerusalem, several in abridged form.

The volume was dedicated to Count Sweickardt von Helffenstein. Peltanus begins his lengthy (twenty-seven and a half pages) Ad lectorem praefatio by discussing the value of publishing Latin versions of the writings "veterum theologorum." The bitter doctrinal controversies of the time were obviously a motivating factor for Peltanus: "quid de hoc vel illo fidei dogmate veneranda antiquitas quondam statuerit, publice docuerit, in quaestionem vocatur." The Protestants hold that doctrinal disputes should be settled "sola scripturarum auctoritate et analogia." Peltanus feels that, although Catholic theologians of his own day could confront the "sectarii" by citing Catholic works, it was preferable in the case of intelligent, or even moderately knowledgeable, opponents to provide them with works "veterum theologorum" which they themselves might study. A question then arises concerning the meaning of "veterum:" before or after "beatus Gregorius" (presumably Gregory I [540–604])? In addition, whose interpretation of scripture was to be accepted? That of the "veteres," or that of Luther, Calvin, Zwingli and their followers? The greater part of the *praefatio* is devoted to examples of doctrinal arguments in the course of which Peltanus quotes several

works of Luther verbatim.

Finally he explains his own situation. As long as his health and strength permitted, he continued to teach; now he must pursue work better suited to his physical abilities. In concluding, he explains his procedure in translation. He has tried to interpret faithfully and clearly the mind of the author. If he has accomplished this goal moderately well, thanks are due to God; if he has failed, the fault rests with his own stupidity. Of course he might have been able to make a more accurate version in some cases, had he had at hand a better Greek exemplar. He was apparently no longer able to travel far from Augsburg where he lived after 1574, and had to rely on professional scribes (mercenarii illi scriptores) to supply copies of Greek manuscripts. These individuals charged dearly for their work and sold it for the highest price they could get. Thus Peltanus had to be satisfied with only one exemplar in most cases. He feels obliged to make his readers aware of the facts; otherwise this insignificant (tantillus) book would not have required such a long preface.

Interpretis ad lectorem praefatio, qua egregie illos de omni paene hominum genere mereri docetur, qui abdita veterum monumenta aut vetustate iam olim obliterata in lucem efferunt (ed. of Ingolstadt, 1579). [Inc.]: (no pagination visible on photo) Etsi, amice lector, non par gratia iis debetur qui orthodoxa scribunt et qui salutaria aliorum scripta in lucem edunt, negari tamen non potest, praeclare eos de Ecclesia mereri, qui veterum theologorum monumenta, luce nondum donata, aut vetustate olim inobservata, in publicum proferunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Fui itaque unico illo exemplo contentus quo tu quoque tantisper contentus esto, dum aliquid emaculatius sese obtulerit. Atque haec sunt, amice lector, quibus semel universe te admonendum existimavi. Alioqui enim tantillus hic liber tantam praefationem nequaquam deposcebat. Vale, et laborem nostrum bone consule. Augustae 1579.

Text. [Inc.]: (fol. 141v) Sancti Patris Nostri Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni in sanctum et salutiferum Pascha Oratio. Vera illa Sabbati quies, quae Dei benedictionem suscepit, in qua Dominus ab omni opere cessavit, mortis quiete, quam pro mundi salute Dominus Iesus subiit, nunc finem accepit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 143v) Cum igitur inimici acies ceciderit, et ille ipse qui in nequissimum daemonum exercitum imperium

tenebat, excesserit, evanuerit, et in nihilum redactus sit, dicamus: Quia Deus magnus Dominus (Ps. 94:3), et Rex magnus super omnem terram (Ps. 46:3) qui benedixit coronae anni benignitatis suae (Ps. 64:12) et congregavit nos ad spiritalem hanc chori stationem, in Christo Iesu Domino nostro, cui sit gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

### Edition:

(photo) 1579, Ingolstadii (Ingolstadt): excudebat David Sartorius. Decem et septem excellentissimorum theologorum declamationes, etc. . . . (M. Altenburger and F. Mann, Bibliographie zu Gregor von Nyssa, 38). I am grateful to Prof. Otto Mazal of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, for permitting the copying of pertinent pages of this edition, and to Doris Schneider of the Abteilung Wissenschaftlicher Information for copying and mailing the pages. A copy of this edition is also in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

### Biography:

Theodorus Antonius Peltanus (Théodore Antoine Van Pelt) was born in 1511 in Overpelt, Belgium; hence his epithet "Peltanus." Details of his early life are few. He began his education in his native town. Some accounts suggest that he followed the trade of cobbler before his academic talents were discovered. At some point he went to Cologne to pursue further studies. There in about 1550 he entered the Jesuit order. His progress was very rapid, and late that year he was appointed professor at the new Roman College. Soon he was sent to Naples as professor of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. After returning to Rome for a brief period, he went to Ingolstadt where he taught Greek, Hebrew, and a course on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. From 1559 to 1561 he was professor at Munich. By 1562 he was teaching theology at Ingolstadt where he remained until 1574. He spent his final years in Augsburg and died there in 1584.

A eulogy of Peltanus is printed in the 1607 edition of his *In Proverbia Salomonis paraphrasis et scholia*.

#### Works:

Peltanus wrote numerous works ranging in subject matter from the treatment of doctrinal questions (e.g., heaven, hell, indulgences, sacraments, the process of canonization) to Latin translations from the Greek. The most complete list of his writings is found in C. Sommervogel, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus VI, 458–66. His Latin translations, many of which appear in Migne's Patrologia graeca, include: Acts of the Council of Ephesus; commentary of Gelasius of Cyzicus on the Acts of the Council of Nicaea; works of Acacius of Melitene, Andrew of Cappadocian Caesarea, John Chrysostom, Nicephorus of Constantinople, Olympiodorus of Alexandria, Titus of Bostra, and Victor of Antioch. Peltanus' In Proverbia Salomonis paraphrasis et scholia appeared in several editions.

### Bibliography:

In addition to C. Sommervogel (cited above under Works), see: L. Koch, Jesuiten-Lexicon, 1398; Allgemeine deutsche Biographie XXV, 340; Biographie nationale de Belgique XVI, 887; Dictionnaire de théologie catholique XII. I, 721; Hurter, Nomenclator III, 190-92.

# C.XXXI. DE SANCTO THEODORO MARTYRE

p. 236a. Add before line 1:

Further editions are listed in GNO X.I, CLXIX and CLXXI n.

# C.XXXIII. DE VITA GREGORII THAUMATURGI

p. 237b1. Add:

The volume was published in 1990.

p. 239a-b. Add under Manuscripts:

The following manuscripts, with the exception of the codex in Munich, all contain excerpts from the *Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* in the Latin of Petrus Subdiaconus (= *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* 3678). Their importance lies in the testimony they bear to the very widespread use of Petrus' version, which until the late nineteenth century was neglected by scholars.

(\*) Ascoli Piceno, Archivio di Stato, Fondo notarile Acqua Santa, I fol. (= Florilegium casinense III, 178bff.) (A. De Luca, "Nuove testimonianze di scrittura beneventana nelle Marche," Studi medievali, 3d Ser., XVIII [1977], 353-77, esp. 364-68; our leaf corresponds to his "Ms. I, framm. D").

- (\*) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. lat. 706, s. XV (ca. 1460, written in Cologne), fols. 201–202. Excerpt from the Credo (= Florilegium casinense III, 171) (P. J. Becker and T. Brandis, Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften in Folio der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Teil 2 [Wiesbaden, 1985], 247–50). Dr. Becker, in a letter of July 25, 1989, to Paul Oskar Kristeller, verified the shelf mark and supplied corrections, for which I am grateful.
- (\*) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13100, s. XII-XIII, fols. 59r-80v (Halm, Cat. Bibl. Regiae Monac. II.2, 103).
- (\*) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 3549, s. XIII, fol. 99 (= Florilegium casinense III, 174) (Cat. gén. des manuscrits latins VI [Paris, 1975], 61).

# p. 239b32-33. Add:

The text in *Florilegium casinense* III, 168–79, is transcribed from Montecassino, Archivio della Badia 139, s. XI ex., pp. 261–87 (modern pagination).

### p. 240b21ff. Add:

Zacharias (Zacharie) Lippeloo (ca. 1566–99) made an abridged version of Hervetus' Latin translation of Nyssenus, De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi between 1587 (when Lippeloo entered the Carthusian Order in Cologne) and 1596 (when the abridgement was published in Lippeloo's Res gestae illustrissimorum martyrum, confessorum atque sanctarum virginum . . ., a simplified and abbreviated version of fellow Carthusian Laurentius Surius' De probatis sanctorum historiis [Cologne, 1570-75]). Before his death in 1599, Lippeloo had prepared a revised and enlarged edition of the Res gestae; this was published in two subsequent editions (1603–4, 1616) under the editorship of Cornelius Gras, also a member of the Cologne Carthusian community, who added further changes. It remains to be determined whether Lippeloo's abridgement, with subsequent alterations by himself and Gras, is sufficiently different from Hervetus' translation to be considered a new translation.

### p. 242a25. Add translation:

### 5. Petrus Pantinus Tiletanus

Petrus Pantinus (Pierre Pantin) made a Latin translation of Nyssenus, *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, accompanied by a dedication, poem, and copy of his Greek exemplar. This was done at some time prior to 1597 when the dedication and poem were published in Brussels by Rutger Velpius. The translation and Greek text, however, were never published (GNO X.I, CXI n. I); they are preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève 2753.

Pantinus stated earlier in connection with the Greek text that he had found his exemplar in the library of Cardinal Granvelle (d. 1586), a patron of scholars and minister of Marguerite of Austria to whom Philip II entrusted the government of the Low Countries in 1559. The Greek title of Pantinus' codex suggests a member in the family of ms. Vat. gr. 446 (s. XII); recently scholars have determined that his exemplar was Vat. Ottob. gr. 91 (GNO X.1 [Leiden, 1990], CVIII—CXI, CXXXII).

There is a comment on the translation of the Greek title in one of two brief glosses copied by the text hand at the beginning of the Latin translation on fol. 89r. (Whether Pantinus is actually the scribe can only be determined by a comparison of the hand of ms. Ste-Geneviève 2753 with a securely identified autograph of Pantinus.) The scholiast questions whether the work was an oratio . . . recitata; it must, rather, have been a vita: "Certe vitam, non laudationem scribit (sc. Nyssenus) since "prolixior haec scriptio est quam ut patientibus auribus a concione excipi potuisset." Modern scholars agree, pointing to internal evidence that the original treatise was reworked for later distribution. The majority of the surviving manuscripts term the work a Bios.

The dedication is addressed to Albert, archduke of Austria and cardinal archbishop of Toledo, who had recently (1595) been appointed governor general of the Low Countries. It is largely devoted to an encomium of Albert, mentioning his qualities of magnanimity, prudence, skill, etc. These, combined with love of the country in his charge, so Pantinus hoped, would bring about a more peaceful state of affairs. He recalls Albert's ancestors, the Emperor Maximilian, and his grandfather, Charles, of the House of Habsburg, who faced similar difficulties. Knowledge of this lineage should promote

confidence in his ability to surmount current problems. Pantinus goes on to praise Albert's "pietas," a point reemphasized in the poem which follows the dedication. Such a virtue, combined with the support of friends, can overcome great odds. Pantinus then draws a comparison with Gideon, David and Ezechiel, and finally an analogy with Gregorius Thaumaturgus. Pantinus continues with a request that Albert accept this "munusculum" and recommend it, particularly because the one who produced it was devoted to the Austrian cause. He concludes with a suggestion that his little volume be hung, as it were, as a gift in the rotunda of Albert's genius.

In the following poem, also addressed to Albert, Pantinus laments the sad state of Belgium at that time. On the one side it is oppressed by the fury of the English and Dutch; on the other side by France, with the result that its people "give our bare flanks to the enemy." Italy does not assist, and Germany is so torn by dissension that it can hardly offer any sympathy. The hope of the country rests "in pietate tua . . . Clarissime Princeps."

Dedication (ed. of Brussels, 1597). [Inc.]: (p. 1) Sereniss. Cardinali Alberto, Archiduci Austriae, Archiepiscopo Toletano, cum supremo imperio Galliae Belgicae Praefecto, Petrus Pantinus S.D. Inter ceteras rationes quae bonorum animos atrocissima hac tot annorum funestissimaque patriae calamitate merito afflictos nonnihil erigunt, Serenissime Princeps, nec prorsus de Reipublica desperare permittunt, haec vel praecipua est . . . / . . . [Expl]: (p. 3) Felicem te Serenissime Princeps ac vere beatum, cui hac una nihil carius antiquiusque, in hac re Dominus noster Iesus Christus semper sospitet felicitetque. Et ut munusculum hoc nostrum non prorsus pro ingrato habeas, vehementer te rogo obtestorque, exiguum id quidem si molem appendas, magnum vero, si quae in eo saluberrima ad pietatem monita exemplaque apud te aestimantur, atque hoc etiam nomine vel imprimis, quod ab animo Austriacae familiae deditissimo proficiscatur, et in vestri genii sacratiori templo, huius mei affectus testandi ergo, velut ad tholum suspendatur. Bruxel. A.D. V. non. Mart. 1597.

Poem (p. 4) Eiusdem ad eundem. Fluctuat innumeris nunc Belgica nostra procellis
Fluctuat, et ratio parva salutis adest.
Sic quercus fixis radicibus altius haeret,
Quo magis ingruerint flamina saeva
Noti.

Text (Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève 2753). [Inc.]: (fol. 89r) Sancti Patris nostri Gregorii Nysseni oratio in laudem Sancti Gregorii cognomento Mirifici, Neocaesareae Episcopi recitata. Praesentis sermonis et huiusce vestrae congressionis unus finis eademque est ratio. Gregorius enim iste magnus et vobis conveniendi et mihi dicendi argumentum proponitur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 179r) Sunt autem et alia etiam usque ad hanc nostram memoriam Gregorii conservata miracula; quae tamen incredulis auribus parcentes, ne fortassis laedere possint eos, qui veritatem propter magnitudinem eorum quae dicuntur mendacium arbitrantur, hisce nostris scriptis non adiunximus (text corresponding to PG XLVI, 958.53-56 not included).

## Manuscript:

(photo) Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève 2753, s. XVII in., fols. Ir-4v, Dedication to Albert and poem; fols. 5-8, Suidas' entry on Gregorius Thaumaturgus, followed by Hieronymus, De viris illustribus on the same; fols. 9-83, Greek text of Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi; fols. 84-88, Variae quaedam lectiones et coniecturae in hanc orationem; fols. 89-179, Petrus Pantinus' Latin version of the Vita (Ch. Kohler, Cat. Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève II, 492-93). Dr. Françoise Zehnacker, directeur de la Réserve de la Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, kindly provided photos of portions of the manuscript.

#### Edition:

(photo) 1597, Bruxellae (Brussels): apud Rutgerum Velpium, Typ. Iurat. The dedication occupies pp. 1–3; p. 4 contains the poem to Albert. Dr. Françoise Zehnacker also provided copies of portions of this edition.

# Biography:

Petrus Pantinus (Pierre Pantin) was born in Tielt, Belgium, in 1556 (hence his epithet Tiletanus). His parents, Jacques and Marguerite Pan-

tin, were of modest means; he was also the grandnephew of Guillaume Pantin, a wellknown physician of Bruges. He began his formal education in Ghent and continued it in Louvain, where he studied under Andreas Schott, a scholar who was only slightly his senior. A lifelong friendship resulted. In 1576 he left Belgium in the company of Schott to continue his studies, first at Douai and later in Paris. There the young scholars became part of the circles frequented by such figures as Pithou, Scaliger, and Cujas. After some years Pantinus returned briefly to his native land, but soon left because of the continuing unrest that resulted from the religiopolitical wars of the period in which the Low Countries were torn as Belgium adhered to the Catholic, and neighboring Holland to the Protestant, side of the disputes.

Pantinus made his way to Spain and, after visiting several cities, settled in Toledo, where Schott had already received an appointment to the chair of Greek at the university. Pantinus, having been introduced to Antonio Corruvias and Don Pedro García de Loyasa Girón, soon became both secretary and librarian to the latter. He published his first Latin translation from the Greek (a work of Johannes Damascenus) during this period. When Schott went on to teach in Saragossa (1583–84?), Pantinus succeeded him as professor of Greek in Toledo, which position he held for twelve years. During this interval he also became chaplain to Philip II. Yet he continued to pursue his scholarly interests which had begun in his early years and lasted to the end of his life. He searched for, often copied with his own hand, and translated into Latin a number of Greek patristic works. He personally made inventories of manuscripts in various libraries. Much of this material was eventually published, thanks to Pantinus' having maintained close relationships with Belgian printing houses, particularly with Plantin and Moretus. In addition he carried on a wide correspondence with Belgian scholars, including Justus Lipsius.

With the advent of a brief peace in his native land, Pantinus was able to return in May 1595 (some sources say 1596) in the retinue of the cardinal-archduke Albert whom Philip II had appointed governor general of the Low Countries. It was to him that Pantinus dedicated his translation of Nyssenus, Vita Gregorii Thauma-

turgi. Once in Brussels he was able to assume the office of Dean of Ste-Gudule, a position to which he had been appointed in 1592. The chapter had resisted the assignment of a relatively unknown cleric who had long resided in Spain. In his capacity as Dean, Pantinus, who had apparently been ordained in Madrid in 1584, officiated at the marriage of Albert (who had been laicized at the instance of Philip II) to Isabella Clara Eugenia, Philip's daughter, in 1596.

Peace in the region was again fading; in 1601 Pantinus was appointed to fill the vacant post of vicar general for the armies. In this capacity he traveled much and carried out his required duties for six years, although he preferred the life of a scholarly cleric. Eventually he was able to return to that life until his death in 1611. He is buried in Ste-Gudule, whose Dean he had been for sixteen years.

Pantinus bequeathed his manuscripts and library to his lifelong friend, Schott, on whose death they eventually passed to the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels. The manuscript of the *Vita Thaumaturgi* is an exception, although it is apparently not an autograph and may never have been in Schott's hands.

Pantinus is described as a man of high principles, both in political and ecclesiastical circles. Moreover, like a number of scholars of his day, he was a person of great tolerance in a time of religious unrest. His long relationship with Protestants as well as Catholics is attested in his letters.

#### Works:

The list of Pantinus' writings is sizeable. They range from a poem on St. Leocadia (his earliest work) on the occasion of the return of her body to her native Toledo (1587) to a history of the royal house of the Goths, many poems, and a number of Latin versions of Greek texts. A comprehensive list of Pantinus' works appears in the account of his life by J. Fabri in Bibliotheca belgica VI (Brussels, 1964), 214–16; see also A. Miraeus, Scriptores CLXXIII. Latin translations from the Greek in addition to the Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi: Homiliae IIII SS. patrum episcoporum Methodii, Athanasii, Amphilochii, Johannis Chrysostomi; Conciones graecorum patrum; Basilius episcopus Seleuciae, De vita ac miraculis D. Theclae virginis . . .; Themistius Euphradae, Orationes aliquot non editae; Michael Apostolius, Paroemiae.

Among other works: a Greek epitaph on Justus Lipsius. Fabri does not list his version of Nyssenus, *Vita Thaumaturgi*.

Bibliography:

Bibliotheca belgica VI, 203–16 (J. Fabri), with extensive bibliography on pp. 209ff.; Biographie nationale de Belgique XVI (Brussels, 1901), 567–71.

On Andreas Schott see: C. Sommervogel, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus VI, 865-912.

On Justus Lipsius see: A. Ramírez, *Epistolario de Justo Lipsio y los Españoles* (1577–1606) (Madrid, 1966), 11–15, 62–63, 197–98, 249–51, 263–64, 274–75 (correspondence, particularly with Pantin).

## p. 246a22ff. Add to Appendix III:

B.II. De anima per capita disputatio ad Tatianum. Translation of François Combesis' text attributed to Maximus Confessor. 1695, Paris in *Opera s. Maximi Confessoris* II, 195–200; reprinted in PG XCI, 354–62.

B.II. De anima ad Tatianum. Translation of Nicolas Le Nourry (1647–1724) of text attributed only to a "Gregorius." 1694, Paris in Apparatus ad bibliothecam maximam veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Lugduni editam. NUC. BN; (PLatS).

B.X. Epistola canonica ad Letoium. Edition of William Beveridge, including revisions of both Greek and Latin texts. 1672, Oxford in Synodikon sive Pandectae canonum SS apostolorum et consiliorum una cum scholiis antiquorum singulis eorum annexis et scriptis huc spectantibus... Totum opus... G. Beveridge recensuit, prolegomenis munivit, et annotationibus auxit (Gr.-Lat.), II.1, 152-64 (Hoffmann II, 186). NUC. BL; BN; (CU-L; NNUT; NPt).

p. 417b13. Index of Translators and Commentators for Volume V. Read: 158.