

# THUCYDIDES

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## FORTUNA\*

Thucydides, the son of Olorus, was the author of a contemporary history of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.) known simply as the *Iστορίαι* or *Ξενγγραφή* (Latin *Historiae*) and comprising eight books. Through his mother he belonged to the Athenian aristocratic family of the Philaïdae; his father's family, however, was Thracian, and throughout his life Thucydides maintained connections with that country. His mother's family was traditionally conservative and opposed to the popular policy of Pericles, a fact which makes the strong Periclean bias of the *Historiae* somewhat surprising.

Early in the war Thucydides caught the plague, but he recovered. He was elected general for the year 425/424 B.C., when he would have been at least thirty years old. Consequently he must have been born no later than 455 B.C. and, in all probability, some years before that. In the winter of 424/423 B.C. he failed to save the city of Amphipolis from Brasidas, the Spartan commander, and was exiled. During the rest of the war he did not live in Athens, a circumstance which may have furthered his historical investigations.

Thucydides began to write the *Historiae* immediately after the outbreak of the war in 431 B.C. He was probably pardoned after the capitulation of Athens in 404 B.C. and would then have been

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For the *Fortuna* I am much indebted to Otto Luschnat's article on Thucydides, PW, Suppl. 12.1085ff. (1970; printed separately as *Thukydides der Historiker* [Stuttgart, 1971]) and Suppl. 14.760ff. (1974), especially for the parts which concern the *Nachleben* of Thucydides in Greek literature from classical times to the fall of Byzantium (cols. 1167–69 and 1266–1311), and I here once and for all refer the reader to his very detailed discussions.

For the titles of the works of Greek authors I follow Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*; for those of Latin authors the *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1990).

able to return to his native city. We do not know the date of his death, only that he lived to see the end of the war. Since he did not have time to finish his work, he probably died around 400 B.C.

The *Historiae* are the principal source for biographical information about Thucydides. We also have other Greek sources, namely, the *Vita* of Marcellinus (fifth century A.D.?), a short anonymous *Vita*, and the article in the *Suda* (tenth century). The general consensus, however, now seems to be that the *Historiae* are the source of these later works.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Peloponnesian War was over in 404 B.C., the *Historiae* end with the description of the events of the year 411/410 B.C. Book 8 (the last) shows less stylistic perfection than books 1–7 and contains no speeches. Thucydides stresses that he writes about events that took place when he was present, or for which he has reliable eyewitnesses. He aimed to produce a work that would be “judged useful by those who want to understand clearly the events which happened in the past and which (human nature being what it is) will, at some time or other and in much the same ways, be repeated in the future.”<sup>2</sup> Book 1 contains two long digressions (*excursus*): the so called *Archeology* (1.2–20), treating the early history of Greece; and the *Pentecontaetia* (1.89–117), linking the *Historiae* to the work of Herodotus (ca. 485–425 B.C.) and relating the events of the fifty years from the end of the Persian Wars to the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

Throughout the first seven books of the *Historiae* we find interspersed with the ordinary narrative the famous speeches of politicians and generals. The actual wording was necessarily invented by Thucydides and the speeches are all unmistakably in his style, but he maintains that “while keeping as close as possible to the general sense of the words that were actually used, [he, sc. Thucydides, would] make the speakers say what, in [his] opinion, was called for by each situation.”<sup>3</sup> The most celebrated and most imitated passages of the *Historiae* are: the proem (1.1–22); the speeches, particularly Pericles' funeral oration (2.35–46);

1. For a contrasting view, see L. Piccirilli, “Le biografie di Tucidide. Leggende o realtà?,” in *Il protagonismo nella storiografia classica* (Genoa, 1987), 143–57.

2. *Hist.* 1.22.4, trans. R. Warner, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, 1954, 1974, and later reprints).

3. *Ibid.* 1.22.1, trans. Warner.

the description of the plague in Athens (2.47.3–54); and the description of the civil war in Corcyra (3.81–84).

### CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC GREEK LITERATURE

There is general agreement that Thucydides' account was continued by the Athenians Xenophon (430/425–after 355 B.C.) and Cratippus (fifth to fourth century B.C.), by the author of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (fourth century B.C., first half), and by Theopompus of Chios (378/377 B.C.–?). Xenophon's *Hellenica*<sup>4</sup> begins with the words "After this" at the point where the *Historiae* break off, and the first two of the seven books of the *Hellenica* constitute a compositional unity and follow Thucydides' chronological scheme of dividing the narrative into summers and winters of war. Some of these chronological indications are interpolations, but enough remain unchallenged to make certain the dependence on Thucydides. Theopompus of Chios<sup>5</sup> also wrote a work entitled *Hellenica*. It seems certain that his account covered the events from the battle of Cynossema (411 B.C.) to the naval battle of Cnidos (394 B.C.). The extant fragments are, unfortunately, too sparse to allow any judgment on the style and composition of the work. According to the first-century B.C. critic Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Thucydide* 16), Cratippus of Athens, a younger contemporary of Thucydides, described the events passed over by his predecessor and continued on at least down to Conon's restoration of naval power (394 B.C.).<sup>6</sup> The existing fragments of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*<sup>7</sup> relate events of 409–407 B.C. and 396–395 B.C. and use, so far as can be ascertained, the division by summers and winters of war. In many passages this anonymous historian seems also to be emulating the style of Thucydides.

4. H. R. Breitenbach, "Xenophon," PW, 2. Reihe, 9, A 2.1669–80 (rpt. Stuttgart, 1966); E. M. Soulis, *Xenophon and Thucydides* (Athens, 1972); P. Krentz, "Had Xenophon Read Thucydides VIII before He Wrote the 'Continuation' (*Hell. I–II* 3,10)?" *The Ancient World* 19 (1989) 15–18.

5. F. Jacoby, ed., *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin, 1923 and later), no. 115; cited hereafter as *FGrH*.

6. Plutarch, *Moralia* 345C–E (*De glor. Athen.* 1) gives a summary of Cratippus' work.

7. *FGrH* 66; also in V. Bartoletti, ed., *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (Leipzig, 1959).

Cicero (106–43 B.C.) maintained that, for centuries, Thucydides lacked admirers (*Brut.* 17.66). This is certainly too rash, but, apart from the historians already mentioned, it is difficult to assess the reactions to the work of Thucydides in the fourth century B.C. He is never mentioned directly, nor are there any unequivocal allusions to his work. Nonetheless, in the Attic rhetorician Isocrates (436–338 B.C.) we find a number of ideas and expressions which seem to imply a knowledge of the *Historiae*, even if Isocrates' general line of thought has little in common with that of the historian. Whether Plato (428/427–349/348 B.C.) read Thucydides has been discussed with particular regard to the former's *Menexenus* and the *Republic*. Again, despite the lack of any direct references, there can hardly be any doubt that the *Menexenus* presupposes Pericles' funeral oration, even if the satire is not directed against Thucydides.<sup>8</sup> The *Republic* certainly contains allusions to the *Historiae*. Recently it has been maintained that the Peloponnesian War and particularly Thucydides' account of it furnish a background for Plato's *Gorgias*.<sup>9</sup> Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) does not mention Thucydides explicitly, but, if he is the author of the *Athenaion Politeia*, it is clear that he used the *Historiae* in several passages.<sup>10</sup>

Thucydidean influence is also apparent in the Sicilian history (*FGrH* 556) of Philistus of Syracuse (ca. 430–356 B.C.). This author is described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as an imitator of the style of Thucydides.<sup>11</sup> In fact, Dionysius maintains that Philistus was more useful to the orator than Thucydides.<sup>12</sup> Cicero characterizes Philistus as "full of matter, penetrating, concise, almost a miniature Thucydides," but easier to read since he avoided the extremes of brevity that

8. M. M. Henderson, "Plato's *Menexenus* and the Distortion of History," *Acta classica* 18 (1975) 25–46.

9. A. W. Saxonhouse, "An Unspoken Theme in Plato's *Gorgias*, War," *Interpretation* 11 (1983) 139–69.

10. Compare, e.g., *Ath.* 18 and *Hist.* 6.56–58; *Ath.* 20 and *Hist.* 6.53 and 59; *Ath.* 29–33 and *Hist.* 8.95–97 (M. Sironič, "Aristotel Ath. Pol. Ch. 20," *Ziva antica* 30 [1980] 149–54).

11. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De imitatione*, p. 208.16ff. and *Pomp.* 5. See also Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.74: "[Philistus] imitator Thucydidii et ut multo infirmior, ita aliquatenus lucidior," ed. M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1970).

12. *De imitatione* 3.2; see M. Cagnetta, "Gli agoni di Filisto," *Quaderni di storia* 12.24 (1986) 133–36.

made the Athenian historian so difficult.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, it has been suggested that the long parenthesis in *Hist.* 7.42.3, where Nicias is criticized, may be an intrusion of a marginal quotation from Philistus.<sup>14</sup>

In Hellenistic times Posidonius (ca. 125-ca. 50 B.C.) and Polybius (ca. 200—after 118 B.C.) were both influenced by Thucydides. In Posidonius this is seen in the opening of his history and in his use of speeches;<sup>15</sup> in Polybius in his description of method and also in the speeches.<sup>16</sup>

#### LATIN LITERATURE

We have evidence of Thucydides' influence on Latin literature<sup>17</sup> from the time of Cato the Elder (234–149 B.C.) since Plutarch (*Cat. Mai.* 2 p. 337 C) reports that, after Cato had learned Greek late in life, he profited somewhat from Thucydides in oratory.

Cicero often refers to Thucydides and discusses him at length in the rhetorical works. In the *De oratore* he has Antonius praise the style of the Greek writer: "The next is Thucydides, who in my opinion easily surpasses everybody else in the art of speaking. He is so full of a wealth of matter that the number of thoughts almost equals the number of words, and he is furthermore so exact and precise in his choice of words that one hardly knows whether it is the content which is rendered

13. Cicero, *Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem* 2.12.4: "Creber, acutus, brevis, paene pusillus Thucyrides" (ed. D. R. S. Bailey [Stuttgart, 1988]); English translation by the same in *Cicero's Letters to His Friends*, vol. 2, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, 1978). See also Cicero, *De orat.* 2.57 and *Brut.* 66 and 294.

14. E. C. Kopff, "Thukydides 7.42.3: An Unrecognized Fragment of Philistus," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 17 (1976) 23–30; Kopff, "Philistus Still," *ibid.* 220–21; L. Pearson, "Some New Thoughts about the Supposed Fragment of Philistus (PSI 1283)," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 20 (1983) 151–58. Against Kopff's argument, see M. W. Dickie, "Thucydides, not Philistus," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 17 (1976) 217–19.

15. FGrH 87; see also K. Reinhardt, "Poseidonios," PW 22.630ff.

16. Compare Polybius' chapter on method 3.31.13 with Thucydides, *Hist.* 1.22.4; see also K. Ziegler, "Polybius," PW 21.1500ff., and the same "Thukydides und Polybius," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der E. M. Arndt-Universität Greifswald* 5 (1955/56) 162–70.

17. A good survey is given by H. G. Strelle, *Wertung und Wirkung des Thukydideischen Geschichtswerkes in der griechisch-römischen Literatur (Eine literargeschichtliche Studie nebst einem Exkurs über Appian als Nachahmer des Thukydides)* (Diss. Munich, 1935), 27–41.

illustrious by the language, or the words by the thoughts."<sup>18</sup> Cicero also mentions Thucydides together with Pericles, Alcibiades, and Critias as a representative of the terse style of the Periclean age: "subtle, penetrating, concise, and with more thoughts than words."<sup>19</sup> Later, in the *Brutus*, these orators are characterized in much the same way, but with the criticism added that they were sometimes difficult to understand: "They were stately in the choice of words, rich in thought, from compression of matter brief, and for this reason sometimes rather obscure."<sup>20</sup> Cicero, while admitting that the style of Thucydides is admirable, emphasizes the distinction between rhetoric and history: "But Thucydides will be brought up; for some admire his eloquence. Right they are; but that has no bearing on the orator whom we are seeking. For it is one thing to set forth events in an historical narrative, and another to present arguments to clinch a case against an opponent, or to refute a charge. It is one thing to hold an auditor while telling a story, another while arousing him."<sup>21</sup> Cicero is, of course, appreciative of the eminence of Thucydides as a historian: "Thucydides was a herald of deeds, faithful and even grand."<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, he always prefers historical writings in the more rhetorical tradition of Isocrates and Aristotle.<sup>23</sup>

18. Cicero, *De orat.* 2.56: "Post illum [sc. Herodotum] Thucydides omnes dicendi artificio mea sententia facile vicit; qui ita creber est rerum frequentia, ut verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero consequatur, ita porro verbis est aptus et pressus, ut nescias utrum res oratione an verba sententiis inlustrentur" (ed. K. F. Kumaniecki [Leipzig, 1969]).

19. *Ibid.* 2.93: "Subtiles, acuti, breves, sententiisque magis quam verbis abundantes".

20. Cicero, *Brutus* 29: "Grandes erant verbis, crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves et ob eam ipsam causam interdum subobscuri" (ed. E. Malcovati [Leipzig, 1970]); English translation based on that of G. L. Hendrickson, *The Loeb Classical Library* (London, 1939; rpt. 1962).

21. Cicero, *Opt. gen.* 15: "Sed exorietur Thucydides; eius enim quidam eloquentiam admirantur. Id quidem recte; sed nihil ad eum oratorem quem quaerimus. Aliud est enim explicare res gestas narrando, aliud argumentando criminis dissolvendo; aliud narrantem tenere auditorem, aliud concitantem" (ed. A. Yon [Paris, 1964]); English translation based on that of H. M. Hubbell, *The Loeb Classical Library* (London, 1949 and later reprints).

22. Cicero, *Brutus* 287: "Thucydides enim rerum gestarum pronuntiator sincerus et grandis etiam fuit"; English translation by Hendrickson.

23. J. Mandel, "L'historiographie hellénistique et son influence sur Cicéron," *Euphrosyne* 10 (1980) 7–24.

In the *Brutus* and the *Orator* Cicero dissuades students of rhetoric from imitating his style: "Thucydides, on the other hand, gives us history, wars, and battles—fine and dignified, I grant, but nothing in him can be applied to the court or to public life. Those famous speeches contain so many dark and obscure sentences as to be scarcely intelligible";<sup>24</sup> and "As for the speeches which he introduced, I have always praised them; but imitate them?—I could not if I wished, nor should I wish to, I imagine, if I could."<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Cicero ridicules those who try to imitate Thucydides: "No one, however, succeeds in imitating his dignity of diction and thought, but when they have spoken a few choppy, disconnected phrases, which they could have formed well enough without a teacher, each one thinks himself a regular Thucydides."<sup>26</sup> Cicero also compares the style of Herodotus and Thucydides: "Herodotus flows along like a peaceful stream without any rough water; Thucydides moves with greater vigour, and in his description sounds, as it were, the trumpet of war."<sup>27</sup>

Cicero's remarks are often cited in Renaissance discussions of Thucydides, as are those of Quintilian (ca. 30/35–? A.D.), who compares our author to Herodotus: "Thucydides is compact in texture, terse and ever eager to press forward; Herodotus is pleasant, lucid and diffuse: the former excels in vigour, speeches and the expression of the stronger passions; the latter in charm, conversations and the delineation of the gentler emotions."<sup>28</sup>

24. Cicero, *Orat.* 30: "Thucydides autem res gestas et bella narrat et proelia, graviter sane et probe, sed nihil ab eo transferri potest ad forensem usum et publicum. ipsae illae contiones multas ita habent obscuras abditasque sententias vix ut intelligantur" (ed. R. Westman [Leipzig, 1980]); English translation by Hubbell.

25. Cicero, *Brutus* 287: "... orationes autem, quas interposuit, ... eas ego laudare soleo: imitari neque possim si velim, nec velim fortasse si possim"; English translation by Hendrickson.

26. Cicero, *Orat.* 32: "Huius tamen nemo neque verborum neque sententiarum gravitatem imitatur, sed cum mutila quaedam et hiantia locuti sunt, quae vel sine magistro facere potuerunt, germanos se putant esse Thucydidas"; English translation by Hubbell.

27. Cicero, *Orat.* 39: "Alter enim sine ullis salebris quasi sedatus amnis fluit, alter incitator fertur et de bellicis rebus canit etiam quodam modo bellicum"; English translation by Hubbell. See also Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.33 and 10.2.17 (*on imitation*): "praecisis conclusionibus obscuri Sallustium atque Thucydidem superant."

28. Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.73: "Densus et breuis et semper instans sibi Thucydides, dulcis et candidus et fusus

In Roman poetry one passage of Thucydides enjoyed considerable influence: the description of the plague at Athens (*Hist.* 2.47–52). Lucretius (probably 94–55 B.C.) illustrates the theme of the causes of pestilence by a description of the plague in Athens (*De rerum natura* 6.1138–1286). He follows, in general outline and order, the corresponding chapters in Thucydides' *Historiae* and often makes a fairly accurate translation of the Greek. Although he includes details from treatises of Hippocrates, the similarities between the relevant passages in the *De rerum natura* and the *Historiae* are so striking as to suggest the probability that Lucretius worked directly from Thucydides rather than from an intermediate account.<sup>29</sup> Lucretius, in turn, influenced later plague descriptions in Latin literature, e.g., the accounts given by Virgil (70–19 B.C.; *Georg.* 3.478ff.), Lucan (39–65 A.D.; *De bello civ.* 6.80ff.), and Silius Italicus (26–101 A.D.; *Punica* 14.580ff.) of widespread disease afflicting both men and animals. Ovid (43 B.C.–17 A.D.) describes a similar phenomenon, and in his account (*Met.* 7.523ff.) there also seem to be independent echoes of Thucydides.<sup>30</sup>

Among Roman prose writers the most famous imitator of Thucydides is Sallust (86–35 B.C.). The shared similarity was evident, in fact, to Sallust's contemporaries since Livy (59 B.C.–17 A.D. or 64 B.C.–12 A.D.) is reported to have said that one of the characteristics of Sallust's style was emulation of Thucydides.<sup>31</sup>

Like Thucydides, Sallust uses *antithesis, varia-*

*Herodotus:* ille concitatis, hic remissis affectibus melior, ille contionibus, hic sermonibus, ille vi, hic voluptate"; English translation by H. E. Butler.

29. H. Schroeder, *Lukrez und Thukydides* (Strassburg, 1898); C. Bailey *ad loc.* (Oxford, 1947), 1723; B. W. Sinclair, "Thucydides, the Prognostika and Lucretius. A Note on *De rerum natura* 6,1195," in *Classical Contributions. Studies in Honour of M. F. McGregor*, ed. G. S. Shrimpton and D. J. McCargar (Locust Valley, N. Y., 1981), 145–52; G. Brocchia, "De minimis curat grammaticus," *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Università di Macerata* 16 (1983) 483–504.

30. J. Grimm, *Die literarische Darstellung der Pest in der Antike und in der Romania* (Munich, 1965), 64. As a further indication of the popularity of *Hist.* 2.47–52, we may note that the Greek medical writer Galen probably wrote a commentary, seemingly no longer extant, on Thucydides' account of the plague; see Grimm, *ibid.*, 41. Galen apparently refers to the commentary in his *De difficultate respirationis* 2, pp. 850f. For later plague descriptions by Procopius and Johannes Cantacuzenos, see below.

31. Seneca the Elder, *Contr.* 9.1.13f.; Velleius Paterculus, 2.36.2: "aemulum Thucydidis Sallustium".

*tio*, and many periods which consist mainly of nominal members, e.g., *Catil.* 5.4: “reckless of mind, cunning, treacherous, capable of any form of pretence or concealment.”<sup>32</sup> On a larger scale, Sallust has used Thucydides as a model in the political speeches by military commanders, and his use of digression is also clearly Thucydidean. One example of this is the *excursus* on manners at the beginning of the *Catiline* which, like the *Archeology* in *Hist.* 1.2–20, serves to place the subject in a larger context. The language of Sallust, especially at *Catil.* 10, is strongly reminiscent of Thucydides’ chapters on the civil war in *Hist.* 3.82–83.<sup>33</sup> Yet another example is the pair of speeches delivered by Caesar and Cato in *Catil.* 51 and 52 which parallels the Cleon-Diodotus pair in the debate on the fate of the Mytileneans in *Hist.* 3.37–40, 42–48.<sup>34</sup>

Seneca the Elder (ca. 55 B.C.–37/41 A.D.) wrote of Livy: “He was unjust enough to Sallust to criticize him both for translating the epigram and for spoiling it in translation. He doesn’t prefer Thucydides out of any love for him; he is praising someone he does not fear, and thinks he may the more easily overcome Sallust if Thucydides overcomes him first.”<sup>35</sup> Sallust’s grecisms were often

32. Sallust, *Catil.* 5.4: “animus audax subdolus varius, quoius rei lubet simulator ac dissimulator . . .” (ed. A. Kurfess [Leipzig, 1972]); English translation based on that of J. C. Rolfe, The Loeb Classical Library (London, 1931, and later reprints).

33. K. Büchner, “Vera vocabula rerum amisimus. Thukydides und Sallust über den Verfall der Wertbegriffe,” in *Hommage à R. Schilling*, ed. H. Zehnacker and G. Hentz (Paris, 1983), 253–61.

34. H. Patzer, “Sallust und Thucydides (1941),” in *Sallust, Wege der Forschung* 94 (Darmstadt, 1970), 102–20; P. Perrochat, “Salluste et Thucydide,” *Revue des études latines* 25 (1947) 90–121; W. Aenarius, “Die griechischen Vorbilder des Sallust,” *Symbolae Osloenses* 33 (1957) 48–86; V. Pöschl, “Die Reden Caesars und Catos in Sallusts ‘Catilina,’” in *Sallust*, 368–97; R. Renéhan, “A Traditional Pattern of Imitation in Sallust and His Sources,” *Classical Philology* 71 (1976) 97–105; M. Reddé, “Rhétorique et histoire chez Thucydide et Salluste,” *Caesarodunum* 15 bis (1980) 11–17; T. F. Scanlon, *The Influence of Thucydides on Sallust* (Heidelberg, 1980); M. Pade, “Valla’s Thucydides—Theory and Practice in a Renaissance Translation,” *Classica et mediaevalia* 36 (1985) 289ff.; E. Keitel, “The Influence of Thucydides 7,61–71 on Sallust *Cat.* 20–21,” *Classical Journal* 82 (1987) 293–300.

35. Seneca, *Contr.* 9.1.13–14: “Tunc deinde rettulit aliquam Thucydidis sententiam . . . [actually ps. Demosthenes, *In epistulam Philippi* 13], deinde Sallustianam: res secundae mire sunt vitiis optentui [*Oratio Lepidi* 24]. . . . T. autem Livius tam iniquus Sallustio fuit, ut hanc ipsam sententiam et tamquam translatam et tamquam corrup-

ted, e.g., by Quintilian: “Sallust, on the other hand, borrows a number of idioms from the Greek, such as *vulgus amat fieri* (‘such things as the people love to see done’).”<sup>36</sup> “Vulgus amat fieri” is not found in Sallust’s extant works, but at *Iug.* 34.1 we have “ira amat fieri”; equivalent phrases in Thucydides are found in *Hist.* 2.65.4 and 3.81.5.<sup>37</sup> Quintilian’s strictures are shared by other writers. Because of his extreme brevity and adaptations from the Greek, Sallust was generally not recommended as a model of style: “The obscurity of Sallust should be avoided.”<sup>38</sup>

In other Roman writers Thucydidean influence plays a less prominent role. The character of Livy’s *Ab urbe condita libri* is generally far removed from that of the *Historiae*, but in specific scenes there seem to be echoes of the Greek historian: the two orations delivered by Fabius and Scipio in the senate in 205 B.C. resemble the three speeches by Nicias and Alcibiades on the Sicilian expedition, Nicias’ two orations framing that of Alcibiades. Fabius’ speech contains elements from both speeches of Nicias, and Livy has Fabius include, in almost exactly the same order, all of Nicias’ arguments from his first speech; Scipio’s reply embraces, also in the same order, most of Alcibiades’ answer.<sup>39</sup> The works of Tacitus (ca. 56–after 112/113 A.D.) display a stylistic resemblance to Thucydides’ *Historiae*, but whether or not this is due to direct influence has been debated. According to Syme, “Tacitus’s qualities conform to the critic’s estimate [i.e., Dion. Hal., *De*

tam dum transfertur obiceret Sallustio. Nec hoc amore Thucydidis facit, ut illum praeferat, sed laudat quem non timet et facilius putat posse a se Sallustium vinci, si ante a Thucydide vincitur” (ed. L. Håkanson [Leipzig, 1989]); English translation by M. Winterbottom, The Loeb Classical Library (London, 1974).

36. Quintilian, *Inst.* 9.3.17: “Ex graeco uero tralata vel Sallusti plurima, quale est: [uulgus] amat fieri”; English translation by Butler.

37. *Vulgus* has been emended variously; the manuscript reading is, however, supported by the Greek text of Thucydides.

38. Suetonius, *Gramm.* 10.7: “Vitetque maxime obscuritatem Sallustii” (ed. G. Brugnoli [Leipzig, 1960; rpt. 1972]); see also Seneca, *Ep.* 114.17f. and Quintilian, *Inst.* 4.2.45.

39. Compare Livy, A. U. C. 28.40.3–44.18 and Thucydides, *Hist.* 6.9–23 (B. S. Rodgers, “Great Expeditions. Livy on Thucydides,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 116 [1986] 335–52). For other Thucydidean scenes in Livy, see Streb, *Wertung und Wirkung*, 28 and 32–33.

*Thuc.* 24]—but do not derive from Thucydides himself.”<sup>40</sup> Recently, however, scholars have pointed out what seem to be echoes of Thucydides in Tacitus’ narrative.<sup>41</sup> Through Sallust, Tacitus adopted the Thucydidean use of *amat*.<sup>42</sup> In a letter to his teacher Fronto, Lucius Verus, Roman co-Emperor 161–169 A.D., suggests Thucydides as a possible model for the descriptions of his own exploits.<sup>43</sup>

Apart from the authors discussed above, Thucydides is used or mentioned by Cornelius Nepos (ca. 99–ca. 24 B.C.), Pompeius Trogus (first century B.C.), the anonymous author of the ps.-Virgilian *Catalepta* (probably roughly contemporary with Virgil), Petronius (first century A.D.), the Elder and the Younger Pliny (23/24–79 A.D. and ca. 61–ca. 112 A.D. respectively), Aulus Gellius (ca. 130–ca. 180 A.D.), Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. 330–395 A.D.), Symmachus (ca. 340–ca. 402 A.D.), Avienus and Servius (both fourth century A.D.), St. Jerome (ca. 348–420 A.D.), Macrobius (fourth or fifth century A.D.), and Priscian (early sixth century A.D.).

#### GREEK LITERATURE OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE EMPIRES

Thucydides was widely read by the Greek writers of the Roman Empire as well as in the Byzantine period, and he is frequently mentioned or quoted directly. Often, however, resemblances to the Thucydidean *Historiae* may be owing to tradition and only indirectly to Thucydides, since his ideas, style, and method had been an influential part of the Greek historiographic heritage for centuries.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (first century B.C.) discusses Thucydides particularly in three treatises: *Epistula ad Pompeium Geminum*, *De Thucydide*, and *Ad Ammaeum 2*.<sup>44</sup> In the first work he

40. R. Syme, *Tacitus*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1958; rpt. 1979), 358 n. 4.

41. J. Borzsák, “De Thucydide à Tacite,” in *Association G. Budé. Acte IXe Congrès* (Paris, 1975), 230–38.

42. Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.9.2; see the commentary of E. Koestermann (Heidelberg, 1965).

43. M. Cornelii Frontonis *Epistulae*, p. 108.27, ed. M. P. J. van den Hout (Leipzig, 1988); see also G. Zecchini, “Modelli e problemi teorici della storiografia nell’età degli Antonini,” *Critica storica* 20 (1983) 3–31.

44. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Thucydides*, trans. and comm. W. K. Pritchett (Berkeley, 1975), xxvi–xxxiii (introduction); see also Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The*

compares Thucydides to Herodotus, not altogether favorably, with respect to choice of subject, general disposition, dramatic qualities, and style. In the *De Thucydide* Dionysius criticizes, among other things, the chronological arrangement of the material according to summer and winter (on this and other points Thucydides was defended by an anonymous literary critic in a papyrus of the first or second century A.D.).<sup>45</sup> In the same treatise Dionysius gives a thorough analysis of the style of the *Historiae*, concluding that, while the narrative passages are for the most part admirable, the speeches are not suitable for imitation. In *Ad Ammaeum 2* Dionysius explains with examples the points mentioned in *De Thucydide* 24, compiling, in fact, a list of criticisms of diction.

There seem to be echoes of the *Historiae* in the writings of Philo of Alexandria (ca. 30 B.C.–45 A.D.) as well as in the works of the historian Flavius Josephus (born 37/38 A.D.), not least in the proem to the *De bello judaico*, and also in the *Antiquitates judaicae* where there are numerous reminiscences of the retreat from Syracuse, the siege of Plataea, and the speeches of Pericles.<sup>46</sup> Plutarch (ca. 45–after 120 A.D.) mentions Thucydides in the *Moralia*<sup>47</sup> and uses him as a source for biographies of Themistocles, Pericles, and Nicias.<sup>48</sup> Lucian (ca. 115–ca. 180 A.D.) recommends the use of Thucydides as a model but ridicules the many imitators whose “Histories” open like this: “Crepereius Calpurnianus the Pompeiopolitan wrote the history of the war in which the Parthians and the Romans fought against one another, beginning to write when they first took up arms” (*Quomodo historia con-*

*Critical Essays in Two Volumes*, trans. S. Usher, The Loeb Classical Library (London, 1974–85).

45. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 6 (London, 1908), no. 853.

46. H. S. J. Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man and the Historian* (New York, 1929), 110–14, with information on the “helpers” of Josephus and their role in adding the Thucydidean “touches”; J. Bernardi, “De quelques sémitismes de Flavius Josèphe,” *Revue des études grecques* 100 (1987) 18–29. For a different view, see T. Rajak, *Josephus. The Historian and His Society* (London, 1983).

47. E.g., *Moralia* 56B12, 71E1, 73A1, 79F5, and elsewhere.

48. P. A. Stadter, “Thucydidean Orators in Plutarch,” in *The Speeches in Thucydides. A Collection of Original Studies with a Bibliography*, ed. Stadter (Chapel Hill, 1973), 109–23; J. de Romilly, “Plutarch and Thucydides, or the Free Use of Quotations,” *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 22–34.

*scribenda sit* 15.21–23). The war here referred to is that of 162–165 A.D., when Lucius Verus drove back the Parthian Vologesus III; ironically, Verus himself discusses in a letter to Fronto whether Thucydides would be a useful model for a chronicler of the event (see p. 109 above). Cassius Dio (ca. 155–ca. 235 A.D.), author of the *Roman History*, uses Thucydidean expressions;<sup>49</sup> in two instances his descriptions of naval battles recall Thucydides' report of the battle in the Great Harbor of Syracuse.<sup>50</sup> A fragment of a certain Eusebius Historicus (end of the third century A.D.?) contains an account of a siege of Thessalonica, probably that mounted under Valerian and Galienus. This narrative owes more to Herodotus and Thucydides than to independent observation, but it cannot be classified as fiction.<sup>51</sup>

Byzantine literature was always characterized by strong classicizing tendencies: the insistence on pure Attic removed the literary language more and more from the vernacular but helped to maintain the position of the classics. The historical monograph remained a popular genre for which the works of Herodotus and Thucydides were obvious models. In recent years, the influence of Thucydides on two historians in particular, Procopius and John VI Cantacuzenus, has attracted much scholarly attention.

The *De bellis* of Procopius of Caesarea (between 490 and 507–ca. 555), shows Thucydidean influence in the proem, the organization of the material, the reckoning of war-years, and the many adapted phrases. For example, Procopius' account of the bubonic plague at Constantinople in 542 and 543 (*De bello Persico* 2.22–23) is clearly modelled on Thucydides' description in *Hist.* 2.47–52. Sometimes historical accuracy was sacrificed for the sake of imitation.<sup>52</sup> Despite his extensive use of the Greek author, Procopius does

49. Compare, e.g., Cassio Dio 49.5.1 and Thucydides 3.30.4.

50. Cassius Dio 49.9 and 75.13.4; Thucydides 7.70–71.

51. *FGrH* H 101, vol. 2, 480–82; see B. Baldwin, "Eusebius and the Siege of Thessalonica," *Rheinisches Museum* 124 (1981) 291–96.

52. B. Rubin, "Prokopios von Kaisareia," *PW* 23.1, 273–599; F. Bornmann, "Motivi tucididei in Procopio," *Atene e Roma*, N. S., 19 (1974) 138–50; E. Aristotelous, "Court parallèle entre Procope de Césarée et Thucydide," *Ziva antica* 30 (1980) 217–26; L. Cresci, "Ancora sulla mimesis in Procopio," *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 114 (1986) 449–57.

not seem to have been equally well read in all parts of Thucydides' work. Nearly half of the recorded reminiscences are from book 1 of the *Historiae*, with the remainder coming mostly from the first four books.<sup>53</sup> In the *Historia arcana*, where the shortcomings of Justinian's regime are exposed, Procopius abandons Thucydides as a model.<sup>54</sup> Agathias (ca. 536–582), the successor of Procopius, wrote an unfinished history in five books on the reign of Justinian, and his work, perhaps through the influence of Procopius, in some ways imitates the formal structure of the *Historiae*.

Much later, the *Historiae* of John VI Cantacuzenus (before 1292–1383) provide a good example of how passages from a classical model can be incorporated into an accurate description of Byzantine history in a Christian context. He used from Thucydides some of the speeches and the chapters on the plague at Athens and the civil war in Corcyra; but Cantacuzenus' account of the plague which struck Constantinople in the fall of 1347 (*Hist.* 4.8) is remarkably careful in its physical observations, and the verbal loans from Thucydides produced only one inaccuracy. In the same fashion the passage on the civil unrest at Adrianopolis in 1341 (*Hist.* 2.177–79) remains a politically acute analysis despite his insertion of a long quotation from the *Historiae* of Thucydides.<sup>55</sup>

The following writers are also influenced by Thucydides:<sup>56</sup> Priscus (fifth century), whose *Byzantine History* is extant only in fragments but seems at least to have covered the period 433–472; Evagrius (born ca. 536), whose ecclesiastical history deals with the years 431–593; Johannes Epiphanensis (end of the sixth century), who describes the events of 571/572–592/593, of which

53. A. M. Cameron, "Herodotus and Thucydides in Agathias," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57 (1964) 49; the same, "The Scepticism of Procopius," *Historia* 15 (1966), especially 470f.

54. J. A. S. Evans, "The *Secret History* and the Art of Procopius," *Prudentia* 7 (1975) 105–109.

55. H. Hunger, "Thukydides bei Johannes Kantakuzenos. Beobachtungen zur Mimesis," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 25 (1976) 181–93; T. S. Miller, "The Plague in John VI Cantacuzenus and Thucydides," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 17 (1976) 385–95.

56. The greater part of this list was compiled by O. Luschnat after K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1897) [Müller, *Handbuch* 9.1] and G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (Berlin, 1958).

only the proem and book 1 are extant; Theophylactus Simocatta, who in the first half of the seventh century composed *Historiae*, entirely in the classical tradition, of the reign of the Emperor Mauricius (582–602); Anna Comnena (1083–ca. 1153), whose *Alexiad* was completed after 1148. In the fifteenth century, the *Historiarum demonstraciones* of Laonicus Chalcondyles concerns the growth of Turkish power; and Michael Critobulus of Imbros, in his pro-Turkish history of the years 1451–67, wrote in heavily archaizing Greek, copying from Thucydides whole sentences, the use of speeches, and the chronological scheme.<sup>57</sup>

### THE LATIN WEST

During the Middle Ages Thucydides was known in Western Europe only through mentions by the writers of ancient Rome. At the beginning of the first day of the *Decameron* (probably between 1349 and 1351), Boccaccio describes the plague which struck Florence in 1348, the background for the entire work. It has sometimes been maintained that Boccaccio modelled his description on that of Thucydides, either directly or using Lucretius as an intermediary source,<sup>58</sup> and the similarities are indeed remarkable. Boccaccio, however, is not likely to have known either of the two: he was not sufficiently fluent in Greek to read Thucydides and, at the time, there was no direct knowledge in Italy of the text of Lucretius.<sup>59</sup>

The first translation we possess of any part of Thucydides is in the vernacular. It dates from the end of the fourteenth century and is preserved in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 10801. This codex contains an *anonymus* version in Aragonese of thirty-eight speeches from the *Historiae*; the translation was made at the request of Juan Fer-

57. Critobulus has sometimes been accused of mechanical imitation, but Hunger, "Thukydides bei Johannes Kantakuzenos," 182–83, qualifies this.

58. J. H. Potter, *Five Frames for Decameron* (Princeton, 1982), 68.

59. Grimm, *Die literarische Darstellung*, 111–26; V. Sklovski, *Lettura del Decameron. Dal romanzo d'avventura al romanzo di carattere* (Bologna, 1969), 195. J. E. Germano points to Paul the Deacon (ca. 720–799) as a model; see Germano, "La fonte letteraria della peste decameroniana: per una storia della critica delle fonti," *Italian Quarterly* 27.105 (1986) 21–30. All existing Italian manuscripts of the *De rerum natura* are later than 1417, when Poggio discovered a copy of this text during the Council of Constance; see L. D. Reynolds, ed., *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), 221.

nández de Heredia, Grand Master of Rhodes, who also commissioned Aragonese translations of other classical texts (e.g., the *Lives* of Plutarch). Heredia used these translations in various historical works, and we find Thucydides quoted in his *Crónica troyana*. It seems probable that the Aragonese translator of the Thucydidean speeches worked from an intermediary version in demotic Greek compiled for Heredia by the Greek scholar Dimitri Calodiqui between 1384 and 1396. The translation comprises *Hist.* 1.73–78, 79–86, 120–24, 140–46; 2.11, 13, 34–46, 60–64, 88–89; 3.8–14, 30, 36–40, 41–48, 53–59, 60–67; 4.10, 17–20, 59–64, 85–87, 92, 95, 126; 5.9; 6.9–15, 16–19, 20–23, 33–35, 36–41, 68, 72–73, 76–80, 81–87, 89–93; 7.61–64, 65–69, 77.<sup>60</sup>

Early in the fifteenth century when interest in Greek studies was gaining momentum in Italy, we have evidence that Thucydides himself was read. Pier Paolo Vergerio wrote in 1400/1401 to Demetrios Chrysoloras that he had read a lot of Plutarch as well as some Thucydides; although Vergerio was not sure that Thucydides was the more elegant writer of the two, he was certainly the weightier.<sup>61</sup> The Florentine Roberto de' Rossi translated the *Posterior Analytics* of Aristotle into Latin ca. 1406, and in the preface he writes of his intention to translate Thucydides.<sup>62</sup>

Later Leonardo Bruni used Thucydides as a model for his *History of the Florentine People*.<sup>63</sup> More specifically, Pericles' funeral oration served Bruni as a source for his own speech for Nanni degli Strozzi.<sup>64</sup> He had borrowed a copy of Thu-

60. A. Luttrell, "Greek Histories Translated and Compiled for Juan Fernández de Heredia, Master of Rhodes, 1377–1396," *Speculum* 35 (1960) 401–407; L. López Molina, *Tucídides romanceado en el siglo XIV*, Anejos del Boletín de la Real Academia Española 5 (Madrid, 1960) (edition of the translation on pp. 56–146); A. Alvarez, "Los helenismos en las traducciones aragonesas de Juan Fernández de Heredia," *Cuadernos de Filología. Colegio universitario de Ciudad Real* 5 (1985) 99–109.

61. L. Smith, ed., *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio* (Rome, 1934), no. 85: "Itaque multa ex Plutarcho, quaedam etiam ex Thucydide, qui nescio an ornatior, sed certe gravior historiae auctor michi visus est."

62. G. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum*, vol. 4 (Venice, 1871), 32: "... quin etiam Thucydidem, veritate apud Graecos nobilissimum ... aggrediemur;" A. Manetti, "Roberto de' Rossi," *Rinascimento* 2 (1951) 33–55 (52ff. for the preface).

63. E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, 1981), 3.

64. Cochrane, *ibid.* 19; E. B. Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London, 1983), 26; and J. Tolbert

cydides from Pietro Miani in 1407 and later had to apologize for not having returned it.<sup>65</sup> From a letter of Bruni to Niccolò Niccoli we can see that the latter had tried to persuade Bruni to translate Thucydides. This project, however, did not appeal to Bruni who says that he did not have the time for such an undertaking and, even if he had, he would prefer to translate other kinds of works (e.g., philosophical texts).<sup>66</sup> In 1443, in connection with his *De bello Italico adversus Gothos*, Bruni writes to Francesco Barbaro about Procopius, whom he describes as “clumsy and an enemy of eloquence, especially in the speeches, although he wants to imitate Thucydides. But he is as far removed from his grandeur as Thersites differs from Achilles in beauty and excellence.”<sup>67</sup>

In 1435 Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini travelled to England. He recalls in a letter written at Vienna in 1451 and addressed to Johann Hinderbach how, sixteen years previously in the sacristy of St.

Roberts, “Florentine Perceptions of Athenian Democracy,” *Mediaevalia et humanistica*, N. S., 15 (1987) 27.

65. H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino. Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften mit einer Chronologie seiner Werke und Briefe* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1928), 200–201: “Thucydides tuus apud me servatur, quem ideo non remitto nunc per istos legatos, quia nondum satis illum legi”; see also F. P. Luiso, *Studi su l'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni*, ed. L. Gualdo Rosa, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, Studi storici 122–124 (Rome, 1980), 38 (book 2, *Ep.* 16 of 1407 to Pietro Emiliani). For a detailed account of Bruni's debt to Thucydides in his *Oratio in funere Johannis Strozae*, see *Leonardo Brunis Rede auf Nanni Strozzi*, ed. S. Daub, with introduction and commentary, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 84 (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1996).

66. “Placet quod de libro [sc. Thucydidis] scribis, sed multo magis placet quod animum amici talem repperi, qualem ipse fore persuaseram. Quod vero ad conversionem eiusdem libri cohortaris, obsecro te, mi Nicolae: quae tandem ista tua cupiditas est, seu potius inexplebilis vorago, ut neque occupationum neque laborum meorum ullam habeas rationem? Non tibi venit in mentem, quam multis vigiliis opus sit ad tantum opus conficiendum? Quae si iam etiam ab occupationibus rerum curialium mihi vacuae forent, tamen mallem equidem vel in philosophia vel in alia quapiam facultate, quae me facere meliorem posset, quam in transferendis Graecorum historiis meum studium et diligentiam ponere” (Luiso, ibid., 42 [book 2, *Ep.* 18 of 1407 to Niccolò Niccoli]; see also Klee, *Beiträge*, 57–58).

67. C. Griggio, “Due lettere inedite del Bruni,” *Rinascimento*, 2d Ser., 26 (1986) 27–50: “. . . ineptus et eloquentiae hostis, ut appareat maxime in contionibus suis, quamquam Thucydidem imitari vult. Sed tantum abest ab illius maiestate quantum Thersites forma atque virtute distat ab Achille” (p. 50).

Paul's Church in London, he had seen a manuscript containing an ancient historical work. This codex was dated and written in the ninth century. The text, in Latin, was attributed to Thucydides but the translator was not named; he had, however, been quite skillful since he had managed to render Thucydides in such a way that the historian appeared no less noble in Latin than he was in Greek. Nonetheless, from Aeneas Silvius' subsequent summary of the work it is clear that what he saw was not a translation of Thucydides. This text, which linked heralds with ancient heroes, has not yet (*ut vid.*) been identified.<sup>68</sup>

Poggio, who was in Venice in 1454, planned to write the history of that city, intending to imitate Xenophon and Thucydides.<sup>69</sup> This project never materialized, but Bernardo Giustinian did write a history of Venice in which he imitated Thucydides.<sup>70</sup> The influence of Thucydides on Niccolò Machiavelli has been discussed, and earlier critics pointed to the fact that there are very few actual references in his works.<sup>71</sup> But, especially in recent years, scholars have maintained that Machiavelli's writings exhibit an overall indebtedness to Thucydides' views on history and many direct borrowings.<sup>72</sup>

Another measure of the popularity of Thucydides is the relatively large number of Greek manuscripts of the *Historiae* which seem to have been circulated in Italy during the fifteenth century. A provisional list published some years ago

68. R. Wolkan, ed., *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, *Fontes rerum austriacarum*, 2. Abteilung, *Diplomataria et acta* 68, vol. 3.1 (Vienna, 1918), 11 (*Ep.* 5): “Querere multi solent, unde sit heraldorum nomen exortum . . . apud Angliam, que olim Britannia dicebatur, in sacrario nobilis edis sancti Pauli Lundoniensis vetus historia in manus venit, ante annos sexcentos, ut signatum erat, conscripta. . . . autor historie Thucidides Grecus annotatus erat, quem fama celebrem, clarum novimus; translatoris nomen nullum inveni. constat tamen peritum fuisse, qui magnum illum et facundissimum autorem Latine lingue non minorem quam Grecus est, reddidit. non teneo verba historie, ut erant contexta, sententie memini; in ea ad hunc fere tenorem scriptum erat: heraldi sunt, qui apud majores nostros heroes vocitabantur, quos maiores hominibus, diis minores fuisse tradunt.”

69. Cochrane, *Historians*, 29.

70. Cochrane, ibid., 80; M. L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton, 1986), 381ff. (profiles).

71. J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1908), 89.

72. Klee, *Beiträge*, 68–72 and 76–78.

traces twenty-one codices, while comparable figures for Herodotus and Polybius are smaller.<sup>73</sup>

Only five Latin translations of the entire *Historiae* appeared in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and two of these are revisions of an existing translation. There are, however, ten Latin translations of selected passages from Thucydides' work, mainly of the forty-five major speeches and the description of the plague. The largest collection of these selections was published by Henricus Stephanus in 1570; this edition contains *argumenta*, the Greek text, and translations of all forty-five speeches, of which Stephanus had himself translated thirty (see I.7 below). Another large collection is Caspar Peucer's 1562 edition of Philippus Melanchthon's translations of thirty-four speeches from the *Historiae* (I.5). On a much smaller scale, three translations of the beginning of the work, partly made as exercises, are conserved in manuscript form (I.3, 13, 17).

There are four Latin commentaries on the entire text of the *Historiae*, three of them printed with a translation by the same humanist (I.10, 14, 15; I.e, i, j), and one in the form of *argumenta* to all the speeches (I.g). Another complete commentary was planned, but eventually it covered only books 1 and 2 (I.h). Of the partial translations, five were accompanied by commentaries (I.4, 8, 11, 12, 16; I.b, d, f, g, k).

Thucydides was first translated into Latin in 1452 by Laurentius Valla (I.1). Valla's work was printed ca. 1483, and it remained the standard Latin translation until the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1498 Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus (I.2) made a summary of the *Historiae* and translated some of the speeches from books 1, 3, 5–8 in his universal history, the *Enneades sive Rhapsodia historiarum*. The next translation

73. Fryde, *Humanism*, 24f. For the Greek Thucydides which was given to Johannes Arretinus in 1435, now Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, E III 4, see A. Vernet, "Les manuscrits grecs de Jean de Raguse (+ 1443)," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 61 (1961) 95, no. 44, and M. Regoliosi, "Nuove ricerche intorno a Giovanni Tortelli," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 12 (1969) 139 n. 4. The codex has an ex libris on fol. 274v: "Liber Johannis Arretini datus sibi dono a magistro suo papa Johanne Eugenico in Constantinopoli die IIIa mensis Julii anno domini MCCCCXXXV secundo scilicet mense quo studiorum causa ad eam civitatem applicui una cum fidelissimo socio Thomasio compatriota et fratre meo Laurentio"; see Kristeller, *Iter* 5.64b.

known to be extant is that of Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus (I.3) made ca. 1503, but his version of *Hist. 1.1–69* is an exercise, like that of Franciscus Patiaequeus (I.13, with a *terminus ante quem* of 1574) and that of Petrus de Valencia (I.17, s. XVI).

The first known Latin commentaries on any part of Thucydides' *Historiae* are found in two sixteenth-century manuscripts, namely, Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, FV 24 (I.a) and Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. philol. 166 (I.b). The Basel codex has an anonymous commentary on *Hist. 1–4.98.8*, while the Hamburg manuscript contains notes from an introductory lecture delivered 31 October 1553 by Philippus Melanchthon to a course on Thucydides, and also a Latin paraphrase and commentary covering *Hist. 1–3*. It is not quite clear that this commentary, dated 1542–55, was actually composed by Melanchthon, but we may attribute it to his scholarly circle with some certainty.

All through the sixteenth century Thucydides had many enthusiastic readers but, particularly after the middle of the century, interest tended to focus on the speeches. This special concern is seen in the many Latin translations and commentaries involving the speeches alone; in sharp contrast there appear to be only two editions of just the Greek text of the speeches unaccompanied by a translation, namely, Melchior Lotther the Younger's edition (Wittenberg, 1520) made for Melanchthon of the speech of Diodotus (*Hist. 3.42–48*) and Christian Wechel's edition (Paris, 1531) of the speeches from book 1.

During Melanchthon's lifetime only his Latin version of the civil war in Corcyra was printed; it was included in the editions of his *Dialecticae praeceptiones* (first published at Leipzig in 1540), and once published separately, together with the Greek text (Wittenberg, 1550). Melanchthon had translated into Latin the speeches for his students' use, and this rendering was published by Caspar Peucer at Wittenberg in 1562. Peucer's edition became the first of a series. In 1564 Petrus Victorius' posthumous edition of the translation by Johannes Casa (I.6) appeared at Florence. Presumably in preparation for his own diplomatic duties as papal nuncio in Venice, Casa had translated ca. 1545–46 most of the speeches of books 1–3 as well as the description of the plague in book 2. In 1565 Joachim Camerarius, who had edited the Greek text of Thucydides in 1540, sent his

translation (I.8) of the proem, two speeches, and the description of the plague together with commentaries (I.d) on the same texts to Henricus Stephanus. The translation by Gulielmus Canterus (I.9) of Pericles' funeral oration was published with his translations of Aristides in 1566 at Basel, and the very full commentary (I.11) of Antonius Zenus on one of the speeches of Pericles in *Hist.* 1 appeared (with a Latin translation) at Venice in 1569.

Henricus Stephanus' copious edition of speeches assembled from a large number of Greek and Latin authors was published in 1570. Here practically all the speeches from the *Historiae* were printed; they were accompanied by the *argumenta* of Jobus Veratius (I.g) and translations by Laurentius Valla (I.1), Veratius (I.12), and Stephanus himself (I.7). Earlier (1564) Stephanus had printed his own edition of the entire text with a revised version of Valla's translation. In 1588 he printed a new edition both of this and of his commentary to *Hist.* 1 and 2 in 1588, and in 1589 a new version of Valla's translation.

Vitus Winsemius' translation (I.10) and commentary (I.e) of the whole work was first issued in 1569 at Wittenberg, but we know from the preface to his 1561 Wittenberg edition of the Greek text of *Hist.* 1–4 that he was already at work on the translation. Winsemius was a professor at Wittenberg and Jena, and his edition was primarily intended for the use of students. In 1594 Aemilius Portus published at Frankfurt both the commentary of his father Franciscus Portus (I.i) and Valla's translation in the version of Stephanus. This translation had been so thoroughly corrected by the elder Portus that it merits separate treatment in I.14 below as a new version. Portius' revision of Valla's translation was also printed by itself twice in 1594.

Two more commentaries and another translation were published before the close of the sixteenth century. Georgius Acacius Enenckelius' translation (I.15) and commentary (I.j), made while he was still a student at Tübingen, were first issued in 1596 at Tübingen. The *Praelectiones* by Fabius Paulinus on the plague in Athens (I.k) were given in 1598 and published at Venice in 1603. David Chytraeus' *Chronologia historiae Herodoti et Thucydidis* and his *accessus* to books 1–6 and 8 (I.c) first appeared in 1562 at Rostock. This edition enjoyed numerous reprints, and the part of the chronology pertaining to the Thucy-

didean work was often printed in editions of Thucydides.

There are also other expressions of interest in Thucydides besides translations and commentaries, some of which are given here.

For example, a copy of Christian Wechel's edition of *Hist.* 1 and 2 (Paris, 1548–49, printed by Michel de Vascosan), now Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, 757 C 26, contains marginal glosses in the hand of Adrianus Turnebus who frequently refers to Valla's translation. The title page carries the handwritten date "16 October 1548", and at the end of book 2 is written "23 May 1550". Another copy (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rés. J. 1721) of the same edition, also with book 3, contains notes taken down at Turnebus' lectures; these cover the period 16 October 1548–23 January 1550. A *Praefatio in Thucydidem*, probably written for these lectures, is printed in Turnebus' *Opera*.<sup>74</sup> Neither Turnebus' own notes nor those taken down at his lectures constitute a proper commentary: mostly they contain *notabilia* or paraphrases, and large parts of the text are not annotated at all.

Martinus Crusius published a number of his academic orations, among them an inaugural lecture on Thucydides of 1566.<sup>75</sup> Further testimony to his teaching of Thucydides is found in Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. Mc 44, s. XVI (a. 1579–81), with some notes on *Hist.* 5 taken down by a pupil from a later series of his lectures.<sup>76</sup> Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, A lambda II 20, s. XVI (a. 1561) contains a revised text of Valla's translation. This version was prepared for publication by Johannes Oporinus, who also printed Crusius' academic orations, and it appears from the title page that the translation was collated with Crusius' "exemplar" (Greek or Latin?) and should have been followed by "Martini Crusii in eundem hunc auctorem Aposemeiosis" (as yet unlocated).

We have, furthermore, an anonymous Thucydidean word list found in Copenhagen, Universitetsbiblioteket, Cod. add. 136, s. XVI (a. 1558),

74. Adrianus Turnebus, *Opera*, vol. 3 (Strasbourg, 1550), 3.32–36 (sig. c4v–c6v). On Turnebus as a teacher, see J. Hutton, "The Classics in Sixteenth Century France," *Classical Weekly* 43 (1950) 131–38.

75. Martinus Crusius, "Orationum liber unus," in his *Poematum graecorum libri duo* (Basel, 1567), 98–115 (sig. NN1v–PP2r).

76. Kristeller, *Iter* 6.543b.

fols. 1–3.<sup>77</sup> A printed book with manuscript notes by Angelus Vergetius is reported to be in Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit.<sup>78</sup> The Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan has three sixteenth-century manuscripts with anonymous glosses and notes on Thucydides: D 465 inf. contains “Observationes latinae passim cum versione in Thucydidis locos nonnullos”;<sup>79</sup> J 231 inf. preserves a note on the *Historiae* by Filippo Pigafetta, a sixteenth-century Neapolitan who translated a speech of Demosthenes into Italian;<sup>80</sup> and R 118 sup. has notes analyzing the reasons for Athenian preeminence at sea.<sup>81</sup>

The Greek text was first printed in 1502 at Venice by Aldus Manutius. A year later he issued a separate edition of the Greek scholia. Other sixteenth-century Greek editions of the *Historiae* are: 1526 (“1506” in the edition), Florence (apud Bernardum Iuntam), with scholia; 1531, Paris (excudebat Christianus Wechelus), speeches from *Hist. 1*; 1535, Paris (ex officina C. Wecheli), *Hist. 1–2*; 1540, Basil (ex officina Heruagiana), text by Joachim Camerarius, with scholia; Paris (apud Vascosanum), 1548, *Hist. 1* and 1549, *Hist. 2–3* (the first two books are a reprint of Wechelus’ edition of 1535); 1561, Wittenberg (excudebat Laurentius Schvenck), books 1–4, text by Vitus Winsemius; 1561, Strasbourg (apud Iosiam Richelium), “Bellum Siculum Thucydidis. Pro schola Argentoratensi, cum praefatione Ernesti Regii” (VD T-1130); 1564, [Geneva] (Henricus Stephanus), see Composite Editions; 1588, [Geneva] (Henricus Stephanus), see Composite Editions; 1594 2°, Frankfurt (apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudiu Marnium et Ioan. Aubrium), text by Stephanus and Franciscus Portus (see Composite Editions).

The first complete vernacular translation was Claude de Seyssel’s French rendering (1527, Paris)

77. A. Krarup, *Katalog over Universitetsbibliotekets Håndskrifter*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen, 1935), 174. The manuscripts belonging to the Universitetsbibliotek are now deposited in Det kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen.

78. Kristeller, *Iter* 4.378b (cited without shelf mark). This volume could not be located in 1989.

79. E. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1906), 1057–58, no. 975, glosses to: fol. 53r–v, the funeral oration (*Hist. 2.35.1–46.2*) and the description of the pestilence (*Hist. 2.47.3–51.3*); fols. 54–60, a speech of Pericles (*Hist. 2.60.1–62.1, 1.95.6–103.1*, and 1.132.3–139.3).

80. Kristeller, *Iter* 6.37b. On Pigafetta, see Cosenza 4.2791–92.

81. Kristeller, *Iter* 1.311b.

of the Latin version of Laurentius Valla.<sup>82</sup> Seyssel also included his own translation of Valla’s preface to Nicholas V. This edition is dedicated to Jacques Colin.<sup>83</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 17211–12, s. XVI in., contains the first four books of Seyssel’s translation preceded by the translator’s letter of dedication to Louis XII and Valla’s preface in French.<sup>84</sup> The death of Louis XII in 1515 is necessarily the *terminus ante quem* for this part of Seyssel’s work. His translation was reprinted several times.<sup>85</sup> In 1532 Hieronymus Boner completed a German translation, and this was published in 1533 at Augsburg. According to the dedicatory letter, Boner did not translate from the Greek text but used instead a Latin version; he does not identify the author of this translation but, given the date at which Boner was working, the Latin translator must have been Laurentius Valla. Boner’s German translation is also extant in Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. philol. 316 fol.<sup>86</sup>

Other vernacular translations soon followed: 1545, Venice (appresso V. Vaugris), Italian, by Francesco di Soldo Strozzi;<sup>87</sup> 1550, London, English, by Thomas Nicolls (from Seyssel’s French version); 1563, Salamanca (J. de Canoua), Spanish, by Diego Gracián;<sup>88</sup> 1572, Paris, French, some

82. A. C. Dionisotti, “Claude de Seyssel,” in *Ancient History and the Antiquarian: Essays in Memory of Arnaldo Momigliano*, ed. M. H. Crawford and C. R. Ligota (London, 1995), 73–89; R. Boone, “Claude de Seyssel’s Translations of Ancient Historians,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61.4 (2000) 561–75 at 570–74.

83. Peter Burke reports that Badius printed 1225 copies of the 1527 edition of Seyssel’s translation. The number is remarkable since since at this time printings rarely exceeded 400 or 500 copies; see P. Burke, “A Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450–1700,” *History and Theory* 5 (1966) 135–52.

84. [Inc.]: (fol. 1r) Le proheme de Leonard Aretin (*sic*) en la translation de l’histoire de Thucydide . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 4v) Cy finit le proheme de Laurens Valle. See Kristeller, *Iter* 3.298b–299a.

85. [1530?], Paris: F. Regnault; 1534, Lyons: F. Juste; 1545, Paris: P. Gaultier; 1555, Paris: J. Ruelle; 1555, Paris: N. Chrestien; 1555, Paris: V. Sertenas; 1555, Paris: C. L’Angelier; 1555, Paris: J. Caveiller; 1559, Paris: M. de Vascosan.

86. *Catalogus manuscriptorum codicum Bibliothecae Uffenbachianae* (Frankfurt, 1747), 215. The manuscript, which was reported missing by Kristeller, *Iter* 3.556a, has now been returned to Hamburg.

87. Other editions: [1545], in Venetia: appresso B. de Constantini; 1550, in Venetia; 1563, Vinegia: Gabriel Gioliti de’Ferrari; 1735, Verona.

88. Other editions: 1564, Salamanca; 1882 (*sic*), Madrid: Librería Militar; 1889, Madrid: Vidua de Hernando (Biblioteca clásica).

speeches by François de Belleforest;<sup>89</sup> 1600, Cologny (J. Chouet), French, by Louys Jausaud d'Uzez; and another Spanish translation by Juan de Castro Salinas was never printed.<sup>90</sup>

Anonymous Italian versions of the *Historiae* and the *Vita Marcellini* are preserved in Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Sess. 442 (1275), s. XVI.<sup>91</sup> Also anonymous are the Italian versions of the speeches of the Corcyreans (*Hist.* 1.32ff.) and the Corinthians (*Hist.* 1.68 ff) in Suzzara, Biblioteca Capilupi, 40, s. XVI<sup>92</sup> and the funeral oration of Pericles (*Hist.* 2.35–46) in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II–383, s. XVI, fols. 41r–v and 45r–v (the intervening folios, written in the same hand, contain Italian excerpts from Thucydides).<sup>93</sup>

#### AFTER 1600

Stephanus' Greek text and the Stephanus-Portus revision of Valla's Latin translation were the basis of the important edition of John Hudson (Oxford, 1696). This edition also has Georgius Acacius Enenckelius' *Historiae epitome*, Jobus Veratius' *Argumenta concionum*, Henricus Stephanus' *Proparasceue*, and commentaries by various scholars, notably by Stephanus. Josef Wasse and Karl Andreas Duker revised Hudson's edition and Valla's translation once more in 1731, and the text of the 1731 edition was the basis of the following editions: 1759, Glasgow; 1785, Vienna; 1788 and 1789, Zweibrücken; 1790–1804, Leipzig; 1804, Edinburgh; and 1809, 1815 and 1821, Oxford.

In the first half of the nineteenth century Ernst Friedrich Poppe completed important editions of Thucydides. His *editio maior* comprised eleven volumes (Leipzig, 1821–40); his smaller edition, four (Leipzig, 1843–48). Other important editions of the nineteenth century are those of Immanuel Bekker, who edited Thucydides with scholia on the basis of a careful manuscript colla-

89. 2d ed.: 1588, Paris.

90. On Juan de Castro Salinas see Jöcher 1.1764. R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, 1954; rpt. 1963 and 1973), 525 gives his name as "Castro de Salinas".

91. Kristeller, *Iter* 2.119a.

92. Ibid. 2.173b.

93. Mazzatinti 8.11. The shelf mark was kindly verified by dott. Piero Scapecchi.

tion (Berlin, 1821), and Ludwig Dindorf (Leipzig, 1824). Friedrich Haase published a text in the Didot series (Paris, 1840) and also wrote the *Lubrations thucydideae* (Berlin, 1841 and Bratislava, 1857), studies on points of textual criticism in Thucydides. Johannes Classen's edition, with German notes, was first published 1862–78 at Berlin. The first edition of Henry Stuart Jones's text for the Oxford Classical Text series appeared in 1900–1901 and Karl Hude's text for the Teubner editions in 1898–1901 (Leipzig). An earlier edition of Hude's text was published at Copenhagen in 1890. For other editions and recent commentaries, see also Bibliography II: Modern Editions and Commentaries.

Thomas Hobbes's famous English translation was first printed in 1629 at London. This version, together with Richard Crawley's translation of 1874 (London), was mentioned by Rex Warner as his prime model for the Penguin translation (first published in 1954). William Smith's translation (London, 1753) was reprinted several times. Samuel Thomas Bloomfield made a good annotated translation in 1829 (London), and other nineteenth-century English translations include those of Henry Dale (London, 1848), Henry Musgrave Wilkins (London, 1870), and Benjamin Jowett (Oxford, 1881). The translation in The Loeb Classical Library series is the work of Charles Forster Smith (London, 1920–23, with several reprints). There are two recent English translations by Walter Blanco (New York, 1998) and Steven Lattimore (Indianapolis, 1998).

Johann David Heilmann's German translation appeared at Lemgo in 1760. Later translations were made by Max Jacobi (Hamburg, 1804–1808), H. W. F. Klein (Munich, 1828), H. Müller (Prenzlau, 1829–30), Friedrich Heinrich Kämpf (Neuruppin, 1842), Johann Friedrich Christian Campe (Stuttgart, 1856–57), Adolf Wahrmund (Stuttgart, 1859–64), and Christian Nathanael Osiander (Stuttgart, 1827–79). In the last century Georg Peter Landmann is the author of the German translation in the *Artemis* series (Zurich, 1960).

In France the next vernacular translation after that of Seyssel was completed by Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt in 1662 (Paris). Pierre-Charles Lévesque first published his French translation in 1795 (Paris), and it was used by Jean-Baptiste Gail for his translation of 1808 (Paris). Ambroise Firmin-Didot's translation of *Hist.* 1–4 appeared

in 1833 (Paris); those of Charles Zévort in 1852 (Paris), Élie-Ami Bétant in 1863 (Paris), and Jean-François Stiévenart in 1885 (Dijon). Twentieth-century translators include Jean Voilquin (Paris, 1936–50) and Denis Roussel (Paris, 1966).

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## COMPOSITE EDITIONS

1564, [Geneva]: Henricus Stephanus. (Gr.-Lat.) Laurentius Valla’s translation edited by Henricus Stephanus and Stephanus’ own translation (the latter printed as marginal notes); with Marcellinus’ *Vita Thucydidis*, an anonymous *Vita*, and the judgment of various critics on the character and style of Thucydides, all in Greek. Adams T-666; NUC. BL; BNF; (DFo; CU; KyO; CLU; CtY).

1569, Witebergae (Wittenberg): Johannes Crato excudebat. Vitus Winsemius’ translation of and commentary on the *Historiae*. For the relevant chapters, Winsemius prints Philippus Melanchthon’s translations of the encomium of Themistocles (*Hist.* 1.138.3), the civil war in Corcyra (*Hist.* 3.82.2–85.3), and thirty-four speeches (from *Hist.* 1–4, 6, 7). Adams T-675; VD T-1122. BL; BNF.

1570, [Geneva]: Henricus Stephanus. (Gr.-Lat.) *Conciones sive orationes ex graecis latinisque historicis excerpta*, containing Thucydidean orations translated by Laurentius Valla, Jobus Veratius, and Henricus Stephanus; Veratius’ *argumenta contionum*; *argumenta*, text, and Latin translations of speeches in Herodotus (by Laurentius Valla), Xenophon (by Franciscus Portus), Polybius (by Jobus Veratius), and Arrian’s *Anabasis* (by Franciscus Portus); and speeches from the works of Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Curtius, the *Historia Augusta*, and Ammianus Marcellinus. Adams C-2486; NUC. BL; BNF; (IU; NjN; PBm; DLC; NNC; Mhu; InU; MoSCS).

1580, Witebergae (Wittenberg): [s. e.]. Contents the same as in the edition of Wittenberg, 1569, except that the text was edited by Winsemius’ son, likewise named Vitus Winsemius (1521–1608), who also taught at Wittenberg;

“Thucydidis Atheniensis Historiae de bello Peloponnesiaco libri octo . . . nunc denuo ad exemplum ab ipso authore ante obitum diligentissime recognitum recusi et editi.” VD T-1123; NUC. BL; BNF; (CU-B; ANC; NNC; OCU).

1588, [Geneva]: Henricus Stephanus. (Gr.-Lat.) Latin translations as in the edition of [Geneva,] 1564; with Marcellinus’ *Vita Thucydidis* translated into Latin by Isaac Casaubonus; Jobus Veratius’ *argumenta contionum*; David Chytraeus’ *Chronologia* and his short *argumenta librorum*; Stephanus’ annotations of the scholia and his general *proparasceue* to the reading of Greek scholia; Stephanus’ commentary on *Hist.* 1–2. Adams T-667; NUC. BNF; (OKentU; DFo; NjP; MnU; PHC; NNC).

1589, Francofurdi [sic] (Frankfurt): apud hered. Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium, et Ioann. Aubrium. Laurentius Valla’s translation edited by Henricus Stephanus; with Marcellinus’ *Vita Thucydidis* translated into Latin by Isaac Casaubonus; Jobus Veratius’ *argumenta contionum*; David Chytraeus’ *Chronologia* and the short *argumenta librorum*. Adams T-675; VD T-1124; NUC. BL; BNF; (ICU; FUIEN; CU; PPL; CtY; MH).

1594 2°, Francofurti (Frankfurt): apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium et Ioan. Aubrium. (Gr.-Lat.) Laurentius Valla’s translation edited by Henricus Stephanus and further corrected by Aemilius Portus in accord with the notes of his late father Franciscus Portus; with Marcellinus’ *Vita Thucydidis* translated into Latin by Isaac Casaubonus and revised by Aemilius Portus; Franciscus Portus’ commentary on the *Historiae*; David Chytraeus’ *Chronologia* and his short *argumenta librorum*; Jobus Veratius’ *argumenta contionum*. Aemilius Portus’ letter of dedication is dated 1 January 1594. Adams T-668; VD T-1125; NUC. BL; BNF; (NCU; PPL; CtY).

1696, Oxoniae (Oxford): e Theatro Sheldoniano. (Gr.-Lat.) Edited by John Hudson. Laurentius Valla’s translation as in the edition of Frankfurt, 1594 2°, further revised by Hudson; Georgius Acacius Enenckelius’ *Historiae epitome*; Jobus Veratius’ *argumenta contionum*; Henricus Stephanus’ general *proparasceue* to the reading of Greek scholia. BL; BNF.

## I. *HISTORIAE*

### TRANSLATIONS

#### 1. Laurentius Valla

Laurentius Valla's translation of Thucydides was commissioned by the humanist Pope Nicholas V (1447–55), to whom it is dedicated. This translation formed part of the pope's impressive project to have all Greek literature translated into Latin. Valla was ready to begin work on the translation in the spring of 1448, as he explains in a letter to Niccolò Perotti: "et mihi id facere non vacat festinanti ad absolutionem *Raudensianarum*, quas recognoscendas repurgandasque habeo ut ad Thucydidem vertendum accingar" (*Ep.* 43). By October he had translated book 1 and part of book 2 (*Ep.* 44, 28 October [1448]; see also G. B. Alberti, *Tucidide*, 225 n. 1.), and the translation was finished only in 1452, according to the autograph postscript of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1801, where Valla claims to have revised the copy and sanctions it as the *archetypus* of his translation (see below). Valla had by that time completed several translations from the Greek: thirty-three *Fabulae* of Aesop (1438); the first four chapters of the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon (1438); Homer, *Iliad* 1–16 (1439–43); Demosthenes, *Pro Ctesiphonte* (1443). Later he was to translate Herodotus.

From references in his earlier works (e.g., *Repastinatio dialectice*, vol. 1, 1.18.10; *Gesta Ferdinandi*, proemium 1; *Antidotum in Facium* 2.1.31, 3.2.20, and 3.5.12), we know that Valla had been acquainted with Thucydides for many years. However, as he confessed in the letter to Giovanni Tortelli (*Ep.* 44) and in the dedication to Nicholas V (see subheading *a* below), the difficulties of Thucydides' text, particularly the orations, caused him grave problems. Of his friends in Rome, Valla would have liked especially to consult the Greek-born Cardinal Bessarion who, unfortunately, was away in Nettuno, and Tortelli himself, who was a well-known Greek scholar: "Nunc me Thucydides exercet, duntaxat in orationibus, nec ullius praesidio iuvor. Dominus Nicenus [sc. Cardinal Bessarion] abest, Rinucium [sc. Rinuccius Aretinus] experiri non audeo, forsitan aut non satisfacturum mihi aut cum difficultatibus sententiарum non collectaturum; Trapezuntium [sc. Georgius Trapezuntius] et morosum et mihi nescio quam aequum consulere nolo. Ceteri nulli sunt. Constitui tamen adire dominum Nicenum,

qui apud Laurentum agit, ut nunc vocant Neptuniam. Primum tamen librum transtuli et secundi partem, in quo si adesses me plurimum iuvares" (*Ep.* 44).

In the dedication Valla compares Pope Nicholas V to a Roman emperor who, while he himself remained in Rome, bade his generals conquer foreign lands and add them to the Empire, i.e., translate their literature into Latin. (In the preface to the *Elegantiae* Valla compares the Roman Empire to the Latin language in a similar way). Valla's province, Thucydides, had proved especially arduous. Valla also mentions in the dedication that it was Bessarion who suggested to the pope that he commission the Latin Thucydides from Valla.

Immediately after its completion, Valla's translation enjoyed a wide manuscript diffusion that continued into the sixteenth century. For example, an early user's notes, written between 4 January and 27 February 1469, on books 1–4 of the translation are preserved in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 7806A, fols. 17r–29r. This anonymous reader was "vicarius in castro Pisciae [Pescia near Pistoia]" in 1489. There are also numerous printed editions; the *editio princeps* of Valla's translation appeared ca. 1483, and the last edition of his rendering, albeit in a version several times revised, was published at Paris in 1840 and reprinted at least four times (see I.14 below).

All the printed editions, in fact, contain some kind of revision of Valla's text. Bartholomaeus Parthenius, editor of the *editio princeps* (ca. 1483), stated that the manuscript copy or copies to which he had access were so corrupt that he had employed a Greek manuscript to assist him in determining the Latin text of the translation. Nonetheless, Parthenius claims to have rendered Valla's text fully and accurately: "Laurentiumque Thucydidis interpretem non minus integrum quam verum reddidimus" (dedicatory letter placed after Parthenius' text of the translation and addressed to Francesco Foscarini). Westgate has collated Parthenius' text with that of the presentation copy, Vat. lat. 1801, and concludes ("The Text of Valla's Translation," 243) that, in spite of his claim to do so, Parthenius does not render Valla's text faithfully. In book 7 alone Westgate found 26 words or phrases omitted, 22 phrases with transpositions, and 101 words different from the text of Vat. lat. 1801. Many of the variations,

however, may be due to faulty printing. Subsequent editors based their work on the earlier editions and would also claim, almost invariably (Jodocus Badius Ascensius is an exception to this), to have corrected the text of the translation against Greek manuscripts.

Though numerous, all these interventions are minor, and the text of Valla's translation remained substantially the same: only Thomas Naogeorgus (subheading *b* below), Henricus Stephanus (I.7.*a*), and Franciscus Portus (I.14) revised the existing text so thoroughly that it is justifiable to treat the result as a new version or new translation.

The true text of Valla's translation has thus, as Westgate pointed out, never been printed. After Westgate focused attention on Vat. lat. 1801, scholarly work on the translation has used this manuscript as a point of departure. An examination of the older manuscript witnesses reveals that they are copies of an exemplar with a number of marginal notes that are not found in Vat. lat. 1801. Since these notes undoubtedly originate with Valla, it seems probable that they were found in his own copy of the translation, and that this personal copy became the archetype of a number of codices (nos. 1, 2, 4, 8, 12, 13, 14, 19, and 23 listed under *Manuscripts* below), which would then have the same place in the textual tradition as the presentation copy. It should be noted that Stockholm, Kungl. Biblioteket, V a 17 (no. 14), written in 1457, also contains a copy from the autograph of Valla's translation of Herodotus.

Scholarly literature on Valla's translation of Thucydides is extensive. Soon after its completion in 1452, various editors discussed the merits of Valla's rendering, often criticizing it severely (see *Editions* below). In his *Prolegomena in Thucydidis interpretationem* (Rostock, 1576), Johannes Caselius offers a remarkably balanced judgment, observing that, although Valla's translations of both Thucydides and Herodotus left much to be desired and one could point out innumerable faults, still there was reason to be grateful to Valla since he was the first who had dared to undertake the task: "Convertit [sc. Valla] in Latinam linguam et Herodotum et Thucydidem, . . . Sed cum in utriusque historici interpretatione multa desiderentur, non minus tamen ego gratias agendas Vallae censeo, qui exstincta studia denuo accenderit; laudandum etiam, qui primus provin-

ciam ita arduam in se suspicere ausus fuerit, et viam munierit aliis; erranti autem ignoscendum liberaliter, neque mihi quis obijciet errata esse et foeda et innumerabilia. Omnia enim in principiis rerum rudia sunt" (pp. 26–27).

But Pierre Daniel Huet in his *De claris interpretibus* was less favorable. With some irony he noted that Valla's Latin was not up to the standard Valla himself had promulgated in the *Elegantiae*, that Valla's Greek was insufficient, and that Valla had not really put his mind to his work: "Herodotum et Thucydidem latinis litteris exponebat Laurentius Valla, in ea bene et eleganter copia, quam totis voluminibus explicavit, inelegans tamen et paene barbarus, graecis ad hoc litteris leviter tinctus, ad auctorum sententiam parum attentus, oscitans saepe et alias res agens, fidem apud eruditos decoxit" (2d ed. [Stade, 1661], 265–66).

Ever since Poppe asserted in 1825 that a translation must be *codicis instar*, numerous books and articles have been written on the value of Valla's translation as a source for the Greek text. Others have analyzed Valla's method of translation, and his preface, too, has received ample scholarly attention (see *Bibliography* below).

#### *a. The original version*

*Dedication* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1801). Laurentii Vallensis e Graeco in Latinum translatio Thucydidis ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum dominum Nicolauum papam Quintum prooemium feliciter incipit. [Inc.]: (fol. 1r) Quod Aeneas apud Virgilium, Nicolae Quinte summe pontifex, id ego nunc possum dicere et, quia carmen est, etiam decantare: "iuvat evasisse tot urbes // Argolicas mediosque viam tenuisse per hostes" [Aen. 3.282–283]. Nam ex Argolicis urbibus atque ex mediis hostibus evasisse mihi videor, militia iam quam mihi imperaveras perfunctus. Etenim quemadmodum Romani olim imperatores, qualis Augustus, Antoninus aliique permulti (tua dignitas facit ut hac utar comparatione), Romae considentes ac per sese urbana negotia procurantes, bella praesertim peregrina ducibus demandabant, ita tu, cum sacra, religionem, divina atque humana iura, pacem, amplitudinem, salutem Latini orbis per te ipsum cures, mandasti cum alia aliis tum vero nobis, quasi tuis praefectis, tribunis, ducibus, utriusque linguae peritis, ut omnem, quoad possemus, Graeciam tuae ditioni

subiceremus, id est, ut graecos tibi libros in latinum traduceremus. Propositum sane magnificum, singulare et vere summo pontifice sapiente dignum . . . [continues in praise of translation]. Verum enimvero quae mihi vel sorte obtigit, vel consulto data est provincia, ita dura, ita aspera est ut vix ulla ex omnibus magis. Octo namque, ut scias, mi imperator, si forte nescis, quae expugnanda mihi mandasti oppida in editissimis sita sunt ac saxeis montibus, quae neque telis tormentisve laedi, neque scalis ascendi, neque vallo cingi, ac vix cuniculis oppugnari possint. Neque hoc velim magis imbecillitati meae attribuas quam rei difficultati. Nam omnium confessione arduus est saxeusque Thucydides, cum ceteris in locis, tum vero in orationibus quibus octo eius referti sunt libri, ut Ciceronis, quem Graecum suae aetatis homines appellabant, verbis constat dicentis in *Oratore*: "ipsae illae contiones ita multas habent abditasque sententias vix ut intelligantur" [Orat. 30]. At cur sumpsisti hoc opus, quidam inquiunt? Ego vero non sumpsi sed accepi, nihil minus quam mea sponte sumpturus. At cur accepisti? Nempe quod imperatoris mei detrectare imperia, sanctissimi alioquin et sapientissimi viri, nefas esse ducebam, et cum ille tantum honoris mihi habuisset (ita enim interpretabar), ut provinciam a nemine umquam bello temptatam mihi debellandam committeret, immori satius ipsi operi quam aut contumaciter aut ignaviter desistere. Decepit me tamen una qua nitebar spes, Bissarion Cardinalis Nicenus, cuius ut opinor suasu transferendum tu mihi Thucydiden iniunxisti, vir, ne ceteras eius laudes attingam, consensu eruditorum inter Graecos latinissimus, inter Latinos graecissimus. Is enim, qui praecipue me et potuisse adiuvare et voluisse, statim post mandatam hanc mihi provinciam abs te Bononiam legatus est missus. Quo magis desperationem victoriae praesumebam, quod meo mihi Marte agendum esset, neminemque haberem qui aut posset aut vellet auxilio esse. Itaque quantum laboris exhauserim aut potius exanclaverim, quantum aerumnarum periclorumque pertulerim vel hinc aestima, quod si mihi ob hoc, quemadmodum erga multos fecisti, triumphum decreveris, non tam ipso triumpho gavisurus sim quam laboris fine gaudeo. Quotiens enim mihi videbar in suffodiendis cuniculis versari aut in profundis lapidicinis aut in scrutandis auri venis intra viscera montium abditis, unde nec suspicere

nec prospicere nec respicere possem sine ullo laboris mei aut socio aut consono! Quare si his cuniculis oppida expugnavi, si lapides hos porphyreticos excidi, si hoc aurum effodi, ut spero, nimirum causa est cur fine laborum meorum, hoc est, effectu gaudeam. Etenim Thucydides, ut iam de laudibus eius dicam, talis est inter historicos Graecos quale inter marmora prophyreticum, aut inter metalla aurum. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 2r) Habes itaque, summe pontifex, qualis sit graece Thucydides, quem si a me traductum censebis eandem servare dignitatem, omnis mei laboris obliviscar. Strenuus enim miles nihil pluris facit quam a suo, qui praestantissimus sit, imperatore laudari. Iam tuum meumque Thucydidem (hoc namque tecum commune habebo si opus meum probaris) agnoscas.

*Historiae.* Thucydidis Historiarum Peloponnesium liber primus incipit. Lege felicissime. [Inc.]: (fol. 2r) Thucydidis Atheniensis bellum Peloponnesium Atheniensemque quod inter se gesserunt conscripsit, exorsus statim ab eo moto, sperans etiam fore tum magnum tum superioribus memorabilius, certis hinc signis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 184r) tum vero de navibus Phoenicum quam accommodatissime purgaturus. Et cum Ephesum primum venisset, Diana sacrificium fecit. Dum hiems aestatem hanc finiet primus quoque ac vicesimus annus finiet.

#### *Subscriptions:*

(Johann Lamperts von Rodenberg, scribe) (fol. 184r) Octavus et idem ultimus Thucydidis liber finit. Deo gratias. Iussu pontificis maximi Nicolai papae Quinti ego Ioannes Lamperti de Rodenberg posteaquam translatum est hoc opus primus transcripsi M°. CCCC°. LII°. pontificatus praefati domini nostri anno VI° mensis Julii die XIII. Romae.

(Laurentius Valla, autograph) (fol. 184r) Hunc Thucydidis codicem, qualis nullus, ut opinor, unquam apud ipsos Graecos vel scriptus vel ornatus est magnificentius, idem ego Laurentius, iussu sanctissimi domini nostri domini Nicolai divina providentia papae Quinti, recognovi cum ipso Ioanne, qui eum tam egregie scripsit. Ideoque haec meo chirographo subscrpsi ut esset hic codex meae translationis archetypus unde cetera possent exemplaria emendari.

#### *Manuscripts:*

(1) Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 4. 2, s. XV (a. 1452), fols. 1–211, with preface. The manu-

script, formerly at Balliol College, Oxford, was written for William Gray, bishop of Ely 1454–78. Gray was in Italy from 1445/46 to 1454 and probably knew Valla in Rome; he also owned other works by Valla (*Antidotum in Facium*, ed. M. Regoliosi, *Thesaurus mundi* 20 [Padua, 1981], xcviiciii). (*A Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 3 [Cambridge, 1858], 638; R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford* [Oxford, 1963], 378; P. R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.737–1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, vol. 1 [Cambridge, 1988], 36, no. 64 and vol. 2 [Cambridge, 1988], plate 260 [detail of fol. 15r]).

(2) Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, S XIV 2, s. XV, fols. 1–215, with preface. (R. Zazzeri, *Sui codici e libri a stampa della Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena* [Cesena, 1887], 368–70).

(3) Cologny, Bibliothèque Bodmeriana, 162, s. XV (a. 1460), fols. 1–251, with preface (E. Pellegrin, *Manuscrits latins de la Bodmeriana* [Cologny-Geneva, 1982], 379–80, where the manuscript is identified as “cod. 333” from the library of San Marco, Florence; its location was unknown to B. L. Ullmann and P. A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence. Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de’ Medici and the Library of San Marco*, Medioevo e umanesimo 10 [Padua, 1972], 222, no. 838).

(4) Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 63.32, s. XV, fols. 1r–250, with preface. Arms of the Sassetti family on fol. 1r. (Bandini 2.704–705; A. de la Mare, “The Library of Francesco Sassetti (1421–90),” in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of P. O. Kristeller*, ed. C. H. Clough [Manchester, 1976], 160–201 at 182, no. 40).

(5) ———, 89 inf. 6, s. XV, fols. 1–302, with preface. (Bandini 3.354).

(6) ———, Acquisti e doni 712, s. XV, fols. 1r–228v, with preface. (R. Pintaudi and M. Tesi, “Un nuovo codice laurenziiano della traduzione di Tucidide di Lorenzo Valla (Laur. Acquisti e doni 712, già ms. Phillipps 115),” *Rinascimento*, 2d Ser., 16 [1976] 213–18).

(7) Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek en Leeszaal, 187 C 8, s. XV, fols. 2r–183v (fol. 1 is missing), with preface. (Kristeller, *Iter* 4.346b).

(8) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 8232 (olim X 115), s. XV, fols. 1–196, with preface. (Kristeller, *Iter* 4.555b).

(9) Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 160 sup. (with Lycophron, etc.), s. XVI, fols. iii<sup>r</sup>–vi<sup>v</sup> (front flyleaves) and fols. i<sup>r</sup>–iv<sup>v</sup> (back flyleaves). These fragments contain *Hist.* 3.55.2–84.5 and 3.98.5–4.13.2; they make up a nearly complete quaternion (the central bifolium containing *Hist.* 3.84.5–98.5 is now missing) and come, presumably, from a once complete copy of the translation. The textual order of the surviving fragments is as follows: fols. iii<sup>r</sup>–iv<sup>v</sup> (front flyleaves), i<sup>r</sup>–iv<sup>v</sup> (back flyleaves), v<sup>r</sup>–vi<sup>v</sup> (front flyleaves). (A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, vol. 1 [Milan, 1906], 173).

(10) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 5713, s. XV (copied between 1462 and 1473), fols. 1–228, with preface. The manuscript was commissioned from the shop of Vespasiano da Bisticci by Jean Jouffroy for Louis XI of France. Jouffroy studied with Valla in Pavia (1431–33), and they maintained the acquaintance; he owned several of Valla’s works, among others Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1799 (see no. 19 below). (Samaran and Marichal 2.279; S. I. Camporeale, *Lorenzo Valla. Umanesimo e teologia* [Florence, 1972], 364 and 458; A. von Euw and J. M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, vol. 3 [Cologne, 1982], 270; A. Lanconelli, “La biblioteca romana di Jean Jouffroy,” in *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento*, ed. C. Bianca et al., vol. 1 [Vatican City, 1980], 275–94; M. Regoliosi, “Jean Jouffroy e il manoscritto Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Helmst. 304,” in *Lorenzo Valla e l’umanesimo italiano*, 258–63; C. Märkl, *Kardinal Jean Jouffroy (†1473): Leben und Werk*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 18 [Sigmaringen, 1996]).

(11) ———, lat. 5714, s. XV (ca. 1469), fols. 1–289, with preface. Copied in Italy; owned by Niccolò di Piero Ridolfi (1501–50), cardinal and archbishop of Florence, and later by Caterina de’ Medici. (*Catal. Bibl. Regiae* 3.4, 150).

(12) Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Cors. 1372 (43 E 23), s. XV (a. 1475), fols. 1–355, with preface. The manuscript was copied for Angelo Capranica by Angelo Campano: “qui sub eo [sc. Valla] audierat. Serviebat dum scripsit. Et tempus furabatur. Laus Trinitati. Romae in aedibus card. S. Crucis MCCCCCLXXV. XII. Kal. Martias” (fol. 355r). Angelo Campano was probably the younger

brother of the better known Giovanni Antonio Campano, about whom it has sometimes been wrongly maintained that he studied with Valla at Naples. (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.112a; F.-R. Hausmann, *Giovanni Antonio Campano [1429–77]*. *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu seinen Briefen* [Freiburg i. Br., 1968], 332; Hausmann, “Giovanni Antonio Campano [1429–1477]. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des italienischen Humanismus im Quattrocento,” *Römische Mitteilungen* 12 [1970] 125–78; Fl. Di Bernardo, “Un vescovo umanista alla corte Pontificia, Giannantonio Campano [1429–1477],” *Miscellanea historiae pontificiae* 39 [1975] 4–5, 36–38).

(13) San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Civica Guarneriana, Guar. 114, s. XV (before 1465), fols. 1–239, with preface. The manuscript belonged to Guarnerio d’Artegna, who owned a considerable number of Valla’s works, among others the *Antidotum in Facium* which was copied for Guarnerio from Valla’s now lost autograph. (Mazzatinti 3.128; E. Casamassima et al., *Mostra di codici umanistici di biblioteche friulane*. *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Firenze 23 sett.-31 dic. 1978 [Florence, 1978], 67; L. Casarsa, “In margine alle opere di Lorenzo Valla manoscritte nei codici Guarneriani,” in *Lorenzo Valla e l’umanesimo italiano*, 165–77; Casarsa et al., *La librerie di Guarnerio d’Artegna* [Udine, 1991], 360–61 and plates 100–101).

(14) Stockholm, Kungl. Biblioteket, V a 17, s. XV (signed 12 September 1457), pp. 1–281, with preface. The manuscript was written by Theodericus Rover Almanus for Miguel Ferrer, secretary of Calixtus III: “Jussu Reverendi patris et domini mei domini Michaelis Ferrarii sanctissimi pontificis Calisti papae III secretarii benemeriti ego Theodericus Rover Almanus hunc Thucydidis Codicem ex primo originali correcto et auscultato per ipsius e Graeco in Latinum traductorem quam fidelissime transcripsi anno Domini Mcccclvii mensis septembbris die xii pont. praefati domini nostri anno tertio.” The text of Thucydides in ms. V a 17 is very close to Vat. lat. 1801, and Theodericus’ description of the exemplar from which he worked (see *Subscriptions* above) does point to the presentation copy; the Stockholm codex, however, has a few marginalia not found in Vat. lat. 1801. Although we have no direct evidence for their friendship, it seems that Ferrer knew Valla well, probably at Naples, and in sever-

al instances he had access to autograph versions of Valla’s works. Ms. V a 17 also contains Valla’s translation of Herodotus written for Ferrer by the same Theoderic “ex eo [sc. codice] quem ipse translator propria manu scripserat” (p. 312). In addition, Ferrer owned a manuscript of Quintilian (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, R.I.13), copied, it seems, from Valla’s exemplar, since it contains his emendations and notes. (O. Wieselgren, “Manoscritti italiani esistenti nella Regia Biblioteca di Stoccolma,” *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och bibliotheksväsen* 16 [1929] 96–97; Wieselgren and A. Perosa, “L’edizione veneta di Quintiliano,” in *Miscellanea Augusto Campana*, vol. 2, *Medioevo e umanesimo* 45 [Padua, 1981], 596).

(15) Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria, M-379 (olim 764), s. XV (a. 1475), fols. 3–391, with preface. The manuscript was copied by Joan Rinaldo Mennio for Ferdinand II of Aragon (Ferdinand I of Naples). (De Marinis 2.164; Kristeller, *Iter* 4.654b).

(16) ———, M-392 (olim 806), s. XV, fols. 4–217, with preface. The manuscript originally formed part of the Aragonese library at Naples. (De Marinis 2.164; Kristeller, *Iter* 4.655b).

(17) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi J. VIII. 276, s. XV (a. 1475), fols. 1–185, with preface. The manuscript was copied by Bernard Peters of Basel for Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini: “Iussu reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini Francisci Piccolomini, sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalis, Senensis vulgariter nuncupati, Bernardus Petri de Basilea exaravit anno salutis et eodem jubilaeo M° CCCC° LXXV° sedente Sixto IIII° Pont. Max.” (fol. 185v). (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.476b, 604a).

(18) ———, Urb. lat. 429, s. XV, fols. 1–197, with preface. (Stornajolo 1.433–34).

(19) ———, Vat. lat. 1799 (misc.), s. XV (a. 1452), fols. 1–229, with preface. The manuscript was written for Jean Jouffroy (arms on fol. 1r) and illuminated by Jacopo da Fabriano. Fols. 231v–246v contain a *vita Xenophontis* in Latin. (*Cod. Vat. lat. 3.274*; J. Ruyschaert, “Miniaturistes ‘romains’ sous Pie II,” in *Enea Silvio Piccolomini Papa Pio II* [Siena, 1968], 24; A. Marucchi, “Stemmi di possessori di manoscritti conservati nella Biblioteca Vaticana,” in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 7, *Studi e testi* 237 [Vatican City, 1964], 82, no. 115).

(20) ———, Vat. lat. 1800, s. XVI in., fols. 1–232, with preface. (*Cod. Vat. lat. 3.274–75*).

(21) ———, Vat. lat. 1801, s. XV (signed 13 July 1452), fols. 1–184, with preface. Dedication copy, with an autograph postscript by Laurentius Valla. (*Cod. Vat. lat. 3.275–76*; A. Manfredi, *I codici latini di Niccolò V. Edizione degli inventari e identificazione dei manoscritti*, Studi e testi 359 [Vatican City, 1994], 243–44, no. 384). Vol. 16 of Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2948 (the 36 vols. known as the “Miscellanea Tioli”), contains a reference to a “codex Thucydidis, a Laurentio Valla recognitus”, i.e., Vat. lat. 1801, and a transcription of Valla’s autograph subscription, made by or for the eighteenth-century scholar Pietro Antonio Tioli during his stay in Rome. This reference, printed by Kristeller (*Iter 1.21b*), has sometimes been taken to indicate a Greek manuscript annotated by Valla or a copy of Valla’s Latin translation (see F. Ferlauto, “Nota su un codice di Tucidide recognitus da Lorenzo Valla: [ms. 2948 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna]”, in *Studi di filologia classica in onore di Giusto Monaco*, vol. 4 [Palermo, 1991], 1603; the shelf mark is given incorrectly as “2848” in the entry for Ferlauto’s article in *L’Année philologique* 62 [1991], no. 5805).

(22) Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. lat. X 147 A (3785), s. XV, fols. 1–227, with preface. (Kristeller, *Iter 2.232a*).

(23) (\*) Wells (Norfolk), Holkham Hall, 443, s. XV (a. 1490). The manuscript was copied for Raphael de Marcatellis, probably from a printed edition (the *editio princeps*?). It was acquired in 1715 by Thomas Coke, the first Earl of Leicester, from the Augustinians of Lyons. (Kristeller, *Iter 4.40b*; S. De Ricci, *A Handlist of Manuscripts in the Library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall* [Oxford, 1932], 39; A. Derolez, *The Library of Raphael de Marcatellis, Abbot of St. Bavon’s, Ghent 1437–1508* [Ghent, 1979], 102–106 and plate 27 [detail of fol. 1r]).

#### *Lost manuscripts:*

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, III. (formerly C. 2) I. 18 (Antolín 5.458). Probably destroyed in 1671.

———, IV. (formerly C. 27) M. 28 (Antolín 5.458). Fragment. Probably destroyed in 1671.

#### *Editions:*

[ca. 1483], [Treviso]: [Johannes Rubeus]. Laurentius Valla’s translation edited by Bartholomae-

us Parthenius; with Parthenius’ Latin translation of Marcellinus’ *Vita Thucydidis*. H \*15511; BMC 6.896–97; IGI 9641; Polain 3782; Proctor 6500; Goff T-359; Oates 2468; D. E. Rhodes, *La stampa a Treviso nel secolo XV* (Treviso, 1983), no. 88; NUC. BL; BNF; (MH; IU; NNC; CtY; NWM; PBm).

1513, Parisiis (Paris): in aedibus Ascensianis. Laurentius Valla’s translation edited by Bartholomaeus Parthenius; with Parthenius’ Latin translation of Marcellinus’ *Vita Thucydidis*. Adams T-669; NUC. BL; BNF; (OU; MH; NNC; CtY).

1527, Coloniae (Cologne): Eucharius Cervicornus. Laurentius Valla’s translation edited by Conradus Heresbachius; with Bartholomaeus Parthenius’ Latin translation of Marcellinus’ *Vita Thucydidis*. Adams T-670; VD T-1117; NUC. (ICN).

(\*) 1528, Lutetiae (Paris): venundantur Ioanni Parvo et Iodoco Badio Ascensio (sub praeolo Ascensiano communibus ipsius Ascensii et Ioannis Parvi impens., ad Calendas Sept., 1528). Laurentius Valla’s translation edited by Jacob Tusanus. Adams T-671; NUC. (NcD; DFo; ICU).

(\*) variant edition of the above: venundantur Iodoco Badio Ascensio et Ioanni Parvo (sub prleo [sic] Ascensiano etc.). Adams T-672.

1543, [Cologne]: Eucharius Cervicornus Agripinas excudebat aere et impensa M. Godefridi Hittorpii, civis Coloniensis. Contents the same as in the edition of Cologne, 1527. VD T-1118; NUC. (MH; NNC; CtY).

1550, Coloniae (Cologne): J. Gennepaeus. Contents the same as in the edition of Cologne, 1527. VD T-1119; NUC. BL; BNF; (CtY; OCU; DFo; ICN).

1564, Basileae (Basel): impensis Henrici Petri et Materni Collini. Laurentius Valla’s translation edited by Sebastianus Castellio; with Bartholomaeus Parthenius’ Latin translation of Marcellinus’ *Vita Thucydidis*. Jöcher 1.1738 reports, wrongly, that Castellio has translated Thucydides. Adams T-673; VD T-1121; NUC. BNF; (PPRF; CtY; DFo; NcD).

1564. See above, Composite Editions.

1570. See above, Composite Editions and below, I.7. Laurentius Valla’s translation of the speeches in *Hist. 1.53.2; 1.53.4; 2.71.2–4; 2.72.3; 3.30; 4.95*.

1586, Argentorati (Strasbourg): ex officina Myliana, impensis Bernhardi Iobini. (Gr.-Lat.) *Orationes aliquot ex Herodoti, Thucydidis, Xeno-*

*phantis, Livii itidem . . . historiis . . . collectae a Melchiore Junio Witebergensi.* Laurentius Valla's translation of the speeches of Cleon (3.37–40), Diodotus (3.42–48), Hermocrates (4.59–64), Brasidas (4.85–87), the Corcyreans (1.32–36), the Corinthians (1.37–43), Pericles (2.35–46), the Corinthians (1.68–71), the Athenians (1.73–78), Archidamus (1.80–85), and Sthenelaides (1.86). Latin text much as in the edition of Basel, 1564. VD J-1137. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

(\*) 1587, Francofurti (Frankfurt): [s. e.]. NUC. (PPL). For the editions containing Laurentius Valla's translation revised by Henricus Stephanus, Franciscus Portus, and later editors, see I.7.a and I.14 below.

*b. The revision of Thomas Naogeorgus*

In 1561 Thomas Naogeorgus, under the pseudonym "Hecalius", revised Laurentius Valla's translation in such a manner that this version presents substantial differences. The manuscript of his revision, now Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, A lambda II 20, was prepared for publication by the printer Johannes Oporinus, but the edition never appeared.

Naogeorgus explains in a letter to Oporinus of March 1561 (see below), when he had just finished the work, that he had collated Valla's text with the Greek original and consulted the Greek scholia. He complains that a new translation would have been an easier undertaking than the revision of Valla's text. Naogeorgus wanted twenty-five guilders for his work, a very high price. For lack of time, he did not annotate the text, but he invited Oporinus to do so. Naogeorgus also felt that it would make the volume too bulky and therefore too expensive if he were to include notes on his emendations to Valla's translation.

The reason for the use of a pseudonym is explained in this letter. Although a Protestant, Naogeorgus had had trouble with the Lutheran Church, and he tells Oporinus to publish the new version of Thucydides under the name of Hecalius, if the printer deems it expedient to do so. A fact which Naogeorgus does not give in the letter is that he had previously used the pseudonym "Johannes Hecalius" to further his own interests in a not entirely honest way. He also advises Oporinus to print the revision of Thucydides together with a Latin translation of Xenophon's *Hellenica* in order to continue, so to speak, the historical narrative.

In the dedicatory letter (see below) to Christoph Fugger, count of Kirchberg and Weissenhorn, Naogeorgus explains that he had asked Oporinus about a Latin translation of Thucydides, and that Oporinus had subsequently sent him Valla's translation from a Cologne edition, asking him to collate it against the Greek with a view to making a new edition. Naogeorgus found a number of mistakes, especially in the translations of the speeches, which, however, he attributes to haste rather than to incompetence. He claims to have removed more than 3000 errors from Valla's translation and, as he did in the letter to Oporinus, maintains that it would have been easier to translate the text afresh.

*Letter of Naogeorgus to Oporinus* (M. Steinmann, "Aus dem Briefwechsel des Basler Druckers Johannes Oporinus," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 69 [1969] 164–65). [Inc.]: Tandem absolvi Thucydidem, magno certe labore, ut levioris operae fuisse, de integro vertere. Plus quam tria mendarum millia sustuli, summaque diligentia sensum verbaque ad graecam veritatem, adiuvantibus graecis scholiis, correi. Non repugno, quin Laurentius Valla suum nomen praefixum habeat, ut pote vir doctus magnaue autoritatis. Lapsus tamen est in multis, multa quoque non satis intellexit, ob vertendi opinor celeritatem. Ego summa attentione (quod absque iactantia dictum velim) omnia libravi et bis terque consideravi, quod etiam ipse intelliges, si unam atque alteram paginam meam cum impressis contuleris. Quam ego meam operam non minoris aestimo, quam aureis 25. . . . Temporis brevitate simul et iniquitate exclusus, nullas annotationes adiicere potui. Ipse si voles, adiicito, quamvis opus esse non putem, indice rerum atque nominum luculento adiuncto, id quod tu diligenter facere soles. Nam castigationis meae rationem reddere, praesertim de singulis, magni es- set laboris, et volumen nimis augeret, emperoresque gravaret. . . . De nomine meo nihil est, quod metuas. Scribito me Thomam Hecalium: non facile quivis coniiceret, quid hoc sibi nomen velit. Vellem, si e re tua sit, ut Thucydi adiungeres Xenophontem De rebus Graecorum, propter seriem historiae. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 8r) id ad proximas nundinas bona fide tibi restituam. Bene vale, charissime Oporine. Datum Esslingae, 19. Marcii. 1561. Thomas Naogeorgus tuus.

*Title page* (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der

Universität, A lambda II 20, fol. 1r). Thucydidis libri octo per Laurentium Vallam latinitate donati atque nunc ad Crusii exemplar collati accuratisimeque emendati per Thomam Hecalium [(i.e., Naogeorgum) “atque nunc . . . Hecalium” added by an unidentified hand]. [Other hand, which is that of Joh. Oporinus] Accesserunt Martini Crusii in eundem hunc auctorem aposemeioseis, una cum locuplete rerum atque verborum indice. Basileia per Joannem Oporinum.

*Preface* (fol. 2r). Generoso ac inclito viro, domino Christophoro Fuggero, Kirchpergae ac Weyssenhorni domino, domino ac patrono colendissimo Thomas Hecalius s. d. p. [Inc.]: De Alphonso rege Neapolitano scribit Antonius Panormita [sc. *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis*, 1455, printed Basel, 1538], vir doctus et eloquens . . . [about the study of history]. (fol. 5r) Ut haec atque huiusmodi alia cogitarem, lectio Thucydidis fecit multumque, ut dixi, profuit. Venitque mihi tandem in mentem quaerere, num quis eum [sc. Thucydidem] latinitate donasset. Rescripsitque mihi Johannes Oporinus (nam ad eum hac de re scripseram) doctissimus iuxta eloquentissimusque typographus, deque re litteraria optime meritus, Laurentium Vallam convertisse, simulque ad me misit exemplar Coloniae excusum [either 1527, 1543 or 1550] rogans ut conferrem Latina cum Graecis, sibi enim in animo esse illum auctorem alia forma edere. Contuli atque eo libertius quod mihi iam Thucydides ex lectione familiarior factus esset, invenique Laurentium, doctissimum atque eloquentissimum virum, plurima docte ac polite reddidisse, nonnulla vero (quod pace illius dictum velim) parum animadvertisse atque hoc praesertim in contionibus. In illis enim ut Thucydides argutius et brevius, ita enim subobscurus est, id quod et Cicero testatur in *Oratore* [30], ut summa attentione opus sit, si recte velis intelligere. Factum ergo esse puto, dum interpres properaret, ut quaedam non satis animadverterit. Nam inscritia factum non esse certe scio. . . . (fol. 5v) Vere siquidem possum atque citra iactantiam dicere me plus quam tria mendarum millia detersisse, quae quidem non omnia Laurentio imputari possunt, sed vel temporum iniuriae vel describentium imprimentiumve negligentiae. Mihi tamen non minoris haec opera constitit, quam si de integro convertissem . . . [continues in praise of Thucydides.] (fol. 8r) Hunc ergo tam laudatum συγγραφέα

nostra opera emendatum (generose ac inclite domine) ob duas praesertim causas tibi dicandum existimavi . . . [i. e., Fugger’s interest in history and the generosity of the house of Fugger towards scholars]. [Expl.]: dominis ac patronis meis colendissimis, diutissime incolumen ac bene valentem custodiat. Dat. Esslingae 22. Martii 1561.

*Historiae* (the revisions of Naogeorgus are italicized in the following transcription). [Inc.]: (sig. air) Thucydides Atheniensis bellum Peloponnesium Atheniensiumque, *quomodo id* inter se gesserunt *initio sumpto* statim ab eo motu, quia sperasset . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. p9r) Quando hiems post hanc aestatem finem accipiet, primus quoque ac uicesimum annus implebitur. [Other hand]: Sequitur Martini Crusii ἀποσημειώσεις deinde INDEX rerum [not included].

#### *Manuscript:*

Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, A lambda II 20, s. XVI (a. 1561), sig. air–p9r. Laurentius Valla’s text revised by Naogeorgus. Preface and text are apparently autograph. (Kristeller, *Iter* 5.61a, 81b).

#### *Biography:*

CTC 7.116. Add to the *Bibliography*: F. Adorno, “Di alcune orazioni e prefazioni di Lorenzo Valla,” *Rinascimento* 5 (1954) 191–225; Adorno, *Oraciones y prefacios por Lorenzo Valla* (Santiago del Chile, 1956); G. B. Alberti, “Tucidide nella traduzione latina di Lorenzo Valla,” *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, N. S., 29 (1957) 224–49; Alberti, “Questioni Tucididee. Per la storia del testo,” *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione della Edizione Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini*, N. S., 15 (1967) 3–16; Thucydides, *Historiae*, vol. 1, ed. Alberti (Rome, 1972), cxix–cxxii; Alberti, “Lorenzo Valla, traduttore di Tucidide,” in *Tradizione classica e letteratura umanistica. Per Alessandro Perosa* (Rome, 1985), 243–53; S. I. Campanoreale, “Lorenzo Valla tra Medioevo e Rinascimento. Encomion S. Thomae 1457,” in *Memorie domenicane (Tomismo e antitomismo)*, N. S., 7 (1976) 128ff.; J. Caselius, *Prolegomena in Thucydidis interpretationem* (Rostock, 1576; rpt. Jena, 1714); L. Cesarini Martinelli, “Le postille di Lorenzo Valla all’ ‘Institutio Oratoria’ di Quintiliano,” in *Lorenzo Valla e l’umanesimo italiano. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi umanistici, Parma, 18–19 ottobre, 1984*, ed. O. Besomi and M. Regoliosi, Medioevo e umanesimo 59 (Padua, 1986),

21–50; Lorenzo Valla, *Le postille all' "Institutio Oratoria" di Quintiliano*, ed. Cesarini Martinelli and A. Perosa, Medioevo e umanesimo 91 (Padua, 1996); E. J. L. L. E. Cordewener, *De Thucydidis Vaticani codicis quod ad libros septimum et octavum attinet praestantia cum Vallae Historiae Belli Peloponnesiaci interpretatione collata* (Amsterdam, 1897); F. Ferlauto, *Il testo di Tucidide e la traduzione latina di Lorenzo Valla* (Palermo, 1979); E. B. Fryde, "Some Fifteenth Century Latin Translations of Ancient Greek Historians," in Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London, 1983), 83–113; "Valla (Lorenzo) (1407–1457)," *Centuriae latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, ed. C. Nativel, *Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance* 314 (Geneva, 1997), 767–71 (R. Fubini); E. J. Golish, *De Thucydidis interpretatione a Laurentio Valla latine facta disquisitionis specimen* (Öls, 1842); B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* (Paris, 1955); B. R. Jenny, "Basler Quellen zur Lebensgeschichte des Thomas Naogeorg," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 69 (1969) 206–22; U. Klee, *Beiträge zur Thukydides-Rezeption während des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien und Deutschland*, *Europäische Hochschulschriften Ser. 15, 47* (Frankfurt, 1990), 166–70; G. Mancini, *Vita di Lorenzo Valla* (Florence, 1891), 250–53; K. Maurer, *Interpolation in Thucydides*, *Mnemosyne*, Supplementum 150 (Leiden, 1995), 86–99, 212–16; Maurer, "Thucydides, Valla and Vat. lat. 1801," *Latomus* 58 (1999) 885–89; M. Pade, "The Place of Translation in Valla's Thought," *Classica et mediaevalia* 35 (1984) 285–306; Pade, "Valla's Thucydides: Theory and Practice in a Renaissance Translation," *ibid.* 36 (1985) 275–301; Pade, "The Manuscript Diffusion of Valla's Translation of Thucydides. Various Aspects of Its Importance for the Tradition of the Greek Text and for the History of Translation in the Renaissance," *Studi umanistici piceni* 12 (1992) 171–80; Pade, "La fortuna della traduzione di Tucidide di Lorenzo Valla. Con un'edizione delle postille al testo," in *Nicolò V nel sesto centenario della nascita. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Sarzana, 8–10 ottobre 1998*, ed. F. Bonatti and A. Manfredi, *Studi e testi* 397 (Vatican City, 2000), 256–93; A. Perosa, "L'edizione veneta di Quintiliano coi commenti del Valla, di Pomponio Leto e di Sulpizio da Veroli," in *Miscellanea Augusto Campana*, vol. 2,

Medioevo e umanesimo 45 (Padua, 1981), 575–618; R. Pintaudi and M. Tesi, "Un nuovo codice laurenziiano della traduzione di Tucidide di Lorenzo Valla (Laur. Acquisti e doni 712, già ms. Phillipps 115)," *Rinascimento*, 2d Ser., 16 (1976) 213–18; E. F. Poppo, ed., *Thucydidis De bello Peloponnesiaco* (Leipzig, 1821–38), pars 2, vol. 1, 72; J. U. Powell, "The Papyri of Thucydides and the Translation of Lorenzo Valla," *Classical Quarterly* 23 (1929) 11–14; M. Regoliosi, *Nel cantiere del Valla. Elaborazione e montaggio delle "Elegantie"*, *Humanistica* 13 (Rome, 1993); M. Steinmann, "Aus dem Briefwechsel des Basler Druckers Johannes Oporinus," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 69 (1969) 103–203; H. Stephanus, *Epistola ad lectorem*, in his editions of Thucydides ([Geneva,] 1564 and later), sig. \*iiiiff. and see I.7 below; *Laurentii Valle epistole*, ed. O. Besomi and M. Regoliosi, *Thesaurus mundi* 24 (Padua, 1984); J. Vählen, ed., "Laurentii Vallae Opuscula tria," *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 61 (Vienna, 1869), 359–61; R. I. W. Westgate, "The Text of Valla's Translation of Thucydides," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 67 (1936) 240–51; M. von Wolff, *Lorenzo Valla, sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig, 1893).

## 2. Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus

Sabellicus published the two volumes of his *Enneades sive Rapsodia historiarum* in 1498 and 1504. The work is a universal history, beginning with the Creation and ending in 1504. In *Enneades* III, books 5–8, Sabellicus' treatment of the Peloponnesian War, with Thucydides as the main source, alternates with passages from Roman history. The larger part of Sabellicus' narrative is a summary, but he reports the text of eleven speeches (from *Hist.* 1, 3, 5, 6, 7) in his own Latin translation. Although this rendering is clearly based on that of Valla, as can be seen from the many verbal similarities, the text has been thoroughly rephrased (for an example, see *Hist.* 1.32–36 *Oratio Corcyrenium* immediately below, where Valla's version is given in parentheses).

*Translation* (ed. of Paris, 1509).

### *Enneades III, Liber 5*

*Oratio Corcyrenium* (*Hist.* 1.32–36; fol. 181r–v). [Inc.]: Aequum est, viri Athenienses, ut qui externa velut nunc ipsi facimus implorant

auxilia, si neque meritum ullum, neque societas sibi cum iis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: At nobis receptis, plus navium habebitis, quibus fiet, ut non tam vobis hostes, quam vos illis posthac formidulosi sitis. (Compare Valla's translation, ed. of Treviso, 1483: "Par est, viri Athenienses, ut qui externos adeunt, ut quemadmodum nunc nos, imploratum auxilia, si neque magna ipsorum beneficentia neque societas intercedat. . . . At nobis receptis plus navium habebitis quibus cum hoste dimicetis").

Corinthiorum oratio (*Hist.* 1.37–43; fol. 181v–182r). [Inc.]: Si Corcyraei de se recipiendis tantum verba fecissent, viri Athenienses, satis habuissem id monstrare . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quod ipsum a vobis praestari oportet, cum propter alia multa, tum ut rebus vestris optime consulatis.

### *Enneades III, Liber 6*

Oratio Diodoti (*Hist.* 3.42–48; fol. 189r–v). [Inc.]: Ego, inquit, viri Athenienses, neque eos accusandos puto, qui iterum de Mitylenaeis ad vos relatum voluere . . . / . . . [Expl.]: contra hostes plus pollet quam qui temeraria feritate in facinus prorumpit.

Oratio Plataeensium ad Lacedaemonios (*Hist.* 3.53–59; fol. 190r–v). [Inc.]: Vestram, Lacedaemonii, fidem secuti, nuper ditionem fecimus, haud quidem rati talem subeundum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Thebanis propter vos nobis inimicis ad supplicium trademur.

### *Enneades III, Liber 7*

Oratio Brasidae ad milites (*Hist.* 5.9; fol. 196v–197r). [Inc.]: Quoniam, viri Peloponnenses, in ea terra nati estis, quae sua virtute semper fuit libera . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ad rem bene gerendam hortari, quam inter hostes, ubi gerenda res est, fortiter versari.

Niciae oratio (*Hist.* 6.9–14; fol. 200r). [Inc.]: Etsi de classe ad bellum ornanda acturi huc hodie convenistis, viri Athenienses, tamquam in Siciliam omnino navigari . . . / . . . [Expl.]: optime meritus, volens vero, licet nihil profuerit, nihil male meruit.

Oratio Alcibiadis (*Hist.* 6.16–18; fol. 200r–v). [Inc.]: Imperatorem me esse oportere existimo, viri Athenienses, hinc enim exordiri mihi necesse . . . / . . . [Expl.]: sive bono sive malo, contenti, otium et desidiam malunt quam meliora studia tueri.

Niciae admonitio (*Hist.* 6.20–23; fol. 200v–

201r). [Inc.]: Quoniam placet, ut video, viri Athenienses, bellum semel decretum exsequi . . . / . . . [Expl.]: vestri duces, inde abire coacti, speculatum illuc ivisse, non bellatum dicantur.

Oratio Hermocratis ad Camarinenses (*Hist.* 6.76–80; fol. 202r–v). [Inc.]: Non ideo ad vos venimus, viri Camarinenses, quod timeamus ne praesenti Atheniensium exercitu terreamini . . . / . . . [Expl.]: an cum periculo nobiscum libertatem tueri, Syracusanorum in utraque fortuna amicissimi futuri.

### *Enneades III, Liber 8*

Oratio Niciae ad suos (*Hist.* 7.61–64; fol. 205r). [Inc.]: Certamen, inquit, milites, quod nobis instat, omnibus commune est, ubi de sua . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Nihil illa homini foedius, quippe quae probri sit et calamitatis plena.

Oratio Gylippi ad suos (*Hist.* 7.66–68; fol. 205r–v). [Inc.]: Quae praecclare ad hunc diem terra marique gessimus, omnibus sunt vobis nota, viri Syracusani . . . / . . . [Expl.]: seu, quod spero, ferro alive casu nostra opera periclitabuntur.

### *Editions:*

(\*) 1498, Venetiis (Venice): per Bernardinum et Matheum Venetos. Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, *Enneades sive Rapsodia historiarum*, part 1. Sabellicus' translation of the speeches of the Corcyreans (1.32–36), the Corinthians (1.37–43), Diodotus (3.42–48), the Plataeans (3.53–59), Brasidas (5.9), Nicias (6.9–14), Alcibiades (6.16–18), Nicias (6.20–23), Hermocrates (6.76–80), Nicias (7.61–64), and Gylippus (7.66–68). HC\* 14055; Polain 3412; Oates 2156; NUC. BL; BNF; (MiU-C; PPRF; IU; CSmH).

(\*) 1508, Parrhisiis (Paris): venundantur . . . ab Ioanne Parvo. Contents the same as in the preceding entry. NUC. (NNC)

1509, Parrhisiis (Paris): venundantur . . . ab Ioanne Parvo. Contents the same as in the edition of Venice, 1498. Adams S-21; NUC. Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek; (NN; ICN).

(\*) 1513–17, Parrhisiis (Paris): venundantur . . . ab Ioanne Parvo, (with Sabellicus). Contents the same as in the edition of Venice, 1498. NUC. BNF; BAV; (ICN).

1516–17, Parrhisiis (Paris): venundantur . . . ab Ioanne Parvo et ipso qui impressit Ascensio. Contents the same as in the edition of Venice, 1498. NUC. (NN; MH; MiU-C).

(\*) 1527–28, Parrhisiis (Paris): venundantur

... ab Ioanne Parvo. Contents the same as in the edition of Venice, 1498. Adams S-24; NUC. (CtY).

(\*) 1535, Lugduni (Paris): excudebant N. Parvus et Hector Pernet. Contents the same as in the edition of Venice, 1498. NUC. BL; (MiU-C; CtY; NcU; DFo; MnCS).

1538 Basileae (Basel): ex officina Hervagiana. Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, *Opera omnia*. Sabellicus' translation of the speeches as in the edition of Venice, 1498. VD S-4; NUC. BL; BNF; (MiU; DFo).

1560, Basileae (Basel): per Ioannem Hervagium. Contents the same as in the preceding entry; edited by Caelius Secundus Curio. VD S-5; NUC. BL; BNF; (NN; MdBj).

#### *Biography:*

See CTC 4.347–48 and 7.232. Add to the *Bibliography*: E. Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, 1981), 83–86; U. Klee, *Beiträge zur Thukydides-Rezeption während des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien und Deutschland*, Europäische Hochschulschriften Ser. 15, 47 (Frankfurt, 1990), 67–68.

#### 3. Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus

Pirckheimerus' translation of the first 69 chapters of book 1 of the *Historiae* dates from the period 1503–1505. He had studied some Greek during his stay in Italy 1489–95, but his father stopped him as soon as he heard about it. Only after the death of his father in 1501 did Pirckheimerus feel free to continue his studies.

From his autobiography we know that Pirckheimerus left the City Council of Nuremberg at some point during 1502–1505 to pursue his private interests, particularly the study of Greek (London, British Library, Arundel 175, fol. 22v; Holzberg 99). He had no teacher but made numerous practice translations; in 1502 he sent some translations to an unknown addressee, apologizing for the lack of elegance and explaining that he had wanted to produce versions that were literal (*Pirckheimers Briefwechsel*, no. 54). In a letter of 10 March 1503 addressed to Conrad Celtis, Pirckheimerus writes that he is reading Greek literature, notably Thucydides and Herodotus (*Pirckheimers Briefwechsel*, no. 59). This letter furnishes an approximate *terminus post quem* for his translation: the Greek text of Thucydides must be the Aldine edition of 1502 (which Pirckheimerus owned), and readings from this printed text can be recognized in Pirckheimerus' Latin version.

Like his other translations from this period, Pirckheimerus' Latin Thucydides is an *ad verbum* rendering of the Greek text. Twice, when he did not know the lexical meaning, Pirckheimerus wrote the Greek word, and in seven instances a crux betrays his uncertainty. There are several errors but, on the whole, the translation is more fluent than his earlier efforts. Pirckheimerus also owned Laurentius Valla's translation in Bartholomaeus Parthenius' edition of ca. 1483, and he had recourse to this rendering for difficult words and expressions. Evidently Pirckheimerus did not intend to publish in its present state his translation of Thucydides.

*Historiae* 1.1.1–69.6 (Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Nachlass Pirckheimer, ms. 343). [Inc.]: (fol. 1r) Thucydidis Historiarum primus. Thucydides Atheniensis conscripsit bellum Peloponnesium et Atheniensium quod bellaverunt invicem incipiens statim καθισταμένου [eo motu (*from Valla's translation?*; see I.1 above) is added suprascript] et sperans magnum fore et memorabilius superioribus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 11r) et nullus vestrum propter inimicitiam plus quam causa haec existimet dici. Querela enim amicorum virorum est peccantium.

#### *Manuscript:*

Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Nachlass Pirckheimer, ms. 343, s. XVI (ca. 1503), fols. 1r–11r. (Kristeller, *Iter* 3.670b).

#### *Biography:*

See CTC 2.70, 6.21, and 7.146. Add to the *Bibliography*: N. Holzberg, *Willibald Pirckheimer: Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland* (Munich, 1981), 141–45; R. Johne-Fiedler, *Willibald Pirckheimer und das Platonbild des deutschen Renaissance-Humanismus* (Berlin, 1981); B. Löfstedt, "Zu Pirckheimers Briefwechsel," *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 27 (1985) 61–66; *Willibald Pirckheimers Briefwechsel*, ed. A. Reimann et al., vols. 1–5 (Munich, 1940–2001); W. Trillitzsch, "Das Antikenverhältnis namhafter deutscher Renaissancehumanisten," *Klio* 64 (1982) 485–512.

#### 4. Anonymus Hamburgensis

(Books 1–3: Philippus Melanchthon or Vitus Winsemius?)

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. philol. 166 contains a Latin commentary on *Hist.* 1–3 with a paraphrase of the Greek text. The question of authorship is discussed in I.b below.

*Historiae* 1.1.1–3.116.3 (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. philol. 166). [Inc.]: (p. 21) Textus. Incipiens statim ab inchoato bello, sperans magnum bellum fore id est commemorationem illustrem, dignum commemoratione ex omnibus praeteritis vel superioribus . . . [long passage inserted on the most significant events in each book of the *Historiae*] inde iudicans, coniecturam faciens esse rem magni momenti quod erant auctis viribus (quod florebant Graeci tunc) ad hoc bellum utrique Athenienses et Lacedaemonii omni apparatu [compare I.10 below] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 369) sub Aetna qui mons est maximus in Sicilia. Dicitur post 50 annos erupisse talis moles post alteram eruptionem, ter esse factas tales eruptiones. Eo tempore Graeci tenuerunt Siciliam [compare Winsemius, ed. of Wittenberg, 1569, p. 231: “qui proxime sub Aethna monte habitant. Est vero hic mons maximus in Sicilia, et dicunt quinquagesimo quoque anno post priorem exestuationem talem flammam inde exestuare atque erumpere. Totoque illo tempore ter id factum esse, ex quo Graeci Siciliam incoluerint,” and ibid., note b: “Commemorat quoddam prodigium, quod ex Aetna erumpit magna moles flammarum”]. Finis III libri.

#### Manuscript:

(micro.) Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. philol. 166 (misc.), s. XVI, pp. 1–369 (1542–55, date of commentary and paraphrase). (Kristeller, *Iter* 3.563a, who consulted the manuscript in Berlin in 1962 [it has now been returned to Hamburg]; M. Pade, “A Melanchthonian Commentary to the First Three Books of Thucydides? Cod. Philol. 166, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg,” in *Reformation and Latin Literature in Northern Europe*, ed. I. Ekrem et al. [Oslo, 1996], 193–206).

#### 5. Philippus Melanchthon

Melanchthon’s translations of the encomium of Themistocles from book 1, the chapters on the civil war in Corcyra from book 3, and thirty-four speeches were first published between 1542 and 1562. We have, however, evidence of his interest in Thucydides over a very long period of time.

Shortly after his arrival at Wittenberg in 1518, Melanchthon had an office or a small room reserved which was to be furnished with Greek texts so that the students had convenient access to editions of Greek authors. Melanchthon also persuaded the printer Melchior Lotther the Younger

to leave Leipzig and come to Wittenberg for the purpose of making cheap editions of various texts, often collections of shorter pieces. Strobel, who mentions that these booklets were mostly lost by the end of the eighteenth century, owned nine items published in 1520 and 1521. One of them, printed at Wittenberg in 1520, had the printer’s mark of Lotther without his name and contained, among other works, “Ex Thucydide. Oratio quaedam contra leges”, i.e., the Greek text of the speech of Diodotus at *Hist.* 3.42–58 (Strobel 214ff., 219; Klee, *Beiträge*, 134; VD T-1129).

From Hartfelder’s tentative list of Melanchthon’s university lectures, we know that he had planned at least one lecture on Thucydides in May 1542, the year in which his translation of the description of the civil war was first published (see subheading *a* below). This translation appeared in a separate edition in 1550, and the year after, in November 1551, another lecture was announced (Hartfelder 561, 564; Corpus Reformatorum 7.856, no. 4982, where the announcement of the 1551 lecture is printed). However, it is difficult to determine if the proximity of the dates is simply a coincidence. On 31 October 1553 Melanchthon gave the introductory lecture to a course on Thucydides (see commentary I.b below). Another announcement of a series of lectures on Thucydides dates from the period 1530–39 (Corpus Reformatorum 10.81f., no. 7074).

Johannes Caselius, who had studied at Wittenberg 1551–53 (see CTC 2.124), wrote that as a young man he had heard Melanchthon lecture on Thucydides and learned from his own mouth how important the Greek author was to him: “Interpretantem audivi Thucydidem adulescentulus Philippum Melanchthonem, neque non ex ipsius ore saepe audivi, quanti illum fieri a nobis vellet, ut quanti ipse fecerit dubitari non possit, quin extant quaedam ipsius laborum in hoc historico explicando reliquiae. Hoc enim agebat homo ad benemerendum de mortalibus propensissimus, ut ad veterum sapientissimorum hominum scripta amanda et perdiscenda, quibus esse nihil melius, nihil pulcrius, nihil perfectius sentiebat, studiosos litterarum introduceret, quod et voce et scriptis saepe testatum faciebat: eo conficiebat multa, quae inchoata esse ipse non negabat, quibus adhuc nonnullos uti sic video, etiam in academiis publicis. . . Utinam Melanchthonis consilio uteremur, qui semper veteres, et cum primis Thucydidem colebat” (*In Thucydidis inter-*

*pretationem prolegomena* [Rostock, 1576], 28–30).

Finally, we have an epigram by Melanchthon on the merits of three major Greek historians, one of whom was Thucydides:

Historiam Herodoto Musae narrasse feruntur,  
Qui vincit cuntos rebus et eloquio.  
Tempore Thucyrides quamvis et proximus isti,  
Et grandi tanquam classica voce sonat.  
Sermonis Xenophon tamen hunc dulcedine  
vincit,  
Exemplum Regis pingit et arte boni.

(Corpus Reformatorum 10.356, no. 353,  
*De discrimine historiae Herodoti,*  
*Thucydidis et Xenophontis*)

*a. Description of the civil war in Corcyra (1542)*

Melanchthon introduced his *Dialecticae praceptiones* of 1542 with a Latin translation of Thucydides' chapters on the civil war in Corcyra (*Hist. 3.81.4–84.2*). The *Dialectic* was very popular, and together with this text his translation of the chapters from Thucydides was reprinted numerous times. In 1550 the same translation, together with the Greek text, appeared at Wittenberg in a separate edition entitled *Descriptio seditionis luculenta*.

*Historiae 3.81.4–84.2* (ed. of Wittenberg, 1542). [*Inc.*]: (sig. *avii*) Corcyraei mutua caede inter sese  
grassabantur, privatis odiis publicam causam  
praetexentes, quod poena afficiendi essent  
... / ... [*Expl.*]: (sig. *aviiii*) eas violare, cum sit  
impatiens, nec reveratur iustitiam, ac sit inimica  
praestantioribus [1550 edition ends here]. Ideoque  
vindictam religioni et lucrum iustitiae anteponit,  
et potentiae innoxiae invidet.

*Selected editions:*

*Descriptio seditionis*

1542, Lipsiae (Leipzig): Nicolaus Wolrab. Philippus Melanchthon, *Dialecticae praceptiones* with his translation of the civil war in Corcyra (*Hist. 3.81.4–84.2*). VD M-3015.

1542, Vitebergae (Wittenberg): Iosephus Klug. Contents the same as in the preceding entry. VD M-3017.

(\*) 1544, Vitebergae (Wittenberg): Iosephus Klug. Contents the same as in the edition of Leipzig, 1542. VD M-3018.

(\*) 1545, Lipsiae (Leipzig): Valentinus Papa. Contents the same as in the edition of Leipzig, 1542. VD M-3019.

1545, Tubingae (Tübingen): Ulricus Morhardus. Contents the same as in the edition of Leipzig, 1542. VD M-3020.

1547, Lipsiae (Leipzig): Valentinus Papa. Contents the same as in the edition of Leipzig, 1542. VD M-3021; NUC. (IU).

1550, Vitebergae (Wittenberg), excudebat Iosephus Klug. (Gr.-Lat.) VD T-1131; NUC. (CtY).

*Doubtful edition:*

1541, Witebergae (Wittenberg): Iosephus Klug. The volume with this date in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (VD M-3013) is actually a copy of the Wittenberg 1542 edition (see above), with the date changed by hand.

*b. The edition of Caspar Peucer (1562)*

After Melanchthon's death in 1560, his son-in-law Caspar Peucer published the *Orationes ex Historia Thucydidis, et insigniores aliquot Demosthenis et aliorum oratorum graecorum conuersae in latinum sermonem a Philippo Melanthone* (Wittenberg, 1562). This volume contained Melanchthon's translations of most of the speeches, the encomium of Themistocles from book 1, and another version of the chapters on the Corcyrean civil war.

In an inaugural lecture (12 April 1562) to a course on Thucydides, David Chytraeus, professor at Rostock and former pupil of Melanchthon, hints that Peucer was induced to publish the work by the threat that Chytraeus himself was planning lectures on Thucydides: "Et laetor hanc ipsam a me in postrema Herodoti lectione promissam Thucydidis enarrationem movisse alios eruditiores, ut interpretationem Thucydidis a D. praceptore Philippo ante multos annos traditam nunc pluribus communicare et in lucem proferre tandem velint" (Chytraeus, *Chronologia Herodoti et Thucydidis* [Strasbourg, 1563], sig. L4; commentary I.c below). It is logical to suppose that Chytraeus would have used Melanchthon's translations which he could have taken down as a student in Wittenberg and, further, that Peucer wanted to secure his own right to their publication.

Peucer explains in the dedicatory preface addressed to Georg Sigismund Seld (1516–65, imperial vice-chancellor) that the latter had recommended to him Claude de Seyssel's French translation of Thucydides. He draws Seld's attention to the fact that Seyssel's rendering was made

from Laurentius Valla's Latin version (I.1 above) and not from the Greek text. Peucer quotes passages from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cicero, and Quintilian on the style of Thucydides, with particular regard to the orations, and he says that wise men believed that Thucydides had wanted to depict not the clash of arms but the war between justice and injustice, between wisdom and false reasoning. Peucer thinks that a man who, like Seld, partakes in public affairs is more capable of estimating the content of the speeches. He adds that the translations were originally made for students: it was Melanchthon's habit when lecturing on a difficult Greek author to provide his students with a rough translation which simply rendered the overall meaning of the text, thus making it easier for beginners to follow. Such translations were not painstakingly accurate, nor did they convey the stylistic beauty of the Greek text (the early *Descriptio seditionis* reads much better). Peucer cannot exclude the possibility of some factual errors, but he knows of no translations that were substantially better. Melanchthon had, says Peucer, found no time to revise them for publication.

*Dedication* (ed. of Wittenberg, 1562, sig. \*1r). Ad . . . D. Sigismundum Seldium . . . Caspari Peuceri prooemium. [Inc.]: Inter ea bona, quae ex humanis rebus vitae meae ab aeterno Deo . . . De Thucydide autem narrabas, quam studiose legis- set conversionem huius gallicam [sc. the French translation of Claude de Seyssel, 1527] imperator Carolus, et te etiam hac usum significabas, quam ad Graeca adhiberes. Ego vero gallica non intelli- go, sed qui de his iudicare possunt, ex iis didici interpretem illum magis ad latinam versionem [of Laurentius Valla] quam ad graeca respexisse. Deprehendi et tamen aliquot in locis graeca ab hoc illustrata esse. . . . (sig. \*2r) Sed spero brevi habituros nos historiam Thucydidis integrum, eorum opera translatam qui et linguae peritia et sapientia excellunt.

Interea ad te mitto has ἐκλογὰς versionum ex scholis publicis socii mei, quod recordor me tum promisisse. Solebat ille, cum auctorem grae- cum paulo obscuriorem scholae interpretaretur, convertere quae difficiliora erant in latinum sermonem ut perpetuam sententiam proprius conspectam graecae linguae tyrones citius assequerentur. Hoc consilio alia etiam, quorum quaedam adieci, ille vertit non tam accurate ut fieri debuit,

neque ut orationis graecae ornamenta ex- primeret, sed res ut intelligi et ut auctoris imago ab artifice vulgari depicta melius agnoscí posset. Etsi autem (sig. \*3r) neque otium illi fuit conces- sum, quo ad has commentationes opus est, ut se dignum aliquid vel in his vel in aliis versionibus elaboraret, neque de hoc affirmare possum nun- quam eum a sententia Graecorum aberrasse, hoc tamen dicere possum me nihil vidisse hactenus quod his magnopere posset praeferrri, quod ip- sum quoque tuo iudicio in primis permitto. Cum autem has orationes summus in Graecia orator Demosthenes tanti fecerit, ut octies hunc auc- torem descripscerit, tibi inter nostri temporis summos oratores has publice inscribendas esse putavi, quo nemo hoc sapientiae humanae opus melius intelligit aut imitari potest . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. \*3v) eum ut retinere locum sinas, quem obtinui hactenus, vehementer oro. Cal. Martii, anno a nato Christo salvatore 1562. Tuae amplitudinis studiosissimus Caspar Peucerus d.

### *Historiae.*

#### *Liber 1*

Oratio Corcyraeorum (32–36; sig. Aa1r–Aa3v). [Inc.]: Facilius est petere defensionem ab iis, qui antea beneficium acceperunt, aut cum quibus est vetus societas . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Si vero nos re- ceperitis in societatem, vestra potentia erit maior.

Oratio Corinthiorum (37–43; sig. Aa3v–Aa6v). [Inc.]: Cum Corcyraei non hoc unum egerint, ut a vobis reciperentur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: neque opem feratis iniuste agentibus. Hoc et honestum et vo- bis salutare sit.

Oratio Peloponnesiorum (53.2–53.3; sig. Aa6v). [Inc.]: Iniuste facitis, o viri Athenienses, quod incipitis bellum, et solvitis foedus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ut caperentur et occiderentur. Athenien- ses vero talia responderunt.

Oratio Atheniensium (53.4; sig. Aa6v–Aa7r). [Inc.]: Neque incipimus bellum, o Peloponnesii, neque solvimus foedus, sed venimus auxilio . . . / . . . [Expl.]: in aliquod oppidum ipsorum, id non negligemus, quantum possumus.

Oratio Corinthiorum (68–71; sig. Aa7r–Bbv). [Inc.]: Cum vos sine suspicione inter vos vivatis ex vestris moribus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et Pelopon- nesum ducite non minorem quam patres eam vo- bis tradiderunt.

Oratio Atheniensium (73–78; sig. Bb2r–Bb5r). [Inc.]: Etsi non eo missi sumus, ut cum aliis hoc tempore litigaremus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: a vobis illa-

tum propulsaturos esse simili modo, quo vos incipitis.

Oratio Archidami (80–85; sig. Bb5r–Bb7v). [Inc.]: Et ipse multis bellis interfui et varias vices experientia cognovi, et scio neminem eorum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ad bellum parate. Hoç consilium erit utilissimum et hostibus terribile.

Oratio Sthenelaidae (86; sig. Bb7v–Bb8r). [Inc.]: Longam orationem Atheniensium non intelligo, in qua sese quidem valde laudant . . . / . . . [Expl.]: sed Deo iuvante invademus eos, qui priores iniuria nos affecerunt.

Oratio Corinthiorum (120–124; sig. Bb8r–Cc3v). [Inc.]: Non accusari iam Lacedaemonii possunt, quod non decernunt bellum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et ut Graecos iam in servitutem redactos in libertatem vindicemus.

Descriptio Themistoclis (138.3; sig. Cc3v). [Inc.]: Erat Themistocles firmissimo naturae robore praeditus, propter quod eximia eius admiratio fuit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Neque hunc quisquam subito consilio in rebus necessariis vicit.

Oratio Periclis (140–145; sig. Cc4r–Cc7v). [Inc.]: Ut hactenus semper in hac fui sententia non cedendum esse Peloponnesiacis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ab illis imperari nollent, sed in iudicio aequali se ad obiecta responsuros esse.

### Liber 2

Oratio Archidami (11; sig. Cc8r–Dd1r). [Inc.]: Viri Peloponnesii sociique, et nostri maiores fecerunt multas expeditiones intra et extra Peloponnesum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Pulcherrimum enim hoc est et tutissimum, cum simus multi, omnes uno ordine utentes conspicisci.

Funebris oratio Periclis (35–46; sig. Dd1r–Dd5v). [Inc.]: Multi, qui hoc loco dixerunt, laudant hunc morem, quod lex iubet addi orationem funeri . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ibi enim cives optimi fiunt, ubi praemia virtuti maxima proposita sunt.

Oratio Periclis (60–64; sig. Dd5v–Dd8v). [Inc.]: Non est mihi inexpectata indignatio vestra. Intellexi enim me accusari . . . / . . . [Expl.]: in rebus adversis nec dolore succumbere animo, et factis ipsis fortiter contra nitiri.

Oratio Cnemi ducis Peloponnesiorum, qua hortatur milites ad fortitudinem (87; sig. Dd8v–Eev). [Inc.]: Si quis vestrum propter priorem pugnam metuit futuram, non recte iudicat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Si quis autem erit ignavus, poena afficietur. Fortes vero praemii virtutis ornabuntur.

Oratio Phormionis (89; sig. Ee1v–Ee2v). [Inc.]:

Cum videam vos milites hostium multitudinem timere, convocavi vos . . . / . . . [Expl.]: a vobis anteacta victi sunt. Talium animi postea in periculo sunt timidiores.

### Liber 3

Oratio Mitylenaeorum (9–14; sig. Ee5r [misprint for Ee3r]–Ee5v). [Inc.]: Receptum Graecis morem novimus, viri Peloponnesii et socii. Nam qui recipiunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Sitis viri quales vos Graeci dignos ducunt, et quales nostra necessitas vult esse.

Oratio Cleonis (37–40; sig. Ee5v–Ee8v). [Inc.]: Saepe et alias animadverti popularem statum non esse utilem imperio . . . / . . . [Expl.]: minus impedit vos sociorum defectiones in reprimendis Lacedaemoniis.

Contio Diodoti, contraria pulcherrima disputatio de summo iure et ἐπιείκειᾳ (42–48; sig. Ee8v–Ff4r). [Inc.]: Nec accuso eos, qui iterum retulerunt de Mitylenaeis, nec laudo illos . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Melius est enim adversus hostes bonis consiliis uti quam stulta temeritate eos invadere.

Oratio Plataensium, Astymachi et Laconis (53–59; sig. Ff4v–Ff8r). [Inc.]: Deditio urbis fecimus secuti fidem vestram, non existimantes tale nos iudicium . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Sed sitis servatores nostri, nec cum aliorum Graecorum libatores sitis, nos perdatis.

Thebanorum oratio (61–67; sig. Ff8r–Gg3v). [Inc.]: Non postulassemus, ut nobis dicere concederetur, si isti et breviter . . . / . . . [Expl.]: diligentius rem perpenderent, tunc minus homines causae iniustiae speciosa verba praetenderent.

Descriptio seditionis Corcyrae (82.2–85.3; sig. Gg4r–Gg6r). [Inc.]: Et acciderunt urbibus multa et atrocia in seditionibus, quae solent fieri, et fient semper . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ibi murum extruxerunt, et vexarunt illos qui intra urbem erant, et tuto vagabantur in insula.

### Liber 4

Oratio Lacedaemoniorum (17–20; sig. Gg6r–Gg7v). [Inc.]: Miserunt nos, Lacedaemonii, ut suadeamus de his qui in insula sunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: reliqua Graecia, cuius potentia inferior est, maximo honore utrosque afficiet.

Hermocratis oratio (59–64; sig. Gg8–Hh2v). [Inc.]: Cum neque ex minima civitate sim neque maxime afflita bello . . . / . . . [Expl.]: nostra libertate, et externe nationes minus audebunt nobis bellum inferre.

Oratio Brasidae (85–87; sig. Hh2v–Hh4v) (this and the following oration are listed in the 1562 edition as belonging to book 5). [Inc.]: Quod ego cum exercitu huc a Lacedaemoniis missus sum, testatur veram causam esse . . . / . . . [Expl.]: gloriae memoriam apud ceteros deponere et vobis res vestras cum laude servare.

#### *Liber 6*

Oratio Niciae (9–14; sig. Hh4v–Hh7). [Inc.]: Etsi nunc in contionem vocati sumus ut delibetur de apparatu navigationis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et quod bene praeesse sit iuvare patriam, aut certe non volentem laedere.

Oratio Alcibiadis (16–18; sig. Hh7r–Ii1v). [Inc.]: Me imperatorem esse magis quam alium convenit. Inde enim ordiri me necesse est . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et illorum statum tutissimum esse qui antiquos mores et leges, etiamsi detersores sunt, retinent.

Oratio Niciae (20–23; sig. Ii2r–Ii3r). [Inc.]: Postquam omnino video vos incitatos esse ad suscipiendam expeditionem, consideremus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Haec enim existimo tutissima et nobis salutaria esse. Si cui aliter videtur, huic cedo imperium.

Oratio Hermocratis (33–34; sig. Ii3v–Ii5v). [Inc.]: Incredibilia fortassis, ut alii quidam, dicere vobis videbor affirmans veram esse famam . . . / . . . [Expl.]: cum metu omnia in tuto parare. Ac illos quidem mox affuturos esse existimo.

Oratio Athenagorae (36–40; sig. Ii5v–Ii7v). [Inc.]: Quisquis non vult Athenienses adeo desipere, ut huc accedat ad certum exitium . . . / . . . [Expl.]: sed servare eam conabitur, non concedens vobis sed insidias vigilantia et factis cavens.

Oratio Hermocratis (76–80; sig. Ii7v–Kk2v). [Inc.]: Venimus legati metuentes non hoc, ne terreamini praesenti exercitu Atheniensium . . . / . . . [Expl.]: dominos turpiter accipiatis, et inimicitiam nostram quae non erit brevis.

Oratio Euphemi (82–87; sig. Kk2v–Kk5v). [Inc.]: Advenimus huc pro renovatione vetusti foederis. Cum autem Syracusii sugillaverint nos . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ut cum eos semper antea timueritis, nunc vicissim eis terrorem incutiatis.

Oratio Alcibiadis (89–92; sig. Kk5v–Kk7v). [Inc.]: Necesse est me primum apud vos de calumniis dicere, quibus a me voluntates . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ipsi deinde tuti sitis, et Graeciae volenti, non vi sed benevolentia adiunctae, imperetis.

#### *Liber 7*

Oratio Niciae (61–64; sig. Kk8r–Ll1v). [Inc.]: Certamen futurum est utrisque simile de sua cuique nostrum salute et patria . . . / . . . [Expl.]: convenit magis ostendere, et nullo tempore erit utilius et magis salutare.

Oratio Syracusanorum et Gylippi (66–68; sig. Ll1v–Ll3r). [Inc.]: Quod res praeciaras gessemus, et iam sit certamen de maioribus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: si eventus non sit felix, et quae multum afferant commodi, si eventus respondeat.

Oratio Niciae ad Athenienses (77; sig. Ll3–Ll4r). [Inc.]: Adhuc quidem sperandum est pro re praesenti; ex maioribus enim periculis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: viri enim sunt civitas, non muri, nec naves viris vacuae.

#### *Edition:*

1562, Witebergae (Wittenberg): heredes Georgii Rhau. VD P-2017; NUC. BNF; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek; (ICN).

#### *c. The edition of Vitus Winsemius (1569)*

Vitus Winsemius printed, in his own complete version of Thucydides (Wittenberg, 1569), Melanchthon's translation of the speeches, the encomium of Themistocles from book 1, and the description of the civil war in Corcyra. His text largely agrees with that of Caspar Peucer's 1562 edition. However, it is evident from the dedication (cited in I.10 below) in his 1561 edition of the Greek text of *Hist. 1–4* that Winsemius had already translated part of Thucydides before the appearance of Peucer's volume.

In the dedication to Duke Augustus of Saxony (1569 edition, for which see I.10), Winsemius complains that his copy of Melanchthon's translations was corrupt. It had proved necessary for him to make changes in Melanchthon's text and to supply passages, either because the text had been badly taken down (probably by a student during lectures) or because it had been copied incorrectly: (fol. ) ( ii “) “Retinui autem ac inserui his nostris interpretationem contionum, quae quidem exstabat, reverendi domini praceptoris nostri Philippi Melanchthonis, idque me decere arbitratus sum, ne de me ipso arrogantius iudicare viderer. Quamvis necesse habui multa mutare, nonnulla etiam supplere, quae forte vel male excepta vel perperam descripta et ob eam causam mutila erant, atque ita lectori quoque non exigua

pars laboris adempta est." These criticisms are probably not directed against Peucer's edition. Instead, it is more likely that Winsemius is describing a manuscript witness of Melanchthon's translation; several copies would have been in existence since Melanchthon had initially made them for teaching purposes. Indeed, since Winsemius was already translating Thucydides in 1561, he must have worked from just such a manuscript (if he used this version at all), and we have noted in subheading *b* above that David Chytraeus may also have had a copy.

Generally speaking, Winsemius' text is not far removed from that of Peucer. Hence, only the instances where the *incipit* or *explicit* differs substantially from those in subheading *b* will be given here. See also I.4 above and I.b below for other instances of the close connection between the scholarly work of Melanchthon and that of Winsemius.

### *Historiae.*

#### *Liber 1*

Oratio Atheniensium (53.4; p. 36). [Inc.]: Neque belli initium facimus, Peloponnesii, nec solvimus foedus, sed auxilio venimus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: vel aliquod Corcyrenium oppidum petetis, quod poterimus, resistemus.

Oratio Periclis (140–145; pp. 90–94). [Inc.]: [as in subheading *b* above] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ab illis imperari nollent, sed in iudicio aequo iure se iuxta foedera ad obiectas criminationes responsuros esse.

#### *Liber 2*

Funebris oratio Periclis (35–46; pp. 119–25). [Inc.]: [as in subheading *b* above] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: maxima proposita sunt. Nunc postquam luxitis singuli vestros, sicut unumquemquam decuit, abire potestis.

#### *Liber 3*

Oratio Mitylenaeorum (9–14; pp. 170–73). [Inc.]: [as in subheading *b* above] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Praestate vos viros, quales vos Graeci dignos ducunt, et quales nostra necessitas vult esse.

#### *Liber 6*

Oratio Niciae (20–23; pp. 384–85). [Inc.]: Postquam omnino video vos incitatos esse ad suscipiendam expeditionem (utinam ea nobis felix esse, sicut volumus), nunc considerandum erit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: [as in subheading *b* above].

Oratio Athenagorae (36–40; pp. 393–96).

[Inc.]: Quisquis non vult Athenienses adeo dementes esse ut hoc contra nos veniant ad certum exitium . . . / . . . [Expl.]: [as in subheading *b* above].

Oratio Hermocratis (76–80; pp. 415–18). [Inc.]: [as in subheading *b* above] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: dominos turpiter accipiatis et inimicitiam nostram, quae non erit brevis, effugere possitis.

Oratio Niciae (61–64; pp. 469–71). [Inc.]: Certamen futurum est utrisque simile de sua cuique vita, salute et patria . . . / . . . [Expl.]: convenit id magis ostendere, nec ullo tempore erit utilius aut magis salutare.

#### *Editions:*

1569. See above, Composite Editions.

1580. See above, Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

CTC 2.150 and 6.150. Add to the *Bibliography*: K. Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae*, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica 7 (Berlin, 1889); P. Melanchthon, *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. C. G. Bretschneider and H. E. Bindseil, Corpus Reformatorum 17 (Halle, 1851); J. Leonhardt, "Melanchthon als Verfasser von Lehrbüchern," *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch für Renaissance- und Humanismusforschung* 13 (1998) 26–47; K. Maag, ed., *Melanchthon in Europe: His Work and Influence beyond Wittenberg*, Studies in Reformation and post-Reformation Thought (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1999); M. Pade, "A Melanchthonian Commentary to the First Three Books of Thucydides? Cod. Philol. 166, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg," in *Reformation and Latin Literature in Northern Europe*, ed. I. Ekrem et al. (Oslo, 1996), 193–206; H. Scheible, *Melanchthon. Eine Biographie* (Munich, 1997); G. Th. Strobel, *Neue Beyträge zur Litteratur besonders des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Nuremberg, 1791), 213ff.

#### 6. Johannes Casa

In the mid-1540s Johannes Casa translated a number of speeches from Thucydides. He refers, in two letters to Carlo Gualteruzzi of 1545 and 1546, to the difficulties which he encountered: jokingly he says that he has entered into a maze; although he took his time, he is not proud of the results, but will, all the same, send the translations to Gualteruzzi (O. Moroni, ed., *Corrispondenza di Giovanni della Casa*, nos. 115, 215, 190, 315). Petrus Victorius (Pietro Vettori, on whom

see below), the editor of Casa's *Latina monumenta* (Florence, 1564), doubts that he has found all of Casa's translations, as he notes before the first speech of book 1. Johannes Caselius mentions that Casa was believed to have translated all the speeches, a large part of which had survived (see below); he may, however, simply be repeating the opinion of Victorius.

What we do have are versions of most of the speeches of books 1–3 (seventeen in all) and the description of the plague in Athens. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 14825, which contains autograph copies of most of the translations (see *Manuscripts* below), bears witness to the truth of Casa's words to Gualteruzzi since, in this codex, three stages of the work can be distinguished: a first autograph draft and two successive fair copies, both with frequent corrections and alterations in Casa's own hand. No speech is extant in all three stages.

Transmission patterns seem to suggest that Casa probably did not translate the speeches and the description of the plague at the same time. The latter is preserved in a separate manuscript (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 14826) and was not printed until 1707. Moreover, Casa's Latin rendering of the description of the plague was not known to, or at least not mentioned by, Caselius, who was in Italy in 1560, where he became a student and close friend of Victorius (see CTC 2.124).

Later Caselius recorded how he had seen Victorius, working from Casa's autographs, prepare the edition of the translations for the *Latina monumenta* with the greatest possible diligence. In fact, according to Caselius, Casa's translation of the speeches was held to be the best of those in existence at the time: "Sed ego . . . praetereundum non existimo Johannem Casam, archiepiscopum Beneventanum, qui et ipse contiones Thucydideas in Latinam linguam transtulit, omnes ut putatur, quarum pleraeque extant, quas edidit cum aliis eiusdem viri longe eruditissimi eximiis monumentis Petrus Victorius, magna equidem cura. Ipsem enim, cum Casae libros manuscriptos in manibus haberet, eum valde sollicitum vidi et diligentem in illis legendis et omnibus sententiis, paene etiam singulis verbis, considerandis atque pendendis, ut illi quam optimi atque emendatissimi in manus hominum venirent. Volebat enim etiam dignitati amici defuncti consulere, cum simul praecclare suae fidei consuleret, boni

viri et perpetui amici fungens officio. Existimatur autem esse eiusmodi illarum contionum interpretatio, ut in hunc diem, quod sciam, quando plures exstant, nulla tamen extet melior. Poterat id scilicet praestare vir praestans ingenio et doctrina, cui et otium suppeteret, quo rectius uti numquam potuit" (*In Thucydidis interpretationem prolegomina* [Rostock, 1576], 31). Caselius' admiration for Casa's efforts is evident also in his preface to the 1584 and 1610 editions of the latter's translation of the speeches, the *Carmina et Orationes*, in which he praised the usefulness of Casa's work.

Casa studied Greek at Padova in 1528–29, and his library was rich in Greek texts, as can be seen from the list of the books that he brought to Rome, where he died in 1556. Among his texts of Thucydides were a Greek manuscript, a printed edition, and Claude de Seyssel's French translation (Scarpa, *La biblioteca*, 249 and 262).

Lorenzo Campana (*Studi storici* 16, 443–44) has suggested that Casa translated Thucydides as a rhetorical exercise with a view to preparing himself for his official speeches, such as the famous *Orazione per la lega* (composed between September 1547 and the early months of 1548) and the *Orazione a Carlo V per la restituzione di Piacenza* (written at the end of 1549). He also points to the strong Thucydidean influence in Casa's political letters.

In fact, in a fragment of a funeral oration, Casa alludes to Pericles' oration in book 2 of the *Historiae*, acknowledging that he (Casa) had been inspired by the ancient Athenian custom. He recalls that Rome had also learned from Athens and explains how the Athenians once a year would honor those who had died fighting for their country with a public funeral at which the city's most brilliant orator would make a speech. Consequently the fame of those who had died for Athens was still not extinct, thanks to the genius of Thucydides, Plato, and Demosthenes: "Nec vero ignarus eram pulcherrimae illius Atheniensium consuetudinis, quam prudentissima civitas, e qua Senatus Populusque ipse Romanus leges olim mutuatus didicerit, servavit quamdiutissime: suos enim cives, quicumque in proeliis pro re pugnantes publica fortiter cecidissent, cum publico funere ac sepultura honorabant, tum vero, qui eorum laudes ad sepulchra singulis annis memoraret, publice constituebant eum quidem potissimum, qui ingenio atque eloquentia in civitate ex-

celleret plurimum. . . Atque eorum, qui pro unis Athenis occubuerunt, virtus et gloria et fama ne tot quidem seculis post mortua est; Thucydidis enim, Platonis, Demosthenis denique ingenio et spiritu vivit . . ." (Casa, *Opere*, vol. 3 [Florence, 1707], 262–64).

In Vat. lat. 14825, where we have two quite different copies of this fragmentary funeral oration, Casa has noted some of the passages which he used: *Hist.* 2.34.4 for "... ut veterem Atheniensium sapientissimum quidem hominum morem atque exemplum renovarem" (fol. 251v, not in the printed version) and *Hist.* 2.35.1 for "vereor enim ne quorum fortitudinis munera atque opera tam exstant firma ac illustria, eorum imbecillis unius in hominis et obscuri voce atque oratione laudem agi et gloriam periclitari iniustum plerisque videatur" (fol. 269r). Casotti asserts that Casa's speech was given after the defeat suffered in 1538 against the Turks in the naval battle of Prevesa, in the Gulf of Arta, where six Venetian galleys were lost (Casa, *Opere*, vol. 1 [Florence, 1707], 17). This date is perhaps somewhat doubtful: from the speech it is clear that it was to be delivered at Venice, but Casa arrived in this city six years after the defeat of the Venetians. Furthermore, there were losses other than Venetian in the battle, about which Casa also speaks, and this does not seem to have been the case at Prevesa.

Hannibal Oricellarius (Annibale Rucellai), Casa's nephew, writes in the preface to the 1564 edition of the *Latina monimenta* that Casa had wanted all his unpublished Latin works to be burned. Nevertheless, Rucellai sent them to Casa's friend, Petrus Victorius, who prepared the works for publication. The Florentine Victorius (1499–1585), one of the most eminent classical scholars of the sixteenth century, was a professor of Latin, and later of Greek and Moral Philosophy, at the University of Florence and the author of numerous works on Greek and Latin writers (Cosenza 4.3671–79).

Victorius explains at length (in his own preface to the 1564 edition) about the translations. First he states that Casa had made them as exercises and, since they were not published, he probably never finished the work; however, despite their incomplete state, the translations would still be of great use to those who did not have any Greek. He then draws attention to the exceptional difficulty of Thucydides' speeches and observes

that whoever disagrees with Casa's Latin rendering ought to bear in mind that Casa was particularly well equipped, by virtue of his political experience, diligence, and great natural gifts, to understand the speeches.

*Preface (Latina monimenta, ed. of Florence, 1564).* Hannibal Oricellarius Petro Victorio sal. [Inc.]: (sig. a2r) Non video mihi posse amplius ob preces multorum, qui undique idem hoc etiam atque etiam petunt vel potius flagitant, in consilio permanere nec, quae primum suppri-menda censueram, Johannis Casae avunculi mei latina ingenii monimenta domi tenere, quibus omnibus omnis hominum generis postulatis non parvi apud me ponderis accessit auctoritas tua, qui diligenter mihi suasisti ut hoc sine ulla dubitatione facerem, nec paterer diutius tam suaves admirabilis naturae fructus reconditos abditosque iacere privaremque cupidos ipsorum magna solidaque voluptate, quam se inde hausturos sperant, nec frustra ita, ut tu idem asseverabas, ac sine causa sperant. Cum tu igitur auctor accesseris vel (ut verius loquar) sponsor, qui quasi damni infecti promiseris meque hoc tuo periculo facerem iusseris, vix possum amplius tot honestorum homi(sig. a2v)num voluntati refragari. Quare totam rem tibi trado et amori tuo magno erga auctorem ipsum fideique committo: facies igitur quod ex dignitate illius communique utilitate esse iudicabis. Unum ego illud doleo et moleste in primis fero, quod ea, quae maiore animo nec minori (ut arbitror) consilio aut iam inchoaverat aut tota mente complexus fuerat, absolvere non potuit. Ita enim fortasse sitis illa ingens, quae animos fere omnium invasit, legendi ipsius scripta expleri potuisset nisi potius ipsa eo pacto excitata fuisse. Neque enim modus ullus est finisque honestarum et ingenuo viro dignarum voluptatum, sed quanto plus aliquis earum capit, tanto magis desiderio ipsarum inflammatur ac semper ulterius aliquid ardenter appetit. Unde autem id factum sit tu probe nosti, vel cuncti potius qui cognitum hominem habuerunt atque in iisdem, quibus ipse, locis aliquando vixerunt. Cui enim perspectae non sunt multae magnaenque ipsius occupationes? Cui itidem inaudita est imbecillitas corporis dolorque acer articulorum, quo saepe ille miserabilem in modum conficiebatur? Ut de vitae si non brevitate, saltem non longinquitate taceam, cum illa potissimum aetate mors eum oppresserit qua-

mens hominis perfici incipit et plenos integrosque fructus edere potest. . . (sig. a3r) Restat igitur unum, quod valde me pungit: vereor enim ne parum pie faciam, si aduerser voluntati mortui et hominis eius mortui, cuius in primis voluntatem ratam esse et mandata omnia firma optare et pro viribus etiam eniti debo: non multos enim dies antequam e vita discederet, cum mentio facta esset horum laborum, quid fieri de illis vellet, si quid ipsi accidisset, plane significavit: deleri enim funditus ipsos, in ignemque imponi statim imperavit. Cum tamen socios multos habeam huius culpae, si culpa illa appellanda est, exstiterintque omnibus temporibus alii qui hac in re ultimae voluntati mortuorum non obtemperarint sed potius communi bono consuluerint studioque ac cupiditati honestorum virorum morem gesserint, facilius (ut opinor) crimen hoc sustinebo et a manibus ipsius mortui veniam impetrabo. Nuper certe idem factum est ab heredibus summi ac singularis viri Francisci Guicciardi (sig. a3v) ni, qui cum historiam illam suam (tantopere nunc omnibus probatam) imperfectam ac minime expolitam relinqueret, mandaverat diligenter ut occultaretur, vel potius interrogatus a scriba dum testamentum componeret, quid de illa statueret, magno et constanti animo respondit: comburatur. Illi tamen recte fecisse existimantur quod ipsam ediderint, et non solum scelere liberantur, verum etiam eximia quadam laude digni putantur et maximo beneficio cunctos mortales affecisse creduntur. Idem igitur mihi eventurum, si idem effecero, prorsus confido, id est, apud multos me gratiam initurum et affinem quoque meum mihi ignoturum. Praesertim cum id quod ille omnino voluit, praestari a me nulla ratione potuerit, neque enim valeo plurimos cohibere, in quorum manus iam pridem non pauca scriptorum illorum pervenerunt, et ne ipsi ea divulgent impedire. Quod iam de nonnullis ipsorum usu venit, ac non sine magno meo dolore factum est. Postquam igitur animo ipsius satisfieri vix potest cum ipsa undique emanent ac formis etiam ubique excudantur, existimavi me rectius facturum si omnibus iis de causis ipse illa integriora correctioraque edidissem atque ita assiduis vocibus multorum acerrimisque desideriis obsecundassem. Quod tamen tui iudicii esse volo et (ut initio dixi) a te totum proficiisci, cum diligenter prius an fieri debeat cogitaris. Cur enim ego in hac re non sequar sententiam tuam et, quod tibi

probatum fuerit, id verum esse prorsus putem, quem (sig. a4r) de his litteris recte existimare posse una omnium voce compertum atque exploratum est. Avunculus certe meus tibi primas deferebat ac de tua eruditione divinitus sentiebat. Sed, ut omittam nunc doctrinam et paeclarum multarum honestarum artium cognitionem, illud in primis me in hac opinione confirmavit, quod video, quanto amore illum mortuum prosequare quantaque benevolentia memoriam ipsius colas. Cur igitur hoc tuae potissimum curae non committam, quod unum nomen ipsius plurimum illustrare potest et ab omni iniuria temporis oblivioneque vindicare? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. a4v) Quare hoc amantissimi tui hominis laeto animo munus accipe, teque id ab auctore ipso architecto que huius operis accipere existimato, qui tui semper studiosissimus fuit, ac, dum vixit, demum (nihil enim maius excogitare valeo ad ostendendam egregiam ipsius voluntatem erga te) cumulate tibi in amore respondit. Vale. Romae (Roma ed.) Idib. Novemb. MDLXIII.

*Letter of Petrus Victorius to Hannibal Oricellarius.* Petrus Victorius Hannibali Oricellario s. [Inc.]: (sig. b1r) Quod mihi, suavissime Hannibal, onus imposuisti, quamvis sua sponte magnum fuerit, numquam tamen grave mihi duxi . . . / . . . (sig. b2v) ut cetera ipsius omnia consilia factaque non magnopere laudare, eoque nomine immortales tibi gratias agere. Vale. Florentiae IIII. Id. Jun. MDLXIII.

*Letter to the reader.* Petrus Victorius lectori s. [Inc.]: (sig. b3r) Non putavi alienum, humanissime lector, de nonnullis te admonere, quae tibi cognita esse oportet. . . . (sig. b4v) Restat nunc, in quo maior adhuc scrupulus mea sententia est, quodque magis me sollicitat honoris causa huius praestantissimi viri labor, quem posuit in vertendis in latinum sermonem contionibus Thucydidis: cum enim semper arduum esse ac difficile existimaverim convertere aliquid e graecis scriptoribus (si quis recte et cum mediocri etiam laude munus hoc obire velit: nam, ut plerique hoc faciunt, qui nullo ornatu adhibito, nullo selectu verborum, nullo iudicio, quoquo modo sententias expressisse contenti sunt, si hoc etiam ipsum praestare possent, nihil est tam proclive et paratum), in primis semper durum et laboriosum putavi attingere hunc scriptorem et aliquam ipsius partem in alium quempiam sermonem comportare, contiones vero has propter obscuri-

tatem sententiarum orationisque brevitatem, ne dicam asperitatem et duritiam, maiorem adhuc molestiam in se continere non sine causa (ut arbitror) credidi. Et tamen hic noster tot tantisque difficultatibus deterritus non est speravitque se posse studio et diligentia sua ipsas superare, vel potius ingenii et industriae suae periculum facere voluit experiri, ut fuit semper avidus verae laudis ac gloriae, an ex hoc quasi certamine honeste discedere posset et tamquam palmam inde domum reportare. Nihil enim sibi umquam facile pronumque proposuit, sed semper cum iis qui summum locum in qualibet laude tenent contendendum putavit, et aliquos etiam ipsorum fortasse vicit et omni honore spoliavit. Hoc enim verius esse puto, cum compertum habeam maiorem partem horum laborum ab ipso exercitationis causa fuisse susceptam, cum maiora quaedam meditaretur ac doctrina ingenioque suo digniora, ipsas tamen quoque edendas putavi magis utilitatis aliorum causa quam illius ipsius decorandi, qui multum operae ac diligentiae in ipsis posuit. Quippe cum nihil temptatum ab ipso iudicem negligendum huiuscemodique, ut nullum fructum ferre possit studiosis, habendum, nec tamen hoc quoque (ut appareat) opus absolvit, nam conatum hunc magnum ingenii ipsius summam laudem inventurum fuisse, si exitum habuisset, dubitandum non est. Fecisset enim, ut prudentissimi gravissimique scriptoris orationes subtilissimae et magnorum consiliorum plenissimae, eleganter et erudite scriptae ab iis etiam legi possent, qui illius ipsius sermonis, quo primum scriptae fuere, rudes et expertes omnino sunt. Ac ne nunc quidem, etsi omnes illae expressae non sunt, dici potest id non aliquo modo praestitisse vel prope saltem ad id ipsum accessisse. Qui enim primi ad rem aliquam arduam aggrediuntur rationemque illius laboris superandi ac viam monstrant, ii aliquo modo illius negotii difficilisque operis confectores haberet et appellari possunt. Si qui autem exstiterint, qui in aliquibus locis ab hoc nostro interprete dissentiant atque alium fuisse sensum auctoris quam qui ab ipso expressus est, contendant, ii meminisse debebunt semper habitas esse has orationes obscurissimas et iis etiam temporibus quibus sermo graecus vigebat, et hic luculentus scriptor in manibus disertorum erat, negotium ipsas facessere solitas iis, qui ipsas accurate legerent. Quippe cum M. etiam Cicero ita de illis existimaverit et hoc suum iudicium monumentis litterarum mandarit: cum enim

Thucydidem ipsum magnopere laudasset, quamvis contra sententiam quorundam oratori nullo modo utilem nec forensi generi dicendi accommodatum affirmasset, haec addidit: "Ipsae illae contiones ita multas habent obscuras abditasque sententias, vix ut intelligantur" [Orat. 30]. Si igitur tanta caligo ipsas semper texit, ut vix lumibus penetrari ad multas partes ipsarum eo quoque tempore potuerit, quid mirum si nunc in maiori multo harum rerum caecitate diversa ingenia, et ea quidem acuta et valde exercitata, diversos sensus inde eliciunt et aliqua opinionum varietate distrahuntur? Nam iudicium huius nostri auctoris nullo modo arbitror contemnendum, cum sit notum omnibus et exploratum quanta fuerit acies ingenii illius et quantam curam diligentiamque ille adhibere sit solitus in iis omnibus, quae litteris prodebat et in manus eruditorum perventura videbat, praeterquam quod cum ille natura consuetudineque factus esset ad res magnas publicasque et cogitandas et administrandas, multo melius ad occultos hos reconditosque sensus pervenire poterat quam qui numquam in re publica gubernanda versatus esset, nec ullo tempore cogitationem aliquam talis hominis propriam suscepisset. Consideret demum secum, si forte ipse antea hoc opus aggressus esset, quam saepe multumque secum dubitaturus fuisse et in non paucis fortasse locis haesurus, ut humanius clementiusque postea de scriptis aliorum iudicet. Nam hoc in primis genus exercitationis expositum esse vocibus malevolorum et facile ab obtrectatoribus reprehendi accusrique posse omnes noverunt; nulli enim adhuc in hoc negotio ita felices fuerunt, ut non incurrerint in maledicta invidorum invenerintque aliquos qui ex eorum erroribus laudem sibi comparare studuerint. Sed hoc relicto, in quo ille aut vacuus est ab hoc omni periculo maloque, aut si qua illic offensio est, nostra est, qui ea, quae ipse animi causa exercitationisque studio scripserat, edere et in manus doctorum hominum tradere voluimus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. A3v) omni genere suorum scriptorum, non solum adaequaturus, verum etiam superaturus esset. Vale.

### *Historiae.*

#### *a. Speeches*

(p. 146) Plures orationes Thucydidis conversae ab eodem, nec tamen omnes continentur, quod suspicari licet factum esse, quia nonnullae ipsarum interiectae inter has perierint.

*Liber 1*

Corcyraeorum contio ad Athenienses (32–36; pp. 146–49). [Inc.]: Qui subsidium ad eos rogatum Athenienses veniunt, a quibus nullam pro magno aliquo beneficio gratiam, nullumque ex foedere . . . / . . . [Expl.]: classe decertabitis. Quod si nos receperitis, nostras naves, quibuscum bellum adversum eos geratis, ad vestras adiungetis.

Corinthiorum contio ad Athenienses (37–43; pp. 148–53). [Inc.]: Quoniam Corcyraei hi non modo de sese recipiendis sed de nostra etiam iniuria, deque eo, quod oppugnari se a nobis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: nec iniuriam facientes adiuvate. Atque haec si ita feceritis, cum officio fungemini, tum optime vobis ipsis consuletis.

Corinthiorum contio ad Lacedaemonios (68–71; pp. 154–57). [Inc.]: Quod vos fidentiores reddit, Lacedaemonii, de vestris publicis privatisque institutis, facit, ut minorem fidem habeatis aliis, si quid dixerimus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Haec prudenter statuite dateque operam ne Peloponnesum, cuius principatum obtinetis, minus amplam quam a maioribus accepistis habeatis.

Atheniensium contio ad Lacedaemonios (73–78; pp. 158–62). [Inc.]: Non ob eam causam Lacedaemonii legati nos quidem sumus, ut socios vestros contra diceremus, sed ut de quibus nos civitas misit ea ageremus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Si minus, deos periurii vindices testati, qua vos praenentes nos deducetis, ea vos belli auctores propulsabimus.

Contio Periclis (140–144; pp. 162–67). [Inc.]: In pristina ego mea sententia maneo, Athenienses, Peloponnesiis cedendum non esse, quamquam intendo non eadem alacritate homines bellum cum suadetur, suscipere . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Hostem igitur omni ratione repellamus, atque enitamur uti haec ne minora quam acceperimus posteris nostris prodamus.

*Liber 2*

Oratio qua Pericles laudavit cives suos in hoc bello interfectorum (35–46; pp. 168–75). [Inc.]: Plerique eorum qui antea ex hoc loco dixerunt eum, qui orationem hanc ad vetus institutum addiderit, collaudarunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Etenim qui maxima virtuti praemia proponunt, eorum fortissimi cives rem publicam gerunt. Sed iam, ubi suum quique luxerint, discedite.

Contio Periclis ad Athenienses (60–64.6; pp. 175–80). [Inc.]: Minime mihi inopinata vestra in me accedit iracundia, et enim insimulari me sen-

tio, eamque ob causam contionem advocavi . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et re maxime resistunt, ii et populorum et privatorum fortissimi sunt.

Oratio Plataeorum legatorum ad Lacedaemonios in exercitu (71.2–4; p. 180). [Inc.]: Rem iustum facitis, Archidame atque Lacedaemonii, minimeque vobis ac patribus vestris dignam, qui exercitum in Plataeorum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: neque iusiurandum violetis sed, quemadmodum Pausanias sanxit, nostris nos legibus uti permittatis.

Archidami, Lacedaemoniorum regis, defensio (72.1; p. 181). [Inc.]: Aequum vos quidem, Plataei, dicitis, si modo cum dictis facta consentient. In libertate igitur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: utrosque recipere, in belli autem societatem neutros, et his quidem contenti erimus.

Defensio altera Archidami contra responsum quod dederant legati illi (72.3; p. 181). [Inc.]: At vos urbem Lacedaemoniis nobis atque aedificia tradite, finesque monstrate, tum arbores, et si qua praeterea habetis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Interim apud nos deposita habebimus colemusque, et quod vobis futurum sit satis, pensitabimus.

Contio Plataeensium legatorum ad suos cives renuntiantium legationem, qua functi fuerant ad Athenienses (73.3; p. 182). [Inc.]: Cum antehac Plataeenses ex qua die vos sibi socios asciverunt, omisisse sese vos tueri Athenienses . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Itaque a vobis per iusiurandum illud quod maiores vestri iurarunt, ne quid novi consilii capiat, postulant.

Contio Cnemi praefecti classis Lacedaemoniorum cum instaret navalis pugna (87; pp. 182–83). [Inc.]: Superius, Peloponnesii, navale proelium, si qui forte sunt qui eo commoti futurum quoque extimescant . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quod si quis omnino decreverit ignavus esse, is pro delicto poenam sustinebit: fortes autem pro virtute praemium ferent.

Contio Phormionis ducis Atheniensium ad exercitum navalem (89; pp. 183–85). [Inc.]: Cum perterritos vos navium multitudine, milites, animadvertis, cumque turpe factu existimem, quae minime formidolosa sunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: vobis esse memineritis: semel autem superatus animus similiter eadem experiri pericula nescit.

*Liber 3*

Contio Mitylenaeorum ad Lacedaemonios (9–14; pp. 185–89). [Inc.]: Scimus, Lacedaemonii sociique, in more positum hoc esse Graecorum, ut qui in bellis defecerint . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quales

vos viros esse Graeci confidunt, qualesque noster  
hic postulat metus.

Contio Teutiapli (30; p. 189). [Inc.]: Ego Mitylenas protinus contendendum, Alcida ducesque Peloponnesii, priusquam de nostro adventu auditum sit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: rei bene gerendae occasionem non dimiserint, iis quam plurima ex sententia eveniunt.

Argumentum (36; p. 190). Quasi argumentum duarum quae sequuntur orationum ex auctoris verbis expressum. [Inc.]: Cum populus Atheniensis multis de causis Mitylenensium . . . / . . . [Expl.]: auctore factum esset tueretur, advocata contione ad hunc fere modum locutus est.

Contio Cleonis (37–40.8; pp. 191–95). [Inc.]: Intellexi equidem et saepe alias, et maxime hoc tempore cum vestrae vos de Mitylenaeis sententiae . . . / . . . [Expl.]: hac enim re intellecta, minus posthac cogemini, posthabitis hostibus, cum sociis vestris bellum gerere.

Contio Diodoti (41–48.2; pp. 196–201). [Inc.]: Ad haec Diodotus, Eucratis filius, qui in priori quoque contione vehementer Cleonis sententiae de Mitylenaeis necandis restitisset . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Nam qui consilio nititur, plus hostibus nocet quam qui sine animi ratione viribus.

#### *b. Description of the plague*

Johannis Casae descriptio pestis Atheniensis ex Thucydide (2.47.3–54.5). [Inc.]: (p. 241) Paucis diebus post horum in Atticam adventum, Atheniensibus morbus exortus est is, qui antea quoque alios locos invasisse dicebatur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Peloponnesum autem haud magnopere attigit, vexavit autem Athenas quidem in primis, deinde frequentissima quaeque loca . . . memoratu digna . . . (sic) [The edition of Florence, 1707 reflects the confused state of the text in Vat. lat. 14826, fol. 25v, the only manuscript witness to the text presently known].

#### *Manuscripts:*

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II. I. 100 (misc. and olim Magl. VIII 66; VII 445; VII 442; VII 565; VII 249; XXXIV 21; VIII 1363; VII 930), s. XVI and later, fols. 62r–68r. Autograph draft of Pericles' funeral oration (*Hist.* 2.35–44). Though basically the same, there are a few divergences between this draft and the translation in Vat. lat. 14825 (see below), which has the text of the printed version. (Mazzatinti 8.38).

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,

Vat. lat. 14825, s. XVI (misc.), fols. 182–245 and 284r–290v. Autograph drafts of the translations of the speeches, with notes, and fair copies with corrections by Casa. Neither all the drafts nor all the fair copies are collected in the manuscript: there are no autograph drafts of *Hist.* 2.60–64, 72.3 and 3.30, 37–40, 41–48; no fair copy of *Hist.* 3.36 exists, but there are two fair copies of the speeches of Cleon and Diodotus, whereas the speech of Pericles (*Hist.* 1.140–144) is missing. The fair copies tend to be identical with the printed text, but the correspondence is not always absolute (L. Campana in *Studi storici* 16, 5f.). Like Vat. lat. 14826, Vat. lat. 14825 contains published and unpublished works by Casa, among them his annotations on Aristotle's *Politics*, the *Galateo*, the *Vita Petri Bembi*, and the *Vita Gasparis Contareni*. Campana described both codices when they were still in the possession of the Ricci-Parracini family at Rome. Casa spent the last days of his life in the house of the Ricci and left the manuscripts to the care of his hosts. (*Manoscritti vaticani latini 14666–15203. Catalogo sommario*, ed. A. M. Piazzone and P. Vian, *Studi e testi* 332 [Vatican City, 1989], 82).

\_\_\_\_\_, Vat. lat. 14826, s. XVI, fols. 22r–25v. Description of the plague (*Hist.* 2.47.3–54.5). (L. Campana in *Studi storici* 16, 6f.; *Manoscritti vaticani latini 14666–15203*, 83).

#### *Doubtful manuscripts:*

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 14827 and 14829. According to O. Moroni, ed., *Corrispondenza di Giovanni della Casa*, 215 n. 3 and 315 n., copies of Casa's translations are found in these manuscripts. Both codices, however, contain only letters by Casa.

#### *Editions:*

##### *Speeches*

1564, Florentiae (Florence): in officina Iuntarum Bernardi filiorum. Johannes Casa's *Latina monumenta*, with his translations of most of the speeches from *Hist.* 1–3. NUC. BL; BNF; (ICU; DLC; MiU; NIC; WU).

1567, Florentiae (Florence): in officina Iuntarum Bernardi filiorum. Contents the same as in the preceding entry. Adams C-804; NUC. BL; BNF; (ICN; MH; WU; PU; CU).

1584, Rostochii (Rostock): Stephanus Myliander. Johannes Casa's *Carmina et orationes Thucydidis pleraeque*, with all the translations

from Thucydides found in the 1564 edition and the preface of Johannes Caselius. VD T-1133. Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek.

1610, Helmaestadii (Helmstadt). Contents the same as in the preceding entry. Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.

(\*) 1708, Halae Magdeburgicae (Halle): in off. Rengeriana. Contents the same as in the edition of Florence, 1564. BL; BNF.

(\*) 1709, Halae Magdeburgicae (Halle): in off. Rengeriana. Contents the same as in the edition of Florence, 1564. NUC. BL; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; (ICU).

#### *Speeches and description of the plague*

1707, Firenze (Florence): Giuseppe Manni. Johannes Casa's *Opere*, with his translation of the speeches from *Hist.* 1–3 and the description of the plague. NUC. BL; BNF; (DLC; WU; CtY; PBm; PPULC).

1728–29, Venezia (Venice): Angiolo Pasinello. Contents the same as in the preceding entry. NUC. BL; BNF; (DLC; DFo; MB; CU; CtY-D; PU; PPULC).

1733, Napoli (Naples): [s. e.]. Contents the same as in the edition of Florence, 1707. NUC. BL; (NcU; PPULC; PPC; NcD; CU).

1752, Venezia (Venice): Angiolo Pasinelli. Contents the same as in the edition of Florence, 1707. NUC. BL; BNF; (DLC; TU; CU; MiU).

#### *Biography:*

Johannes Casa (Giovanni della Casa) was born 28 July 1503, probably in the Mugello (perhaps at the village of La Casa), and died in Rome on 14 November 1556.

Early in life Casa was a student of Ubaldino Baldinelli. During 1524/25–26 he studied law at Bologna, where he also frequented the lectures of Romolo Amaseo who taught rhetoric and poetry. He was in Padua 1528–29 where he studied Greek with Trifone Gabriele and Benedetto Lampridio, and Latin as well as Greek with Lazzaro Buonamici.

At the beginning of the 1530s Casa began an ecclesiastical career, and in the following years he pursued various commissions for the Curia in Italy. A protégé of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, he was a member of the Accademia de'Vignaiuoli (Rome) and the Accademia della Crusca (Florence). In 1544 he was appointed archbishop of

Benevento, but he never visited his see. That same year he also became nuncio to Venice where he spent the next five years; hence he also participated in the Council of Trent. Again in Venice, as a representative of the Roman Inquisition, he attacked Pier Paolo Vergerio the Younger, bishop of Capodistria.

After the death of Pope Paul III in 1549, Casa lived in semi-retirement in the Veneto and dedicated himself to literary pursuits. Pope Paul IV appointed him Secretary of State in 1555. Casa had hoped to be elected cardinal in 1555, but opposition from, among others, the Medici Duke of Florence prevented this from happening.

Casa was the friend of Francesco Maria Molza, Carlo Gualteruzzi, Pietro Bembo, and Petrus Victorius. He is considered one of the finest Tuscan writers of the period.

#### *Works:*

In addition to his work on Thucydides, Casa also translated Plato's *Menexenus* (Vat. lat. 14826, fols. 28ff. and *Opere*, vol. 3 [Florence, 1707], 246–51). His writings include *Il Galateo, ovvero De'costumi* (for Galeazzo Florimonte, after whom it was named); *Vita Petri Bembi* (published in the *Latina monimenta*); *Vita Gasparis Contareni* (published in the *Latina monimenta*); *Alphonsi regis vita; Rime e prose; Carmina* (published in the *Latina monimenta*); *De officiis inter potentiores et tenuiores amicos* (of which he also made an Italian version; published in the *Latina monimenta*); *In historias Petri Bembi praefatio* (published in the *Latina monimenta*); *Istruzione al Cardinal Carafa; Istruzione al Cardinal Scipione Rebida; Dissertatio adversus Paulum Vergerium*; and some orations.

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### 7. Henricus Stephanus

Henricus Stephanus’ translation of the *Historiae* is originally connected with his work as an editor of Thucydides. He published a revised version of Laurentius Valla’s translation (I.1 above), together with the Greek text, in 1564 and 1588, and a further revision appeared in several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions (see I.14 below). Stephanus also inserted his own translations of a number of speeches from the *Historiae* into the *Conciones sive Orationes ex graecis latinisque historicis excerptae* (1570), a collection of speeches from Greek and Roman writers. Of these, two are independent translations while the rest, thirty in all, present a revised text of Valla’s rendering.

#### a. *The revision of Laurentius Valla’s translation (1564)*

In 1564 Stephanus published his first edition of Thucydides. Greek scholia surround the Greek text on the page. A distinctive use of punctuation, including parentheses, enabled Stephanus to correct and clarify several passages in the Greek text of the *Historiae*; to a great extent, his readings were followed by later editors. Also included is a Latin version, which, he claims, is that of Laurentius Valla with corrections by himself (Stephanus). This Latin text closely resembles Valla’s translation in the edition published by Jodocus Badius Ascensius at Paris in 1513 (see I.1 above); Stephanus’ corrections, which take the form of marginal notes, profit from the greater legibility of the original. The scope of Stephanus’ interventions is such that the resulting text owes as much to him as to Valla and so merits separate treatment as a new translation even if, as we have just noted, it takes the form of a series of marginal notes rather than a continuous text.

Stephanus observes, in the dedication to Joachim Camerarius, that his 1564 edition was produced with a great amount of effort on his part (*maximis meis sudoribus*), occupied as he was during the day with various tasks at home, in the office, and elsewhere. His revision of Valla’s translation had, therefore, to be done at night and under the pressure of time.

A similar insistence on the difficulties involved is developed at greater length in the letter to the reader. There Stephanus explains that his work, tripartite in character, involved the Greek text, the accompanying Greek scholia, and the Latin translation of Valla.

He mentions that he has improved the punctuation of the Greek text and so clarified many passages Valla had misunderstood because of the faulty punctuation of his Greek manuscripts. Stephanus also uses parentheses to explain the structure of Thucydides’ sentence; he regrets not having been able to bring this aspect of the work to completion but, after the text of the translation (see sig. t.iii<sup>v</sup> of the 1564 edition) and in the *Annotacionum liber* (I.h below), he has indicated where he would insert more.

As for Valla’s translation, Stephanus recalls his surprise that the revision of this rendering turned out to be such an arduous task since he was convinced that Valla had consulted all the “oracles” of

his day regarding the more obscure passages in the Greek text. Moreover, he had been led to believe that Claude de Seyssel's French translation would be helpful. But he was sorely disappointed on both counts; Valla would sometimes persist in an error of translation, sometimes translate a phrase correctly in one book and mistakenly in another. Indeed, Stephanus wonders that Valla, the author of the *Elegantiae* (a work on the Latin language), could express himself so clumsily in Latin, and he finds it hard to believe that Valla completed his translation after he wrote the *Elegantiae*.

At all events, Stephanus notes that he has made innumerable corrections and emendations in Valla's Latin text. He goes on to say that Seyssel's translation was even worse, despite the latter's claim to have consulted the Greek scholar Janus Lascaris. To prove his point, Stephanus cites the Greek text of *Hist.* 8.96.5, followed by Valla's Latin translation of the passage, Seyssel's French version with a Latin translation, and a literal Latin version of his own. He then discusses the various versions in detail and finally adds another, freer translation of his own.

In his marginal notes Stephanus regularly suggests several alternative renderings of the Greek and also discusses his reasons for correcting Valla's version. A few illustrative examples from the beginning and end of the *Historiae* are as follows.

Stephanus' first intervention (*Hist.* 1.1.1) is prompted by Valla's rather free rendering of the Greek participle τεκματόμενος ("estimating" or "conjecturing"); in the same chapter he pertinently remarks that Valla's *e suis finibus* ("from their boundaries") seems to be a translation of ὥρων ξυνιστάμενον, a reading unacceptable to him and seemingly not found in the critical apparatus of the modern editions. The standard text reads ὥρων ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἐκατέρους ("seeing that *the rest of Greece* was committed to one side or the other"). At *Hist.* 8.106.4 Stephanus refers to a scholium to explain his translation; and at *Hist.* 8.108.1 he comments on the fact that Valla's *tredecim cum navibus* ("with thirteen ships") leaves out the important article (ταῦς τρισὶ καὶ δέκα ναυσίν), the very word which indicates that the ships have been mentioned before (see the *incipit* and *explicit* of the translation below).

Nearly twenty-five years later, in 1588,

Stephanus published what is generally considered to be the best edition of Thucydides in the sixteenth century. It was dedicated to Frederick IV, duke of Bavaria and Palatine elector (see below); the letter of dedication to Joachim Camerarius from the 1564 edition (sig. qiiii<sup>r-v</sup>) was also included. In the 1588 edition Stephanus presented a revised Greek text and further corrected Valla's translation, now printed in parallel columns with the corresponding Greek text, while the Greek scholia, also revised, are placed at the foot of the page. In the margins are concordances with the 1564 edition, so that the new edition could also be used with his *Thesaurus graecae linguae*. Other important additions are the *Proparasceue* to the reading of Greek scholia, a still valuable exposition of the special vocabulary and technical terminology used by the scholiasts, and Latin annotations to the text and scholia of the first two books (I.h below). He also prints David Chytraeus' *Chronologia Thucydidis* (I.c below). The text of the Latin translation, however, does not differ substantially from that of the 1564 edition, nor are Stephanus' corrections inserted into the text, as is the case in the 1570 edition of the *Conciones* (see subheading *b* below).

*Dedication* (ed. of [Geneva,] 1564). Henricus Stephanus Joachimo Camerario s. d. [Inc.]: (sig. \*ii<sup>r</sup>) Redditae mihi fuerunt litterae tuae, Joachime carissime, breves illae quidem. . . . Pro quo tamen non secus ac iam accepto, et gratias tibi singulares ago, et ἀντίδωρον, Thucydidem meum Latinum, una cum Graeco, vicissim mitto. Quidni enim meum appellem, cuius debetur maximis meis sudoribus editio? . . . Totum ergo diem partim domi cum variis mearum operarum ingeniosis altercatus, rixatus, tumultuatus, digladiatus, et variis typographicis officiis ad eas in officio retinendas functus, partim foris multiplicia negotia eaque non admodum mihi iucunda exsecutus, tum demum cum tenebrae oppressissent, ad recognitionem interpretationis Vallae (bellam scilicet animi relaxationem) me conferebam. Ibi saepe mihi contingebat, dum distractum ac veluti sparsum animum colligere conarer, χασμάσθαι καὶ σκορδιάσθαι; saepe etiam, dum hinc loci alicuius Thucydidei obscuritas animum angeret et cruciaret, illinc temporis angustiae premerent, ἵλγγιάν καὶ σκοτοδιάτην. Ecquid te mei miserebit, haec legentem, mi Ioachime? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. \*ii<sup>v</sup>) Interim hos accipe, ἐπὶ

πονηροῦ ἵππαρίου ἀκαλλιθορυβωδομουσσοταχυπατάκτοις.

*Letter to the reader* (ed. of [Geneva,] 1564). Henricus Stephanus lectori Thucydidis studioso s. d. [Inc.]: (sig. \*iii<sup>r</sup>) Utinam, lector, ista mea Thucydidis editio multorum votis eam iam pridem avidissime expetentium respondeat. Hoc saltem de ea, qualiscumque est, affirmare non verebor eiusmodi esse quae et meam ipsius spem et quam aliis concitavi expectationem longe supereret. Multo enim plura quam me praestitum aut sperassem, aut cuiquam pollicitus essem, praestita esse comperientur. Cum autem tres in partes divisum sit, quicquid studii atque operae in hunc auctorem contuli (partim enim circa ipsum Thucydidis contextum, partim circa scholia ei apposita, partim circa latinam eius interpretationem meus versatus est labor), in tres itidem partes meum sermonem dividere et de horum unoquoque singillatim, eo quo proposita sunt ordine, pauca disserere institui.... Sequitur alterum in re parvi momenti positum (ut quidem prima fronte videri possit), sed cuius maximum esse pondus quotidie in legendis auctoribus experimus. Qua igitur in re alterum illud versatur? In interpungendi ratione. Quantum enim obscuritatis huic auctori nimium iam obscuro alioqui ex praeposteris interpunctionibus accessisse existimas? Tantum accessit meo quidem iudicio ut ipsummet Thucydidem antehac multos suae historiae locos in superioribus editionibus legentem diu dubitatum et haesitatum fuisse existimet. Vallae certe saepenumero suorum itidem exemplarium perversae interpunctiones magnorum errorum ansam praebuerunt. Quae omnia in meo *Annotationum* in Thucydidem libro exemplis probare decrevi [see 1588 edition, pp. 13ff., i.e., sig. iii.j<sup>ff</sup>.]. Iam vero et typographicas parenthesēs notas plurimis locis sic inseruimus, ut ex obscurissimis clarissimos reddiderimus. Si quis tamen roget an omnes praeposteras distinctiones loco suo moverimus, an quaecumque omissae erant addiderimus, an item parenthesēs notis quaecunque includenda erant incluserimus, tam exactam sane diligentiam nobis non arrogabimus sed multa huiusmodi praetermissa esse fatebimur, quorum aliqua in calce interpretationis latinae breviter indicavimus, tantisper dum et ea ipsa et alia insuper multa in illo nostro *Annotationum* libro exponeremus. Sed quod ad parentheses (id est parenthesēs notas) attinet, ut aliquas per imprudentiam, ita etiam

nonnullas consulto praetermissas esse scito, in iis nimirum locis in quibus cum Thucydides uti parenthesi primo aspectu videatur, eam si quis propius inspiciat, pseudoparenthesis esse compertur. Quae nisi deprehendatur, locos quos occuparit, sic involutos impeditosque, et (ut ita dicam) λαβυρινθώδεις relinquunt, ut ex illis ne ipse quidem Daedalus se evolvere expedireque possit....

(sig. \*iii<sup>v</sup>) Postulat qui a nobis est propositus ordo ut iam de latina Thucydideae historiae interpretatione dicamus. Vallae igitur interpretationem cum recognoscendam suscepit, non tam duram me provinciam, quam postea expertus sum, cepisse existimavi. Quam enim obscurus eset Thucydides non eram nescius, sed meliori fide versatum esse Vallam in eius interpretatione, et omnia suae aetatis oracula ad eruendum ex obscurissimis quibusque locis sensum consuluisse credebam. Animus etiam addebat Gallica Claudii Seyssellii episcopi Massiliensis interpretatione, quam mihi summopere amici quidam commendaverant. Sed ubi ad rem ventum est, me συκίνη ἐπικουρίᾳ fretum esse comperi.

Primum enim ad Vallam quod attinet, vix satis mirari possum illius partim inscitiam, partim negligentiam: inscitiam, cum in male vertendis quibusdam locis, qui plane similes sunt, sui et ipse similis est sibique in suo errore constat; negligentiam, cum locos similes et interdum plane eosdem uno in libro recte, in altero pessime interpretatur. Miror etiam qui fieri potuerit, ut qui de latinae linguae elegantis scripserit, tam ineleganti plerumque (ne quid gravius dicam) sermone usus sit, ac praesertim quomodo temporum usum tam pueriliter multis in locis confuderit, adeo quidem ut vix adduci potuerim ut hanc interpretationem ab eo post scriptas latinae linguae elegantias editam fuisse crederem. Sed hac de re aliorum esto iudicium; eum certe malae in interpretando fidei aperte convincunt meae infinitis propemodum in locis emendationes margini apposita, ac potissimum in contionibus, quae quo difficiliores cetero sunt opere, eo magis a me in earum elaboratum est recognitione, ac primo certe eam solam interpretationis partem institueram recognoscere. Hactenus de latino interprete.

Quid autem Gallicus ille nobis attulit? Risum saepenumero maximum. Atqui se Lascarin consuluisse dicit. Eius enim haec verba sunt de gallis Latina facta: "Cum historiam hanc percurre

coepissem, tot mihi res intellectu difficiles in ipso limine occurserunt (et quidem in contionibus potissimum, quae Cicerone teste semper a doctissimis etiam obscurissimae sunt habitae [see *Orat.* 30]) ut iam ab incepto propemodum deterrerer. Praesertim vero quod latina Laurentii Vallae interpretatione perobscura mihi esse videretur. Ac in coepto destitsem profecto, nisi Janus Lascaris hunc auctorem summopere mihi praedicando suamque operam in recognoscenda illa interpretatione pollicendo me confirmasset." Haec ille.

Quem de consulto a se Lascari (quo ne Valla quidem certius ullum oraculum consulere potuisse) verum dicere facile mihi persuadeo, sed paucis tantum in locis adhibitum fuisse in consilium comperio, in quibus nimurum cum Vallae mentem sibi assequi non videretur, ex Lascaris ore exceptam multo meliorem interpretationem secutus fuerit. Nam passim alibi tantum abest, ut meliorem afferat, ut multis in locis in quibus Vallae interpretatione stadiis tantum paucis a Thucydidis sensu aberrarat, hic multis parasangis ab eodem aberraverit. In causa est autem quod ut Valla plerumque divinum potius quam interpretem Thucydidis egerat, ita hic episcopus vicissim Vallae sensum divinabat potius quam interpretabatur. Nec vero minus infelix (immo saepe infelior) illius circa latina quam huius circa graeca erat divinatio. Atque ut ex magna exemplorum turba unum deligam, pulcherrimum ex libro VIII locum proferam, pag. 294 huius editionis, ex quo illi ipsi amici, qui hanc interpretationem laudibus apud me extollere solebant, quantum sua eos opinio fecerit quantoque mihi credulitas mea constiterit, intelligent. Idem certe quod illis, aliis multis contigit, qui sparsam de hac interpretatione famam, ἀβασανίστως (ut nostri Thucydidis verbis utar) παρ' ἄλλήλων δέχονται [*Hist.* 1.20.1].

### *Thucydides*

'Αλλ' οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· Αθηναῖοις πάντων δὴ ξυμφορώτατοι προσπολεμῆσαι ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς· διάφοροι γάρ πλεῖστον ὄντες τὸν τρόπον, οἱ μὲν ὄξεῖς, οἱ δὲ βραδεῖς, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπιχειρηταί, οἱ δὲ ἄτολμοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ναυτικῇ ἀρχῇ πλεῖστα ὠφέλουν. ἔδειξαν δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι· μάλιστα γάρ ὄμοιότροποι γενόμενοι, ἄριστα καὶ προσεπολέμησαν.

[*Hist.* 8.96.5].

### *Vallae interpretatio*

Verum non in hoc tantum bello Lacedaemonii, sed in aliis etiam multis omnium hostium Atheniensibus utilissimi extitere, qui quod plurimum inter se moribus differentes essent, alii properi, alii cunctabundi, at alii manu prompti, alii formidolosi, praecipue in gubernanda classe plurimum Atheniensibus profuere. Quod maxime declaravere Syracusani, qui concordes inter se praeclarissime belligeraverunt.

### *Seyssellii Gallica interpretatio ex Valla*

Mais les Lacedemoniens en ceci et en plusieurs autres choses furent moult utiles aux Atheniens et mesmement pour la multitude et diuersité des gens qui estoient en leur compagnie, lesquels estoient moult differens de volonté et de maniere de vivre, car les uns estoient soubdains et diligens, les autres tardifs et musards; les uns hardis et les autres craintifs, et mesmement touchant le faict de la mer estoient souvent en discord, qui redonda au grand prouffit des Atheniens. Et cela se peut bien cognoistre par les Syracusains, lequels pourtant qu'ils estoient tous d'un accord et d'une volonté, firent de grandes choses, et eurent de belles victoires.

### *Eadem Seyssellii interpretatio Latine redditā*

Sed Lacedaemonii tam in hac re quam in multis utilissimi Atheniensibus extiterunt, potissimum vero ob multitudinem diversitatemque hominum eos comitantium, qui studiis et moribus valde inter se differebant, alii enim celeres gnaveque erant, alii tardi et cunctabundi, et alii audaces, alii timidi, maxime vero de rebus ad rem navalem pertinentibus saepe inter se dissentiebant, quod maximo Atheniensibus emolumento fuit. Atque hoc ex Syracusanis facile cognosci queat, qui quod concordes et unanimis essent, res magnas gesserunt praeclarasque victorias adepti sunt.

### *Nostra interpretatio Graecis verbis insistens*

Verum non hic tantum Atheniensibus commodius fuit bellum adversus Lacedaemonios quam ullos alios gerere, sed et alibi saepe. Cum enim valde diverso ingenio praediti essent, illi celeres, hi cunctatores, illi ad quidvis aggredendum prompti, hi timidi ac praesertim in re naval, magnam utilitatem afferebant. Quod Syracusani declararunt, qui ut simillimo Atheniensibus ingenio praediti erant, ita optime in suo adversus illos bello se gesserunt.

Viden' lector, verum esse quod de utroque horum interpretum dixi? Viden' ut Vallam quidem prius in errorem ariolatio sua traxerit, Seysellius autem deinde illum a Valla sumptum duplicaverit? Siquidem cum Valla in posterioris dumtaxat partis interpretatione manifeste errasset, utpote priorem ita ambigue interpretatus ut defendi posset (ab iis quidem certe, qui sequentia non legerent, in quibus mentem suam Thucydideae repugnantem detexit), ille, sublata omni ambiguitate, apertissime tam in priori quam in posteriori parte a Thucydidis sententia tam procul discessit, ut in Thucydide non amplius Thucydides agnoscatur. Nuda enim verborum Vallae interpretatione non contentus quandam etiam divinatricem adiecit paraphrasin. Nam cum (ut in rem praesentem veniamus) Valla dixisset, "Quod plurimum moribus inter se differentes essent, alii properi etc." poterant haec, licet non satis proprie dicta, de Lacedaemoniorum et Atheniensium inter se differentia non minus intelligi (sicut et intellectus Thucydides) quam de Lacedaemoniorum inter semetipsos discrepantia, sed rationem habendam putans Seysellius eius, quod mox de Syracusanis per antithesin dicitur, "Qui concordes inter se etc." ex posteriore parte priorem emendavit, cum potius ex priore posteriorem emendare debuisse. Et de illorum quidem huius loci interpretatione hactenus.

Ad meam autem ut veniam, fateor me hic ἄλλως τε καὶ ναυτικῇ ἀρχῇ secus quam in mea recognitione interpretatum esse, sed in causa hoc fuit, quod tum scholiastae iudicium meo prae tulisse, cum postea meum contra sequendum potius existimaverim. Ea enim, quam affero, et multo magis altera mihi iam tum placebat et nunc sola placet interpretatio, videnturque illa verba, si ad ἄτολμοι referantur, optime cum iis, quae alibi ab hoc scriptore dicuntur, convenire: nimirum Athenienses velut veterans in re navalii esse, Lacedaemonios autem tyrones, merito enim ἄτολμοi sint tyrones adversus veterans. Quod si quis ampliorem huius pulcherrimi loci explicationem requirat, legat pag. 23 huius operis, ex qua etiam intelliget ἐπιχειρητὰ male a Valla esse redditum; legat et paginam 239, in qua Hermoncratis Syracusani consilium de opponenda audacibus Atheniensibus audacia inveniet. In audaces (dixit poeta quidam [Ovid., *Met.* 10.544]) non est audacia tuta. Certe in audaces Syracusanos miserrimum exitum habuisse Atheniensium audaciam, contra in Lacedaemonios inau-

daces eandem videmus cessisse plerumque feliciter. Celeres erant ad res aggrediendas Athenienses, huic illorum celeritati non opponebant vicissim celeritatem Lacedaemonii, sed contra sua cunctatione et tarditate celeritati illorum locum dabant. At Syracusani minime, qui celeritatem adversus celeres adhibebant. Possimus vero hunc ipsum locum liberius quidem paulo sed multo eleganter ita interpretari:

"Verum non in hac una re sed et in aliis multis opportunius Atheniensibus adversus Lacedaemonios quam ullos alios fuit bellum. Ut enim Lacedaemonii Atheniensibus maxime dispare moribus erant (quippe cum hi celeres, illi cunctatores, etc.), ita maximam illis rerum gerendarum opportunitatem afferebant. Argumento sint ipsi Syracusani, qui ut simillimo etc."

Nec desunt et aliae interpretationis loci huius formulae quas proferrem, nisi finem facere statuissem. In hac certe verbis uti placuit, quae illa inter se veluti διάφοροι πλεῖστον et πλεῖστα ωφέλουν, simili relatione exprimerent: et "opportunius" atque "opportunitatem" dixi (pro quibus si quis "commodius" et "commoditatem" malit, non valde repugnem), ut ostenderem Thucydidi idem plane ξυμφορωτάτοις εἶναι et πλεῖστα ωφελεῖν significare. Ad verba autem illa quod attinet, ἐν τούτῳ et ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς posse ad τούτῳ subaudiri non solum πράγματι sed etiam καιρῷ et pro "In hac una re" posse etiam verti "In hoc uno facto," alias erit dicendi locus. Nunc germanam huius loci sententiam declarasse sit satis, a qua quam procul lectorem suae interpretationis Seysellius abducatur, etiam Gallicae linguae imperitis (cum eius Gallica verba Latina fecerim) iudicandum relinquo. Velim autem vel ex hoc uno loco conjecturam fieri qualia interpretationum monstra Valla et Seysellius nobis pepererint: cum quibus ego licet acerrime (quoad per temporis angustias licuit) bellaverim, non omnia debellasse tamen sed multa in meum *Annotationum librum* reservasse, vel potius alii, qui praevenire illum volent, debellanda reliquisse fateor. Vale, lector, et interim hosce meos labores, qui tibi aditum ad praefclarum scriptorem patefecerunt, boni consule.

*Dedication* (ed. of [Geneva,] 1588). Illustrissimo ac potentissimo principi, Frederico, Comiti Palatino ad Rhenum, Duci Bavariae et Electoratus heredi, etc. [*Inc.*]: (sig. qii<sup>r</sup>) Thucydidem quam prae ceteris omnibus veracem existimavit antiquitas, et quam magna eum laude . . . / . . .

[Expl.]: (qiii<sup>v</sup>) Quae cum ita sint, audebo te, illusterrissime princeps, hortari ad legendum toties hunc historicum quoties Demosthenes illum manu sua . . . descripsit. . . . tum ob quaedam in me benefacta) successorem te in animo meo iampridem designaverim.

*Letter to the reader* (ed. of [Geneva,] 1588). Huic ad lectorem epistolae adiecta haec in posteriore editione fuerunt. [Inc.]: (sig. qvi<sup>v</sup>) Ista quidem olim, lector, priorem in editionem praefatus sum, sed quandoquidem in hac posteriori labori veteri novum adieci, par est ut ad ea, quae ibi dixi, aliquid itidem adiciam. Sic igitur habeto, cum meus ille vetus labor tres divisus in partes fuisse, novum non solum in totidem divisisse sed aliam insuper materiam illi a me datam esse. Primum enim non solum, quem vocant textum, sed ipsa etiam scholia magis accurate emendata nunc edidi, et ad Vallae interpretationem quod attinet, quamvis iam antea in locis quamplurimis ab ea male redditis meam margini adscriptam illi velut opposuisse, nunc tamen in pluribus idem praestiti. . . . Iustum enim mihi visus sum habere differenda reliquae meae scriptio rationem, praesertim cum, utcunque se res haberet, alias annotationes in quibus de difficiliorum locorum interpretatione ageretur, simulque libelli Dionysii Halicarnassei de Thucydidis idiomatibus expositionem pariter et locupletationem, postea dare cogitarem. . . . Ceterum inter illa, quae haec editio superiori addidit, est etiam *Chronologia Thucydidis* a Davide Chytraeo [I.c below] scripta . . . / . . . [Expl.]: atque aliis quos ad prela mea (Deo favente) revocabo, facere decrevi.

*Historiae* (ed. of [Geneva,] 1564). Thucydidis Olori filii librorum octo de bello Peloponnesiaco primus. Ex Laurentii Vallae interpretatione ab Henrico Stephano recognita. . . . [Stephanus' first intervention comes several lines after the beginning of the text, so that the *Incipit* of the 1564 edition remains identical with that of Valla's translation; in the following citations, italics designate those phrases of Valla which have been corrected by Stephanus; Stephanus' alternate version, given as marginal notes in the edition, is placed here in parentheses after Valla's text.] [Inc.]: (1.1.1; p. 1, sig. A<sup>i</sup>) Thucydides Atheniensis . . . certis hinc signis, quod (Coniecturam hinc faciens, quod etc.); et cetera Graecia e suis finibus ad alterutros accessit, alii quidem protinus, alii vero post consultationem (Et quod reliquam Graeciam cum alterutris se coniungere videret, partim quidem statim, par-

tim vero de se coniungenda deliberantem. Vel: Cum alterutris coniurare. Vel: In partes transire. Valla autem ita vertit quasi legeretur ὥρων ξυνιστάμενον, quae lectio ferri non posset.) . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (8.106.4; p. 215, sig. S<sup>i</sup>) *attrac-tisque naufragiis* (et sibi vendicatis naufragiis, se- quendo scholium Graecum qui προσαγαγόμενοι exponit ἴδιωσάμενοι. Vide annot.) . . . (8.108.1; p. 216, sig. S<sup>i</sup>) Per haec eadem tempora Alcibiades, *tredecim cum navibus* (cum tredecim illis navibus, *cum quibus videlicet profectum illum esse supra commemoravit* [8.88]); (8.109; ed. of [Geneva,] 1588, p. 621) *Dum hiems aestatem hanc insecura finiet* (Aptius futurum videtur *Cum quam Dum:* et Valla ita scripsisse credibile est.)

#### *Editions:*

- 1564. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1570. See above, Composite Editions, and also subheading *b* below.
- 1588. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1589. See above, Composite Editions.

#### *Doubtful edition:*

- 1582 12°, Frankfurt. Fabricius, BG 2.735 refers to this edition, but a copy has yet to be located.

#### *b. The edition of 1570 (speeches)*

In 1570 Stephanus published a collection of speeches and exhortations found in Greek and Roman historians. The material was intended for the use of politicians, lawyers, and all who had an interest in the art of persuasion. Latin translations accompany the Greek texts. From Thucydides, Stephanus prints most of the speeches, all of them preceded by the *argumenta* of Jobus Veratius (I.g below). The translations are by: (1) Laurentius Valla, repeating the text of six short orations not commented upon by Stephanus in his 1564 edition; (2) Valla, but including in the text the corrections printed by Stephanus in the margins of the 1564 edition; (3) Stephanus himself; and (4) Jobus Veratius (I.12 below).

This collection also includes translations of speeches from Herodotus (by Valla), Xenophon (by Franciscus Portus; see CTC 7.148), Polybius (by Jobus Veratius), and Arrian's *Anabasis* (by Franciscus Portus; see CTC 3.14–15). Latin authors are represented by speeches from the works of Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Curtius, the *Historia Augusta*, and Ammianus Marcellinus.

In the dedication to Pomponius Belleuraeus (the French diplomat Pomponne de Bellièvre who was in Switzerland in 1570), Stephanus ex-

plains that the success of an edition of the speeches of Livy (presumably the edition annotated by Joachim Perionius, first published at Paris in 1532 and reprinted at least twice) had induced him to publish a similar edition of speeches in Latin, including, if possible, speeches from all extant Greek and Latin historians.

*Dedication* (ed. of [Geneva,] 1570). Pomponio Belleuraeo, viro clarissimo Regis Galliarum apud Helveticos legato, Henricus Stephanus s. d. [Inc.]: (sig. \*ii<sup>r</sup>) Cum ego Titi Livii contiones ex omnibus, qui quidem ad tempora nostra per venerunt, eius libris excerptas et seorsum editas nonnullis etiam viris, quorum iudicium maximi (ut par erat) faciebam, summopere placere compressem, magnam me ab iis aliisque quamplurimis gratiam initurum speravi, si, quod in uno unius linguae historico alii praestitissent, ipse in multis et paene universis, qui extant, utriusque linguae historicis praestarem. Ea ductus huic operi manum primam ante aliquot menses, nuperrime extremam imposui . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. \*iii<sup>r</sup>) Quod vero illud sit, indicarem, nisi illum ipsum librum una cum hoc ad te mittere statuisse. Vale, et me amare perge.

*Letter to the reader.* Henricus Stephanus lectori s. d. [Inc.]: (sig. \*iii<sup>r</sup>) Habes a me lector opus, optatissimum (ut spero) iis omnibus futurum, qui flexanima illius deae Suadae . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. \*iv<sup>r</sup>) me posuisse multo iustius meo quidem iudicio miratus fuisses. Vale.

### 1. Speeches based on Valla's translation

#### *Liber 1*

Corinthiorum oratio (68–71; pp. 55–57). [Inc.]: Fides vestra, Lacedaemonii, quam publice privatimque inter vos servatis facit ut si quid in alios dicamus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: De his vos probe consuletis, detisque operam ne Peloponneso cum minori dignitate praesideatis quam cum quanta patres eam vobis tradiderunt.

Atheniensium oratio (73–78; pp. 58–60). [Inc.]: Evidem non ad disceptandum nos cum sociis nostris legati venimus, sed ad alia transigenda . . . / . . . [Expl.]: arbitros testati, conabimur vos propulsare, si nos bello lacesatis, ea via qua praeiveritis.

Corinthiorum oratio (120–124; pp. 64–66). [Inc.]: Lacedaemonios, o socii, haud iam insimulare velimus, quod non tum ipsi bellum decreverint . . . / . . . [Expl.]: in posterum tuti habi-

taturi, tum etiam Graecos qui nunc serviunt in libertatem vindicaturi.

Oratio Periclis (140–144; pp. 67–69). [Inc.]: Etsi non me fallit, viri Athenienses, non eodem ardore bellum homines gerere, . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et hostibus resistere et conari ut hoc posteris non imbecillius tradamus.

#### *Liber 2*

Oratio Archidami (11; pp. 70–71). [Inc.]: Viri Peloponnenses ac socii, et nostri maiores multas expeditiones tum in ipsa Peloponneso . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Nam pulcherrimum hoc tutissimumque, cum multi sint, cunctos tamen eodem ornatu praeditos cerni.

Oratio Periclis (35–46; pp. 73–76). [Inc.]: Multi quidem eorum, qui ex hoc hactenus loco verba fecerunt, laudant eum qui adiecit legi hanc orationem funebrem . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Iam, postquam suos quisque necessarios deploraveritis, abscedite.

Oratio Periclis (60–64; pp. 77–79). [Inc.]: Nec inexpectata mihi vestra in me indignatio fuit (intelligo enim eius causas) et eam ob rem coegi consilium . . . / . . . [Expl.]: re quam maxime iis reluctantur, sunt omnium et privatum et publice praestantissimi.

Archidami oratio (72.1; p. 80). [Inc.]: Recte dicitis, viri Plataeenses, si verbis facta respondeant. Quemadmodum enim . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Recipite autem utrosque amicos, sed belli gratia neutros. Atque haec nostra est sententia.

#### *Liber 3*

Oratio Mitylenaeorum (9–14; pp. 84–86). [Inc.]: Scimus quidem, viri Lacedaemonii sociique, hoc receptum apud Graecos ac iustum esse . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Estote igitur viri quales et Graeci vos censem esse, et nostra necessitas desiderat.

Cleonis oratio (37–40; pp. 88–90). [Inc.]: Cum saepe alias ego statum popularem animadverti invalidum esse ad aliis imperandum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Hoc enim si cognoverint, minus posthac cum vestris ipsorum sociis pugnabitis, hostibus neglectis.

Diodoti oratio (42–48; pp. 91–93). [Inc.]: Neque illos ego qui de Mitylenaeis iterum ad consilium retulerunt, accusando puto, neque illos laudando . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Nam quisquis bene consultat, is contra hostes plus pollet quam qui temeraria ferocitate ad facta prorumpit.

Plataeensium oratio (53–59; pp. 95–97). [Inc.]:

Evidem, Lacedaemonii, vobis habentes fidem nos deditioem civitatis fecimus, non existimantes tale subeundum nobis esse iudicium . . . / . . . [Expl.]: sed nostrae salutis auctores sitis, ne, qui ceteros Graecos vindicatis in libertatem, iidem nos extinguatis.

Thebanorum oratio (61–67; pp. 99–101). [Inc.]: Evidem dicendi partes haudquaquam postulassemus si isti et breviter ad interrogata respondissent . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ut nunc penes vos, contractis in summa dubiis, cunctos semel interrogarent, minus captaret aliquis in turpibus factis pulchros sermones.

#### *Liber 4*

Demosthenis oratio (10; pp. 101–102). [Inc.]: Viri, qui mecum hoc subiistis periculum, nemo vestrum malit in hac necessitate videri intelligens . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ut maneatis ad ipsas littoris salebras arcentes hostem vosque ipsos pariter ad locum conservetis.

Lacedaemoniorum oratio (17–20; pp. 102–103). [Inc.]: Lacedaemonii nos miserunt huc, Athenienses, ad transigendum de iis, qui in insula sunt viri, suadentes . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Nam eadem nobis vobisque dicentibus, nostis fore ut ceteri Graeci nobis inferiores maxima reverentia ea prosequentur.

Hermocratis oratio (59–64; pp. 105–106). [Inc.]: Non ex ea civitate, viri Sicilienses, quae aut minima sit aut maxime bello laboret . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et in posterum per nos liberam, aliorumque insidiis minus obnoxiam possidebimus.

Brasidae oratio (85–87; pp. 107–108). [Inc.]: Quod ego atque exercitus, viri Acanthii, a Lacedaemoniis missi huc sumus, declarat veram esse causam . . . / . . . [Expl.]: tum ne vestra privatorum bona detrimentum accipient, tum ut universae civitati honestissimum nomen imponatis.

Oratio Pagondae (92; p. 109). [Inc.]: Par erat, viri Boeoti, ne in mentem quidem cuiquam vestrum venire, qui magistratus estis, non esse consentaneum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: pugnando liberrare, nec alienam iniuste in servitatem redigere, sine certamine non discessuros.

Lacedaemoniorum oratio (118; pp. 110–11). [Inc.]: Quod ad templum atque oraculum Apollinis Pythii attinet, placet nobis ut qui velint . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et perquam subito legatos qui aderunt spondere apud populum, se foederibus statueros ad annum vertentem.

Brasidae oratio (126; p. 112). [Inc.]: Nisi ego

suspicerar, viri Peloponneses, terrore vos esse percusos, quod derelictus sim, quodque barbari . . . / . . . [Expl.]: minabundas eminus ac cunctabundus, contra, si eis cedatur, in terga ruentes strenuitatem in tuto demonstrare.

#### *Liber 5*

Brasidae oratio (9; p. 113). [Inc.]: Viri Peloponneses, vos ex ea terra esse profectos, quae propter fortitudinem libera semper extitit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ad me autem quod attinet, ostendam eum me esse qui non magis alios ad res suscipiens horter quam ipsem et eas exequar.

#### *Liber 6*

Niciae oratio (9–14; pp. 115–116). [Inc.]: Haec quidem contio ob nostram classem instruendam coacta est, perinde ac si in Siciliam navigare oporteat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: qui patriam beneficiis quam potuerit plurimis affecerit, aut saltem nullum ei data opera damnum attulerit.

Alcibiadis oratio (16–18; pp. 117–119). [Inc.]: Imperatorem esse me, Athenienses, magis quam alium quemquam decet (hinc enim exordiri . . . / . . . [Expl.]: qui praesentibus moribus ac legibus, etiamsi minus bonae sint, utentes, eodem tenore rempublicam administrant.

Niciae oratio (20–23; pp. 120–121). [Inc.]: Quoniam vos ad hanc militiam obeundam, Athenienses, prorsus animatos video, utinam quidem is sit eius . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Haec enim reor et cunctae civitati tutissima fore et nobis militaturis salutaria. Quod si cui videtur secus, huic ego magistratum cedo.

Hermocratis oratio (33–34; pp. 122–123). [Inc.]: Incredibilia quidem, quemadmodum alii nonnulli videbor et ego forsitan apud vos dicere . . . / . . . [Expl.]: in maximum utilitatem cedat. At hostes cum classe veniunt, atque iam adventant, et tantum non adsunt.

Athenagorae oratio (36–40; pp. 124–125). [Inc.]: Quisquis non vult Athenienses tam dementes esse ut hic veniant, et a nobis subigi . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et praesentem libertatem non ex auditu amittet sed factis, ita sibi cavens ut non permittat eos facere quae moluntur, conservare conabitur.

Oratio Niciae (68; p. 126). [Inc.]: Longa exhortatione, viri, quod uti attinet nos qui ad idem certamen adsumus? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: existimantes praesentem difficultatem atque necessitatem quam adversarios esse terribiliorem.

Hermocratis oratio (76–80; pp. 127–128) [mis-

print for 129]). [Inc.]: Non ideo ad vos legati missi sumus, viri Camarinæ, quod timeamus ne praesenti Atheniensium exercitu . . . / . . . [Expl.]: si viceritis nobiscum, ne turpiter istos dominos suscipiatis et inimicitiam nostram non brevem futuram devitetis.

Oratio Euphemii (82–87; pp. 136 [misprint for 130]–32). [Inc.]: Veneramus quidem ad renovandam pristinam inter nos et vos, Camarinæ, societatem, sed quoniam Syracusanus nos incessit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: reddite vices Syracusanis, et ne semper ab eis caveatis, aliquando vos ipsis insidias tendite.

Oratio Alcibiadis (89–92; pp. 133–35). [Inc.]: Necessaria mihi est ante omnia de mea criminatione apud vos verba facere, ne suspectum habentes me . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ipsi in posterum tuto habitaturi, et cunctæ Graeciae non coactae sed voluntariae, imperio benevolo potituri.

## 2. Speeches translated by Stephanus independently of Valla

Oratio Lacedaemoniorum (2.87; p. 81). [Inc.]: Ex superiori proelio, Peloponnesii, (si quis forte, illius causa, id quod futurum est reformidat) . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Si quis tamen id facere voluerit, merito certe supplicio plectetur, sicut strenui viçissim meritis virtutis praemiis ornabuntur.

Phormionis oratio (2.89; pp. 82–83). [Inc.]: Cum vos animadverterem, milites, multitudine hostium esse perterrefactos, convocandos censui indignum ratus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: eorum qui superati fuerunt, in iisdem periculis sui similes esse non possunt.

### *Edition:*

1570. See above, Composite Editions.

### *Biography:*

CTC 3.48 and 7.98. Add to the *Bibliography*: E. Armstrong, *Robert Estienne. Royal Printer*, rev. ed. (Abingdon, 1983); B. Boudou, “Henri Estienne éditeur d’historiens, ou comment écrire l’histoire,” *Nouvelle revue du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* 19 (2001) 37–50; *Henri II Estienne*, Collection de l’École Normale Supérieure de jeunes filles 43 (Paris, 1988), with a good bibliography that purports to be exhaustive from 1960.

## 8. Joachim Camerarius

Joachim Camerarius edited Thucydides with some Greek scholia in 1540 and, as professor of Greek at Tübingen (1535–41), he lectured on the

*Historiae*. Stephanus dedicated his 1564 edition of Thucydides to Camerarius (see I.7 above), and the following year Camerarius in return sent Stephanus from Leipzig his *Conversa ex Thucydidis historia quaedam in latinum sermonem, et de autore illo deque scriptis ipsius exposita nec non explicata aliqua* (Wittenberg, 1565). This volume contains Camerarius’ translations of Thucydides’ preface, the short oration of the Spartan Sthenelaides in book 1, and Pericles’ funeral oration in book 2. The translations are accompanied by very full commentaries (I.d below) and an introduction to the whole work, where Camerarius, among other things, analyzes the style and language of Thucydides. The last two chapters in the volume contain a commentary on *Hist.* 2.48–54 (the description of the plague), and Camerarius discusses Lucretius’ imitation of this passage, making also a hexameter translation of the part (primarily *Hist.* 2.53) that has no equivalent in *De rerum natura*.

Johannes Caselius, who had studied with Camerarius in Leipzig in the 1550s (see CTC 2.124), praised the diligence and learning with which Camerarius’ small book was prepared: “Is [sc. Camerarius] de Thucydide, παῦρα μὴν, ἀλλὰ λιγέως. Editis enim paginis non multis, sed accurate et docte scriptis, ut solebat (neque enim quidquam parabat extemporaneum aut vulgare), iis ostendit quanti Thucydidem faceret, quantum in eo interpretando posset; immo praescripsit, nisi fallor, quid in hoc genere recte fieri oporteret. Illa doctissimi hominis opella, si insignem quamlibet brevem operam sic licet appellare, mihi et iucunda fuit et utilis” (*In Thucydidis interpretationem prolegomena* [Rostock, 1576], 30).

*Dedication* (ed. of Wittenberg, 1565). Joachimus Camerarius Pabepergensis Henrico Stephano viro clarissimo amico suo observan. s. d. [Inc.]: Sero potui tuo luculento munere potiri, vir clarissime, cuius tandem et longo tempore . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. A8r) His scriptis tristissimum nuntium accepimus de morte (sig. A8v) Adriani Turnebi, viri sapientia, doctrina, virtute, humanitate praestantissimi, cuius decessione magnum detrimentum haec nostra studia fecere, ut nunc in te et similes tui plus etiam curae laborisque incumbere videatur. Iterum vale. Lipsiae Id. IVL. (VIL ed.) Anno Christi Iesu MDLXV.

*Historiae*. Prooemium librorum Thucydidis (1.1–23; sig. B1r–C3r). [Inc.]: Thucydides Athene-

niensis conscripsit bellum Peloponnesiorum et Atheniensium, quo pacto inter eos gestum sit, orsus statim cum illud inciperetur, ratusque fore magnum et omnium priorum commemoratione dignissimum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quae autem causae utrimque palam memorabantur, ob quas fracto foedere bellum susceptum esset, hae fuerunt etc.

Oratio Sthenelaidae Ephori Lacedaemonii (1.86; sig. C3v–C4r). [Inc.]: Verba multa illa facta ab Atheniensibus non intelligo. Cum enim suas laudes copiose praedicarent . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Qui vero aliter existimat, is transeat in alteram partem.

Oratio seu contio funebris, dicta a Pericle, et occasio huius ex Thucydidis libro II (2.34–46; sig. C4v–D2v). [Inc.]: Eadem hieme Athenienses exsequias funeris celebrarunt, patriam legem sequentes, eorum qui in isto bello . . . [Inc. oratio] Plerique eorum, qui ex hoc loco verba fecerunt, laudatores sunt eius, a quo legi isti haec oratio ferendo addita fuit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Atque iam lamentis persolutis ab unoquoque suo mortuo, ita deinde discedite.

Addidimus autem nos reliquam narrationem Thucydidis, expositam versibus hoc modo [a commentary on Lucretius' description of the plague and of his use of Thucydidies has preceded] (2.53; sig. K5v–K6r). [Inc.]: Atque etiam fuit hic fons, haec et origo malorum // urbi illi innumerabilium quoque praeter ea ipsa // . . . / . . . [Expl.]: omnes praecipere interiturae commoda vitae, // iucundiusque frui ex aliqua contendere parte.

#### *Edition:*

1565, Witebergae (Wittenberg): Iohannes Crato. VD T-1132. BNF.

#### *Biography:*

CTC 2.100–101 and 7.129. Add to the *Bibliography*: J. Caselius, *In Thucydidis interpretationem prolegomena* (Rostock, 1576).

#### 9. Gulielmus Canterus

Canterus' translation of Pericles' funeral oration in book 2 of the *Historiae* was printed at Basel in 1566, together with versions of other Greek orators in a separate volume where they follow his Latin translation of Aristides. The four volumes (in one) were dedicated to Emperor Maximilian II and constituted one of the many collections of speeches from the mid-sixteenth

century. In the dedication, Canterus mentions the difficulties he encountered in translating the speech, despite the existence of earlier versions. Further evidence of Canterus' interest in Thucydides may be seen in his *Novarum lectionum libri octo* (1571), where he suggested some emendations of *Hist.* 7.15 and 8.6.

*Dedication* (ed. of Basel, 1556). Potentissimo clementissimo imperatori augusto Maximiliano secundo Gulielmus Canterus s. d. [Inc.]: (sig. +2r) Si quis hoc mundi theatro clarissimum solis lumen ornare laudibus vellet. . . . (sig. +3r) Cum igitur haec ita se habere constet, non admodum praeter decorum facturus mihi videor, si oratorem clarissimum atque disertissimum, Aelium Aristidem, a me primum latitate totum donatum multisque vigiliis emendatum et illustratum tuae Maiestati suppliciter dedicem atque offeram. . . . Denique Thucydidis orationem funebrem ut pulcherrimam, ita difficillimam, quamquam ea translata fuerat, addendam putavimus. Quod an frustra faciendum duxerimus, qui de versionibus iudicare possunt, intelligent . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. +3v) parvi cepisse fructum. Deus Optimus Maximus incolumen sanctissimam maiestatem tuam diutissime conservare dignetur.

*Historiae.* Thucydidis oratio funebris Periclis Atheniensis. Qui pro patria fortiter in proelio occubuerant, ad publicum sepulcrum laudantur. Historiam et orationem ipsam habet Thucydidis libro secundo (2.35–46). [Inc.]: (p. 580) Solent plerique qui ex hoc loco dicunt, eum laudare, qui lege lata orationem hanc haberi jussit, quoniam ea magno cum decore ad eorum sepulchra . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 582 [misprint for 584]) Nam cum maxima sunt virtutis praemia, tum praestantissimi versantur in republica viri. Tandem vero, postquam singuli quos oportet eluxistis, discedite.

#### *Edition:*

1566, Basileae (Basel): Petrus Perna. VD A-3263; NUC. BL; BNF; (MdBJ; CtY; NjP).

#### *Biography:*

CTC 2.23.

#### 10. Vitus Winsemius

Like most of Winsemius' other printed works, the translation of and commentary on Thucydides (Wittenberg, 1569) are the results of his university lectures. When Winsemius published the

Greek text of the first four books of Thucydides at Wittenberg in 1561, he had already begun the translation; in the dedication to Paolo Praetorio, the teacher of Sigmund, archbishop of Magdeburg and son of the elector Joachim II of Brandenburg (see p. 155 below), he describes his plans for the Latin version. His aim is to produce an accessible version of Thucydides by conveying the contents of the text and not necessarily the intricate style of the Greek author, who was considered very difficult by many readers. Valla's translation, he notes, is often as great a hindrance as the original. Winsemius was therefore encouraged by others to produce a simple translation for the benefit of the young, especially since he had already translated part of the *Historiae*. Despite his advanced years he agreed to do so, and he hopes that his endeavors will result in an "easy" Thucydides.

Eight years later (1569) Winsemius dedicated his completed translation and commentary to Duke Augustus of Saxony. In the dedication Winsemius repeats that he undertook the work to facilitate the studies of the young. Earlier translations were not very helpful and so he has made a translation whose goal was to be simple and straightforward. He explains that he has incorporated, with minor corrections, all the translations of his teacher Philippus Melanchthon. (These had already been printed once by Caspar Peucer [Wittenberg, 1562] and comprise the encomium of Themistocles [*Hist.* 1.138.3], the description of the civil war in Corcyra [*Hist.* 3.82.2–85.3], and thirty-four speeches [I.5, subheading *b* above]). In his commentary, Winsemius frequently refers to Melanchthon, always with great veneration (for instance, p. 303, regarding *Hist.* 2.53).

The 1569 edition was printed with the privilege of Maximilian II in order to prevent others from publishing Winsemius' work as their own.

*Dedication* (ed. of Wittenberg, 1561). Clarissimo viro, doctrina, virtute et fide praestanti, domino Paulo Praetorio, illustrissimi et reverendissimi principis ac domini, D. Sigismundi archiepiscopi Magdeburgensis Germaniae primatis etc. consiliario, domino suo et patrono colendo, Vitus Winsemius salutem plurimam dicit. [*Inc.*]: (sig. A2r) Herodotum recitantem in Olympiis *Historiam* a se scriptam, cum Thucydides adolescens adhuc audiret. . . . (sig. C2v) Quo vero consilio hunc scriptorem ad usum scholae hac forma excudendum, in latinam linguam transfe-

rendum et graecae linguae ac doctrinae studiosis proponendum statuerim, id paucis exponam; fortasse enim quibusdam vel audacter vel arroganter facere videbor. Ab audacia me aetas mea iam ingravescens et ab arrogantiae suspicione perpetuus vitae cursus facile, ut spero, vindicabit. Quia vero multos a lectione huius scripti resilire videbam, offensos vel sermonis asperitate vel sententiarum praesertim in contionibus obscuritate, et quia multis non vacat praecipuum tempus his impendere, qui propter alias graviores occupationes tantum succisivas horas huic lectioni tribuere solent, aliqui etiam non eo usque progressi sunt, ut, quod dicitur, sine cortice natare et haec, quae tanto ingenii acumine scripta sunt, sine interprete facile evolvere aut assequi possint. De versione autem Vallae querelas audiebam, quod ea multis in locis non minus quam ipse auctor lectorem remorari diceretur. Ideo mihi hortatores fuerunt aliqui magni et honesti viri, huius linguae atque doctrinae amantes, ut iuventuti Thucydidem interpretandum in manus sumerem et quam possem simplicissime in latinam linguam transferre conarer, praesertim cum iam pars aliqua conversa apud me esset. Ab his persuaderi me passus sum, non ignorans quam difficilem laborem in me susciperem, et quam aliquos hoc praesertim tempore iniquos iudices ac censores habiturus essem. Subii tamen hoc onus, et cum mihi iam seni non multum temporis ad vivendum superesse arbitrarer, visum est id ne mihi per otium aut inertiam flueret, versioni huius historiae tribuere atque eniti, ut si quo modo fieri posset, Thucydides minori cum offensione et difficultate evolveretur. Spero hunc laborem meum non inutilem discentium studiis fore et gratum non tantum nostro, hoc est scholastico ordini, verum etiam his, qui in gubernatione reipublicae versantur. . . . (sig. C3v) Quod autem tuo nomini, vir clarissime, hunc laborem potissimum dedicare libuit, causae pluri-mae sunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. C4r) concordiam clementer sarciat, foveat et conservet, per Christum filium suum Redemptorem nostrum. Amen.

*Dedication* (ed. of Wittenberg, 1569). Illustrissimo principi ac domino, domino Augusto, duci Saxoniae, sacri Romani imperii archimarschallo et electori, landgravio Thuringiae, marchioni Misniae et burggravio Magdeburgensi, domino suo clementissimo. [*Inc.*]: (sig. \*iii<sup>v</sup>) Quantum beneficium divinum sit in ecclesia Christi, quantumque momenti habeat. . . . (sig. \*5r) Ego itaque

cum meo loco et ordine Thucydidem scriptorem ecclesiae Christi, reipublicae et communi vitae in primis utilem in hac Academia publice enarrarem, animadverti multos ex auditoribus obscuritate orationis in hoc auctore offensos ab eius lectione resilire, et id quoque summa doctrina ac divino ingenio praeditus Cicero questus est. Sic enim inquit: “Res gestas et bella narrat et proelia, graviter sane et probe, illae ipsae contiones multas habent obscuras abditasque sententias, vix ut intelligantur” [Orat. 30]. Et quidem negari non potest esse multa perplexa atque intellectu difficultia in libris Thucydidis. . . . (sig.)<sup>(i)</sup> Cum vero viderem interpretationes Thucydidis, quae hactenus editae sunt, partim mutilas esse, partim tales ut in locis praesertim obscurioribus paene cum ipso auctore obscuritate certent, imposui ipse mihi iam in mea hac decrepita senecta hoc onus, ut Thucydidem, si possem, paulo dilucidiori planiori simpliciori atque, ut ita dicam, magis puerili genere orationis converterem. Senum enim sermonem quasi repuerascere et simpliciorem ac naturae rerum similiorem fieri aiunt. Atque hoc quidem unice studui et conatus sum, ut eadem illa, quae a Thucydide dicuntur, quam possem simplicissime latinis verbis redderem. Quid effecerim aliorum esto iudicium. Auctor ipse sublimi et magnifico genere orationis usus est. Ego si eius sensum tantum humili ac puerili sermone assecutus fuero, admodum contentus ero, et si haec interpretatio nostra scholis ac scholarum ministris aliisque lectoribus proderit et plures ad cognoscendum Thucydidem invitabit, tunc abunde satis praemii pro meo labore mihi assecutus videbor. . . . Retinui autem ac inserui his nostris interpretationem contionum, quae quidem extabat, reverendi domini praeceptoris nostri Philippi Melanchthonis, idque me decere arbitratus sum, ne de me ipso arrogantius iudicare viderer. Quamvis necesse habui multa mutare, nonnulla etiam supplere, quae forte vel male excepta vel perperam descripta et ob eam causam mutila erant, atque ita lectori quoque non exigua pars laboris adempta est . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig.)<sup>(iii)</sup> Quod ut fiat, ratumque ac firmum sit, faciat Dominus et Redemptor noster Iesus Christus, in quo ut Celsitas tua feliciter valeat, Deum precor et oro. Amen. Illustrissimae celsitatis tuae subiectissimus Vitus Winsemius senior.

*Historiae* (ed. of Wittenberg, 1569). *Historiae Thucydidis de bello civili inter Athenienses et*

Peloponnesios. [Inc.]: (p. 1) Liber primus. Thucydides Atheniensis conscripsit bellum Peloponnesiorum et Atheniensium, quomodo inter se bellarunt, exorsus statim ab eius initio, iudicans hoc bellum in primis magni momenti praeque superioribus bellis omnibus commemoratione dignissimum esse. Idque isto argumento, quod ad hoc bellum viribus et omni bellico apparatu utraque pars tunc maxime vigebant . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 546) de Phoenissis navibus non ad ductis, atque alias quibus gravatus videbatur, quam speciosissimo praetextu posset, dilueret ac refutaret. Cumque primum ad Ephesum venisset, rem divinam ibi fecit Diana. Nunc quando post hanc aestatem hiems exacta erit, tunc vigesimus primus annus huius belli complebitur. Finis Historiae Thucydidis de bello Peloponnesiaco.

#### *Editions:*

1569. See above, Composite Editions. A copy (Rés. J. 904) in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris has two autograph notes by Winsemius on the frontispiece: “Plin. lib. VII cap. XXX [*Nat. hist.* 7.30.111]: Thucydidem Imperatorem Athenienses in exilium egere, rerum gestarum conditorem revocavere, eloquentiam mirati, cuius virtutem damnaverant”; and a barely legible dedication to Matthias Wanckel, pupil and friend of Luther (“Wanckel, Matthias,” ADB 41.137–38 [H. Pröhle]), “Reverendo viro doctrina, pietate et fide praestanti, Domino magistro Matt. Wanckel, Ecclesiae Christi in Cempergk Domino suo et compatri colendo Vitus Winsemius senior D [...]”.

1580. See above, Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

Vitus Winsemius (Winshemius, Vinshemius, Vinsaemius, Vuincemius, Veit Oertel or Ortel, Vitus Ortelius Winshemius, Veit Winsheim) was born 1 August 1501 at Winsheim in Franconia and died 3 January 1570 at Wittenberg.

He began his studies at Wittenberg between 20 July and 11 August 1523. After conducting a private school, he taught rhetoric in the Faculty of Philosophy at Wittenberg beginning 16 October 1528 and Greek from 4 August 1541 onwards (Bursian 178: professor of Greek 1537). Previously he had taught Greek at Wittenberg as a substitute for Melanchthon during the latter's absence. Winsemius was later professor at Jena. He became a doctor of medicine on 4 February 1550 and after that professor at Wittenberg. He was a pupil and

close friend of Melanchthon, whose work on Latin syntax he reedited. His funeral oration on Melanchthon is of great biographical value.

Winsemius' primary importance, however, is as a student of Greek. Johannes Caselius, who studied at Wittenberg 1551–53 (see CTC 2.124), mentions Winsemius' work on Thucydides, of which he had not yet had the opportunity to form an opinion; he then describes how he heard the charming old man lecture to a full classroom: “Nunc venio ad Vitum Vinsaemium, cuius opera Thucydidem iterum Latine loquentem habemus, de quo re tam recenti, nequedum exploratis censoris eruditiorum, meum non est pronunciare, praesertim cum adhuc mihi curae non fuerit videre quid praestiterit. Usui nobis fore facile praevideo. Novi enim lepidum senem et audivi frequenti schola interpretantem poetas graecos, quos et multis in loco salibus condiret, et utriusque linguae bene peritum memini, in qua omnem aetatem contrivisset” (*In Thucydidis paeligionem prolegomena* [Rostock, 1576], 32).

#### *Works:*

Winsemius made Latin translations of Theocritus' *Idyllia* (Frankfurt, 1558), the tragedies of Sophocles (Heidelberg, 1597 and Geneva, 1603), and Demosthenes' *Oratio secunda in Aristogitonem* accompanied by an edition of the Greek text (Hagenau, 1527). His other writings include: *Declamatio, in quibus recitatur historia, quomodo Guelfus dux Bavariae liberatus sit periculo in obsidione Winsbergensis* (Wittenberg, 1529; German translation 1563); *Oratio de studiis linguae graecae . . .* (Wittenberg, 1549); *Historia de Scedasi filiabus et de poena Lacedaemoniorum carmina* (Wittenberg, 1551); *Oratio habita in funere . . . Ph. Melanthonis* (Wittenberg, 1560).

#### *Bibliography:*

“Winsheim, Veit,” ADB 43.462–63 (K. Hartfelder); Bursian, *Geschichte der classischen Philologie* (Munich and Leipzig, 1883), 178; Eckstein 621; Jöcher 4.1657; Pökel 305; Zedler, *Universallexicon* 57.1748; K. Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae*, *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica* 7 (Berlin, 1889); J. Lieboldt, “Veit Winsheim,” *Mittheilungen des Vereins für hamburgische Geschichte* 5 (1883) 17; M. Pade, “A Melanchthonian Commentary to the First Three Books of Thucydides? Cod. Philol. 166, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg,” in *Reformation and Latin Literature in Northern Europe*,

ed. I. Ekrem et al. (Oslo, 1996), 193–206; M. Speiss, “Ursprung von Veit Winsheims Nachricht über die Tätigkeit Melanchthons als Korrektor zu Tübingen,” *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 26 (1886) 138–40; G. Th. Strobel, “Viti Winshemii Rede auf den Tod Melanchthons,” *Neue Beyträge zur Literaturgeschichte des 16. Jhs.* 2 (1791) 235–80.

#### 11. Antonius Zenus

To accompany his commentary on the speech of Pericles from book 1 of the *Historiae*, published at Venice in 1569, Antonius Zenus also included his own translation of the speech. Since he undoubtedly regarded the commentary, which takes up by far the largest part of the volume, as the most important component, a full treatment of Zenus' work is given in I.f below.

*Historiae* (ed. of Venice, 1569). Contio Periclis praetoris Atheniensium ex libro primo Historiarum Thucydidis (1.140–144). [*Inc.*]: (p. 31) Prooemium. Eiusdem adhuc sententiae sum, Athenienses, Peloponnesiis cedendum non esse, quanquam non ignoro non eadem ira homines . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 136) esse non oportet, sed inimicos quacumque ratione ulcisci et posteris conari haec non inferiora tradere.

#### *Edition:*

See I.f below.

#### *Biography:*

See I.f below.

#### *Bibliography:*

See I.f below.

#### 12. Jobus Veratius

For Henricus Stephanus' 1570 collection of speeches from Greek and Latin authors, the *Conciones sive Orationes ex graecis latinisque historicis excerptae* (I.7 above), Jobus Veratius translated seven speeches from books 1 and 7 of the *Historiae*. Stephanus also printed in the same volume Veratius' *argumenta* to all the speeches of Thucydides included in the *Conciones*. A full treatment of Veratius' work on Thucydides is given in I.g below.

*Historiae* (ed. of [Geneva,] 1570).

#### *Liber 1*

Oratio Corcyraeorum (pp. 49–50; 1.32–36). [*Inc.*]: Par est, Athenienses, ut qui neque magni beneficii gratia neque iure societatis obstrictos finitimos auxilia rogatum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: vobis

classe dimicandum. Nobis autem in societatem admissis, licebit vobis aucto navium vestrarum numero cum illis dimicare.

Corinthiorum oratio (37–43; pp. 52–53). [Inc.]: Quoniam Corcyraei isti non modo de se in societatem recipiendis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quod si feceritis, recte et ordine feceritis, saluberrimoque vobis eritis usi consilio.

Archidami oratio (80–85; pp. 61–63). [Inc.]: Et multorum ego bellorum usum habeo, Lacedaemonii, et de vobis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Hoc nec utilius vobis ullum nec hostibus formidabilius consilium capere potestis.

Oratio Sthenelaidae (86; p. 63). [Inc.]: Equidem quid sibi Athenienses velint cum tam verbosa oratione, non intelligo . . . / . . . [Expl.]: neque socios prodamus sed homines infestos diis iuvantibus invadamus.

#### *Liber 7*

Niciae oratio (61–64; pp. 135–36). [Inc.]: Proelii huius discrimen, Atheniensium sociorumque aliorum milites, ex aequo . . . / . . . [Expl.]: illius specimen ediderit, sibique utilem, omnibus vero salutarem operam navavit.

Oratio Gylippi et caeterorum belli ducum (66–68; pp. 137–38). [Inc.]: Praeclaras esse res eas quas gessimus, Syracusani et socii, praeclarasque esse huic certamini . . . / . . . [Expl.]: re male gesta, minus habet detrimenti; re bene gesta, emolumenti plurimum.

Oratio Niciae (77; p. 139 [misprint for 135]). [Inc.]: Vel in hoc rerum statu, Athenienses et socii, spes est retinenda . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Viri enim ipsi civitatem constituunt, non moenia aut naves, in quibus sit solitudo a viris.

#### *Edition:*

1570. See above, Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

See I.g below.

#### *Bibliography:*

See I.g below.

#### 13. Franciscus Patiaequeus

Patiaequeus translated the first 138 chapters of book 1 of the *Historiae*. His version is rather free, often incorrect, and not very elegant. The *terminus ante quem* of the translation is 1574, the date added by a second hand on fol. 1r of what may be the autograph copy (Evora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital, CV d/1-17).

Extant in only two manuscripts, Patiaequeus' translation seems never to have been published.

*Historiae* 1.1.1–138.6 (Evora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital, CV d/1-17). Thucydidis Atheniensis *Historiae de bello Peloponneso* liber primus Francisco Patiaequeo interprete. [Inc.]: (fol. 1r) Thucydides Atheniensis bellum, quod Peloponnesenses Atheniensesque inter se gesserunt, memoriae prodidit, id tum demum scribere aggressus ut conflari primum coeptum est, cum magnum fore sperans tum omnibus, quae ad ea usque tempora gesta sunt, longe memorabilius . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 96v) Hunc igitur exitum et Pausanias Lacedaemonius et Themistocles Atheniensis apud suos uterque Graecos clarissimi habuerunt.

#### *Manuscripts:*

Evora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital, CV d/1-17, s. XVI (before 1574), fols. 1r–96v. Perhaps autograph. (Kristeller, *Iter* 4.451a).

(\*) ———, CV d/1-18, s. XVIII, fols. 1–127. (Kristeller, *Iter* 4.451a).

#### *Doubtful edition:*

Evora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital, CV d/1-18, fols. 1r–5v contain a letter of Emmanuel a Cenaculo Villas Boas (1724–1814, archbishop of Evora) to Vincentius Terreira, bishop of Beia, stating that Villas Boas proposes to publish Patiaequeus' translation of Thucydides. A copy of this edition has yet to be located.

#### *Biography:*

Nothing is known of Franciscus Patiaequeus (Francesco Pachecas) except that he appears to have lived in the sixteenth century. To judge from the local interest in his work, he was Portuguese and hence not to be identified with Francesco Pacheco, the Spanish sixteenth-century Neo-Latin poet of Seville (see Jöcher 3.1166).

#### 14. Franciscus Portus

In 1594 Aemilius Portus (1550–1614/15) published the Latin translation of and commentary (I.i below) on Thucydides by his father Franciscus Portus (d. 1581). Franciscus' translation is based on Laurentius Valla's translation as revised by Henricus Stephanus (above, I.1 and I.7.a), which Aemilius corrected in accord with his father's notes. Although the text of Valla and Stephanus is still clearly recognizable, this version differs from the earlier texts to such a degree that,

like Aemilius in the letter to the reader (see below), we may consider it to be a new translation. Franciscus' rendering was printed twice more in the same year, but in less expensive format (i.e., 4° and 16°), so as to be affordable not only by the wealthy (see below, the dedication of the quarto edition).

In the preface to the folio edition of 1594 (see below), Aemilius describes how he worked on the volume at Frankenthal (in Pfalz), whither unhappy circumstances had forced him; there, without a teaching position or other paid employment, he occupied himself with Thucydides. Aemilius goes on to hint at a scholarly feud with Henricus Stephanus that involves father and/or son (on this see also I.i, subheading *b* below). Both Franciscus and Aemilius made use of Stephanus' work, but Aemilius criticizes Stephanus' translation severely, his attitude evident even on the title page of the edition: "quam [i.e., Stephanus' revision of Valla's translation] Aemilius Portus . . . paternos commentarios accurate secutus, ab infinita gravissimorum errorum multitudine novissime repurgavit." In the preface to the same edition, Aemilius observes that there were many errors in a translation of Homer published by Stephanus (Fabricius, *BG* 1.418 mentions an edition of 1589). Portus sometimes indicates his corrections or changes by italicized text in square brackets (see the translation below).

*Dedication* (ed. of Frankfurt, 1594 2°). Illustrissimo, potentissimo atque clementissimo principi, Frederico IIII Dei gratia comiti Palatino Rheni, utriusque Bavariae duci, sacri Romani imperii dapifero supremo, electori septemviro, principi suo clementissimo, s. p. d. p. q. f. o. [Inc.]: (sig. a2r) Omnes quos divinae Maiestatis favor, illustrissime atque clementissime princeps, in summo dignitatis gradu collocavit ac amplissimis honoribus at magistratibus ornavit . . . (sig. a3r) Nunc enim paucos invenias, qui tantos in linguae graecae studiis progressus fecerint ut in grandiloquentiam et occultos Thucydidis sensus penetrare valeant. Qui propter has difficultates latinam vel gallicam interpretationem hactenus ab aliis vulgatam sequi coguntur, hoc, quod a me dicitur, verum esse compreint. Quamobrem in gratiam eorum, qui graecarum litterarum vetustatis et rerum a nostra memoria remotarum desiderio tenentur, quique sapientiam suarum actionum moderatricem avide quaerunt ut ad fe-

licem finem optimi Ductoris ductu sua consilia perducant, ego supremi numinis auxilio fretus patrisque mei commentarios accurate secutus hunc historicum latine sic verti, ut omnes lectores ex hac novissima versione maximam cum utilitate voluptatem posthac percepturos credam . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. a4r) omnibusque felicitatis humanae bonis ornatam perpetuo conservet. Datum Heydelberga Cal. Ian. MDXCIII. Tuae Cel-situdini addictissimus, Aemilius Portus, Francisci Porti Cretensis f.

*Dedication* (ed. of Frankfurt, 1594 4°). Clarissimo amplissimoque viro domino D. Claudio Grovlarto equiti, consiliario in privato Christianissimi Galliarum et Navarrai regis . . . Aemilius Portus, Francisci Porti Cretensis filius s. p. d. [Inc.]: (sig. ): (2r) Non dubito, clarissime vir et amplissime domine, quin multi censores hoc meum litterarum genus (sig. ): (2v) . . . cum enim Thucydidem . . . a me . . . novissime . . . recognitum novaque versione passim expolitum . . . tripli forma typis mandandum curarim, ut non solum ditiorum ac doctiorum sed aliorum etiam commodis pro virili consulam, primam quidem . . . Germaniae principi . . . iure dedicandam censui; secundam tibi . . . ; tertiam vero nobilissimis optimaeque spei adolescentibus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: immortale monumentum accipies eadem animi alacritate, qua tibi tradendum dedi. Vale, vir clarissime et amplissime D., meque tuae dignitatis observantissimum amans perge. Datum Mognuntiae Cal. Feb. MDXCIII.

*Letter to the reader* (ed. of Frankfurt, 1594 2°). Aemilius Portus, Francisci Porti Cretensis f. lectoribus graecae linguae studiosis et historiarum ac antiquitatis amatoribus salutem plurimam dicit. [Inc.]: (sig. a4v) Tandem, humanissimi lectores, Thucydidem historicorum principem perpetuis parentis mei commentariis meisque notis in obscurissimos quosque locos partim graece, partim latine scriptis illustratum novaeque versionis ornatu, quam fieri potuit, maximo decoratum, ut promissis starem fidemque meam vobis iam pridem obligatam liberarem, in lucem edendum curavi. . . . His igitur nostris vigiliis ac sudoribus, quos in frigidissima hieme nuper Franckentalli [sc. Frankenthal] vigilantes sudavimus, animo grato benevoloque fruamini. Cum enim propter insperatam temporum malignitatem ac invidiam, optimis quibusque viris potissimum infestam, in illam Palatinatus urbem

cum tota familia me recepissem, donec ad aliquem priore tranquilliores ac feliciores portum ex gravissimis tempestatibus, quibus vehementer diuque iactatus fui, Deus Optimus Maximus pro infinita suae paterna bonitatis clementia nos dederet, cumque vitam privatam illic degerem (ut et hic nunc quoque dego) nec ullo graecae linguae docendae munere publico amplius occuparer, ne temporis iacturam in hac diuturniori peregrinatione facerem, simul etiam ut variarum curarum onus levarem quo non mediocriter premebar, animum ad has exercitationes appuli. Illic etiam totius Homeri novissimam versionem ab Henrico Stephano typis mandatam diligentissime recognovi et ab incredibili foedissimorum soloecismorum colluvie repurgavi. Unde quilibet (vel me tacente) facile conicit et quanta reliquorum errorum seges quam illinc exstirpavi. Brevi autem (si Deus nostris coepitis faveat) hunc quoque poetarum principem cum perpetuis eiusdem patris mei commentariis in eum scriptis ab eodem, qui nostrum Thucydidem typis mandavit, vel ab alio typographo qui pulcherrimum huius exemplum sequi voluerit, fideliter excusum habebitis. Tunc aperte patebit quid patris mei scriptis debeatur, quid etiam aliis qui alienis scriptis usi (quae ante quindecim annos a me precibus impetrarunt ac mutuo quidem acceperunt, sed non ut haec adhuc invito domino pertinaciter apud se retinerent) nullam illorum auctoribus gratiam habuerunt, sed contra praeter amicitiae iura, praeter officium ac decorum in beatam optimorum virorum memoriam multis post illorum obitum annis inventi sunt, suarumque laudum praeconia celebrantes clarissimum illorum nomen suis obtrectationibus obscurare illorumque bonae famae ac dignitati labem aspergere sunt conati. Quamvis autem iustus dolor ob iniuriam nobis factam conceptus suadeat ut iniurias iniuriis ulciscamur, ego tamen iniurias nobis illatas fortiter ferre quam iniurias iniuriis ulcisci malo . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. β α1v) qui gravissimam iniuriam nobis fecerunt, pietatis ac officii sui paucis et amice commonefecero, tunc a me rem satis feliciter gestam putabo. Valete. Datum Heydelbergae Cal. Ianuarii MDCXCIV.

*Historiae* (ed. of Frankfurt, 1594 2°). Thucydidis Olori filii librorum octo de bello Peloponnesiaco primus. Ex Laurentii Vallae interpretatione ab Henrico Stephano recognita, quam

Aemilius Portus, Francisci Porti Cretensis filius, paternos commentarios accurate secutus, ab infinita gravissimorum errorum multitudine novissime repurgavit magna diligentia passim ex politum innovavit. [Inc.]: (p. 1) Thucydides Atheniensis bellum Peloponnesiorum Atheniensiumque, quod inter se gesserunt, conscripsit ex orsus statim ab eo moto, sperans etiam fore tum magnum tum superioribus memorabilius, his conjecturis adductis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 298) ac de Phoenissis navibus, aliisque [rebus,] quam honestissime [posset, ipsis] se purgaret. Ac primum Ephesum profectus, Diana sacrificium fecit. Cum [autem] hiems hanc aestatem insecuta finietur, primus etiam ac vicesimus [huius belli a Thucydide conscripti] annus finietur.

*Manuscript:*

(\*) Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Quart. lat. 132, s. XVII. The manuscript contains Laurentius Valla's translation, revised by Henricus Stephanus and further corrected by Aemilius Portus in accord with the notes of his late father Franciscus Portus. Probably copied from a printed edition. (Kristeller, Iter 4.299a).

*Editions:*

1594 2°. See above, Composite editions.

1594 4°, Francofurti (Frankfurt): apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium et Ioannem Aubrium. Laurentius Valla's translation, revised by Henricus Stephanus and further corrected by Aemilius Portus in accord with the notes of his late father Franciscus Portus; with Marcellinus' *Vita Thucydidis* translated by Isaac Casaubonus and revised by Aemilius Portus. Aemilius Portus' letter of dedication is dated 1 February 1594. Adams T-676; VD T-1125; NUC. BAV; (GU; NcU).

1594 16°, Francofurti (Frankfurt): apud Andreae Wecheli heredes, Claud. Marnium et Ioann. Aubrium. Contents the same as in the preceding entry. Aemilius Portus' letter of dedication is dated 1 March 1594. Adams T-677; VD T-1126; NUC. BL; (NNC; PLats).

1696. See above, Composite Editions.

1731, Amstelaedami (Amsterdam): apud R. et J. Wetstenios et Gul. Smith. (Gr.-Lat.) J. Wasse's and C. A. Duker's revision of the 1696 edition with Henricus Stephanus' Greek text and Laurentius Valla's translation revised by Stephanus, further corrected by Aemilius Portus in accord with the

notes of his late father Franciscus Portus, and corrected yet again by John Hudson and Duker; with the translation of Marcellinus' *Vita Thucydidis* as in the edition of 1594 4°, Georgius Acacius Enenckelius' *Historiae epitome*, and Stephanus' *Proparasceue*. BL; BNF.

1755, Glasguae (Glasgow): R. et A. Foulis. (Gr.-Lat.) Text of the Latin translations of Pericles' funeral oration (*Hist.* 2.34–46) and the description of the plague (*Hist.* 2.47–54) as in the preceding entry.

1759, Glasguae (Glasgow): R. et A. Foulis. (Gr.-Lat.) Laurentius Valla's translation as in the edition of Amsterdam, 1731. BL; BNF.

1788–89, Biponti (Zweibrücken): ex typographia societatis. (Gr.-Lat.) Contents the same as in the edition of Amsterdam, 1731, except that Georgius Acacius Enenckelius' *Historiae epitome* is not included. BNF.

1790–1804, Lipsiae (Leipzig): sumptibus E. B. Schwickerti. (Gr.-Lat.) Contents the same as in the preceding entry, except that the Greek text has been further revised by J. C. Gottleber. NUC. BNF; (ViLxW, volume of 1790).

(\*) 1804, Edingburgi (Edinburgh): excudebat G. Laing. (Gr.-Lat.) Laurentius Valla's translation as in the edition of Amsterdam, 1731. BL; BNF.

(\*) 1807, Paris: Gailneveu. (Gr.-Lat.) Laurentius Valla's translation as in the edition of Amsterdam, 1731, except that the translation has been further corrected. BNF.

(\*) 1809, Oxonii (Oxford): typis N. Bliss. (Gr.-Lat.) Laurentius Valla's translation as in the edition of Amsterdam, 1731. BL.

1840, Parisiis (Paris): editore Ambrosio Firmin-Didot. (Gr.-Lat.) Laurentius Valla's translation as in the edition of Amsterdam, 1731, but further revised by F. Haase; with the translation of Marcellinus' *Vita Thucydidis* as in the edition of Frankfurt, 1594 4°. BL; BNF.

(\*) 1842, Parisiis (Paris): editore Ambrosio Firmin-Didot. (Gr.-Lat.) Contents the same as in the preceding entry. BNF.

(\*) 1855, Parisiis (Paris): editore Ambrosio Firmin-Didot. (Gr.-Lat.) Contents the same as in the preceding entry. BNF.

(\*) 1869, Parisiis (Paris): editore Ambrosio Firmin-Didot. (Gr.-Lat.) Contents the same as in the preceding entry. BNF.

(\*) 1884, Parisiis (Paris): editore Ambrosio Firmin-Didot. (Gr.-Lat.) Contents the same as in the preceding entry. BNF.

*Biography:*  
CTC 2.198 and 7.116.

### 15. Georgius Acacius Enenckelius

In 1596 the Austrian Baron Georgius Acacius Enenckelius published at Tübingen his Latin translation of and commentary (I,j below) on all eight books of Thucydides' *Historiae*. He recalls, in a letter to the reader, how the reading of Thucydides and Livy was recommended to him by Michael Ziegler, his teacher at Tübingen (for Ziegler see Jöcher 4.2202). Enenckelius then explains that the existing Latin translations of Thucydides (he mentions those of Valla and Winsenius) did not offer much help, but by incessant study he became so familiar with Thucydides' language that he began making his own version and was encouraged by Ziegler to publish it.

Enenckelius, however, did not intend his translation merely as an aid to the understanding of the Greek text. Such translations, he says, aim at removing the difficulties of Thucydides' language, but they do not expound the text, as he had tried to do. He wants to express the thoughts and intentions of the historian without adding to the meaning or rendering too faithfully the original wording. The model for Enenckelius' Latin style in the translation is Livy, but he often refers to other *auctores* in order to justify his choice of a particular expression; see, for example, his comment on *Hist.* 1.1.1 ἐλπίσας (rendered as *speransque*): “Speramus non bona solum sed universe futura. Maro lib. 4: ‘Hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem’ [Aen. 4.419].”

Also encouraging Eneckelius to publish his translation were Martinus Crusius and David Magirus, two other professors at Tübingen (see Jöcher 3.35). In a letter printed in the 1596 edition, Crusius praises Enenckelius' great learning and the merits of his work on Thucydides (see immediately below).

*Letter of Martinus Crusius* (ed. of Tübingen, 1596). Illustri iuveni domino Georgio Acacio Enenckelio . . . Martinus Crusius s. p. d. [Inc.]: (sig. ):(iv) Macte nova virtute, generose et splendide iuvenis. Videlicet non satis erat ut linguae latinae ac graecae, ut omnis exquisitae philosophiae notitia et scientia excelleres, orationes in utraque lingua eruditas scriberes, disputationes cum admiratione Academiae Tubingensis ac doctissimorum summorumque virorum haberes, hebraeam quoque linguam disceres, linguae gallicae

cognitionem adderes, studium denique iuris magno cum profectu et laude adiungeres, . . . non satis, inquam, erant haec, nisi etiam Thucydidem, magnum illum, sapientem, gravem, Ciceronis etiam iudicio difficilem historicum [e.g., *Orat.* 30] latine, dilucide, eleganter, graviter interpretareris, eruditissimis obscuriorum rerum scholiis illustrares, explicatione accurata locorum hominumque insignium explanares, atque tam gravem arduumque sententiis et verbis auctorem lectu iam expeditum, intellectu facilem, cognitione suavem, usu perquam utilem exhiberes. Scio quid dicam. Legi enim diligentissime omnia. Nihil cuiquam illorum, qui in eodem scriptore cum laude elaborarunt, detraho, sed tua tamen talia iudico (si modo in me quoque quicquam est iudicii) quae lucem ac vetustatem, cuiusvis etiam eruditissimi iudicio, ferre possint. . . . Et si quid meae apud te praeter haec possunt preces, una ede etiam, quam apud te vidi, chronologiam in eundem auctorem et tabulam Graeciae veteris geographicam insigni artificio a te descriptam, quae ad aliorum quoque historicorum lectionem utilissima erit [see I.j below] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ad celebrem inclitae stirpis vestrae laudem, ad beatitatem denique post praesentia sempiternam. Tbingae, 6. Febr. 1596.

*Letter of Georgius Acacius Enenckelius to the reader.* Interpretis ad lectorem praefatio. [Inc.]: (sig.):(2r) Cum semper, ex quo ingenuis institui artibus coepi, id unum omnium mihi in hac vita antiquissimum ducendum putarem. . . . (sig.): (3v) Igitur mihi, qui ab pueritia plurimum historias amare excellentiumque belli et pacis artibus virorum gloriam suspiciens, me eorum similem fieri optare solebam, T. Livium et Thucydidem, romanae illum, hunc graecae historiae haud dubie principes, optimus fidissimusque praceptor meus Michael Zieglerus, philosophiae professor, assidue legendos volvendosque commendavit. Cuius praceptum secutus, cum brevi magno utrumque scriptorem amore et veneratione complecti coepisse, in Thucydide tamen ob breve densumque dicendi genus [see Quint., *Inst.* 10.1.73] multa obscura et difficultia ad intelligendum inveni, nec ab interpretibus quos tunc habebam, L. Valla [I.1] et V. Winshemio [I.10], satis auxili erat, quod interdum non apte Thucydidis exprimere sensum, interdum aequo vel magis etiam breves et obscuri esse videbantur. Nec tamen absterritus tanta difficultate, cum utique assidua lectione omnes me huius scriptoris salebras superaturum sperarem, quo magis

et singula verba sententiasque ponderarem et semel animo concepta retinerem, universum ex graeco in latinum convertere coepi, paulatimque usu dictioni Thucydidae assuescens, simul quae scripseram identidem relegens et emendans, magis magisque, etiam quae prius obscurissima visa fuerant, apertiora mihi fieri sensi.

Itaque cum nihil iam dubitarem, quin universam Thucydidis in historia mentem diligentia et assiduitate assequi possem, idem meus praceptor Zieglerus, qui mihi primus in manus dederat, ut in publicum ederem Thucydidis conversionem, auctor et hortator factus ad diversum omnino a priori instituto consilium animum convertit. Quippe qui meo iudicio nihil huiuscmodi in hac aetate moliri ausus fuisse, iure quodam me obsequi debere ei viro iudicavi, cui per multos iam annos existimationem meam et commoda non minus quam propria curae fuisse sciebam, cui ingenium meum et vires, si cuiquam alteri, in tali re notas esse credebam, quem denique in aliis omnibus ad id locorum felici semper eventu me secutum tenebam.

Maiori itaque conatu rem aggressus, quandoquidem aliorum editiones id potissimum spectare vidi, ut ipsum Thucydidem sua, qua scripsit, lingua legere volentibus subsidium ferant nec tam historiam exponant quam graecam linguam expoliant, diversi generis conversionem quandam instituendam iudicavi, quae mentem historici rite exprimens nec extra sententiae limites egrediens non ita tamen verbis et contextui inhaereret, ut non latinitati integratique sermonis, quantum fieri posset, locus daretur. Indisertum namque interpretem Cicero vocat, qui verbum e verbo exprimere conatur [Fin. 3.15], cum sit verbum quod idem declareret magis minusve usitatum, interdumque quod uno graeco, latinis pluribus verbis sit exponendum. Et Gellius lib. 9 [Noct. att. 9.1f.] non omnia omnino verba in eum, in quem dicta sunt, modum ex Graecis vertenda monet. Perdunt etiam gratiam pleraque, si quasi invita et recusantia violentius transferantur. Quocirca qui graecum legere Thucydidem vel nequeunt vel nolunt, quique historiam magis civilesque virtutes atque artes quam graecam (quamquam et hac in parte mea ceteris iuncta utilia erunt) linguam ex Thucydide discere volunt, his ego praesentem conversionem aptam accommodatamque fore puto. Nam et genus dicendi secutus sum liberum exque T. Livii eloquentissimi viri sermone, quantum a me fieri po-

tuit, formatum, . . . (sig. ):(6v) Hunc in modum confectam instructamque Thucydidis conversionem, cum insuper clarissimo latinis graecisque litteris viro, M. Crusio, Davidi item Magiro, utriusque iuris doctori et professori, viro ut omnis civilis rationis humaniorumque litterarum peritissimo, ita mihi longe carissimo multumque honorando, legendam et censendam dedissem, hique et probarent operam meam et uti in publicum ederem hortarentur, tandem quo et praceptorum meorum voluntati obtemperarem et publicae utilitati hoc qualicumque labore meo inserviendi principium facerem, Thucydidis conversionem cum annotationibus reliquisque his adiunctis in lucem publicumque prodire sivi, non sane quod doctissimorum virorum, qui ante me in hoc genere elaborarunt, gloriae obtrectare aut alios premendo me efferre vellem, sed ut nobilissimum hunc scriptorem nostris temporibus et rebus publicis multis de causis aptissimum utilissimumque quam plurimis commendarem ac monerem, ut id potissimum ex tali monumento peteret unusquisque, cuius gratia ipse Thucydides se historiam scripsisse profitetur, dum in exordio non aurum ab se voluptati inservitum sed iis qui res praeteritas accurate nosse et in his, quae iterum eodem consimilique modo sint usu ventura, haec ad suum commodum velint adhibere, κτῆμα ἐσ ἀεὶ [Hist. 1.22.4] praeparatum compositumque scribit . . . [Expl.] (sig. ):(4r) Ego si illud hac mea editione consecutus fuero, ut tantae utilitatis auctor pluribus innotescat, pluresque inde quid sibi suaequae reipublicae sit utile et frugiferum discant, instituto meo laborique abunde satisfactum putabo.

*Historiae.* Thucydidis Atheniensis Historiae de bello Peloponnesiaco ex graeco sermone in latinum conversae a Georgio Acacio Enenckel, barone Hohenecchio, liber primus. [Inc.]: (p. 1) Thucydides Atheniensis conscripsit bellum quod inter se gesserunt Peloponnesii et Athenienses, orsus a primis eius initiis speransque magnum id et superioribus memorabilius futurum, quandoquidem eos utrimque omni genere apparatus instructos, et ceteros Graeciae populos coniungi cum alterutris . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 407) deque Phoenicum navibus, sese quam rectissime purgaret. Ephesum prius veniens sacrificium Dianaec fecit. Posteaquam hiems hanc aestatem insequens terminabitur, primus et vicesimus complebitur annus.

#### *Editions:*

1596, Tubingae (Tübingen): apud Georgium Gruppenbachium. Adams T-678; VD T-1127; NUC. (Cty; PU; IEN).

1614, Argentorati (Strasbourg): L. Zetznerus. NUC. BNF; BAV; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; (MH; NNC; NcD).

#### *Biography:*

Georgius Acacius Enenckelius (Ennenckel, Enenkel, Georg Achatz Ennichel), Austrian Baron of Hoheneck, Goldeck, and Seisenec, was born in 1572 (or 1573) and probably died shortly after 1620.

His studies began at Strasbourg. He studied Latin, Greek, Hebrew, philosophy, and law at Tübingen according to the letter of Martinus Crusius, his teacher, in the 1596 edition of Enenckelius' translation of and commentary on Thucydides. From this letter and from Enenckelius' address to the reader in the same volume, we learn that he had studied with Michael Ziegler, who held a chair of philosophy at Tübingen, and with David Magirus, who taught law. Enenckelius also studied mathematics with Michael Maestlin (or Moestlin; see preface to the *Chronographia* in I.j below).

After leaving Tübingen, Enenckelius lived quietly at Goldeck.

#### *Works:*

Enenckelius was known also as a student of law, and, apart from his work on Thucydides, he published *De privilegiis parentum et liberorum* (1618), *Libri tres de privilegiis juris civilis* (1606), *De privilegiis militum et militiae* (1607), and the comparatively successful *Sejanus seu De praepotentibus regum et principum ministris* (1620) of which an English (1648) and a German translation (1683) are extant.

#### *Bibliography:*

Jöcher 2.354; J. F. Jugler, *Beyträge zur juristischen Biographie* 1.1773; G. Chr. Gebauer, *Mantissa de G. Acacio Enenkelio, l.b. Hohenecchio* (Göttingen, 1749); J. H. Stepf, *Gallerie aller juridischen Autoren von der ältesten bis auf die jetzige Zeit*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1822), 1821.

#### 16. Fabius Paulinus

A Latin translation accompanies Paulinus' commentary on Thucydides' description of the plague in Athens (*Hist. 2.47.2–54.5*), published at

Venice in 1603. This anonymous translator is probably Paulinus himself. The Latin text is not far removed from that of Valla's translation and seems closest to the version in the 1594 edition revised by Henricus Stephanus and Franciscus Portus (see above, Composite Editions and I.14); hence it is chronologically possible that Paulinus could have made use of this text for his own new rendering. Paulinus' main concern is undoubtedly the commentary, and so a full treatment of his work on Thucydides is given in I.k below.

*Historiae* 2.47.2–54.5 (ed. of Venice, 1603). Thucydidis Olori filii historia de peste Atheniensium, vel pestilentiae narratio. [Inc.]: (p. 20) Aestate statim ineunte Peloponnesenses et socii ex duabus partibus, quemadmodum et ab initio impressionem fecerunt in Atticam regionem (dux vero erat Archidamus Zeuxidami filius Lacedaemoniorum rex) . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 581) Depasitus vero est Athenas praecipue, deinde et ex aliis locis ea, quae erant hominibus refertissima. Et haec quidem sunt ea, quae in morbo evenerunt.

*Edition:*

See I.k below.

*Biography:*

See I.k below.

*Bibliography:*

See I.k below.

### 17. Petrus de Valencia

The translation, which comprises *Hist.* 1.1–27.2, is preserved in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 6322 (autograph). It seems to be a first draft, following the Greek original *ad verbum* and displaying many corrections and alternate readings. In the margins are Petrus' notes on the text, mainly *notabilia*, and he has occasionally translated some Greek scholia. The translation fills an entire bionion, ending almost at the bottom of the last page; consequently it is possible that Petrus may have translated more which is now lost. Petrus' death in 1620 is the *terminus ante quem* for the date of the translation.

*Historiae* 1.1–27.2 (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 6322). [Inc.]: (fol. 47r) Thucydidis Olori filii Historiarum sui temporis liber primus. Thucydides Atheniensis conscripsit bellum Peloponnesiorum et Atheniensium quod gesserunt inter se, exorsus statim coorto speransque magnum

fore et praeteritorum omnium narratu dignissimum. Coniecturam faciens inde quod florentes essent ad ipsum utrique omnis generis apparatu, reliquos Graecos omnes videns ad alterutros, alios quidem statim, alios vero, ut cogitabatur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 50v) qui navigabant et qui pecuniam conferebant. Rogarunt vero et Megarenses ut se navibus duderent, si forte navigare a Corcyrensis prohiberentur.

*Manuscript:*

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 6322 (olim R 213), s. XVI, fols. 47r–50v (with Francisco de Cabrera). (*Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 11 [Madrid, 1987], 162; Kristeller, *Iter* 4.551a).

*Biography:*

See CTC 2.282–83. Add to the *Bibliography*: *Antonius Nova* 243–45; J. A. Jones, “Pedro de Valencia en su correspondencia: carta y relación de unos papeles de Alonso Sánchez,” *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* ann. 65, vol. 234 (1985) 133–42; M. Serrano y Sanz, *Pedro de Valencia. Estudio biográfico-crítico* (Badajoz, 1910; rpt. 1981).

### COMMENTARIES

#### a. Anonymus Basiliensis

This anonymous commentary in an early sixteenth-century manuscript at Basel covers *Hist.* 1.1–4.98.8. Book 4 has an *accessus* in which the various parts of the book are treated. The text contains very few corrections, there is space left for initials to be inserted, and the beginning of each book is clearly indicated. The commentary tends to paraphrase the text.

*Commentary* (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, F V 24). Expositio in historias Thucydidis. [Inc.]: (fol. 1r) Θουκυδίδης (1.1.1) α κῦδος gloria, decus. θου quasi quaedam appositio formam habet patronymici, sed non fit patronymicum. Γραφεῖν scribere . . . pingere, συγγραφεῖν proprie historiam edere, Συγγραφεὺς historicus dicitur. Εὐθὺς καθισταμένον quia cum primum incepit bellum, ipse incepit scribere, constituto bello. Nam et ipse interfuit, sperans magnum fore et memoria dignissimum omnium praeteritorum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 171v) (4.98.8) quo nullo modo vellent recedere ex terra Boeoti, quam ceperunt; non enim esse amplius in terra illorum, sed in ea quam ipsi hasta ceperunt.

*Manuscript:*

Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, F V 24, s. XVI in., fols. 1r–171v. (Kristeller, *Iter* 5.61a, 69a).

b. Anonymus Hamburgensis  
(Books 1–3: Philippus Melanchthon or  
Vitus Winsemius?)

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. philol. 166 (a sixteenth-century miscellany) contains notes from the *Prolegomena* to a series of lectures on Thucydides by Philippus Melanchthon and an anonymous commentary on books 1–3. The *Prolegomena* and the commentary are written by the same hand, but they constitute two separate parts of the manuscript: the *Prolegomena* (pp. 1–8, and a few notes on pp. 16–17) are separated from the commentary proper by a paper leaf (now pp. 18–19, G. Piccard, *Wasserzeichen*, vol. 15.2 [Stuttgart, 1987], no. 984, “Raubtiere”, produced in Germany in 1555) which has been turned 90°; the commentary begins on p. 21. Titles for both components are given on p. 1 in the upper left-hand corner: “Ex ore Philippi Melanchtonis” and “excerpta e libro”. The *Prolegomena* and commentary on Thucydides are designated in the codex as “I”, and the next part is “II”.

Three dates are given in the Thucydidean section: “31 October 1553” (p. 1, for the *Prolegomena*); “14 November 1542” (p. 147, at the end of the commentary on book 1); “1555” (p. 369, at the end of the commentary on book 3). It is not clear whether these dates refer to the copying of the manuscript or the original composition of the text.

Part “II” of the manuscript begins on p. 373 and contains notes from a lecture by Melanchthon on Pindar (“Anno 1553 30. octobris. Ex praelectione matutina Domini Philippi collectanea ὑπομνημάτων in Pindari odas”). Pages 380–87 are blank. On p. 388 there are notes “de familia Fabiorum” and “Auctores seu scriptores Romanae historiae”. A section on Livy begins on p. 389 with the heading “Liviana, Wittenbergae 1555”, and the same page also has the date “Wittenbergae 1556”. Seen on p. 391 is the marginal note “vide Chytraei libellum de lectione historiarum”, i.e., David Chytraeus’ *De lectione historiarum recte instituenda et historicorum fere omnium series et argumenta*, first printed in 1563 at Wittenberg (I.c below).

Both the *Prolegomena* and the commentary display references to the page numbers of Joachim Camerarius’ Greek text of Thucydides (Basel, 1540). The notes from Melanchthon’s lectures seem to have been taken down in a hasty and unsystematic fashion; occasionally the writer slips into German. They contain observations on chronology and the reading of history as well as a list of the *notabilia* of book 1 followed by a summary of the book. Towards the end the notes are scattered (p. 369), and pp. 370–372 are left blank.

Much of the information in the *Prolegomena* that is not directly concerned with the *Historiae* is found also in Melanchthon’s edition of the *Chronicon Carionis*, a work serving as the general basis for his lectures on history. The anonymous commentary is either a copy or a rewriting of an existing text which, presumably, contained notes from lectures; see, e.g., p. 305 “pauca desunt in metaphrasi” and p. 328 “hic deest una lectio in oratione Thebanorum”.

The notes comprising the *Prolegomena* exhibit many verbal similarities with Vitus Winsemius’ *Prolegomena in Thucydidem* (Wittenberg, 1569). Typical of the close resemblance are the following instances:

*Hamburg Cod. philol. 166*

(p. 1) Inter diluvium Noë ad [corr. ex et] bellum Troianum propemodum mille anni sunt. . . . Bellum Troianum est ungefährlich gewesen circiter tempora Davidis. . . . Videtis res graecas esse multo recentiores quam judaicas. . . . Ante Davidem politia iudaica steterat propemodum amplius annis quadringentis. . . .

*Winsemius*

(sig. )(3v) A diluvio usque ad bellum Troianum anni sunt circiter mille. . . . Est autem Troianum bellum vicinum temporibus Davidis. . . . (sig. ) (4r, marginal note c) Hic videtis res graecas multo esse recentiores iudaicis. Iam enim per multos annos steterat politia iudaica. . . .

The commentary too has material also found in Winsemius’ *Prolegomena*, e.g., p. 21, “Ita elegerunt argumenta ut in singulis libris esset aliquid insigne, quia ipsi per partes edebant, recitabant singulos libros separatim” is close to Winsemius’ “Nota, singuli libri aliquot locos illustres habent. Ita enim res in libros sunt distributae. Nam singuli separatim recitari solebant” (sig. )(v).

The text of the commentary is divided into sections, often with introductory remarks for each section. The main part of the commentary consists of a paraphrase of the text which is interrupted by explanatory notes. Occasionally there are separate sections called *annotata*. In the paraphrase as well as in the explanatory notes we find once again a strong resemblance to Winsemius' work, as, e.g., in the comment on *Hist.* 1.24:

*Hamburg Cod. philol. 166*

(p. 51) Narratio uel expositio causarum. Fuit civitas Dyrrachium, quod nomen haud dubio est Slavonicum, qui ei loco vicini fuere. Sclavi olim sedem illam maris Adriatici tenuere. Dyrrachi dicunt significare fructices uel spinas. . . . (p. 52) Epidamus est civitas naviganti ad dextram sita in Ionium sinum. . . .

*Winsemius*

(p. 19) Sequitur expositio seu commemoratio causarum belli Peloponnesiaci. Eadem et Dyrrachium postea adpellata, hodie vero Dyrazo, quod nomen est Slauonicum. Hi enim ei loco vicini sunt, et olim sedem illam maris Adriatici tenuerunt. Vox ipsa significat fructices seu spinas. . . . Epidamus civitas est naviganti per Ionium sinum ad dextram sita. . . .

Melanchthon's translations of the speeches (I.5 above) were published at Wittenberg in 1562, and Winsemius includes them in his own Latin version of Thucydides (I.10 above). Often the text of the paraphrase in the Hamburg commentary has nothing in common with the translations of either Melanchthon or Winsemius, but sometimes it does resemble the version of Melanchthon, as in these instances:

(*Hist.* 1.53.2)

*Hamburg Cod. philol. 166*

(p. 85) Oratio Peloponnesiorum. Iniuste facitis Athenienses quod incipitis bellum solventes foedus. . . .

*Melanchthon*

(sig. AA6v) Oratio Peloponnesiorum. Iniuste facitis, o viri Athenienses, quod incipitis bellum, et solvitis foedus. . . .

(*Hist.* 1.53.4)

*Hamburg Cod. philol. 166*

(p. 85) Oratio Atheniensium. Non incipimus bellum nec solvimus foedus, sed venimus ut optulemur. . . .

*Melanchthon*

(sig. AA6v) Oratio Atheniensium. Neque incipimus bellum, o Peloponnesii, neque solvimus foedus, sed venimus auxilio. . . .

To sum up. Hamburg Cod. philol. 166 contains: (1) notes from an introductory lecture on Thucydides—the lecture is that of Philippus Melanchthon, but the notes contain much material that is also found in Vitus Winsemius' work on Thucydides; and (2) a commentary on books 1–3 which also resembles Winsemius' work. We know that Melanchthon had planned to lecture on Thucydides in 1542 (i.e., the date at the end of book 1 of the Hamburg commentary), and again in 1551. Winsemius taught Greek at the Faculty of Philosophy at Wittenberg from 1541 onwards, and Johannes Caselius, who studied at Wittenberg 1551–53, heard him lecture on Greek poetry. In his preface to the 1561 Wittenberg edition of *Hist.* 1–4, Winsemius said that he had already been working for some time on the Latin translation (I.10). If the Hamburg commentary on *Hist.* 1–3 is indeed a fair copy of notes taken down at lectures, these could have been lectures by Melanchthon as well as by Winsemius, both of whom taught Greek at Wittenberg between 1542 and 1555.

*Prolegomena* (Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. philol. 166). [Inc.]: (p. 1) 31 Octobris 1553 Wittenbergae. In praelectionem Thucydidis προλέγομενα collecta ex ore D. Philippi Melanthonis. Vos adolescentuli, sicut heri monui, debetis mente excipere seriem omnem temporum [in the left margin: χρονολογία temporum et annorum series accurate distincta] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 8) Lingua persica. Artaxerxes. (p. 19) Epidamni pressi ab hostibus mittunt ad Corcyraeos [1.24.6].

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (p. 21) *Liber I Θουκυδίδου* (1.1.1). Orditur a titulo ut et Herodotus. Ille mos est acceptus a primis scriptoribus ut in sacris litteris apparat et prophetae sic incipiunt [see I.e below] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 369) I [i.e., book 1] descriptionem Themistoclis et Pausaniae Potidaeae. II [i.e., book 2] pestem et signa ante eam. III [i.e., book 3] cladem Mitylenaeorum et certamina de abrogando decreto. Capta Plataea. Sedatio Corcyraeorum. Potidaea, Plataea, Mitylene,

Corcyra, Ambracia corruerunt ?alterutra. Deo laus 13 Novembris 1555 Vittembergae.

*Manuscript:*

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. philol. 166 (misc.), s. XVI (date of commentary 1542–55), pp. 1–369. (Kristeller, *Iter* 3.563a).

*Bibliography:*

M. Pade, “A Melanchthonian Commentary to the First Three Books of Thucydides? Cod. Philol. 166, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg,” in *Reformation and Latin Literature in Northern Europe*, ed. I. Ekrem et al. (Oslo, 1996), 193–206.

c. David Chytraeus

Chytraeus’ various *accessus* are the printed versions of inaugural lectures to his courses on Thucydides at the University of Rostock. They appeared in his *Chronologia Herodoti et Thucydidis*, first published in 1562 at Rostock and often reprinted. In the *Chronologia* Chytraeus correlates the events described by the two Greek historians with important events in the Bible and the history of, among other countries, Persia and Egypt. The 1562 edition contains only the *accessus* to book 1, titled *In lectionem Thucydidis* and dated 12 April 1562. As part of this *accessus*, Chytraeus also prints the short *argumenta* of all eight books; at the end he announces his lectures on the *Historiae*, to begin the following day.

Subsequent editions of the *Chronologia* often contain more *accessus* and also announce lectures: the 1565 Strasbourg edition has *accessus* to books 1–3, and the 1567 Rostock and later editions contain the *accessus* to the whole work (except for book 7) and are now called *Argumentum Thucydidis*. The 1567 Rostock edition gives these for the *accessus* (i.e., inaugural lectures): 1 October 1562 (book 2), 1 March 1563 (book 3), 10 August 1563 (book 4), 5 December 1563 (book 5), 1 May 1564 (book 6), and 4 March 1565 (book 8). In the 1570 Rostock and subsequent editions, the *accessus* (or *argumentum*) to book 6 is followed by a chapter called *Origines urbium Siciliae lucem adferentes primae paginis libri 6 Thucydidis* (ed. of Rostock, 1570, p. 108); this chapter is enlarged in the 1573 Rostock edition (p. 208).

The section of the *Chronologia* concerning the *Historiae* and the *argumenta* from the *accessus* of book 1 appeared separately in a number of edi-

tions containing the Greek text of the *Historiae*. In 1563 Chytraeus published his *De lectione historiarum recte instituenda et historicorum fere omnium series et argumenta*, where Thucydides is treated; a large part of this discussion of Thucydides was incorporated in later editions of the *Chronologia*. He had also used examples from Thucydides for his *Praecepta rhetoricae inventio-nis* (1556).

Johannes Caselius, who was at Rostock with Chytraeus 1563–89 (CTC 2.124), praises Chytraeus’ work on Thucydides in his own *Prolegomena*: “Et in singularibus Thucydidis cultoribus est David Chytraeus, amicus noster. Nam et olim eius historiam in hac academia accurate interpretatus est, et studiosorum adolescentium conatus adiuvit studio suo, edita chronologia et perbrevi et perutili, cum potissimum et Herodotum et Thucydidem respiceret, etsi et alia bene attexit” (Caselius, *In Thucydidis interpretationem prolegomena* [Rostock, 1576], 33). Caselius also wrote a poem in Greek about Chytraeus’ *Chronologia*.

*Dedication* (ed. of Strasbourg, 1563). Generoso et illustri Domino, D. Georgio Gera, Ostgo tho, Baroni in Olne, Domino suo et patrono reverenter colendo, David Chytraeus salutem dicit. [Inc.]: (sig. A1v) Cum inclita gens Gothorum a Deo ipso et a bonitate ac beneficentia. . . . (sig. A2r) Ideoque ut exiguo quidem ac tenui, aliquo tamen qualicumque testimonio ostenderem me grata et memori mente beneficia vestra conservare, inscripsi Excellentiae vestrae nomini clarissimi hunc exilem libellum, quo duorum historiae principum, Herodoti et Thucydidis *Chronologiam* complexus sum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. A4v) Et primi parentes nostri Adam et Eva primum a Deo conditi esse scribuntur ante annos 5524.

*Accessus.*

*Liber 1.* In lectionem Thucydidis. [Inc.]: (sig. K8v) Duo sunt studiorum fines et totius gubernationis vitae humanae organa, et ornamenta praecipua, quae apud Thucydidem Pericles nominat . . . [the following short *argumenta* are often printed separately] (*Hist.* 1, sig. L2v) Primus liber post exordium, quo magnitudinem belli Peloponnesiaci collatione veteris Graeciae bellorum amplificat occasiones et causas belli. . . . (*Hist.* 8, sig. L3r) sequentium 40. annorum bella graeca, fere usque ad Philippi Macedonis initium attexit. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. L4r) Quod ad meam imbecillitatem attinet, fateor me, dum hunc auc-

torem explicandum suscipio, onus multo maius subire quam virium mearum infirmitas latura sit. Sed cum nostri muneris sit iuventutem ad studia linguarum ecclesiae necessaria et ad optimos autores ac magistros tum intelligendi, tum dicendi invitare, et Herodoti Historiam, quem e vestigio sequitur Thucydides, integrum absolverim iuvante Deo, in Thucydide etiam interpretando si nihil aliud attamen diligentiam et fidem auditoribus probabo . . . in hac baltici litoris Sareptula servet et tueatur. Thucydidis praelectionem, Deo iuvante, inchoabo cras hora sexta. Datum Rostochii, die 12. Aprilis, Anno 1562.

*Liber 2* (ed. of Rostock, 1573). [Inc.]: (p. 182) Secundus Thucydidis liber inchoat historiam belli Peloponnesiaci, quod anno mundi 3536. qui fuit ante . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 186) quam in controversiis principum Germanicorum nostra aetate aliquoties citari meminimus. Ordinar autem secundi libri Thucydidis interpretationem proximis Calendis Octobris anni 1562.

*Liber 3* (ed. of Rostock, 1573). [Inc.]: (p. 186) Tertius liber Thucydidis historiarum rerum anno 4. 5. et 6. belli Peloponnesiaci gestarum comprehendit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 190) interfectores vero concidentes navim in fuga naufragio perierunt. Datum Calendis Martii, anno 1563.

*Liber 4* (ed. of Rostock, 1573). [Inc.]: (p. 190) Quartus Thucydidis liber historiam rerum anno 7. 8. et 9. belli Peloponnesiaci gestarum explicat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 194) occupata ab Atticis recipiuntur. Incipiam autem quarti libri interpretationem cras hora 6. die 10. Augusti.

*Liber 5* (ed. of Rostock, 1573). [Inc.]: (p. 194) Quintus liber historiam anni decimi et sex sequentium belli Peloponnesiaci annorum usque ad belli Siculi initia . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 196) melle ac nectare dulcioribus, inter enarrandum monebo die 5. Decembris anni 1563.

*Liber 6* (ed. of Rostock, 1573). [Inc.]: (p. 196) Sextus Thucydidis liber belli Siculi historiam inchoat, quod Athenienses sine ulla gravi et necessaria causa . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 204) Hi fere praecipui sex loci sunt digni attentiori observatione et memoria in sexti libri lectione, quem cras hora sexta Deo iuvante interpretari incipiam. Datum Calendis Maii, anno 1564.

*Liber 8* (ed. of Rostock, 1573). [Inc.]: (p. 209) Deo iuvante deduximus interpretationem Thucydidis ordine usque ad octavum et ultimum librum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 213) Postremo singu-

los nos, absoluta periculosisimi belli historia “iuvet evasisse tot urbes // Argolicas, mediosque viam tenuisse per hostes” [Verg., *Aen.* 3.282–283; see I.1 above]. Datum 4. Martii, anno 1565.

*Lost manuscript:*

Greifswald, Universitätsbibliothek, Lat. Fol. 20, s. XVI. This manuscript, now missing, contained the *accessus*, here titled *De lectione Thucydidis*. (Kristeller, *Iter* 3.402a).

*Editions:*

(\*) 1562, Rostochii (Rostock): excudebat Stephanus Myliander. David Chytraeus' *Chronologia Herodoti et Thucydidis* and the *accessus* to *Hist.* 1. VD C-2559.

1563, Argentorati (Strasbourg): Christianus Mylius. Contents the same as in the preceding entry. Adams C-1577; VD C-2560; NUC. BL; BNF; (CtY; PBm; PPULC).

1563, Viteberge (Wittenberg): Johannes Crato. Contents the same as in the edition of Rostock, 1562. VD C-2561; NUC. (CtY).

1565, Argentinae (Strasbourg): apud Christianum Mylium. David Chytraeus' *Chronologia Herodoti et Thucydidis* and the *accessus* to *Hist.* 1–3. Adams C-1583; VD C-2562; NUC. BL; BNF; (IU; PPULC; NcD; PBm).

1567, Rostochii (Rostock): Iacobus Transylvanus excudebat. David Chytraeus' *Chronologia Herodoti et Thucydidis* and the *accessus* to *Hist.* 1–6, 8. Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek.

1569, Rostochii (Rostock): Iacobus Transylvanus excudebat. Contents the same as in the preceding entry. VD C-2563. BNF.

1570, Rostochii (Rostock): excudebat Iacobus Lucius. Contents the same as in the edition of 1567, Rostock. Adams C-1578; VD C-2564.

1573, Rostochii (Rostock): excudebat Iacobus Lucius. Contents the same as in the edition of 1567, Rostock. Adams C-1579; VD C-2565; NUC. BL; BNF; (NNC; MBAt).

1578, Rostochii (Rostock): excudebat Iacobus Lucius. Contents the same as in the edition of 1567, Rostock. VD C-2566.

1579, Rostochii (Rostock): excudebat Iacobus Lucius. Contents the same as in the edition of 1567, Rostock. VD C-2567.

1585, Helmaestadii (Helmstedt): ex officina typographica Iacobi Lucii. Contents the same as in the edition of 1567, Rostock. VD C-2568; NUC. BNF; (DFo; MnU; MH; NjP).

1585–86, Helmaestadii (Helmstedt): ex officina typographica Iacobi Lucii. Contents the same as in the edition of 1567, Rostock. Adams T-1580; VD C-2569. BNF.

1588. See above, Composite Editions.

1589. See above, Composite Editions.

(\*) 1592, Rostochii (Rostock): [Augustin Ferber d. Ä.]. David Chytraeus' *Chronologia Herodoti et Thucydidis*. VD C-2570.

1593, Helmaestadii (Helmstedt): J. Lucius. Contents the same as in the edition of Rostock, 1567. VD C-2571; NUC. BNF; (DFo).

1594 2°. See above, Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

David Chytraeus (Kochhaff, Kochhafe) was born 26 February 1531 at Ingelfingen near Künzelsau and died 25 June 1600 at Rostock.

He went to school at Gemmingen and came to Tübingen in 1539 where his teachers were Joachim Camerarius, Melchior Rufus Volmar, Erhard Schnepff, and Jacob Heerbrand. In 1544, now *magister artium*, he went to Wittenberg to study with Melanchthon, by whom he was much influenced. To avoid the disturbances caused by the first Schmalkaldic War, Chytraeus went to Heidelberg in 1546 and to Tübingen in 1547; in 1548 he was able to return to Wittenberg to teach rhetoric, astronomy, and Melanchthon's *Loci communes*. After travels in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy he went to Rostock where he taught from 1550 onwards. In 1561 he became *doctor theologiae* and professor.

Chytraeus worked to reorganize the University of Rostock on the model of the University of Wittenberg. In 1576 he was asked to draw up the statutes of the University of Helmstedt. A capable administrator and organizer of the Lutheran Church, he was called upon to participate, in this capacity, in similar activities in Austria, Sweden, and Holland. In his time Rostock became a center of Lutheran orthodoxy.

#### *Works:*

Chytraeus was known as the author of numerous philological, historical, and theological works. His writings include: *Catechesis* (1st ed. 1555); *Regulae vitae* (1st ed. 1555); *Praecepta rhetoricae inventionis* (1st ed. 1556); *Onomasticon theologicum* (1st ed. 1557); *De lectione historiarum recte instituenda* (1st ed. 1563); *Regulae studiorum* (1572); *Chronicon Saxoniae* (1st ed. 1590); and

speeches, treatises, and commentaries on the Scriptures.

#### *Bibliography:*

"Chytraeus, David," ADB 4.254–56 (Fromm); K.-H. Glaser, H. Lietz, and S. Rhein, eds., *David und Nathan Chytraeus. Humanismus im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Ubstadt-Weiher, 1993); Jöcher 1.1906; *Neue deutsche Biographie*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1957), 254; O. F. Schutz, *De vita Davidis Chytraei, theologi, historici et polyhistoris Rostochiensis commentariorum libri quatuor* (Hamburg, 1720–21); Chr. Sturz, *D. Davidis Chytraei, theologi et historici... vita* (Rostock, 1601).

#### d. Joachim Camerarius

Camerarius' commentary, discussed in I.8 above, accompanies his 1565 Wittenberg translation of the same passages (1.1–23, 86; 2.34–46, 53).

*Introduction to the commentary* (ed. of Wittenberg, 1565). Ad historiam Thucydidis. [Inc.]: (sig. D3r) De Thucydide auctore narrationis belli gesti in Graecia cum conspirassent adversus potentiam populi Atheniensis Peloponnesii ductoribus Spartiatiss, pauca quaedam nos commorasse satis esse poterit. Hunc igitur traditur Thracici quidem sed Athenis celeberrimi generis fuisse . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. F7r) Me docti capiat manus et sapientis. At expers // Quisquis Musarum es, nota parum abicias. // Pervius haud cunctis sum, admirantur neque multi // Thucydi- den Oloro Cecropida genitum.

#### *Commentary:*

Ad prooemii Thucydidis interpretationem notata a Ioachimo Camerario (1.1–23). [Inc.]: (sig. F7v) Historia Thucydidea profitetur enarrationem belli gesti inter Athenenses et Peloponnesios ductoribus Lacedaemoniis. Legitur autem in epitoma Stephani de urbibus, Atticos cavisse ne nominarent bellum hoc πελοπονησιακὸν, ut sit illud Peloponnesium. *Graecia* (1.2.1). Ita interpretor Ἑλλάδα et Ἑλληνας Graecos. Ut enim illi universam suam nationem Ἑλληνας unius populi nomine, ita Latini eosdem Graecos vocarunt, gentili aut patria appellatione. In *Epitoma* autem Stephani legitur Γράικες μητέρες Ἑλλήνων . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. H2r) *Stirps Beli* (1.23).

Ad orationem Sthenelaidae (1.86). [Inc.]: (sig. H2v) Huius etiam orationis interpretationem placuit adiungere, ad brevitatis et calliditatis La-

conicae exemplum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. H3r) Discessio autem, qua a Sthenelaida res explicatur, etiam in senatu quondam Romano fuit usurpata.

Ad orationem funebrem. De legis appendice, laudari imperfectos in proeliis (2.34–46). [Inc.]: (sig. H3v) Cicero mentionem facit in *Oratore* [151] popularis orationis, qua mos esset Athenis laudari imperfectos in proeliis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. I6v) Στέφανον (2.46.1). Proverbii figura coronam vocat praemium virtutis atque laudis. Nam victores quondam in certaminibus gymnicis ante omnia coronae honore afficiebantur. Polybius libro primo ἱερὸν στέφανον dixit, consecratam palmam Deo, idest, victoriam relictam in medio, quasi dicatam Deo ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἀνάπταθεῖς καὶ ἀγήττητοι τινὲς ἀνδρες ἱερὸν ἐποίησαντο στέφανον (1.58.5).

Descriptio pestilentiae (2.48–54). [Inc.]: (sig. I7r) Accurata est hoc loco et copiosa narratio morbi ex eorum genere. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. K3r) Κατακράτους (2.54.4) autem, et totis viribus et omni contentione.

*Edition:*

1565. See I.8 above.

*Biography:*

See CTC 2.100.

e. Vitus Winsemius

Winsemius' commentary, printed together with his translation (I.10) at Wittenberg in 1569, is a mixture of *realia*, grammatical commentary often including paraphrases of the text and rhetorical analysis (where he uses Melanchthon's terminology), and *notabilia/moralia*. The work is preceded by a copious *accessus* entitled *Prolegomena in Thucydidem*, which contains the following chapters: *Historia quid nomen, id est, quid significat?*; *Quid res, quid est historia?*; *De utilitate historiae*; *Series historiarum et temporum*; *Series annorum et synchronismus temporum ac rerum*; *De discrimine historiae graecae et latinae*; *Argumentum huius libri*; and *Quae in singulis libris magis illustria et observanda sunt*.

*Accessus.* *Prolegomena in Thucydidem* (ed. of Wittenberg, 1569). [Inc.]: (sig. )(iii<sup>r</sup>) *Historia quid nomen, id est, quid significat.* Ἰστορέω significat inquirō, scrutor, inspicio, et memoriae mando, seu commemoro . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. )(vi<sup>v</sup>) sic recte et dicendi magistra et iudicii formatrix et consiliorum et morum gubernatrix erit historia Thucydidaea [see Cic., *De orat.* 1.38, 3.57].

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (p. 1) Titulo comprehenditur et propositio et libri argumentum. Titulus ponitur initio, ut mos fuit antiquis. Sic enim et Herodotus incepit, et sancti Prophetae sic incipiunt suas prophetias. *Conscriptis* (1.1.1) συνέγραψε; studiose et diligenter conscripsit. Hinc syngrapha, scriptio seu res scripta. Significat item cautionem seu chirographum obligans. *Inter se* (1.1.1) πρὸς ἄλλήλους. Hic distinguitur hoc bellum ab aliis bellis, quae contra Persas atque alios gesserunt, et indicatur fuisse civile bellum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 545) *Cum etiam alia onera imponeret eis* (8.108.5). Plutarchus in *Antonio* ἐπιβάλλοντος δεύτερον φόρον [24.7], cum imponeret duplicatum tributum. (p. 546) *Dolore affectus* (8.109.1). Erat enim inter praefectos, ut fit, aemulatio.

*Editions:*

1569. See above, Composite Editions.

1580. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See I.10 above.

f. Antonius Zenus

Zenus, a Venetian patrician, published (Venice, 1569) his commentary on Pericles' speech at *Hist.* 1.140–144 with an accompanying translation (I.11) and a commentary on the speech of Lepidus from Sallust's *Histories* (*Or. Lep.*, ed. Kurfess, 148–51; see the article on Sallust, III.i.[b].1, p. 303 below). He first prints a passage of the Greek text, then the translation, and after that his commentary.

In the dedication to Andreas Baduarius (probably Andrea Biagio Badoer, 1515–75), Zeno relates how he worked on the translation and commentary while he was studying science at Padua and Bologna, and, after his return to Venice, he decided to publish it for the benefit of his country. He has chosen these two speeches from the large corpus available because they were political speeches and rhetorically excellent, written by writers from different states, who nonetheless treated the material in a similar way; they will be of interest to persons who take part in the public affairs of the city (i.e., the likes of Zenus himself who belonged to the leading classes of society), and they contain “most weighty counsel on war,” which the威尼斯人 may well need.

The *accessus*-like preface (pp. 9–30) has the following chapters: *De Thucydide*, *De Pericle*, *De*

*iis quae ad rem pertinent*, and *De auditore*. An important part of the first chapter treats the value of the Thucydidean speeches as models for forensic rhetoric. Zeno is not content merely to enumerate the views of *auctores*, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Demetrius of Phaleron, Longinus, and Cicero; he also tries to synthesize: “quod in dicendo vitium esset vel maximum, id in scribendo laudatissimum esse” (p. 13), here, as often elsewhere, referring to Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3.1.7 [1404a]). In the following chapters Zeno describes Pericles as an orator and statesman, and he explains how Pericles’ speech was adapted to the circumstances (the political situation) and his audience (the popular assembly).

Zenus’ commentary is partly rhetorical with a strong didactic note and partly concerned with political matters, where Zenus makes constant use of parallel examples.

*Dedication* (ed. of Venice, 1569). Andreae Baduarii clarissimo viro Antonius Zenus s. [Inc.]: (sig. A2r) Vetus ea est constanti doctorum hominum testimonio iampridem comprobata sententia, Andrea Baduari, vir clarissime. . . . (sig. A2v) Huic igitur arti, qui aut rempublicam habent aut de ea capessenda cogitant, in primis oportere studere, iam inde ab ineunte aetate et domesticis exemplis multis et eorum, quos verebar, auctoritate impulsus cum intelligerem, ita meae adolescentiae tempus traduxi, ut cum rerum physicarum cognoscendarum causa in nobilissimis Italiae gymnasiis Patavino et Bononiensi versarer, numquam tamen a rerum civilium et oratoriarum studio oculos mentemve deicerem. Memineram enim me praecipuo Dei beneficio eius civitatis civem esse, in qua, quod libertate optatissima frueretur et multorum consilio regeretur, facile mea, quaecumque esset, excurrende industria et meum elucere vel intelligendi vel dicendi studium posset, ut omittam praemia, quae semper in nostra republica bonis ac bene sentientibus beneque dicentibus hominibus proposita non mediocri me ad omnes labores exceptiendos accendere cupiditate potuerunt. Itaque ex gymnasio Bononiensi post quinquennium tamquam ex frequentissimo aliquo bonarum artium mercato [sic] sic postulantibus rebus meis in patriam reversurus, ne tamdiu ibi inani opera et studio fuisse viderer, cepi consilium mecum aliquid referre ex iis quae diligentiori cura tractaveram. Fuerant autem contiones duae, una Thucydidis, altera Sallustii, a me accurata in primis

explanatione, quoad per me licuit, illustratae, quae, quod causas civiles continerent atque artificio dicendi praecellerent, facile quibus potissimum elaborassem in studiis, indicarent. Accedebat etiam quod nobilissima scriptorum ingenia ac diversa rerum publicarum, in quibus illa versata essent, instituta ac studia sed tamen rei ac tractationis ratione similia, plurimum et lectores legendi delectare et ad dicendi laudem parandam non mediocriter iuvare posse intelligebam, praesertim vero eos qui se totos consultationibus de republica instituendis dedidissent, quae praecipua nostrae hoc tempore iuventutis videtur esse cura. Nam quae suasionem gravissimam belli nimirum continerent, ex magno prope contionum aliarum corpore excerpti, quod id genus et usu et dignitate praestantius et patricii Veneti studiis convenientius esset. Quae eadem me causa impulit ut in his explanandis non summum solum in artificio dicendi aperiendo studium collocarim, sed etiam in rebus civilibus aliqua saepe opportuna egressione tractandis elaborarim ac locorum eventuumque similium undique conquisita collatione ornare tentaverim . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. A4v) sed me ipsum quoque totum tibi, quemadmodum quidem cupido, velim dicatum esse. Vale.

*Preface.* Antonii Zeni in Periclis contionem praefatio. [Inc.]: (p. 9) Praeclaram Periclis contionem a Thucydide historiis suis insertam exposituri atque varium eius, quoad consequi ingenio ac diligentia poterimus, artificium expressuri . . . (p. 15) Quare cum adeo admiratione, studio, imitationeque digna haec oratio sit, sequitur ut ad ipsam explicandam nostram merito operam atque industriam conferamus. Cum autem tria sunt, ut docet Aristoteles, ex quibus omnis constat oratio, “is qui dicit, res de qua dicit, et is, ad quem” [*Rhet.* 1.3.1 (1358a)], quorum cum perfecta ab oratore cognitio tenenda, tum ratio in dicendo diligenter habenda est, quippe in quibus eloquentiae vis omnis consumitur et ex quorum varietate diversitas omnis praceptorum oritur, idcirco et nos his in praesenti Periclis oratione explicatis deinceps artis pracepta indagemus atque ab his veluti προλεγομένων loco praepositis, expositio- nis initium ducamus, ac primo de ipso, qui loquitur, Pericle dicamus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 30) Simillima vero, vel si artem, vel si materiem species, est contio Archidami Lacedemoniorum regis hoc eodem Thucydidis libro [*Hist.* 1.80–85].

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: (p. 32) Quatuor sunt,

quae orator in conficienda oratione praestare solet: primum rem ipsam, de qua est illi dicendum, diligenter considerat, ad quam etiam causae genus et statum et sui auditorisque personam refert.... (p. 35) quibus omnibus attentionem, docilitatem, benevolentiamque sibi comparat apud auditores. *Eiusdem adhuc sententiae sum, Athenienses, Peloponnesii cedendum non esse* (1.140.1). Brevisime ac paucis verbis statim a principio sententiam suam, ut rhetores omnes docent esse faciendum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 140) *In quibus inferiores* etc. (1.144.4). Comparatio ad permovendos, incitandosque. . . . Idem etiam Pericles libro secundo (2.62.3): “Nec vero committamus, ut utraque in re inferiores, quam patres nostri fuerunt, deprehendamur.”

*Edition:*

1569, Venetiis (Venice): apud Bolognatum Zalterium. (Gr.-Lat.) Antonius Zenus’ commentary on the speech of Pericles (*Hist.* 1.140–144) with accompanying translation; with Zenus’ translation of and commentary on the speech of Lepidus from Sallust’s *Histories*. Adams Z-125; NUC. BL; BNF; BAV; (MH; CtY).

*Biography:*

Little is known of Antonius Zenus (Antonio Zeno), called the Younger, except that he belonged to a well-known family of Venetian patriots. He lived in the sixteenth century.

*Bibliography:*

Michaud 45.461.

g. Jobus Veratius

In 1570 Henricus Stephanus published the *Conciones sive Orationes ex graecis latinisque historicis excerptae*. This collection included all the speeches in Thucydides’ *Historiae* except for the Melian debate (5.85–111) and the short speech of a Syracusan magistrate (6.41.2–4). Veratius composed *argumenta* for all the speeches in the volume, and he also made Latin translations of a few of them (see I.12 above).

Veratius’ *argumenta* for the Thucydidean speeches are not just a summary of the contents; they also present the general situation in which the speeches were delivered and they comment regularly on the rhetorical genre. Moreover, Veratius compiled an index in which all the speeches in Stephanus’ *Conciones* were divided according to genus: *deliberativum*, *iudiciale*, and *demonstra-*

*tivum*. This index is often mentioned as one of the crowning glories of the edition (e.g., “Additus est index artificiosissimus et utilissimus quo in rhetorica causarum genera, velut in communes locos, singulae contiones rediguntur,” in Th. J. von Almeloveen, *De vitis Stephanorum* [Amsterdam, 1683], index. p. 45). Stephanus’ 1588 edition of Laurentius Valla’s translation (I.1 above) re-prints the part of the index which pertains to Thucydides.

*Letter to the reader* (ed. of [Geneva,] 1570). Jobus Veratius studioso lectori s. [Inc.]: (sig. \*iv<sup>r</sup>) Mirifice me, studiose lector, Homericus ille versiculus delectat μύθων τε ὁττῆρ’ ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων [Il. 9.443] . . . Paulo uberior Thucydideus Archidamus aliique eiusdem civitatis, ut qua in urbe humaniores litterae prope iacebant, in ea tamen suum eloquentiae esse habitum honorem constet. Itaque poeta cum summum virum et regendae multitudinis peritis-simum describeret, utriusque rei laudem ei attribuit, rerum gestarum gloriam et dicendi peritiam: “Tum pietate gravem et meritis” etc. [Verg., Aen. 1.151]. Ille regit dictis animos et temperat iras. Haec eadem sibi assumit apud Thucydidem Pericles, ὃς οὐδενὸς ἥσσων οἴομαι εἶναι γνῶναι τε τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ἐρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα [Hist. 2.60.5]. Etenim ut impudentis est de iis quae nesciat verba temere fundere, ita turpe est, quae scias, ea plane et apte explicare non posse . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. \*iv<sup>v</sup>) Et ne quid te legentem moraretur, et ut unde res ipsa, de qua dicitur, profecta esset, intelligeres, argumenta praefingenda curavit. Eae igitur quantopere et ad antiquitatis cognitionem et ad dicendi facultatem conducant, postquam accurate legeris, melius, ut spero, aestimabis. Vale.

*Commentary.*

*Book 1*

Oratio Corcyraeorum (32–36). Argumentum (p. 48). [Inc.]: Conflato inter Corcyraeos et Corinthios bello ob defensionem Epidamni, cum eam urbem ab exsilibus vexatam . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Maxime vero illud caput attingunt non violari hoc foedere conditiones pacis cum Lacedaemoniis transactas.

Corinthiorum oratio (37–43). Argumentum (pp. 50–51). [Inc.]: Respondet haec oratio superiore. Nam duobus capitibus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quae cum turpia sint, tamen aliquam prae se ferunt utilitatis speciem.

Peloponnensium oratio (53.2). Argumentum (p. 53). [Inc.]: Iverant auxilio Corcyraeis Athenienses adversus Corinthios . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et hostilis specimen animi in suo supplicio ederent.

Atheniensium oratio (53.4). Argumentum (p. 54). Respondent Athenienses Peloponnensibus se non contra rem Corinthiorum venire, sed praesidio Corcyrae esse missos: itaque sibi in animo esse facere.

Corinthiorum oratio (68–71). Argumentum (p. 54). [Inc.]: Corinthii cum se Atheniensibus impares esse et multis iam cladibus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Denique aut sibi alios quaerendos socios aut Lacedaemoniis causam esse suscipiendam denuntiant.

Atheniensium oratio (73–78). Argumentum (p. 57). [Inc.]: Respondent ad criminaciones Corinthiorum Athenienses legati, ac primum, ut cautum sit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: qui summo Graecorum consensu hoc imperii erant adepti.

Archidami oratio (80–85). Argumentum (p. 60). [Inc.]: Cum esset ab utrisque peroratum, a legatis sociorum et ab Atheniensibus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quo interim tempore bellum maturius comparari possit.

Oratio Sthenelaidae (86). Argumentum (p. 63). [Inc.]: In eo consessu Lacedaemoniorum de quo diximus, Sthenelaidas . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Specimen Laconiae brevitatis cum acrimonia coniunctae.

Corinthiorum oratio (120–124). Argumentum (p. 63). [Inc.]: Conventus magni habebantur Lacedaemone a civitatibus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quae illis metum omnem debeant eripere. Gravis sententia oratio.

Oratio Periclis (140–144). Argumentum (p. 66). [Inc.]: Lacedaemonii, decreto iam domi omnium sociorum suffragiis in Athenienses bello . . . / . . . [Expl.]: cum quid ad mandata legatorum responderi velit, ostendit.

### *Book 2*

Oratio Archidami (11). Argumentum (p. 70). [Inc.]: Comparato bello a Lacedaemoniis et sociis Peloponnensibus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: fortitudinem esse adhibendam et cautionem, removendam igitur naviam.

Oratio Periclis (35–46). Argumentum (p. 71). [Inc.]: Cum veteri instituto solerent Athenienses eos qui pro patriae salute occubuisserint . . . / . . . [Expl.]: similis virtutis, quam hi in salute patriae exprompsissent.

Oratio Periclis (60–64). Argumentum (p. 76). [Inc.]: Atheniensis populus, qua erat levitate, usus Periclis consilio, bellum adversus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: debere id sibi esse fraudi, quod ipse senserit, omnes autem comprobarint.

Plataeensium oratio (71.2–4). Argumentum (p. 79). [Inc.]: Lacedaemonii infensi Atheniensium potentiae, socias civitates . . . / . . . [Expl.]: eorum persancte caverant, et sartam tectam civitatem liberamque esse voluerant.

Archidami oratio (72.1). Argumentum (p. 80). [Inc.]: Archidamus regio iure summam rerum tenebat in ea expeditione . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ea arma sequerentur quae pro Graecorum libertate capta essent.

Archidami oratio (72.3). Argumentum (p. 80). [Inc.]: Cum a patribus iusurandum intercessisset . . . / . . . [Expl.]: hac testificatione iusti belli paculum omne effugere voluit.

Oratio Lacedaemoniorum ducum (87). Argumentum (p. 80). [Inc.]: Victi navali proelio Peloponnesenses ab Atheniensi Phormione reparata et aucta classe . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Postremo eos poenis et praemiis propositis incitant.

Phormionis oratio (89). Argumentum (pp. 81–82). [Inc.]: Atheniensi classi, cum qua erant conflicturi Peloponnesenses, praererat Phormio . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Hortatur ut omnes strenue partes suas tutentur.

### *Book 3*

Oratio Mitylenaeorum (9–14). Argumentum (p. 83). [Inc.]: Ingravescenti bello Peloponnesiaco, Lesbos universa praeter Methymnam descivit ab Atheniensibus ad Lacedaemonios . . . / . . . [Expl.]: si ipsi id impetrarint, et quanta contra incommoda si repulsam patiantur, ostendunt.

Teutiapli Elei oratio (30). Argumentum (p. 86). [Inc.]: Capta ab Atheniensibus Mitylene, Peloponnesii . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Posse enim improviso adventu fidentes et incautos Athenienses opprimi.

Cleonis oratio (37–40). Argumentum (p. 86). [Inc.]: Athenienses duce Pachete potiti Mitylene deliberabant domi quomodo . . . / . . . [Expl.]: postremo impunitatis periculum, si ea illis concedatur, ostendit.

Diodoti oratio (42–48). Argumentum (p. 90). [Inc.]: In eadem illa contione Diodotus, qui et proxima contione mollieris sententiae auctor fuisset . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et potentes ipsos a perfidiosis consiliis aversura.

Plataeensium oratio (53–59). Argumentum (p. 93). [Inc.]: Expugnatis diurna obsidione et cibiariorum inopia Plataeis, Lacedaemonii . . . / . . . [Expl.]: in Lacedaemonios merita. Postremo rogan ne Thebanorum libidini addicantur.

Thebanorum oratio (61–67). Argumentum (p. 97). [Inc.]: Thebani, accerrimi Plataeensium oppugnatores, tum in obsidione, tum in illorum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quo ab Atheniensibus stabant Plataeenses. Postremo ius belli et reatus ostendunt.

#### *Book 4*

Demosthenis oratio (10). Argumentum (p. 101). [Inc.]: Pylum obsederant Athenienses duce Demosthene: liberare eam obsidione Lacedaemonii cum sociorum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quam facile sit hominibus rei maritima peritis rudiores aditu portus prohibere.

Lacedaemoniorum oratio (17–20). Argumentum (p. 102). [Inc.]: Lacedaemonii re male gesta apud Pylum, quod nec urbem illam obsidione liberare . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quod ii rebus suis integris Graeciam pacassent.

Hermocratis oratio (59–64). Argumentum (p. 104). [Inc.]: Cum in Sicilia bella intestina exarsissent, principioque longe potentissimae civitates . . . / . . . [Expl.]: de suo iure remitterent, quam committerent ut repudiata pace ad arma redirentur.

Brasidae oratio (85–87). Argumentum (p. 106). [Inc.]: Acanthus erat urbs Macedoniae, Andriorum colonia, Atheniensium socia . . . / . . . [Expl.]: velle perseverent, denuntiat agri vastitatem, testaturque illorum omnem culpam futuram.

Oratio Pagondae (92). Argumentum (p. 108). [Inc.]: Athenienses Delium Boeotiae templum muro cinxerant, relictoque praesidio versus Athenas abibant . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Hoc ita expedire usu et maiorum exemplis confirmat.

Hippocratis oratio (95). Argumentum (p. 109). [Inc.]: Instructa utrimque acie erant commissuri proelium Athenienses et Boeoti . . . / . . . [Expl.]: virtutis maiorum, propositoque praemio victoriae militum animos incidunt.

Lacedaemoniorum oratio (118). Argumentum (p. 110). [Inc.]: Non est quidem diserte a Thucydide dictum, per legatos fuisse haec transacta cum Atheniensibus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et quo iure omnes eos esse velint ad quos pertinent, ostendunt.

Brasidae oratio (126). Argumentum (p. 111). [Inc.]: Expeditio fuerat suscepta adversus Lyncestas a Brasida Lacedaemonio et Perdicca Macedonum rege . . . / . . . [Expl.]: virtutem Lacedaemoniorum, propriam illius gentis, ac disciplinam usumque rei militaris.

#### *Book 5*

Brasidae oratio (9). Argumentum (p. 112). [Inc.]: Brasidas commissurus cum Atheniensibus proelium, suis animos augere hac cohortatione voluit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ipse vero fidentem animum prae se fert, spei et consilii plenum.

#### *Book 6*

Niciae oratio (9–14). Argumentum (pp. 113–14). [Inc.]: Atheniensium opem implorabant Segestani Siculi, bello a Siluntinis petiti . . . / . . . [Expl.]: qui nihil libertius faciant quam rem et gloriam privatam ex reipublicae detrimentis quaerant.

Alcibiadis oratio (16–18). Argumentum (p. 116). [Inc.]: Intererat eidem illi contioni Alcibiades, genere, opibus, eloquentia florens . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et quia semper ita evenisset, ut multis iuvandis Atheniensium opes crescerent.

Niciae oratio (20–23). Argumentum (p. 119). [Inc.]: Nicias, cui nec bellum plebiscito decretum nec imperium ad ipsum delatum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Causas suae sententiae affert, hostium vires, locorum intervalla, conditionem belli.

Hermocratis oratio (33–34). Argumentum (p. 121). [Inc.]: Confecto omni illo apparatu, de quo habitae sunt proximae contiones, et classe ingenti . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quas societas adiungi, quam rationem belli administrandi esse velit ostendit.

Athenagorae oratio (36–40). Argumentum (p. 123). [Inc.]: Haec oratio superior est adversaria. Nam Athenagoras qui tribunatum plebis gerebat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quid animi, quidve consilii in Atheniensium adventu (si quis sit) habere debant, ostendit.

Oratio Niciae (68). Argumentum (p. 125). [Inc.]: Cohortatio est ad fortiter dimicandum. Nam conflicturus acie cum Syracusanis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Neque enim praesto esse patriam, quae fugientibus sit perfugio.

Hermocratis oratio (76–80). Argumentum (p. 126). [Inc.]: Athenienses commodius bellaturi cum Syracusanis, si civitates Siciliae ab hostibus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: repetito principio usque a dominatus eorum primordiis.

Oratio Euphemii (82–87). Argumentum (p. 135 [misprint for 129]). [Inc.]: Adversaria est superi-

ori haec oratio. Nam cum Euphemus Atheniensis Camerinam . . . / . . . [Expl.]: repudient, ne sibi id fraudi esse aliquando, sed serius, sentiant.

Oratio Alcibiadis (89–92). Argumentum (p. 132). [Inc.]: Alcibiades Athenis profugus Lacedaemonem se contulit. Venerant eodem legati Syracusanorum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ostendit et quemadmodum dominatus Atheniensium infringi atque adeo opprimi possit.

#### *Book 7*

Niciae oratio (61–64). Argumentum (p. 135). [Inc.]: Nicias commissurus cum Syracusanis proelium illud navale quo res Athenensis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: et reipublicae salute dimicandi, fructus amplissimae victoriae, si eam reportent.

Oratio Gylippi et ceterorum belli ducum (66–68). Argumentum (p. 137). [Inc.]: Gylippus Lacedaemonius, dux auxiliarium, qui Syracusas Lacedaemone missi fuerant . . . / . . . [Expl.]: esse enim persequendas ab hostibus iniquissimi belli concitati, et appetitae Siciliae poenas.

Oratio Niciae (77). Argumentum (p. 138). [Inc.]: Victi Athenienses, desperata non modo expugnatione Syracusanorum sed etiam prope salute sua . . . / . . . [Expl.]: quae haud dubie expectanda erat, animose se patriamque tutentur.

#### *Editions:*

- 1570. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1588. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1589. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1594 2<sup>o</sup>. See above, Composite Editions.
- 1696. See above, Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

Nothing is known about Jobus Veratius except that he was from Genoa and died in 1571.

#### *Bibliography:*

Jöcher 4.1519.

#### h. Henricus Stephanus

Stephanus' commentary accompanies the translation printed in his 1588 edition of Thucydides (I.7 above) and covers books 1 and 2. He is mainly concerned with philological questions, and the commentary is actually a corollary to his edition of the Greek text; matters of content are rarely discussed.

As Stephanus tells us in the preface, he was planning to annotate the entire text. He interrupted his work, however, because letters from unnamed persons in both Germany and France

had raised hopes for further emendations of the Greek text and for additions to the corpus of Greek scholia already in his possession. He also justifies the postponement by his plan to edit a commentary on the more difficult passages in Thucydides and on Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *De Thucydidis idiomatibus* (= *Ad Ammaeum* 2). Moreover, he changed his ideas about publishing an edition of Herodotus immediately after Thucydides, since he had learned from France and Germany of the existence of an old manuscript containing both Greek historians.

The editors of the 1589 edition of Stephanus' revision of the translation of Laurentius Valla—presumably the printers Claudio Marnius and Johannes Aubrius—comment on the many references to the non-existing commentary on books 3–8 as well as on some inconsistencies in the references to Stephanus' commentary on the first two books. They express the pious hope that Stephanus' annotations to the last six books might still appear:

... eaque esset eius curae ratio, quod latinam praesertim interpretationem attinet, (nam quae in ceteris praestitit, nihil nunc quidem ad institutum nostrum illa faciunt) campo ut plerumque latiori egeret stilus, hanc laboris partem in postremum opus coniecit, ubi quae inquis marginis spatiis excluderentur, commodius explicari possent, lumenque adeo clarius interpretationis ex coniuncta Graecorum tractatione acciperent. Hanc tamen operam suam ad secundum ultimum dumtaxat librum perduxit; sex postremos non attigit, quamquam iis quoque totis eadem indicia annotationum det passim. Quarum interruptum cursum gravius ferremus, ni, quas expectare iubemur, reliquarum nos spes solaretur. Nos illas, cum necdum sint, dare non potuimus. In duos quae esse videntur, nec eae quidem satis sunt. Partim enim frustra sis iis quaerendis, ad quas nota illa superiori "Vide Ann." adire iuberis, cuius vel exemplum fuerit pag. edit. nostrae 26, vers. 13, quo loco ἐν τοῦς ἔλεσι legisse videtur Valla, qui "In palustribus" reddidit, ubi ἐν τῷ Ἐλεάτιδι "In Eleatide" (pars est Thesprotidis) vulgata hodie habent. At sive quid huiusmodi, sive quid aliud ad hunc locum is annotavit, ut velle videtur, nusquam tamen, puto, *Annotationibus* reperias esse, ut hoc unum quoque ex illis forte an suspicere, quae non tam eidem omissa quam intermissa temporibus credendum est. Par-

tim ubi indicium nec falsum est, eiusmodi pleraque omnia, quae magis animi de lectoris iudicio nunquam securi significatione dent, quam quae ad maiorem loci intelligentiam magnum momentum afferant, cum fere optimum quodque iam marginem occuparit. Quibus emendationum rationibus, quae vel Thucydidis vel scholiastae coniunctae sunt, quia hic commode nobis carere posse videbare, eas missas fecimus *eqs.* (sig. qviii<sup>v</sup>).

*Preface* (ed. of Geneva, 1588). [Inc.]: (sig. qvi<sup>v</sup>) Deinde novam laboriosae meae diligentiae materiam proponens non solum *Annotationes* in Thucydidem et adjuncta illi scholia (in primum quidem certe ac secundum librum) scripsi, sed etiam *Proparasceuen* ad illorum scholiorum lectionem dedi, ut quibus aditus ad ea propter scholiarum quarundam formularum ignorationem non patebat, eum patefacerem. Ideo autem ulterius annotationes meae progressae non sunt, quod eas dum scribebam, litteras tam ex Gallia quam ex Germania eodem fere tempore acceperim, quibus de nonnullis in Thucydidem pariter et in eius scholiastem emendationibus, et quidem etiam de quibusdam ad huius scholia accessionibus spes fiebat. Iustam enim mihi visus sum habere differendae reliquae meae scriptio[n]is rationem, praesertim cum, utcumque se res haberet, alias annotationes in quibus de difficultorum locorum interpretatione ageretur, simulque libelli Dionysii Halicarnassei *de Thucydidis idiomatibus* expositionem pariter et locupletationem postea dare cogitarem. Ac te ne hoc quidem celabo, additum in litteris gallicis fuisse uno eodemque vetusto volumine non Thucydidem solum sed Herodotum quoque contineri, quae altera spes de acceleranda eius statim post Thucydideam editione mutare sententiam coegit.

*Commentary.* In Thucydidis diverse aut mendose scriptos locos Henrici Stephani annotationes. Eiusdem in scholia graeca Thucydidi adjuncta aliae annotationes, quae partim ea emendant, partim eorum mentem aperiunt, partim etiam in ea censuram agunt. Quae in ipsum Thucydidem scriptae sunt annotationes ab iis, quae in scholia, sunt separatae in ea parte, quae ad prooemium pertinet, at quae scriptae sunt in ea, quae prooemium sequuntur, uno eodemque loco sunt positae. [Inc.]: (p. 13; sig. iii.j<sup>r</sup>; the commentary, *argumenta*, etc. all have separate paginations at the end of the volume) Pag. 1 ver. 1, cuius

initium, *Θουκυδίδου Ὄλόρου* (1.1.1). In sequentibus libris τοῦ Ὄλόρου, sic tamen ut hic articulus iungatur cum alio qui subauditur genitivo . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 73; sig. ooo.j<sup>r</sup>) *'Ικανή* (2.102.6). Cum hic particula v habere locum non videatur, suspicor, sicut supra ex ἀν ἐπείσθημεν faciendum esse ἀνεπείσθημεν ostendi, et quidem vetero libro assentiente. Ita enim hic ex ἀν κεχωσθαι fieri a nobis debere ἀνακεχωσθαι. Fato tamen non, ut illic, ita et hic, libri veteris assensum nos habere.

#### *Edition:*

1588. See above, Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

See I.7 above.

#### i. Franciscus Portus

Franciscus Portus' commentary on the *Historiae* was published at Frankfurt in 1594 and probably stemmed from his teaching (he taught at Modena 1536–46 and was at Ferrara 1546–54). The commentary on book 1 survives also in the form of manuscript notes taken down at Portus' lectures in 1548.

#### a. *The manuscript version (1548)*

The notes taken down in 1548 on Thucydides, *Hist. 1.1–83.2* by Alexander Sardus (Alessandro Sardi) from Portus' lectures at Ferrara are preserved in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Est. lat. 100 (alpha P.9.2). Sardus, who was born in Ferrara, acquired fame as a philosophical and historical writer and a diplomat for his native city. The Modena manuscript seems to be his personal copy for purposes of study. It contains, among other things, commentaries by Franciscus Portus on some tragedies of Sophocles, several orations of Demosthenes, and the first two books of Homer's *Iliad*. A life of Thucydides on fol. 375r (modern foliation) resembles the version printed by Aemilius Portus, although the former is somewhat shorter, and there is also a discussion of the title of the *Historiae* (fol. 375r-v) before the commentary actually begins (fol. 375v).

While the text of the manuscript commentary does not coincide verbally with that of the printed edition, it generally comments on the same passages and in a very similar way, although in a somewhat shorter fashion. In a number of instances Sardus' text reveals how he misunder-

stood the words of the lecturer, e.g., when he records that Thucydides had heard Hesiod, not Herodotus (see Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydidis* 54), recite his *History*.

*Commentary* (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Est. lat. 100 [alpha P.9.2]). [Inc.]: (fol. 375v) *Thucydidis liber primus. Θουκυδίδης* (1.1.1). Nomen suum operi apposuit vel ambitione vel ne possit opus ad alium referri . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 401r) *Kai ἡπειρώταις πρὸς θαλασσίους* (1.83.2). Difficile est nobis, qui mediterranea loca incolimus, bellum facere adversus Athenienses, qui oram maritimam habitant: ita classe ipsi valent ut nos petere facile possint, nos non ita, qui nimis inexpertes sumus.

*Manuscript:*

Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Est. lat. 100 (alpha P.9.2), s. XVI (a. 1548), fols. 375v–401r. (Kristeller, *Iter 1.378a*; U. Klee, *Beiträge zur Thukydides-Rezeption während des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien und Deutschland*, Europäische Hochschulschriften Ser. 15, 47 [Frankfurt, 1990], 229–30 n. 487).

*b. The edition of 1594*

A number of the inaugural speeches of Franciscus Portus are included in his *In omnes Sophoclis tragoeidas prolegomina*, published posthumously (Morges, 1584) and edited by his son Aemilius Portus. In this volume Franciscus refers repeatedly to Thucydides, once (p. 65) promising that he will lecture on him the next day. From the preface to these *prolegomina* it appears that Aemilius was already (1584) preparing the edition of his father's commentary on Thucydides: (p. 7) “Quod si Deus Optimus Maximus inceptis nostris faveat et labores nostros secundet, brevi Thucydidem et singulas eius contiones cum artificio rhetorico diligenter ab eodem patre meo declaratas habebis.”

Ten years later (1594) Franciscus' commentary was published at Frankfurt by Aemilius together with Laurentius Valla's translation in the revision of Henricus Stephanus with further corrections by Franciscus (I.14 above). Franciscus' commentary is preceded by an *accessus* and followed by an appendix. Aemilius also added notes of his own, some of which, at least, are identified by his initials. Franciscus explains difficult passages by frequently lengthy paraphrases and also comments on points of style and on *realia*.

In the letter to the reader prefacing the 1594 edition of Franciscus' commentary on Thucydides, Aemilius seems to refer to a scholarly feud between his father and Henricus Stephanus (see I.14 for discussion and text of this preface). He expresses the hope that he will be able to publish his father's commentary on Homer before long so that it will be clear how much others had profited from that work (see subheading *a* above for Franciscus' commentary on Homer in ms. Est. lat. 100 [alpha P.9.2]). Given this vague hint at literary theft, we may surmise that a further accusation, i.e., “somebody” had kept permanently, or for fifteen years, scholarly literature only lent to him, was also directed against Stephanus. It seems probable that Stephanus is also to be identified as the unnamed enemy who is described in the preface to the 1594 edition as the slanderer of the elder Portus' name (“clarissimum illorum nomen suis obtrectationibus obscurare illorumque bonae famae ac dignitati labem aspergere sunt conati”).

Aemilius had earlier complained, in the edition of his father's *Commentarii in varia Xenophontis opuscula* (1586), that his plan to edit Dionysius of Halicarnassus had been thwarted by the slow progress of Stephanus' work and the printer's absence (see CTC 7.115). In the Letter to the reader in the 1588 edition of Thucydides, Stephanus does indeed mention his plans to publish a commentary on Dionysius' *De Thucydidis idiomatibus* (sig. qvi<sup>v</sup>; see I.7 above).

Fabrius (BG 2.732) seems to imply that the elder Portus' commentary on Xenophon, published in 1586 (CTC 7.89–90), also comprised annotations on Thucydides. This, however, is not the case; no commentary by Franciscus Portus on Thucydides is known to have been published earlier than 1594 (see CTC 2.198, biography of Franciscus Portus).

*Accessus* (ed. of Frankfurt, 1594 2<sup>o</sup>). Francisci Porti Cretensis in Thucydidem commentarii. [Inc.]: (col. 1) Quoniam alii aliter de Thucydide scripserunt, nos, quae probabiliora visa sunt, strictim persequemur et primum pauca quaedam de ipso auctore percurremus; quam deinde formam dicendi sequatur, ostendemus; tertio loco de historia in universum nonnulla attingemus; quarto de ista historia eiusque partibus dissere-mus; quinto et postremo de usu et utilitate huius operis agemus. Thucydides Atheniensis genere

fuit, summo loco natus. Habuit patrem Olorum, sive Orolum, matrem Hegesipylem, quae a Miltiade summo imperatore originem ducebat. Duxisse dicitur uxorem oriundam e Thracia . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (col. 6) Tu, qui Pieridum tractas arcana sororum // suscipe me, abstineat turba profana manus. // Non cuvis penetrare licet mentisque recessus // altos Cecropidae cernere Thucydidis.

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: *Θονκυδίδους ξυγγραφῆς πρώτης* (1.1.1). Vel in ipsa inscriptione videtur Thucydides secutus esse suum genium, est enim obscura et ambigua haec oratio. . . . *Θονκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος*. Totus hic prologus in ea sententia vertitur: Thucydides scripsit bellum Peloponnesiacum. Ratio, quia iudicavit magnum et memorabile illud fore . . . (col. 7) *Θονκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος*. Vel ambitiosius nomen suum operi praeposuit, quia genere, nobilitate et opibus clarus erat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (col. 456) *Tὰς ἐκεῖθεν ναιῶς* (8.107.2). Quae erant 42. *Kῶν* (8.108.2). Nunc urbem ipsam intelligit.

*Appendix.* Appendix in Thucydidem, in qua multa explicantur quae in superioribus commentariis sunt omissa. [Inc.]: (col. 456) *Tά τε πρότερον* (1.23.3). Et quae antea fama ferebantur, re ipsa minus credebantur: terraemotus, inquam, solis defectus, siccitates agrorum, annonae caritates, fames et pestilentia, propterea quod raro accidebant, haec (inquam) omnia incommoda omnem dubitationem ademerunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (col. 568) *Ἡ δυστυχία* (7.86.5). Nam inter cetera, quae requiruntur in imperatore, felicitas etiam desideratur, ut Cicero pro lege Manilia docet [Man. 28].

#### *Edition:*

1594 2°. See above, Composite editions.

#### *Biography:*

See CTC 2.198 and 7.116.

#### j. Georgius Acacius Enenckelius

Enenckelius' translation of the *Historiae*, first published at Tübingen in 1596 (I.15), was accompanied by the following: his commentary on the *Historiae*; a life of Thucydides, compiled from Marcellinus, the *Suda*, Aphthonius, and Plutarch; epitomes of *Hist. 1–8*; annotated lists, alphabetically arranged, of names of persons and places in the *Historiae*; and a *chronographia* of the major events mentioned by Thucydides from the times

of Cecrops to the end of the Peloponnesian War. An engraved *descriptio Syracusarum* is glued in before book 1, and some copies of the 1596 edition also include a map of Greece.

In the letter to the reader, Enenckelius explains that he is not much concerned with problems of language or textual emendations or with the rendering of meaning by paraphrase. Instead, the emphasis is on historical matters, such as political institutions, but he also analyzes the speeches, beginning with an *argumentum* and explaining the *divisio*, *propositiones* etc., with frequent moral comments. Enenckelius notes that both the commentary proper and the various accompanying sections contain material compiled from a wide range of ancient authors, and occasionally he quotes the Greek scholia to Thucydides. He often uses and discusses the commentaries of Vitus Winsemius (I.e), Henricus Stephanus (I.h), and Franciscus Portus (I.i).

The epitomes of the eight books of the *Historiae* were printed separately in 1696 (see above, Composite Editions) and 1731 (see I.15).

*Letter of Georgius Acacius Enenckelius to the reader* (ed. of Tübingen, 1596). [Inc.]: (sig.):(2r) Cum semper, ex quo ingenuis institui artibus coepi . . . [see I.15] (sig.):(4v) et annotationes explicacionesque eiusmodi, quales ceteri non ediderunt, adieci. Aliorum namque annotationes vel circa Graecum Thucydidem totae sunt occupatae lectiones in eo emendantes instaurantesque, vel nudam sententiam Thucydidis explanant, ulteriora vel nihil vel parum attingentes. Viri enim doctissimi suum quisque institutum sunt seuti. In meis autem non solum conversionis quandoque causas et rationes ostendi, orationes et contiones in partes rhetorice distinxii, argumenta singulorum et rationes indicavi; sed et quaecumque vel mediocriter obscura apud Thucydidem visa fuerunt, quanta potui diligentia patefeci, republicas et magistratus domi militiaeque, quorum mentio occurrit, explanavi; quae ab Thucydi in historia vel leviter attinguntur vel brevius dicuntur, ex aliorum scriptorum monumentis enarravi; quae ab aliis qui eadem scripsere vel paulo aliter vel fusius narrantur, facta item dictaque et sententias aliorum consimiles multas adiunxi. Nam et iucundum non utile solum esse putavi, quae alii de iisdem rebus scripsere cognosci. Denique quid in universa historia, quid in hac vel illa parte, vel ad imitandum vel ad vi-

tandum in vita civili disci possit, meam quoque interdum sententiam et rationes (quod cuique in suo liberum est) interponens ostendi. Hisce annotationibus explicationum insuper duos ordines adiunxi. Alter hominum propria nomina complectitur, et quae in aliis praeter Thucydidem auctoribus ad historiam nostram accommodata inveni, subministrat. Alter gentes, insulas, urbes, montes, flumina, quorum est in Thucydide mentio, breviter describit, ut si quid eorum in lectione scriptoris occurrat, inibi extemplo qui situs, origo, facta, aliaque huc pertinentia inveniri possint. Uterque multa ad Thucydidis lectionem partim necessaria partim non indigna in annotationibus praetermissa suppeditabit. Nam quia eiusdem saepe hominis eiusdemque loci non una sed pluribus in partibus mentio occurrit, recte me facturum iudicavi, si semel certo loco de uno quoque, quod omnibus satisfaceret, indicarem. Quod in annotationibus ipsis si facere instituisse, vel molestam plerumque eiusdem in diversis locis repetitionem vel eius, quod una parte dixisse, in altera desiderium attulisset, cum hoc, quem tenui, modo quisque, quod in eo genere requirit, prompte expediteque certo loco investigare possit. Postremo cum illustria duo historiarum lumina temporum locorumque esse notitiam nemo ignoret, hac quoque in parte lectorem meum iuvandi consilium cepi. Nam Graeciae temporum descriptionem a Cecrope primo Athenarum rege usque ad finem belli Peloponnesiaci (quo spatio omnes fere, quae apud Thucydidem leguntur, res gestae sunt) sum persecutus, et ex Romanorum ac Hebraeorum historiis eiusdem temporis res insigniores adieci, ut non Thucydideae solum historiae series et intervalla ob oculos ponerentur sed aliorum quoque cum graecis temporibus convenientia perspiceretur, quae res et ad cognoscendum iucunda et ad reminiscendum idonea esse solet. Geographicam vero terrarum descriptionem talem mihi perficiendam sumpsi, quae tum aliis rerum graecarum scriptoribus, veluti Herodoto, Xenophonti, Diodoro, Plutarcho, necnon T. Livio etc. legendis utilis esset, tum vero in primis Thucydidi inserviret, omnesque Graeciae et huic finitimarum regionum, quae apud eum memorantur, gentes, flumina, montes, oppida, insulas . . . contineret. Ptolemaei namque, quae hodie extat, descriptio non solum multorum locorum gentiumque etiam situs non habet, sed et illa, quae tradit, persaepe et ab

Thucydide et ab aliorum narratione dissentunt. Simul quia aliquot aetatibus recentior Thucydide Herodotoque fuit Ptolemaeus, urbium et locorum nomina, regionum termini et appellations aliter interdum, quam antiquioribus temporibus fuerant, produntur. Igitur cum Ptolemaeum sequi me non posse viderem, recentiores autem Graeciae descriptores non parum ab Ptolemaeo discrepantes, quemadmodum aliarum regionum positus exquisitus tradunt, sic Graeciam quoque accuratius descriptsse putarem, quin vetustis scriptoribus aptius interdum Ptolemaeo congruentes invenirem, decrevi tandem horum fundamenta, quantum licebat, sequendo aliorumque historicorum et geographorum traditiones observando eiusmodi construere descriptionem quae, quoad fieri posset, maiori aut fide digniori parti consentiret. Fuit id mihi longe difficillimum, quod inter se iam nostrates, iam prisci, iam hic cum illis aut unus eorum cum ceteris pugnare ac dissentire videbantur. Verumtamen operi insitens studio tandem ac labore nunc singulos inter se conciliando, nunc quid magis minusve secundum probabiliter iudicando defunctus opere hanc descriptionem peregi, quae, ut dixi, Thucydidi praecipue et secundum eum aliis quoque scriptoribus legendis intelligendisque utilis et accommodata esset . . . / . . . [Expl.]: [see I.15].

*Life of Thucydides* (ed. of Tübingen, 1596). Thucydidis vita ex Marcellino, Suida, Aphthonio, Plutarcho et ipsis historia breviter congesta a G. A. E. [Inc.]: (sig. ):(4v) Thucydides historiarum scriptor patrem habuit Olorum (quidam "Orolus" scribendum tradunt) ex Thraciae regibus oriundum, matrem Hegesipylam, et ipsam summo loco, Miltiadis et Cimonis clarissimorum ducum gente. . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (sig. ):(7r) cum post Siciliensem cladem omnibus exulibus praeterquam Pisistratidis redditum Athenienses dedissent, sepultumque in Cimoniis monumentis.

*Annotated list of persons.* Enarrationes breves de praecipuis in historia Thucydidis viris auctore Georgio Acacio Enenckel. [Inc.]: (p. 408) *Abronychus* Lysicles filius Atheniensis cum Themistocle et Aristide Lacedaemonem ab Atheniensibus ablegatum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 431) De rebus gestis eius [*i.e.*, Xerxis], cum pleni sunt historicorum, Herodoti cumprimis, libri, supervacaneum est hic plura commemorari.

*Annotated list of places.* Regionum, insularum, urbium, montium, fluviorum, etc. in historia

Thucydidis descriptiones, auctore Georgio Acacio Enenckel. [Inc.]: (p. 431) *Abdera* Thraciae urbs, ab Abderito, quem ab Hercule adamatum Diomedis equi laceraverant, nomen accepit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 480 [*about Zacynthus*]) propinquam Aetoliae, urbem eiusdem cum insula nominis habentem. *Zancla*. Vide *Messana*.

*Commentary.* Georgii Acacii Enenckel in historiam Thucydidis annotationes. [Inc.]: (p. 481) Liber primus. *Thucydidis Atheniensis* (1.1.1). Xenophontem historicum scribit Diogenes Laertius, cum libros Thucydidis in sua potestate haberet possetque vel supprimere vel suo sub nomine edere, primum tamen nihil sibi de his arrogantem in publicum protulisse [2,57]. Talem casum veritus procul dubio Thucydides, ne alias minime Xenophontei ingenii homo facile alienum opus sibi vindicare posset, et in principio historiae et passim deinceps nomen suum inseruit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 674) *Quo viso* (8.104.4). . . . simul et Thrasylla opposito cesserant hostes, tandemque universa in fugam effunditur classis.

*Preface to the Chronographia.* Chronographiae in historiam Thucydidis . . . praefatio. [Inc.]: (p. 675) Chronographiam historiae Thucydidis respondentem praesenti conversioni meae adieci- turus sic demum omnia, quorum ab Thucydide fit mentio, tempora me comprehensurum iudicavi, si a Cecrope primo Atheniensium rege, qui primus passim per agros sparsos cives suos in pagos seu oppida coegit, orsus ad finem usque Peloponnesiaci belli omnes, quas memorat Thucydides historias, persequerer. Secutus ergo tum alias chronologos, Eusebium, Gerhardum Mercatorem [Gerhard Mercator, 1512–94], Buntingum [Heinrich Bünting, 1545–1606], Funcium [Johann Funck, 1518–66], tum vero historicos illorum temporum, nostrum in primis Thucydidem. In magna passim dissensione eos in qualibet parte potiores habui, qui et historicorum narrationibus et ceteris, quibus hic niti necesse est rationibus, convenientius statuere sunt visi. Ante omnia ut certissimum sic praecipuum descriptionis posui fundamentum eclipsium et astronomici calculi supputationes, secutus in eo clarissimi mathematici M. Michaelis Maestlini, praceptoris mei, mihi ab ipso benevole suppeditatas demonstrationes. Earum magno ex numero quasdam hoc loco, quae et praesentem chronographiam confirmant et eclipses multaque alia Thucydidis et

Xenophontis loca explicit, commemorare libet. Primo igitur sciendum annos historiae suae Thucydidem ordiri a primo vere sole circa vel ante medium Aquarii . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 678) Haec hactenus ex praceptoris mei M. Maestlini, viri doctissimi, calculo et demonstrationibus satis, ut opinor, chronographiae meae praecipuam partem confirmantia afferre visum est. Plura de his et ampliora dare nec instituti mei nec loci praesentis est. Non enim chronologicum integrum opus sed historiae huic satis convenientem chronographiam edere animus fuit. Nunc rem ipsam aggrediamur.

*Chronographia.* Chronographia in historiam Thucydidis. [Inc.]: (p. 679) Anni Iuliani ante Christum natum 1560. Cecrops rex primus Atheniensium regnavit annos 50. Eusebius [Chronicon, p. 184]. Hic populum Atticum sparsim habitantem in duodecim pagos seu oppida coegit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 690) ingenti totius Graeciae gaudio, cui ab intolerando eorum imperio liberatae tum demum libertas affulgere videbatur. Diodorus lib. 13 [Diod. Sic., Bibl. hist. 13.104–107]. Xenophon lib. 2 [Hell. 2.2.23]. XXIX annus. Triginta viri Athenis constituti. Sol defecit. Diodorus lib. 14 [Bibl. hist. 4ff.]. Xenophon lib. 2 [Hell. 2.3.11ff., concerning Olymp. ann. 94/1—ante Christ. 404].

#### *Editions:*

1596, Tubingae (Tübingen): apud Georgium Gruppenbachium. Adams T-678; VD T-1127; NUC. BAV; Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; (CtY; PU; IEN).

1614, Argentorati (Strasbourg): L. Zetznerus. NUC. BNF; BAV; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; (MH; NNC; NcD).

#### *Biography:*

See I.15 above.

#### k. Fabius Paulinus

Paulinus' commentary on the description of the plague (*Hist. 2.47.2–54.5*), published at Venice in 1603, was, as we now have it, taken down by a student in the form of lecture notes. The Giuntine editors explain in the letter to the reader that they had originally promised to produce, not a commentary on Thucydides, but rather an edition of a work of Galen, namely, his commentary on Thucydides' account of the plague. Galen's

commentary, however, turned out to be lost. Subsequently they resolved to publish Paulinus' lectures on the same subject.

These lectures were delivered by Paulinus at Venice over two successive years. He had, on an earlier occasion, worked on Galen for the Iuntae (Giunta, Giunti, or De Giuntis), the famous Florentine printers who established printing houses both in Florence and Venice and, in the sixteenth century, produced several editions of various works of Galen, either in the original or in Latin translation. Paulinus, according to the editors, had collated the text with Greek manuscripts for their 1597 edition.

In his introductory lecture to book 1 of the commentary, Paulinus mentions that there was at the time a plague in his native Friuli. He must be referring to the severe attack of the plague in this region in 1598 (see *Venezia e la peste*, 108), and so 1598 can be taken as the date of Paulinus' first lectures. His commentary on *Hist.* 2.47.2–54.5 is one of many books on the dreaded disease that were published after the plague struck Venice from 1575 to 1577.

The 1603 edition is arranged in the following manner: first, a passage of the Greek text is printed; then comes the Latin translation (I.16 above); this is followed by the commentary. Also provided are: an *Index quaestionum* (sig. a4r), which is medical in character; an *Index auctorum* (sig. b4r), covering both classical, medieval, and contemporary authors (among whom are some of the earlier translators and commentators of Thucydides, such as Gulielmus Canterus [I.9 above] and Franciscus Portus [above, I.14 and I.i]); and an *Index rerum memoratu dignarum* (sig. c1v), with historical and medical entries.

Although other subjects are treated as well, Paulinus concentrates in the commentary on medical questions. The volume is dedicated to Marcus Antonius Memmus, Franciscus Molinus, and Antonius Priolus, who were senators and “III viris Veneti Patavinique Gymnasi” (sig. a2r); on the following page is a poem *In Thucydidem de narratione pestilentiae* perhaps attributable to Paulinus ([*Inc.*]: Senator, imperator et medicus idem est // atque historicus? unus tot in varias abit // facies virorum? totque partes sustinet? // . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Nescire te iurabis, an praestantior philo-// sophus, an medicus, an orator fiet).

*Letter of the editors to the reader* (ed. of Venice, 1603). Studiosis Iuntae s. [*Inc.*]: (sig. a3r) Herculem ferunt (ut recitat Eustathius in Homerum [*Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 5.638–42, p. 161]) cum colligeret exercitum profecturus Ilium ad vindicandam Laomedontis perfidiam . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (sig. a4r) Eramus olim polliciti vobis nos (sig. a4v) praestituros Galeni libros pestilentes [*i.e.*, the commentary mentioned by Galen in his *De difficultate respirationis* 2, pp. 85of.], hoc est, illius in Thucydidis pestem commentaria, de quo extant quorundam indebitae querelae, cum adhuc desiderentur eorum culpa, qui nobis pro libris promissis dederunt verba; ne eadem vobis diutius data doleatis, quo possumus pacto, promissa patramus et pro Galenicis in Thucydi- dem commentariis, quae non extant et reperiri non potuerunt, damus vobis hunc Fabii Paulini in eandem Thucydidis pestem praelectionum Marciarum librum, quas habuit in Veneto Gymnasio ad D. Marci bibliothecam, unde nomen adeptae, in quo Graecas litteras profitetur, ut in altero [*i.e.*, Collegio de'Notai] Latinas, et studiosus quidam auditor atque accuratus sedulo excepit nobisque tradidit; vos interim quoque Galenici libri desiderium huius commentarii lectione lenite ac valete.

*The first introductory lecture of Paulinus.* In Thucydidis historiam de peste Atheniensium Marciarum praelectionum Fabii Paulini praeфatio libri primi, in qua tria potissimum tractantur: definitur historia; comparatur Thucydidis historicus cum Hippocrate medico; causae pestis omnes, unde oriri soleat, exponuntur. [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Inter omnes, qui aut graece aut latine historiam conscriperunt aut aliquid aliud litterarum monumentis consignarunt, nemo omnium doctorum hominum consensu elegantius aut melius pestilentiam descripsit quam Thucydidis . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 19) meam vobis minime defuturam ulla in parte industriam, dum eam vos studio vestro, attentione et frequentia, quod caput est, prosequamini.

*The second introductory lecture of Paulinus.* In Thucydidis historiam de peste Atheniensium Marciarum praelectionum sive commentarii Fabii Paulini liber secundus. Praefatio secundi libri in qua omnia antiquorum remedia ad emovendam et praecavendam pestem adhibita recensentur, ad septem summa capita seu genera deducta: nempe religionem, aeris expurgationem,

corporis et animi perturbationum purgationem, alexipharmacum sive antidotos, cibos, revulsionem, eductionemque veneni per similia. [Inc.]: (p. 385) Persecuturus hoc anno inchoatam superiori Thucydidis historiam de peste Atheniensium, quam absolvere et nostris explicationibus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 415) Vos igitur, auditores mei frequentes, convenite consuetis horis; quantum in nobis erit, non patiemur desiderari a vobis diligentiam aut operam nostram. Dixi.

*Commentary.* Fabii Paulini commentarius. [Inc.]: (p. 21) Explicaturus hoc anno eam partem Thucydidis historiae, qua pestem persequitur Atheniensium, omnium, quotquot umquam fuere, celeberrimam, quae incidit belli Peloponnesiaci ab ipso narrati anno secundo et continetur in secundo volumine, quam suis Galenus illustravit commentariis, quae non extant, operae pretium me facturum reor, si, antequam ad eam declarandam aggrediar, quo nulla vos historiae ignoratio moretur, brevissime originem et causas huius Peloponnesiaci belli exposuero. Argumentum. Bello Persico confecto ac Xerse superato, atque . . . (p. 23) quam describit in hac parte Thucydides, quam nos vobis hoc anno, diis bene iuvantibus, et medica et historica methodo explicabimus. Θουκυδίδον Thucydidis [the commentary begins with the Greek title of the passage]. Quoniam de auctore multa diximus in praefatione Hippocrati medico Thucydidem historicum comparantes . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 600) (2.54.4) quod proxime tractavimus, et haec brevis omnium a Thucydide de hac peste dictorum repetitio et epilogus, quo nostras nos quoque hoc anno praelectiones de peste decrevimus terminari, Deum precantes ut quae ex libris nunc accipimus et legimus, ea nolit usu et experientia comprobare, sed diutissime ac in sempiternum hoc a nobis flagellum arceat atque avertat. Finis secundi libri.

*Edition:*

1603, Venetiis (Venice): apud Juntas. (Gr.-Lat.) NUC. BL; BNF; BAV; (DNLM).

*Biography:*

Fabius Paulinus Utinensis (Fabio Paolino da Udine, pseud. Chianco Oligeno) was born either

at Udine or Tricesimo ca. 1535 and died in 1605.

His first training in Greek and Latin was at Venice with Bernardino Partenio. Later he went to Padua where he graduated in philosophy and medicine but studied rhetoric and Arabic as well. He practiced medicine for a time before he became public professor at Venice where he taught Greek in the School of San Marco and Latin in the Collegio de' Notai. Both chairs he obtained in 1588, as the successor of Bernardino Partenio. Paulinus was one of the founders of the Accademia Uranica.

*Works:*

Paulinus' writings include: *De graecis literis cum latinis conjungendis . . . oratio* (1586); *In M. Tullii Ciceronis Dialogi de oratore librum primum scholia* (1587); *Centum fabulae ex antiquis scriptoribus acceptae et graecis latinisque tetrastichis senariis explicatae . . . Gabiae Graeci fabulae, Musaei Leander et Hero, Galeomyomachia incerti, Sibyllae vaticinium de iudicio Christi; Batrachomyomachia Homeri . . . latinis versibus . . . conversa* (1587); *Hebdomades sive septem de septenario libri, habiti in unius Vergilii versus explicatione* [Aen. 6.646] (1589); *De viperis in trochiscorum apparatu, sive Theriaca adhibendis* (1604); *Tabulae in artem medicinalem Galeni* (printed twice with the *Opera omnia* of Johannes Argenterius [1606–1607 and 1610]). He edited a commentary on Aristotle (1591), and Latin translations of Avicenna (1595 and 1608), Vesalius (1604), and Galen (1609 and 1625). Paulinus is also the author of several poems and orations.

*Bibliography:*

Cosenza 3.2640; Jöcher 3.1316; G.-G. Liruti, *Notizie delle vite ed opere scritte da' letterati del Friuli*, vol. 3 (Udine, 1780), 353–76; F. Di Manzo, *Cenni biografici dei letterati ed artisti Friulani dal secolo IV al XIX* (Udine, 1884–87; rpt. Bologna, 1966), 148–49; *Venezia e la peste 1348/1797*, a c. dell'Assessorato alla cultura e Belle Arti del Comune di Venezia (Venice, 1979), 108.