

# AELIANUS TACTICUS

SILVIA FIASCHI

(*Università degli Studi di Macerata*)

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## FORTUNA\*

Aelianus Tacticus was a Greek writer living in Rome during the second century A.D. under the Emperor Trajan. The little information we have of him comes from his single work, the *Tactica theoria*, a military handbook in fifty-three chapters, on arming, organizing, deploying, and maneuvering a Hellenistic phalanx. The work was written in two stages and finally dedicated (around 106 A.D.) to Trajan, though the whole manuscript tradition—and, consequently, all the translations—adopt the reading Ἀδριανέ instead of Τραιανέ.<sup>1</sup> In the preface of the treatise, the author complains that earlier writers who treated the topic, from Homer to Polybius, were not sufficiently learned (as he believes himself to be), and that they wrote in a way that was too technical, understandable only to experts. This is why he composed the manual: to make the subject easier, and to place it within more readers' reach, according to a conventional assertion (writing for beginners) of ancient technical treatises. Aelian had been working on the *Tactica* for a long time, but he hesitated to publish it. He could do so thanks to a conversation with the Latin writer Frontinus (skilled in warfare, author of *Strategematon liber* and of a lost *De scientia militari*) which took place in Formia, where Aelian was in the time of the Emperor Nerva (96–98 A.D.). He decided to complete the project and to dedicate it to an emperor who won very important battles and wars (a probable reference to Trajan's Dacian campaigns, 101–6 A.D.). A detailed index of the contents precedes the writing,<sup>2</sup> so that the emperor could feel free to read just what he wanted, without wasting his time.

For a long time Aelianus Tacticus was confused with the philosopher Claudius Aelianus from Praeneste (second half of the second century A.D.)

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1 H. Köchly and W. Rüstow, *Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller, Griechisch und Deutsch*, vol. 2, part 1, *Asklepiodotos' "Taktik," Aelianus' "Theorie der Taktik"* (Leipzig, 1855), 86; R. Förster, "Studien zu den griechischen Taktikern," *Hermes* 12 (1877) 426–71, at 444–46; M. Jähns, *Geschichte der Kriegswissenschaften vornehmlich in Deutschland*, vol. 1, *Altertum, Mittelalter, 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Munich and Leipzig, 1889; repr. New York and Hildesheim, 1966), 94–97; K.K. Müller, "Aelianus 10," *PW*, 1 (1893), 482–86, at 482; W.A. Oldfather and J.B. Titchner, "A Note on the *Lexicon militare*," *Classical Philology* 16 (1921) 74–76; A. Dain, *Histoire du texte d'Élien le Tacticien des origines à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris, 1946), 19–20; Dain and J.-A. de Foucault, "Les stratèges byzantins," *Travaux et mémoires* 2 (1967) 317–92, at 330, 339–40, 346–47, 382–85.

2 It may be possible that the table of contents preceding the text came at the suggestion of Frontinus' *Strategematon liber*, where there is a table of contents at the beginning of each book.

and, starting from an article in the *Suida* (ed. Bekker, Berolini 1854, p. 40, s.v. Ἀλιανός), the two authors were considered to be the same person: so in 1556 the *Tactica theoria* was included by Gesner among Claudius Aelianus' *omnia opera*.

The *Tactica theoria* is one of three surviving ancient manuals on the subject, all belonging to the Stoic tradition,<sup>3</sup> to which Aelian was evidently connected;<sup>4</sup> the other two are by Asclepiodotus (first century B.C.) and Arrian (second century A.D.). In particular, as Hermann Köchly first pointed out,<sup>5</sup> Aelian's work is very close to Arrian's *Ars tactica*, because (as Alphonse Dain later argued) both of them depend on a lost common source, probably a treatise on tactics by the Stoic Posidonius.<sup>6</sup> One of the chief values of Aelian's work lies in his account of earlier authorities on the art of war, most of them lost; indeed, the very success of *Tactica theoria* probably caused earlier writings to be thought obsolete. Another important aspect of Aelian's work is the use of diagrams to express concepts, terms, and images clearly, in keeping with Aelian's aim of making the matter easier to understand for laypeople;<sup>7</sup> however, most of the diagrams transmitted

- 3 On this genre of ancient military treatises see E.L. Wheeler, "Polyaenus: *Scriptor Militaris*," in K. Brodersen, ed., *Polyainos. Neue Studien—Polyaenus. New Studies* (Berlin, 2010), 7–54; Wheeler, "Military Treatises," in M. Gagarin and E. Fantham, eds., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, vol. 4 (Oxford, 2010), 434–38. On the cultural context where the treatises appeared, see Wheeler, "The Legion as Phalanx in the Late Empire (I)," in Y. Le Bohec and C. Wolff, eds., *L'armée romaine de Dioclétien à Valentinien I<sup>er</sup>* (Lyons and Paris, 2004), 309–58, and Wheeler, "The Legion as Phalanx in the Late Empire, Part II," *Revue des études militaires anciennes* 1 (2004) 147–75.
- 4 Theodor Wiegand suggested that Aelianus Tacticus could be identified with the second-century Stoic Ael. Aelianus mentioned in an inscription at Miletus (see T. Wiegand, "Siebenter vorläufiger Bericht über die von den Königlichen Museen in Milet und Didyma unternommenen Ausgrabungen," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* [1911] Anhang 1, 1–71, at 71).
- 5 H. Köchly, *De libris tacticis, qui Arriani et Aeliani feruntur dissertatio, editiones emendatius descriptae et inter se collatae* (Zurich, 1853).
- 6 Dain, *Histoire du texte d'Élien le Tacticien*, 26–40; see also P.A. Stadter, "The *Ars tactica* of Arrian: Tradition and Originality," *Classical Philology* 73 (1978) 117–28; E.L. Wheeler, "The Occasion of Arrian's *Tactica*," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 19 (1978) 351–65; A.M. Devine, "Arrian's 'Tactica,'" in W. Haase and H. Temporini, eds., *ANRW*, 2.34.1 (Berlin and New York, 1993), 312–37. Another hypothesis is that the common source was Polybius, whose lost tactical treatise could have provided the basis for the Stoic tradition on warfare; a synthesis of the question in Devine, "Aelian's *Manual of Hellenistic Military Tactics*. A New Translation from the Greek with an Introduction," *The Ancient World* 19 (1989) 31–64, at 32–33. On this topic, see also A. Busetto, "La *Tattica* di Arriano tra filologia, letteratura ed epigrafia," in V. Gheller, ed., *Ricerche a confronto. Dialoghi di Antichità Classiche e del Vicino Oriente* (Bologna-Trento, 2011), Vicenza, 2013, 185–94.
- 7 On illustrations of ancient military treatises, see Wheeler, "The Legion as Phalanx (I)," at 339 n. 204.

by the manuscripts do not belong to the ancient tradition, but are Byzantine in origin—a significant textual problem.<sup>8</sup>

The critical tradition of the *Tactica theoria* was thoroughly investigated in the mid-nineteenth century by Alphonse Dain,<sup>9</sup> who recognized three recensions: one lost (no physical witness survives), used by the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI “the Wise” (866–912) in his *Tacticae constitutiones*; a second, called the authentic *recensio*, represented uniquely by Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 55.4 (s. X med); and a third, called the interpolated *recensio*. This last recension consists of witnesses dating from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries and is split into two branches depending, respectively, on two reconstructed *codices deperditi*, the earlier *Mazoneus* (s. X ex), and the later *Bourguetianus* (s. XII second half); this last codex, in its turn, is the common progenitor of two other lines of transmission (Γ and Δ). Both of the extant recensions come from a common archetype of the fourth or fifth century. All the translations, Latin and vernacular, made between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries, as well as the entire Greek printed tradition, are based on the interpolated recension.

The history of the *Tactica theoria*’s reception began in the East during the Byzantine Age, where the treatise was widely read and copied; indeed, it was actually helpful to the plan of military reforms enacted by that empire. The text was also known to the Arab world, as shown by the existence of an Arabic translation (ca. 1350).<sup>10</sup> Its *fortuna* in the West began later, during the Renaissance—due probably to the wide diffusion of Vegetius and Frontinus, who were both used as manuals throughout the Middle Ages<sup>11</sup>—through the Latin translation made by Theodorus Gaza (mid-fifteenth century). From that point on, Aelian’s

8 Dain, *Histoire*, 48–52; J.R. Hale, “A Humanistic Visual Aid. The Military Diagram in the Renaissance,” *Renaissance Studies* 2 (1988) 280–98; I. Eramo, “Disegni di guerra. La tradizione dei diagrammi tattici greci nell’*Arte della guerra* di Niccolò Machiavelli,” in V. Maraglino, ed., *Scienza antica in età moderna. Teoria e immagini* (Bari, 2012), 35–62.

9 Dain, *Histoire*, 61–383.

10 F. Wüstenfeld, *Das Heerwesen der Muhammedaner und die arabische Übersetzung der Taktik des Aelianus* (Göttingen, 1880); L. Loreto, “Il generale e la biblioteca. La trattativa militare greca da Democrito di Abdera ad Alessio I Commeno,” in *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica*, vol. 2, *La ricezione e l’attualizzazione del testo* (Rome, 1995), 563–89, at 565.

11 C.R. Shrader, “A Handlist of Extant Manuscripts Containing the *De re militari* of Flavius Vegetius Renatus,” *Scriptorium* 33 (1979) 280–305; P. Richardot, *Végèce et la culture militaire au moyen âge (V<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris, 1998); C. Allmand, “A Roman Text on the War: The *Strategemata* of Frontinus in the Middle Ages,” in P. Coss and C. Tyerman, eds., *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen. Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen* (Woodbridge, 2009), 153–68; Allmand, *The “De Re Militari” of Vegetius. The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2011). On the reception of Vegetius see also CTC 6.175–84 and 8.336–40.

reception spread and continued without interruption until the eighteenth century, influencing, through its various Latin and vernacular translations, Renaissance military literature and culture, as well as modern strategic thinking.<sup>12</sup>

#### LATE ANTIQUITY AND BYZANTINE

There is no evidence of Aelian's reception until the sixth century, when John Lydus, in his *De magistratibus*, makes the first explicit mention, listing the author among the ancient military writers. Indisputable evidence that the *Tactica theoria* was not only known, but also read and used, comes between the eighth and the twelfth centuries: it is quoted and frequently paraphrased in the anonymous *Sylloge tacticorum*, by Leo VI "the Wise" in the *Tacticae constitutiones*, by Nikephorus Ouranos (ca. 980–ca. 1010) in his *Taktika*, and by Anna Comnena in her *Alexiad*.<sup>13</sup> This success is linked to the new interest in warfare and its ancient sources typical of the Byzantine Renaissance. In this period (tenth century), the famous manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 55.4 (the most ancient witness of Aelian and prototype of the so-called authentic recension) was produced in the imperial scriptorium of Byzantium: it is a collection of three different military corpora (Byzantine and classical), produced under the second reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (912–59).<sup>14</sup> The treatise's *fortuna* was due to its highly practical nature (including indexes and diagrams) and to its easy and clear style, aspects which made it suitable as a resource both for the history of warfare as well as for new reflections and debates in this field.

12 See B. Colson and H. Coutau-Bégarie, eds., *Pensée stratégique et humanisme: De la tactique des Anciens à l'éthique de la stratégie. Actes du colloque international organisé les 19, 20 et 21 mai 1999 à Namur* (Paris, 2000).

13 Loreto, "Il generale," 564–65. About Byzantine tradition see also S. Cosentino, "Writing about War in Byzantium," *Revista de história das idéias* 30 (2009) 83–99.

14 On the manuscript, acquired by Janus Lascaris in Thessaly at the end of the fifteenth century for the library of Lorenzo the Magnificent, see for instance: A. Dain, *La collection florentine des tacticiens grecs: Essai sur une entreprise philologique de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1940); J. Irigoien, "Centri di copia e trasmissione di testi nel mondo bizantino," in G. Cavallo, ed., *Libri e lettori nel mondo bizantino: Guida storica e critica* (Bari and Rome, 1982), 87–102; A. Pontani, "Le maiuscole greche antiquarie di Giano Lascaris: Per la storia dell'alfabeto greco in Italia nel '400," *Scrittura e civiltà* 16 (1992) 77–227; E.B. Fryde, *Greek Manuscripts in the Private Library of the Medici 1469–1510*, vol. 2 (Aberystwyth, 1996), 782 *et ad indicem*; Fryde, "Lorenzo's Greek Manuscripts, and in Particular His Own Commissions," in M. Mallett and N. Mann, eds., *Lorenzo the Magnificent: Culture and Politics*, Warburg Institute Colloquia 3 (London, 1996), 93–104; P. Rance, "The Fulcum, the Late Roman and Byzantine Testudo: The Germanization of Roman Infantry Tactics?" *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 44 (2004) 265–326.

## THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE

Aelian was unknown to the medieval West until the mid-fifteenth century, when the Sicilian humanist John Aurispa (see below), in the ambit of his commerce in books, brought to Italy from Byzantium a large collection of Greek military writings (classical and Byzantine) including the *Tactica theoria*; this collection has not yet been identified with certain evidence.<sup>15</sup> With this corpus he began a project of translating a selection of writings into Latin, dedicated to King Alfonso of Aragon. The project was not completed, but according to what he states in some letters, Aurispa translated at least Aelian. Even though this work (if it was in fact completed) does not survive, Aurispa is a point of reference for the recovery of the *Tactica theoria* in Europe and indicates its cultural context: the court of Naples. Here, a deep interest in military discipline was promoted by Alfonso and, in particular, by Antonio Beccadelli (Panormita), the chief scholar of his cultural entourage. In fact, around 1456 the Byzantine emigré Theodorus Gaza—who probably picked up the thread of Aurispa’s interrupted project—dedicated his Latin translation of Aelian to Panormita; in the same period Nicholas Sagundinus translated, for the king of Naples, Onosander’s *De optimo imperatore* (manuscripts often transmit these two translations together).

Gaza’s translation had a wide diffusion between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, in both manuscripts and printed editions, and it became the reference text for the vernacular translations made in Italy by Ludovico Carbone (1430–85),<sup>16</sup> Francesco Ferrosi (sixteenth century), and Lelio Carani (sixteenth century),<sup>17</sup> and in France by Nicolas de Volkyr de Sérouille (ca. 1480–1540).<sup>18</sup> The *editio princeps* of the Greek text appeared in 1552, edited by the Italian humanist Francesco Robortello, who collated at least three Greek manuscripts. He also made a new Latin translation, which did not replace that of Gaza. In 1556 Conradus Gesner provided another bilingual (Gr.-Lat.) edition, including *Tactica theoria* among Claudius Aelianus’ works.

The humanist recovery of Aelian’s handbook marked the beginning of the Renaissance study of military texts; it not only influenced literary treatises like Machiavelli’s *Dell’arte della guerra* (1521) but also became a source of reference to reflect, develop, and practise new theories on tactics and drill, influencing modern strategic thinking: at the end of the sixteenth century, the general Maurice of Nassau, prince of Orange, reorganized the Dutch army against the Spanish using

15 See below, note 31.

16 I. Eramo, “Un cetero tractatello de l’officio del buon capitano.’ Ludovico Carbone traduttore di ‘opere pellegrine,’” *Paideia* 61 (2006) 153–95.

17 Hoffmann 1.20. On Lelio Carani see also DBI 19.636–37 (M. Palma).

18 Hoffmann 1.20.

Aelian as his only technical reference;<sup>19</sup> Francesco Patrizi, in his *Paralleli militari*, quotes Aelian as a text to be read by soldiers.<sup>20</sup>

#### FROM 1600 TO THE PRESENT

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the *Tactica theoria* experienced another important phase of its *fortuna*, connected with its practical use in military activities. The text had a new Greek and Latin edition, with commentary, by the Frisian doctor Sixtus Arcerius (1613), and it received two vernacular translations: into English by Captain John Bingham (in the service of the Dutch army), under the title *Tactiks of Aelian, Or art of embattailing an army* (London, 1616 and 1631);<sup>21</sup> and into German by Captain Johann Jakob von Wallhausen (Frankfurt, 1617), the first director of the Dutch *schola militaris* (this translation is very rare). Other editions in national tongues followed between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, giving evidence of the penetration of Aelian into modern culture. There appeared translations in German by Albrecht Heinrich Baumgärtner (Mannheim, 1779 and 1786);<sup>22</sup> and in French by Louys de Machault for Louis XIII (Paris, ca. 1615) and by Bouchaud de Boussy (Paris, 1757).<sup>23</sup> A new English translation, made by Henry Augustus Viscount Dillon, appeared in London in 1814, under the title *The Tactics of Aelian, Comprising the Military System of the Grecians*; the most recent English translation was completed by Devine in 1989.<sup>24</sup>

- 19 J.W. Wijn, *Het krijzwezen in den tijd van prins Maurits* (Utrecht, 1934); W. Hahlweg, *Die Heeresreform der Oranier und die Antike* (Berlin, 1941; repr. Osnabrück, 1987); A. Grafton, "The Availability of Ancient Works," in C.B. Schmitt, Q. Skinner, E. Kessler, and J. Kraye, eds., *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), 767–91; C. Schulten, "Une nouvelle approche de Maurice de Nassau (1567–1625)," in *Le soldat, la stratégie, la mort. Mélanges André Corvisier* (Paris, 1989), 42–53; Loreto, "Il generale," 563–64; V. Ilari, "Imitatio, restitutio, utopia: La storia militare antica nel pensiero strategico moderno," in M. Sordi, ed., *Guerra e diritto nel mondo greco e romano* (Milan, 2002), 269–381.
- 20 F. Verrier, *Les armes de Minerve. L'Humanisme militaire dans l'Italie du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1997), 108.
- 21 The Bingham translation has been reprinted in facsimile twice, from the edition of 1631: Amsterdam and New York, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum-Da Capo Press, 1968; Osnabrück, Biblio Verlag, 1968, with introduction by Werner Hahlweg (*Bibliotheca rerum militarium* 6).
- 22 Baumgärtner's translation was first published together with Onosander in the collection *Vollständige Sammlung aller Kriegsschriftsteller der Griechen sowohl strategischen als taktischen Inhalts* (Frankenthal and Mannheim, 1779), then separately (Mannheim, 1786).
- 23 See Hoffmann 1.20.
- 24 A.M. Devine, "Aelian's *Manual of Hellenistic Military Tactics*. A New Translation from the Greek with an Introduction," *The Ancient World* 19 (1989) 31–64.

We have to wait until the mid-nineteenth century to find the first philological studies (by Köchly and Rüstow) on the complex textual tradition, and one century more to have the first comprehensive study (by Alphonse Dain). A critical edition of the *Tactica theoria* is still awaited, as is conclusive research on the Latin translation by Theodorus Gaza that delivered Aelian to the West.

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## III. RECEPTION

J.H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, 1987), 148–49; V. Branca, “Un codice aragonese scritto dal Cinico. La silloge di epistole di Francesco Barbaro offerta dal figlio Zaccaria al re Ferrante,” in *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro De Marinis*, vol. 1 (Verona, 1964), 163–215, at 213–15; G. Commare, “Storia e descrizione del Vat. gr. 1164 testimone della trattatistica militare,” *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 56/57 (2002/3) 77–105; M. Cortesi and S. Fiaschi, eds., *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa: Secoli XV–XVI*, vol. 1 (Florence, 2008), 3–6; I. Eramo, “Un certo tractatello de l’officio del buon capitano. Ludovico Carbone traduttore di ‘opere pellegrine,’” *Paideia* 61 (2006) 153–95; Eramo, “Disegni di guerra. La tradizione dei diagrammi tattici greci nell’*Arte della guerra* di Niccolò Machiavelli,” in V. Maraglino, ed., *Scienza antica in età moderna. Teoria e immagini* (Bari, 2012), 35–62; R. Fabbri, “Ancora su Francesco Griffolini e sugli esperimenti di traduzione da Omero,” in *Studi latini in ricordo di Rita Cappelletto* (Urbino, 1996), 195–206; M. Formisano, “La tradizione dell’arte della guerra antica nel Rinascimento,” in G. Beltramini, ed., *Andrea Palladio e l’architettura della battaglia. Con le illustrazioni inedite alle Storie di Polibio* (Venice, 2009), 226–39, at 230–32, 237–38; R. Sabbadini, ed., *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa* (Rome, 1931), 168.

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1515, Parisiis (Paris): Magister Rembolt pro Ioanne Parvo. Contents the same as in the edition of Bologna 1495–96. Hoffmann 1.16; *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.4, no. 5. BNF; BSB; Pesaro, Bibl. Oliveriana; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.

1523, [Lugduni] (Lyons): [Guillaume Huyon]. Contents the same as in the edition of Bologna 1495–96. *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.4, no. 6. BNF; BSB; Florence, BNC.

1524, Coloniae (Cologne): Ioannes Soter, impensis Godefridi Hittorpii. Contents the same as in the edition of Bologna 1495–96 (reprints also Filippo Beroaldo's letter to Mino Roscio). Hoffmann 1.19; VD16 V 462; *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.4, no. 7. BNF; BSB; Florence, BNC.

1532, Coloniae (Cologne): Eucharius Cervicornus. Contents the same as in the edition of Bologna 1495–96. Prepared for publication by Gottfried Hittorp, as indicated by the prefatory letter addressed to the reader. VD16 V 463; *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.4, no. 8. BNF; BSB; Florence, BNC.

1532, Lutetiae (Paris): Christianus Wechelus. Contents the same as in the edition of Bologna 1495–96. Hoffmann 1.19; *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.4, no. 10. BNF; BSB; Rome, BNC.

1532, Parisiis (Paris): Simon Colinaeus. Doubtful edition. Hoffmann 1.19; *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*, ed. B. Moreau, vol. 4, 1531–1535 (Paris, 1992), 131; *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.4, no. 9.

1534, Parisiis (Paris): Christianus Wechelus. Contents the same as in the edition of Bologna 1495–96; reprint of the edition of 1532 (Wechel). *Repertorio*

delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa 1.4, no. 11. Livorno, Bibl. Comunale Labronica; Turin, Bibl. Naz. Universitaria.

1535, Parisiis (Paris): Christianus Wechelus. Contents the same as in the edition of Bologna 1495–96; reprint of the edition of Paris 1534. *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.4, no. 12. BNF; Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana; Rome, BNC; Toronto, Victoria Univ., CRRS Lib.

1553, Parisiis (Paris): Carolus Perier. Contents the same as in the edition of Bologna 1495–96; reprint of the edition of Paris 1534. *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.5, no. 14. Piacenza, Bibl. Comunale Passerini Landi.

1553, Parisiis (Paris): Christianus Wechelus. Contents the same as in the edition of Bologna 1495–96; reprint of the edition of Paris 1534. Hoffmann 1.19; *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.5, no. 15. BNF; Rome, BNC.

1556, Tiguri (Zurich): Andreas et Iacobus Gesner fratres. (Gr.-Lat.) Collection of works transmitted under the name of Aelian, comprising (in the order shown): Aelianus Claudius, *Historia animalium* (trans. Pierre Gill, Konrad Gessner), *Variae historiae* (trans. Justus Vulteius); Aelianus Tacticus, *Tactica theoria* (trans. Francesco Robortello, Theodorus Gaza); Aelianus Claudius, *Epistulae* (trans. Sebastian Guldenbeck). Hoffmann 1.10–11; VD16 A 320; *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.5, no. 16. BL; BSB; Florence, BNC.

1580, Coloniae (Cologne): Maternus Cholinus. Contents the same as in the edition of Bologna 1495–96. Edition in two parts, the second of which contains Franciscus Modius' commentary on Vegetius and Frontinus. Prepared for publication by Gabriel Roelandt. Hoffmann 1.19; VD16 V 464; *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.5, no. 17. BNF; BSB; Florence, BNC.

1585, Antuerpiae (Antwerp): Christophorus Plantinus. Contents (in the order shown) the same as in the preceding entry, plus a translation from Polybius: Vegetius, *De re militari*; Frontinus, *Strategematicon liber*; Aelianus, *Tactica theoria* (trans. Theodorus Gaza); ps.-Modestus, *De vocabulis rei militaris*; Polybius, *Castramentatio* (= *Historiae*, 6.19–42; trans. Janus Lascaris). Edition in two parts; the second part contains commentaries on Vegetius and Frontinus by Godescalc Steewech and Franciscus Modius. Hoffmann 1.19; *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.5, no. 18. BL; BNF; Florence, BNC.

1592, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): Officina Plantiniana apud Franciscum Raphelengium. Reissue of the edition of Antuerpiae 1585. Hoffmann 1.19; *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.5, no. 19. BL; BNF; Florence, BNC; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.

1602, Francofurti (Frankfurt): Palthenianus. Collection of military writers, indicated under the general title *Sylloge strategematum, siue Astutiae militaris*, containing (in the order shown): Vegetius, *De re militari*; Frontinus, *Strategematicon liber*; Aelianus, *Tactica theoria* (trans. Theodorus Gaza); ps.-Modestus, *De*

*vocabulis rei militaris*. VD17 1:047305E. BSB; Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense; Parma, Bibl. Palatina.

1607, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): Ex Officina Plantiniana. Collection of military and technical writers (all Latin except for Aelian, Polybius, and Ruffius), containing (in the order shown): Vegetius, *De re militari*; Aelianus, *Tactica theoria* (trans. Theodorus Gaza); Polybius, *Castramentatio* (= *Historiae* 6.19–42; trans. Janus Lascaris); Hyginus Gromaticus, *De castramentatione*; *De rebus bellicis*; ps.-Modestus, *De vocabulis rei militaris*; Ruffius, *Leges militares* (trans. from Greek Iohannes Leonclavius); Frontinus, *Strategematicon liber*, *De aquae ductibus*, *De re agraria*, *De limitibus*, *De colonis*. SBN IT\ICCU\BVEE\045186. BL; BNF; Florence, BNC; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.

1632, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): Officina Ioannes Maire. Doubtful edition. Collection of military writers, containing the same as in the next item. Hoffmann 1.19 (as 1633).

1644, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): Officina Ioannes Maire. Collection of military writers, containing (in the order shown): Vegetius, *De re militari*; Frontinus, *Strategematicon liber*; Aeneas Tacticus, *Polioreticus* (trans. Isaac Casaubon); Polybius, *Castramentatio* (= *Historiae*, 6.19–42; trans. Janus Lascaris); Aelianus, *Tactica theoria* (trans. Sixtus Arcerius, corrected by Petrus Scriverius). Aelianus' work is mistakenly attributed to Claudius Aelianus. Hoffmann 1.19. BL; Florence, BNC; Lyons, Bibl. interuniversitaire de recherche en lettres et sciences humaines; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.

1670, Vesaliae (Wesel): Andreas ab Hoogenhuysen. Collection of military texts, under the title *Fl. Vegetius Renatus et alii scriptores antiqui de re militari*, containing (in the order shown): Vegetius, *De re militari*; Frontinus, *Strategematicon liber*; Aelianus, *Tactica theoria* (trans. Theodorus Gaza); ps.-Modestus, *De vocabulis rei militaris*; Polybius, *Castramentatio* (= *Historiae* 6.19–42; trans. Janus Lascaris); Aeneas Tacticus, *Polioreticus* (trans. Isaac Casaubon); ps.-Cicero, *De re militari*. VD17 1:047331U. BL; BSB; Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense.

## TACTICA THEORIA

### TRANSLATIONS

#### 1. Iohannes Aurispa

From the correspondence of Giovanni Aurispa with Panormita and Alfonso of Aragon (ca. 1444–49), we learn that the Sicilian humanist translated Aelian as part of a larger collection of Greek military authors, commissioned by the king of Naples but not completed. Documents about this project are well known, but its history has yet to be reconstructed.

Writing from Rome to Panormita on 6 May 1444 (according to the date assigned by Remigio Sabbadini), Aurispa asks his friend to tell Alfonso that as soon as he finds a home, “disciplinam illam militarem ex graeco in latinum, ut mihi iussit, traducturum” (Sabbadini, *Carteggio*, 103–4); in his reply (letter dated by Sabbadini, Naples, June 1444), Panormita says, “maiores aliquanto tibi gratias habet [rex] quod militarem illam disciplinam traducere aggressus es” (108). On the basis of what Aurispa states in following letters, Sabbadini understands *disciplinam illam militarem* as a reference to the Aelian’s work, and he prints it in title format.<sup>25</sup> However, the expression seems rather to have a general meaning; note also that the word *tactica* indicates, in Greek, troop formations and related manoeuvres, not military discipline. The letter that Aurispa sent to the king of Naples immediately afterwards (dated July–August 1444) sheds more light on the question: “Iniunxisti mihi ut opus, in codice quodam, graecum, de re militari transferrem in latinum; in eo codice volumina diversorum auctorum sunt; transtuli iam primum, cuius tractatus est De ordine acierum in pugna. Quae res nec tanta maiestate digna esse mihi videtur et hic labor meus parvum aut nullum fructum hominibus pariet. Sed in eo volumine excellentia tua, quae eius rei magistra est, animadvertere possit quid ille auctor scripserit, quid tu aut aliquis copiarum imperator sentiat. [...] Id, ut opinor, maiestas tua cum hunc auctorem, quem de acierum ordine transtuli, viderit, dicet quod Hannibal [Cic. *De orat.* 2.75–76]” (109–10). The phrase *in codice quodam* is really Sabbadini’s conjecture: the manuscripts, as the apparatus shows, have *opus codicem quoddam graecum* (109). Even if there is some textual difficulty in accepting *opus codicem*—there is probably a textual problem in the tradition, but other occurrences of the two terms together in the humanistic Latin tradition should be investigated—I think that the transmitted reading is the key to understanding what the original project commissioned by Alfonso was. The king *iniunxit* Aurispa to translate not Aelian, but a whole Greek manuscript *De re militari*, that is a collection of military writings in different sections,<sup>26</sup> starting with Aelian’s *Tactica*; in fact, the humanist properly translates this title *De ordine acierum*, and not, generically, *De disciplina militari*.

The last mention of the commission appears in a letter sent to Panormita from Ferrara, dated January 1449: “Opus illud regium quod transferendum iussit [scil. Alfonso], habet multos variosque auctores, quorum nonnulli docti et eloquentes sunt, alii vero parum eruditi; ex bonis illis quosdam in latinum verti. Tu me regi oro excuses, nam non cesso eius voluntatem adimplere” (Sabbadini, *Carteggio*, 122). Summarizing, in the margin, the contents of the statement,

25 Interpretation accepted and confirmed also by Fabbri, “Ancora su Francesco Griffolini,” 196 n. 5.

26 On the use of *volumen* as “section,” see S. Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti* (Rome, 1973), 6–7.

Sabbadini glosses, “Da quel codice greco del re ho tradotto alcuni autori e manterrò la promessa”; and, in the footnote, he adds, “Parrebbe da qui che i codici di materia militare fossero già stati venduti al re; di essi oggi non rimane più nessuna traccia.” I think that the expression *opus regium* corroborates the correctness of the reading *opus codicem quoddam graecum* attested in the previous letter: in both cases, Aurispa is referring to a manuscript (object of the original royal project), and the two occurrences probably attest the use of the word *opus* with the meaning of *codex* (in the first case it would be a redundant expression, or the result of a mistake in the textual tradition).<sup>27</sup> The adjective *regius*, which Sabbadini understands literally as “of the king / belonging to the king,” could also mean “big,” “of large format,” according to a technical meaning attested, a little bit later, for *realis* and *regius* in the context of ancient book description.<sup>28</sup> This interpretation would suit a collection as broad as the one Aurispa describes, which would be similar, in terms of size, to the extant corpora of military treatises (e.g., the most famous manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 55.4).<sup>29</sup> It is also possible, but not certain (since the statement is generic), that when Aurispa writes from Rome to Panormita circa July 1453, he is still referring to this topic, showing that the task was not finished yet: “Sum verax omnibus nihilque mihi in lingua est quod pectori non insederit. Alphonso regi si quid dixerim, ad unguem, ut aiunt, exsolvam” (Sabbadini, *Carteggio*, 132).

There is evidence that, between 1444 and circa 1453, Aurispa worked on a Greek manuscript of military treatises (probably belonging to him), from which he says he has translated Aelian and some selected “good” writers. The silence on the project in the subsequent correspondence, and the fact that other humanists were to become immediately involved in the same task, show that the translations were probably never finished and certainly never delivered; in any case, there is no trace of them today.

The Greek collection mentioned is perhaps to be identified with that provided by Panormita and Ludovico Puig to Francesco Barbaro in Venice at the beginning of 1450. Barbaro then made an index of the contents in a letter addressed to the two *legati regii* in 1451.<sup>30</sup> Recently, Giovanna Commare identified

27 *Codicem* could be a variant of *opus* (or vice versa), included in the text by the manuscript tradition.

28 Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti*, 49.

29 See S. Gentile, “Collezioni di tattici greci,” in G. Cavallo, ed., *I luoghi della memoria scritta. Manoscritti, incunaboli, libri a stampa di biblioteche statali italiane* (Rome, 1994), 141–42; E.B. Fryde, *Greek Manuscripts in the Private Library of the Medici*, vol. 2 (Aberystwyth, 1996), 782.

30 Sabbadini, *Carteggio*, 168; V. Branca, “Un codice aragonese scritto dal Cinico. La silloge di epistole di Francesco Barbaro offerta dal figlio Zaccaria al re Ferrante,” in *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro De Marinis*, vol. 1 (Verona, 1964), 163–215, at

this collection with the manuscript Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1164, but on the basis of hypothetical conjectures rather than concrete evidence.<sup>31</sup>

*Biography:*

Iohannes Aurispa (Noto, 1376–Ferrara, 1459) spent the first half of his life between Sicily, Naples, Bologna (where he studied law), Savona, Florence, and Rome (he arrived in Rome in 1420, following the court of Martin V from Florence, and there he taught Lorenzo Valla Greek). Very important for his knowledge and his cultural activity were two trips to the eastern Mediterranean, the first (1413–14) to Chios, the second (1420–23) to Byzantium, at the court of Manuel II Palaiologus, as a legate of Giovan Francesco Gonzaga. After Manuel's death, he became secretary of his son and successor John, who took Aurispa with him on a mission to Europe. After two years spent in Florence as a professor of Greek (1425–26), he moved to Ferrara (thanks to the help of Guarino Veronese) and the court of Este family; this became his permanent residence, though he often travelled elsewhere (Basel, Rome, Naples). He kept in touch with the papal court as secretary of Eugene IV and Nicholas V, and he attended two important stages of the Council of Basel, in Basel itself (1433) and in Ferrara (1438–39). In the first half of the fifteenth century, he was a source of ancient manuscripts (especially Greek), which he collected during his travels in Greece and in Germany and often sold (many scholars accused him of being a books merchant rather than a book reader). Because of his flair and his passion, he became a true book hunter and gave a great impetus to the circulation of manuscripts; among his main discoveries we can list the *Panegyricus* of Pliny the Younger and Donatus' commentary on Terence. The surviving correspondence shows his close relationships with many humanists (Francesco Filelfo, Antonio Panormita, Guarino Veronese, Giovanni Marrasio, Theodorus Gaza).

*Works:*

Collection of Latin epigrams; *De conquestu Virtutis* (satirical dialogue on the classical model of Lucianus); vernacular translation of Buonaccorso da Montemagno's *De nobilitate*; wide Latin correspondence (around one hundred letters); translations from the Greek: Dio Cassius (*Consolatoria Philisci ad Ciceronem*, an

213–15; C. Griggio, ed., *Francesco Barbaro, Epistolario*, vol. 2, *La raccolta canonica delle "Epistole"* (Florence, 1999), 723–25; Eramo, "Un certo tractatello," 171.

31 G. Commare, "Storia e descrizione del Vat. gr. 1164 testimone della trattatistica militare," *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 56/57 (2002/3) 77–105. The author argues that the *volumen quoddam magnum vetustum* containing Athenaeus, often mentioned by Aurispa in his correspondence with Traversari and Niccoli between 1423–30 (Sabbadini, *Carteggio*, 13, 51, 67, 69, 70, 72), is the same that contains Aelian and is the one that Barbaro describes; she has identified it with the manuscript now Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1164. On the basis of the expression *opus illud regium* (discussed above), she assumes that the Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1164 entered the library of Alfonso of Aragon.

excerpt from *Historia Romana* 38), Hierocles (*In aureos versus Pythagorae opusculum*), ps.-Hippocrates (*Letters*), ps.-Phalarides (*Letters*), Lucian (*Dialogi mortuorum* 25 and *Toxaris*), Plutarch (*Timoleon*, *Convivium septem sapientium*, *Ad principem indoctum*), Symeon the Metaphrast (*Vita sancti Mamantis*).

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“Ambrogio Traversari, Francesco Pizolpasso, Giovanni Aurispa: Traduzioni e letture,” *Romanische Forschungen* 78 (1966), 42–63; F. Stok, “Le traduzioni latine dei *Moralia* di Plutarco,” *Fontes* 1 (1998) 117–36; A. Vanderjagt, “Expropriating the Past: Tradition and Innovation in the Use of Texts in Fifteenth-Century Burgundy,” in R. Suntrup and J.R. Veenstra, eds., *Tradition and Innovation in an Era of Change / Tradition und Innovation im Übergang zur Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt a.M., 2001), 177–201; A. Vanderjagt, “Il pubblico dei testi umanistici nell’Italia settentrionale ed in Borgogna: Buonaccorso da Montemagno e Giovanni Aurispa,” *Aevum* 70 (1996) 477–86; N.G. Wilson, *Da Bisanzio all’Italia. Gli studi greci nell’umanesimo italiano. Edizione rivista e aggiornata*, trans. B. Sancin, *Hellenica* 4 (Alessandria, 2000), *ad indicem*; C.M. Woodhouse, “Contributions from Chios to the Classical Revival,” in J. Boardman and C.E. Vaphopoulou-Richardson, eds., *Chios. A Conference at the Homereion in Chios 1984* (Oxford, 1986), 55–59.

## 2. Theodorus Gaza

Theodorus Gaza translated Aelian’s *Tactica*, with the title *De instruendis aciebus*, between the end of 1455 and 1456, during his stay at the court of Naples (end of 1455–58), and dedicated it to Panormita. The *terminus post quem* is given by the reference, in the prefatory letter, to Panormita’s *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis*, completed in 1455; the *terminus ante quem* is drawn from Bartholomaeus Facius, who in his short portrait of Gaza in *De viris illustribus* (dated by December 1456), lists Aelian among the translations made by the Byzantine scholar. All information about this work comes from the preface itself. Gaza starts with a *laudatio* of Alfonso, who is praised for his political and military virtues and described, like Agamemnon, as *bonus rex et miles acer*; with this explicit reference to Homer, he establishes a parallel between the beginning of the dedication and the beginning of Aelian’s *Tactica*. He then celebrates Panormita for his literary merits and for his cultural activity at the Aragonese court, thanks to which the king and his government have become a model to follow and a source of pride for all; they are so close that each time one praises Alfonso, one praises Panormita also, and vice versa. In particular, Gaza quotes the recent composition *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis* (which makes Panormita a new Xenophon), and a lesser-known work *De re militari* that Panormita was apparently working on at that date, which probably remained unfinished and in any case is not extant.

Through writings of this kind and, in general, through the *humanae litterae* (Gaza says), Panormita is creating a more beautiful and durable statue of Alfonso than the one that the citizens of Naples *ducent ex aere*. It is possible that here the Byzantine humanist is alluding to the bronze equestrian statue intended for the centre of the upper arch of the vast entrance gateway to the Castel Nuovo, a commission given to Donatello in 1453, but shortly afterwards abandoned by

the sculptor.<sup>32</sup> The gift of this translation is, therefore, a way to thank a friend for what he is doing. Aelian (whom Gaza, calling him *philosophus*, mistakes for Claudius Aelianus) is in fact the best ancient military writer in the field of tactics: brevity and clarity make it a very useful handbook for understanding Greek and Roman *rationem acierum instruendarum*, which Panormita could use in working on his *De re militari*. Theodorus apologizes for having left some words in Greek when he could not find the corresponding Latin, and claims that for specific Homeric quotations he used Francesco Griffolini's translation, because he could not do better.<sup>33</sup> Unlike the "envious" *ludimagister* George of Trebizond, who cannot tolerate anybody else being better than he in translating, Gaza appreciates scholars' cooperation.<sup>34</sup>

Despite its importance and interest, this translation has received little scholarly attention, and many aspects are still to be investigated. Bevegini and Salanitro only mention it;<sup>35</sup> Geanakoplos mistakenly refers to it;<sup>36</sup> some additional reflections are found in Bentley and, above all, in Eramo.<sup>37</sup>

Gaza's translation emerges from a deep interest in ancient military theory typical of the court of Naples,<sup>38</sup> and the dedicatee sheds light on the role played by Panormita in this cultural trend. The translation should certainly be linked with that wide translation project of a Greek corpus of tactical treatises that Alfonso had given on commission to Giovanni Aurispa around ten years earlier

- 32 F. Caglioti, "Donatello, II.6. Horse's head," in M. Gregori, ed., *In the Light of Apollo. Italian Renaissance and Greece (22 December 2003–31 March 2004)*, vol. 1 (Milan and Athens, 2003), 198–200.
- 33 R. Fabbri, "Ancora su Francesco Griffolini e sugli esperimenti di traduzione da Omero," in *Studi latini in ricordo di Rita Cappelletto* (Urbino, 1996), 195–206.
- 34 On the long Gaza-Trapezuntius rivalry, see J. Monfasani, ed., *Collectanea trapezuntiana. Texts, Documents, and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1984), *ad indicem*.
- 35 C. Bevegini, "Teodoro Gaza fra la cultura greca e la cultura latina," *Studi umanistici piceni* 12 (1992) 47–55, at 50; G. Salanitro, "Teodoro Gaza traduttore di testi classici," in M. Cortesi and E.V. Maltese, eds., *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell'Italia del secolo XV* (Naples, 1992), 219–25, at 220.
- 36 D.J. Geanakoplos, "Theodore Gaza, a Byzantine Scholar of the Palaeologan 'Renaissance' in the Italian Renaissance," *Medievalia et humanistica* 12 (1984) 61–81, at 70: "There [scil. in Naples] Gaza also translated certain Greek authors for Alfonso, including Arrian's *Tactica*"; Geanakoplos, *Constantinople and the West. Essays on the Late Byzantine (Palaeologan) and Italian Renaissances and the Byzantine and Roman Churches* (London, 1989), 84: "he assisted the Italian humanist Bernard [sic] Facio to edit (in Latin translation) Arrian's *Taktika*."
- 37 J.H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, 1987), 106–7, 148–49; I. Eramo, "Un certo tractatello de l'officio del buon capitano.' Ludovico Carbone traduttore di 'opere pellegrine,'" *Paideia* 61 (2006) 153–95.
- 38 Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 148–49; C. Bianca, "Alla corte di Napoli: Alfonso, libri e umanisti," in A. Quondam, ed., *Il Libro a corte* (Rome, 1994), 177–201, at 178–80.

(see above). Taking into account the close relationship between the two humanists, begun when they both resided in Ferrara,<sup>39</sup> their reciprocal esteem, and the earlier efforts Aurispa made to accommodate Gaza at the papal court in Rome (1449–55), then in Naples through the mediation of Panormita,<sup>40</sup> we can suppose that Gaza’s translation was in some way influenced by Aurispa, whose statements indicate that he had already translated Aelian. Actually, it is possible that Theodorus knew the project undertaken (but not completed) by the Sicilian scholar, and knew that the latter entrusted it to him in order to satisfy an old desideratum of the king. In fact, Aelian was not the only military writer translated by Gaza in Naples: we have evidence that he also translated Mauritius’ *Strategicon*, though this translation appears to be lost. In the prefatory letter to his translation of Chrysostomus’ *De incomprehensibili Dei natura* (1457) Theodorus states, “post Maurittii illos de re militari libros, quos anno superiori obtuli tibi ut iudici peritissimo eorum quae imperator ille et gessit et scripsit, has de incomprehensibili Dei natura orationes quinque [. . .] converti” (Valencia, Bibl. Universitaria, 732, fol. 5v). In his *De viris illustribus* Facio lists Mauritius among Gaza’s translations immediately before that of Aelian, possibly indicating the chronological order: “eiusdem est traductio Mauritius de re militari in duodecim libros distinctus ad Alphonsum Regem [. . .]; eiusdem est traductio Aelianus et ipse de re militari ad Antonium Panormitam” (ed. Mehus, 27–28); a note on the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 263, fol. 130r, says, “Theodorus vertisse dicitur Urbitium [i.e. Mauritius] ad Alphonsum.”<sup>41</sup> In the same years (1455–56) another Byzantine scholar, very close to Gaza, was involved in this program of recovering ancient military theory: Nicholas Sagundinus, who translated and dedicated to Alfonso Onosander’s *De optimo imperatore*.<sup>42</sup> Aelian, Mauritius, and Onosander, therefore, were part of the same translation project, probably that abandoned by Aurispa, promoted by the king of Naples. It cannot be a simple coincidence that these three authors correspond to those who open the famous Greek collection of military writers that Francesco Barbaro borrowed from Panormita and Ludovicus Puig in 1451. Alfonso’s project, perhaps, centered on that manuscript, yet to be identified with certain evidence, which could form the basis of the three translations (see above, and note 31).

39 J. Monfasani, “L’insegnamento di Teodoro Gaza a Ferrara,” in M. Bertozzi, ed., *Alla corte degli Estensi. Filosofia, arte e cultura a Ferrara nei secoli XV e XVI* (Ferrara, 1994), 5–17.

40 Sabbadini, *Carteggio*, 134–37, 140–41; G. Resta, *L’epistolario del Panormita. Studi per una edizione critica* (Messina, 1954), 191–96.

41 Eramo, “Uno certo tractatello,” 170 n. 65.

42 P.D. Mastrodimitris, *Νικόλαος Σεκουνδινός (1402–1464). Βίος και ἔργον. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν μελέτην τῶν Ἑλλήνων λογίων τῆς Διασποράς* (Athens, 1970), 63, 205–12, 214.

There is no external evidence about the Greek source used by Gaza for his translation of Aelian's *Tactica*; Dain<sup>43</sup> suggested that he employed an exemplar belonging to the  $\Delta$  branch of the tradition, and identified it with the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 2524.<sup>44</sup> Only a critical edition of the translation can shed new light on the question. In any case, it is likely that Aurispa, involved in the project from the beginning, provided the Greek exemplar.

Gaza's translation immediately circulated widely both in manuscript and in printed editions. In the manuscript tradition we can recognize three different lines of circulation: exemplars transmitting only Aelian; a group of elegant exemplars collecting Aelian and Nicholas Sagundinus' translation of Onosander, in a sort of military diptych (but the manuscript New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 449, described by Eramo as containing both of the translations,<sup>45</sup> transmits only Onosander); and miscellaneous gatherings of Latin military treatises. Except for the *editio princeps* of 1487, Gaza's translation is always part of military collections. In the 1470s the humanist Ludovico Carbone—who learned Greek in Ferrara with Theodorus Gaza—arranged a vernacular translation of Onosander and Aelian from the Latin versions of Sagundinus and Gaza, respectively. The humanist *fortuna* of Aelian thus came back to the Este court, where it had begun with Iohannes Aurispa.

*Dedication* (Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3414, fols. 33r–35v. Collated with manuscripts Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, L 95 sup.; Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. lat. 1971; BAV, Reg. lat. 1112; BAV, Reg. lat. 1880; BAV, Vat. lat. 4496. Already published, with some transcription mistakes, by T. De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, vol. 2 [Milan, 1947], 3–5, from the manuscript now Oxford, Bod. Lib., lat. class. d. 38). Theodori graeci Thessalonicensis ad eloquentissimum et preclarum virum Antonium Panhormitam Alfonsi Regis praeceptorem praefatio in opus Aeliani de instruendis aciebus quod ex greco in latinum convertit. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 33r) Carmen illud Homeri, vir preclare Antoni, quod de Graecorum rege Agamemnone legimus, utrunque ille quidem bonus et rex miles et acer, dici posse aptissime de hoc nostro rege Alfonso, tu certe et libris elegantissimis iis quos anno superiori, exemplo Xenophontis socratici, de eius dictis factisque aedidisti, plane ostendis, et iis que de re militari nunc conficere animadvertis idem illud late aperies, ut nihil desit quod nostri regis memoriam, laudem admirationem posteris omnibus possit tradere immortalem. Ita summas regis virtutes summa, tu, facultate dicendi graviter, facunde, orname commendas et praedicas. Quam rem ego, pace omnium, dixerim non minus

43 Dain, *Histoire*, 270.

44 Dain, "Une minute d'atelier. Le Scorialensis  $\Phi$ -III-2," in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, 2 (Paris, 1949), 329–49, at 334–35.

45 "Un certo tractatello," 175 n. 87.

laudis tibi afferre, qui regis praeclaras virtutes digna oratione exponis, quam regi, qui digna tua praeclara oratione et dicit et facit; siquidem predicatorem quoque illum virtutum Achillis Homerum non minus quam Achillem ipsum mirari exoscularique animo solemus. Certat porro eloquentia tua cum regis virtute; et quanquam neutram vinci ab altera dixerim, tamen nimirum illud licet et decet affirmare ceteris regem virtute omnibus prestare principibus, te ceteris doctis esse omnibus eloquentiorem et nomen iam idem mereri quod Xenophontem [*Xenophon* Vat. lat. 3414], qui digna illa memoratu de Socrate suo preceptore litteris tradidit: ut enim ille musa Attica nominatus non immerito est, ita tu, si Romana musa nuncuperis, nihil penitus ab re dici iudicetur. Accedit eodem laus, quam iure optimo preceptoris tribuimus, quotiens discipuli dicta factaque probamus et laudamus. Regem enim tu unus, et litteris bonis et his quae philosophum hominem vel principem deceant [*deceat* Vat. lat. 3414], moribus talem reddidisti qualem libri a te scripti explanant. Nam cum nemo virtute peditus iam inde ab ortu naturae prodeat, sed tam mores quam litteras quisque a preceptore veluti a fonte quodam hauriat necesse sit, tu regem maiorem in modum pium, iustum, humanum, fortem, magnificum fecisti, tu facundum et partim gravem, partim facetum prebuiisti, tu denique doctrina optima effecisti regem, quem Plato Athenis melius verbis exprimere quam Syracusis, cum apud Dionysium esset re ostendere potuit [cf. Plato, *Ep.* VII]; quippe cum idem Alfonsus philosophetur, qui regnat idem et armis et litteris valeat plurimum, quam rem ut praeclare vir ille fore cause scripsit quo mala cessarent urbium, ita iam rege Alfonso tua omnino opera experimur. Unde fit ut tu non modo nostro Xenophonti non cedas, verum etiam illo praestantior iure habearis, quo ille talis Socratis doctrina evasit ut dicta factaque preceptoris digne traderet posteritati, tu regem doctrina tua reddidisti talem ut preclara memoratuque digna omnia posses de eo [*ab eo* Vat. lat. 3414] comentari. Quam enim longe honestius, longe laudabilius sit doctrinam prestare quam accipere, nemo fere est qui ignoret. Ducent ergo ex aere statuam Alfonso regi benemerenti [*benemeriti* Vat. lat. 3414] cives Neapolitani, sed nulla constructior, nulla aptior, nulla pulchrior, nulla diuturnior stabit ea quam tu, amoeno ingenio, excogitasti, quam facunda sapientia fabricans crispo [*ex ipso* Ambros. L 95 sup., Vat. lat. 3414, Reg. lat. 1880] orationis rotundoque agmine [cf. Gell. 1.4.4] excudisti, auro omni splendidiorem, quam miro artificio litterarum bonarum ita condidisti, ut artificis quoque facies una cum regia illa constaret, et qui Minervam intueretur [*intuetur* Ambros. L 95 sup., Vat. lat. 3414, Reg. lat. 1880], Phidiam quoque posset inspicere. Tulerunt superiores omnes aetates paria quaedam hominum doctorum et principum, ita ut nullum fere legerimus quocum non aliquis esset coniunctus homo litteris et sapientia peditus. Vixit Aristoteles [*Aristotiles* Vat. lat. 3414] cum Alexandro familiariter, Plato cum Dionysio, Symonides cum Hierone, Ennius cum Africano, Theopompus cum C. Caesare, Possidonius cum Gn. Pompeo, Virgilius

Maro cum Caesare Augusto. Tulit iam et haec nostra aetas par istud vestrum egregium, ut quotiens Alfonsus rex memoraretur, Antonius quoque occurreret, non secus quam Ulixes cum Agamemnonem [*Agamemnone* Vat. lat. 3414] audimus, aut Palamides cum Achillem [*Achille* Vat. lat. 3414]. Sed quanquam fieri non potest quin regis virtutem et laudem tua virtus et laus comitetur, ut iam quod premium virtuti debetur large inde accipias, tamen nos omnes, qui tam benigno et benefico rege fruimur, qui principem omnium optimum habere gaudemus, aut ingrati aut sensu hebetes quidem certe esse videbimur, nisi tibi, qui rerum illarum auctor es, qui tam de nobis omnibus bene meruisti, gratiam magnam et habeamus et referamus. Referent igitur alii quae maiora possunt et digniora; ego pro viribus, quae in me exiguae sunt, ut aliquid posthac aliud, sic in presentiarum librum hunc ex nostra Graecia studio tibi de re militari instituto adiicio, munus quanquam parvum, tamen non, ut opinor, ad eam rem quam aggredi statuisti inutile. Opus enim de instruendis aciebus ad Adrianum imperatorem Aeliani philosophi est, quem auctoritate apud eundem illum imperatorem valuisse intelligi vel ex hoc ipso opere satis potest. Docet hoc [*hanc* Vat. lat. 3414] rationem acierum instruendarum tam dilucide, ut vix credi possit in tam brevi opere tantum lucis doctrinaeque contineri posse. Hoc tamen et ad intelligendum quae scriptores de aciebus narrant plene [*plane* Vat. lat. 3414] docemur, et ad formam eius artis tenendam facile instituimur [*instruimur* Ambros. L 95 sup., Vat. lat. 3414, Reg. lat. 1880]. Plerique de hac eadem re opera edidere, sed hoc ceteris omnibus adeo utilius est, ut ne ipsum quidem auctorem hominem modestissimum puduerit omnibus illis anteponendum audere affirmare. Cum itaque plures sint partes rei militaris, hanc de instruendis aciebus, quae Graeci tactica nominant, ab Aeliano melius discimus. Nec solum ad Grecum instruendi morem, sed etiam ad Romanum, quod tu subtilius videris, accomodatius erudimur, quando nullum—quod equidem sciam—romani auctoris opus de acierum instructione extat, unde quis rationem universae rei possit accipere et artem. Quod si tu, vir doctissime, in his quae de re militari scripseris, non solum ingenio et peritia tua, verum etiam huius auctoris graeca institutione utaris, nihil mea sententia vel a veterum disciplina vel ab hac nostrae aetatis alienum docueris. Sic enim te uti velle existimo, ut si interdum genus hoc disciplinae graecae integrum sequi non liceat, aliqua cum immutatione ad usum hominum tuorum deducas, et tuo iudicio modereris, transformes, accomodes, videlicet exemplo veterum Romanorum, qui suis hoc etiam inserendum quatenus posset accomodari censuerunt. Nomina autem, quae vel quia lingua latina iis caret, vel quia non latina mihi occurrissent, aut graeca posui, aut latina meo arbitrio feci. Hec tu, nulla meae interpretationis lege astrictus, libere in id quod placuerit vertes et ut rem latinam, non grecam, docebis, ita vocabulis quae latiniora habueris, uteris. Carmina vero Homeri, quae Aelianus inseruit huic operi, ut facta a nostro Francisco Aretino latina accepi [*accepi latina* Vat. lat. 3414], ita meae adiunxi

interpretationi. Nihil enim equidem de meo studio habebam, quod Homero redderem elegantius. Sic tamen et Franciscus censet, et ego approbo, ut si quis posthac sententiam ornatus [*ornatus* Ambros. L 95 sup., Vat. lat. 3414] eandem converterit, versus illius quicumque sit inseratur et nomen addatur in margine. Cupit enim Franciscus quoque, non minus quam ego, ut carmen Homeri elegantissimum lingua etiam latina lepidius quoad maxime fieri potest explicetur. Nec is longe avidius quae ipse, quam quis bene scripserit, legere solet et probare. Nulla hic movetur invidia, quod certe hominis tum docti tum boni officium est. Stultissimum nanque illum ludimagistrum cuculum Georgium Trapezuntium vel hinc facile quisque agnoscere potest et detestari, cum quae ipse male graeca converterit, a nemine bene converti patiat. Insanit ille semper quidem suapte natura, sed tunc [*nunc* Vat. lat. 3414], Hercle, turpius atque ridiculosius, cum vel sermonem peritum politumque vel laudem cuiuspiam audierit. Credit enim, ut debet, quicquid latine sciteque dicitur, id esse in suam barbariem atque inscitiam invectivam, quicquid honeste et honorifice refertur, id suorum scelerum esse reprehensionem. Sed iam velim ipsum legas Aeliani opus, si prius operis brevitati addita mei erga te animi amplitudine, plus muneris te accepisse a me quam laboris et opere arbitreris.

*Tactica theoria* [*Inc.*]: (fol. 36r) Scientiam graecis acierum instruendarum solitam, dive Adriane, quam ab Homeri usque temporibus sumpsisse initium certum est, litteris complures mandaverunt auctores superiores . . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 66v) Haec de aciebus instruendis habui quae breviter ad te scriberem, imperator, tibi victoriam hostibus profligationem allatura. Vale.

*Manuscripts:*

Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Cod. lat. Oct. 141, s. XV second half (Kristeller, *Iter* 3.479b–480a).

Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Phillips 1783, s. XV second half. Very elegant parchment book, containing the diptych of military translations (Aelian-Onosander) linked to the project commissioned by Alfonso of Aragon. Belonged to John I, duke of Cleves-Mark (1419–81), as the two coats of arms at the beginning of the two texts transmitted (fols. 2r, 40r) show. Illuminated. (*Beschreibende Verzeichnisse der Miniaturen-Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, 1. *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen und des Initialschmuckes in den Philipps-Handschriften*, ed. J. Kirchner [Leipzig, 1926], 87–89 and fig. 95; Kristeller, *Iter* 3.368b).

Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria, 1733, s. XV second half, fols. not indicated. Manuscript composed of two parts (parchement and paper); miscellaneous content. (L. Frati, “Indice dei codici latini conservati nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna,” *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 16 [1908] 103–42, at 382–83,



no. 889; shelf mark erroneously indicated as “1773” by G. Resta, *L'epistolario del Panormita. Studi per una edizione critica* [Messina, 1954], 192).

Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard Univ., Houghton Lib., Richardson 16, s. XV (ca. 1480), fols. 2r–41v. Very elegant parchment book, containing the diptych of military translations (Aelian-Onosander) linked to the project commissioned by Alfonso of Aragon; written in Italy probably by the scribe “Hubertus W.,” extensively illuminated, wrongly regarded as a manuscript that belonged to the Corvinian library (De Ricci 1.959–60; Kristeller, *Iter* 5.230b; C. Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library. History and Stock* [Budapest, 1973], 112–213; A. de la Mare, “New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence,” in A. Garzelli, ed., *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento, 1440–1525: Un primo censimento*, vol. 1 [Florence, 1985], 395–600, at 505, no. 32.20).

Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centrale, II.VII.125, s. XV ex., fols. 3r–6v. Without dedication, interrupted at the words “quibus singulis vel nomen proprium inditum est duae nam quaeque.” Written by Pyrrus Vizanius (Mazzatinti 11.211–13; Kristeller, *Iter* 5.571b–72a, with the wrong indication of the presence of the dedication).

Kraków, Bibl. Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, Oddział Zbiory Czartoryskich, 2694, s. XV second half, fols. 29r–81r (Kristeller, *Iter* 4.409–10).

London, British Lib., Harley 2508, s. XV second half, fols. 193v–211v (Kristeller, *Iter* 4.160b).

London, British Lib., Harley 3982, s. XV second half, fols. 40r–74r. Diptych of military translations (Aelian-Onosander) linked to the project commissioned by Alfonso of Aragon (Kristeller, *Iter* 4.178a).

Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, L 95 sup., s. XV second half, fols. XLV–LXXVIII<sup>r</sup>. Wonderful diptych of military translations (Aelian-Onosander) linked to the project commissioned by Alfonso of Aragon; illumination assigned to Neapolitan school (Kristeller, *Iter* 1.301a; R. Cipriani, *Codici miniati dell'Ambrosiana. Contributo a un catalogo* [Vicenza, 1968], 87–88).

Oxford, Bodleian Lib., lat. class. d. 38, s. XV med. (ca. 1456). Wonderful dedication copy for the library of Alfonso of Aragon, as the arms (De Marinis, *La biblioteca*, Type 1) show, to be identified with item “L.560” of the D inventory of the Aragonese Library (“Uno altro libro de foglio comune scripto a pena in carta bergamena meniata con la prima facia atorno con le arme de casa de aragona a piede del quale libro lo autore e teodoro gaza che scrive m.er antonio panoarmita uno traslato de greco in latino de aliano, coperto de coiro nigro stampato con le arme de casa de aragona da una et da l'altra con quatro chiudende de ramo,” De Marinis, *La biblioteca* vol. 2, 206), and with item 484 of the inventory “G” (“Alianus per Theodorum, de mano, en pergamino, cubierto de cuero leonado,” De Marinis, *La biblioteca*, vol. 2, 218). After having been seen and described by De Marinis in a private collection, the manuscript disappeared until 1954, when

it entered the Bodleian Library as a new accession. Bianca (*Alla corte di Napoli*, 191 n. 52) erroneously indicates the manuscript as still belonging to a private collection. (De Marinis, *La biblioteca*, vol. 2, 3–4; Kristeller, *Iter* 4.253a; O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, vol. 2, *Italian School* [Oxford, 1970], 36, no. 365).

Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, 660, s. XV second half, fols. 37r–74r. Contains the diptych of military translations (Aelian-Onosander) linked to the project commissioned by Alfonso of Aragon. Manuscript composed of two sections (the second of the tenth century). (*Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1885], 301–2).

Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, 3732, s. XV ex., fols. 4r–29v. Manuscript composed of two sections: the first (s. XV ex) contains Aelian and ps.-Modestus, the second (s. XIV) contains Vegetius and Frontinus. Unidentified coat of arms (fol. I'). (*Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine*, vol. 3 [Paris, 1890], 170–71).

Turin, Bibl. Reale, Fondo Duca di Genova, Cod. 206, s. XV second half, fols. 1r–48r. Decorated initials; belonged to the Russian Earl Demetrius Boutourlin (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.187b).

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, lat. class. VIII 81 (= 3716), s. XV second half (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.228b).

Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 1971, s. XV second half, fols. 2r–46v (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.434b).

Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1112, s. XV second half, one hand in humanistic cursive; first initial gold and “bianchi girari” decorated (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.401a).

Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1880, s. XV second half, fols. 103r–139v. Wonderful collection of military writers, including Vegetius, Onosander, and Aelian, edited for an unidentified library; illuminated; on the first page, marg. inf., space for a coat of arms, unrealized (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.404b).

Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3414, s. XV second half, fols. 33r–66v. Very elegant diptych of military translations (Aelian-Onosander) linked to the project commissioned by Alfonso of Aragon; space for coat of arms, unrealized; belonged to Fulvio Orsini (p. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini. Contributions à l'histoire des collections d'Italie et à l'étude de la Renaissance* [Paris, 1887], 370; Kristeller, *Iter* 2.319b).

Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 4496, s. XV second half, fols. 76r–99r; several hands; contains a collection of military writings, including Frontinus, Vibius Sequesteris, and Leonardo Bruni's *De militia* (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.327b).

Wrocław, Bibl. Uniwersytecka, Rehdigeranus 10 (Kristeller, *Iter* 4.427b).

*Lost manuscript:*

Manuscript belonged to the Corvinian library, seen in 1520 by Massario, not yet identified (C. Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library. History and Stock* [Budapest, 1973], 112; *Matthias Corvin, les bibliothèques princières et la genèse de l'état moderne*, ed. by J.-F. Maillard, I. Monok, and D. Nebbiai [Budapest, 2009], 218).

*Editions:*

1487, Romae (Rome): Eucharius Silber. *Editio princeps* of the translation, without the dedication to Panormita (none of the printed editions contains this dedication, though it is always mentioned in the title). Probably part of the collection *Scriptores rei militaris* printed by Eucharius Silber between February and June 1487 (comprising Aelian, Frontinus, and ps.-Modestus), edited by John Sulpitius from Veroli, sometimes issued together with Aelian. IGI 8850; ISTC ia96495; *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.3, no. 1. BL; BNF; Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana.

1494. See above, Composite Editions.

1495–96. See above, Composite Editions.

1505. See above, Composite Editions.

1515. See above, Composite Editions.

1523. See above, Composite Editions.

1524. See above, Composite Editions.

1532. See above, Composite Editions.

1532. See above, Composite Editions.

1534. See above, Composite Editions.

1535. See above, Composite Editions.

1552, Venetiis (Venice): Andreas et Iacobus Spinelli. Contains two Latin translations from the *Tactica*: the first by Francesco Robortello (see below, no. 3), the second by Theodorus Gaza. The text is illustrated with drawings and pictures, expressly arranged by Robortello. Hoffmann 1.19; Edit 16 (Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico) CNCE 321; *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa* 1.5–6, no. 13. BL; BNF; Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana.

1553. See above, Composite Editions.

1553. See above, Composite Editions.

1556. See above, Composite Editions.

1580. See above, Composite Editions.

1585. See above, Composite Editions.

1592. See above, Composite Editions.

1602. See above, Composite Editions.

1607. See above, Composite Editions.

1670. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC 1.127–30; 2.266–68, 273–74; 3.7–12.

*Add to Bibliography:*

F. Becchi, “El redescubrimiento de Plutarco en la edad del Humanismo,” in A. Pérez Jiménez, ed., *Plutarco renovado: Importancia de las traducciones modernas de “Vidas” y “Moralia”*, (Málaga, 2010), 23–38; P. Beullens, “Aristotle, His Translators, and the Formation of Ichthyologic Nomenclature,” in M. Goyens, P. De Leemans, and A. Smets, eds., *Science Translated. Latin and Vernacular Translation of Scientific Treatises in Medieval Europe* (Leuven, 2008), 105–22; P. Beullens and A. Gotthelf, “Theodore Gaza’s Translation of Aristotle’s *De animalibus*: Content, Influence, and Date,” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 47 (2007) 469–513; “Gaza, Teodoro,” DBI 52.737–46 (C. Bianca) (with previous bibliographical references); P. Botley, “Renaissance Scholarship and the Athenian Calendar,” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 46 (2006) 395–431; C. Bevegni, ed., “Emendare e interpretare Plutarco tramite Teodoro Gaza: Analisi e editio princeps della traduzione gaziana del *Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum*,” *Studi umanistici piceni* 24 (2004) 129–49; M. Cataudella, “Napoli e Roma nei *Dies geniales* di Alessandro d’Alessandro,” in S. Colonna, ed., *Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi* (Rome, 2004), 21–27; F. Ciccolella, *Donati graeci. Learning Greek in the Renaissance*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 32 (Leiden and Boston, 2008); M. Cortesi, “Giovanni Crisostomo nel sec. XVI: Tra versioni antiche e traduzioni umanistiche,” in *I Padri sotto il torchio. Le edizioni dell’antichità cristiana nei secoli XV–XVI. Atti del Convegno di studi, Certosa del Galluzzo, Firenze, 25–26 giugno 1999* (Florence, 2002), 127–46; V. Cox, “Rhetoric and Humanism in Quattrocento Venice,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (2003) 652–94; E. Del Soldato, “Platone, Aristotele e il Cardinale: Il *De natura et arte* di Bessarione,” *Rinascimento* 48 (2008) 61–79; F. Delle Donne, “Una raffigurazione di Scilla in due epigrammi di Angelo de Grassis e Teodoro Gaza,” *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana* 55 (2006) 221–28; S. Gentile, “Il ritorno delle culture classiche,” in C. Vasoli, *Le filosofie del Rinascimento* (Milan, 2002), 70–92; D. Gionta, “Il codice di dedica del Teofrasto latino di Teodoro Gaza,” *Studi medievali e umanistici* 2 (2004) 167–214; T. Glaser, “The Remnants of the Hellenes. Problems of Greek Identity after the Fall of Constantinople,” in E. Konstantinou, ed., *Der Beitrag der byzantinischen Gelehrten zur abendländischen Renaissance des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a.M., 2006), 199–210; M. Cadafaz de Matos, “Unidade e diversidade das edições impressas, de e sobre Aristóteles, entre os séculos XV e XVI: I - As edições italianas de Aristóteles nas três últimas décadas do século XV (para a história da edição aristotélica na Itália do Renascimento),” in *A apologia do latim. In honorem Dr. Miguel Pinto de Meneses (1917–2004)* (Lisbon, 2005), 251–82; J. Monfasani, ed., “Angelo

Poliziano, Aldo Manuzio, Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and Chapter 90 of the *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* (With an Edition and Translation),” in A. Mazzocco, ed., *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism* (Leiden and Boston, 2006), 243–65; Monfasani, “Aristotle as Scribe of Nature: The Title-Page of MS Vat. Lat. 2094,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 69 (2006) 193–205; Monfasani, “George of Trebizond’s Critique of Theodore Gaza’s Translation of the Aristotelian *Problemata*,” in P. De Leemans and M. Goyens, eds., *Aristotle’s “Problemata” in Different Times and Tongues* (Leuven, 2006), 275–94; Monfasani, “Greek and Latin Learning in Theodore Gaza’s *Antirrheticon*,” in M. Pade, ed., *Renaissance Readings of the Corpus aristotelicum. Proceedings of the Conference Held in Copenhagen, 23–25 April 1998* (Copenhagen, 2001), 61–78; Monfasani, “The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* and Aristotle’s *De animalibus* in the Renaissance,” in A. Grafton and N. Siraisi, eds., *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), 205–47; Monfasani, “Theodore Gaza as a Philosopher: A Preliminary Survey,” in R. Maisano and A. Rollo, eds., *Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del greco in Occidente. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Napoli, 26–29 giugno 1997)* (Naples, 2002), 269–81; Monfasani, “The Greeks and Renaissance Humanism,” in D. Rundle, ed., *Humanism in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 2012), 31–78 (incomplete list of Gaza’s translations at p. 78); M. Papanicolaou, “Ἀρμόνιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος: Bibliofilo e copista, maestro di greco e diplomatico,” *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 52 (1998) 283–301; Papanicolau, “Teodoro Gaza e Plutarco,” *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti—Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 18 (2007) 363–428; L. Repici, “Teodoro Gaza traduttore e interprete di Teofrasto: La ricezione della botanica antica tra Quattro e Cinquecento,” *Rinascimento* 43 (2003) 417–505; I. Ventura, “Translating, Commenting, Re-Translating: Some Considerations on the Latin Translations of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* and Their Readers,” in Goyens, De Leemans, and Smets, *Science Translated*, 123–54.

### 3. Francesco Robortello

Robortello translated Aelian’s *Tactica* under the title *De militaribus ordinibus instituendis* in 1552, dedicating it to the *condottiero* Antonio Sergi from Pula, who at that time—as we learn from the preface—was fighting in Belgium in the service of Ferrante I Gonzaga (who served Charles V as governor of the duchy of Milan), in the ambit of the “Italian Wars.” The translation was contemporary with the *editio princeps* of Aelian’s Greek text: both of them were published in Venice and printed by the Spinelli brothers in the summer of 1552. The Greek source was Robortello’s own edition, based—as he states in the prefatory letter addressed to the military architect and learned man Mario Savorgnano—on the manuscript (now) Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. gr. 516, once part of

Bessarion's library and a witness to the Γ branch of Aelian's tradition, collated with two other lost (or still unidentified) exemplars.<sup>46</sup>

The Latin translation is equipped with the same drawings and explanations that Robortello inserted in the Greek edition, replacing the simple diagrams transmitted by the manuscript tradition, in order to make the text easier to understand. To his translation he also added that of Theodorus Gaza, "quod tamen neque figuris apte res essent expressae et duriuscule multa viderentur ab illo prolata" (see below, dedication). Despite this judgment, Robortello's translation had little success (there was just one edition after the *princeps* of 1552) and did not replace that of Gaza.

*Dedication* (ed. Venice 1552, c. \*Iir). Nobilissimo magnanimoque viro Antonio Sergio Polae, equitum ductori fortissimo apud Insubrum Praesidem, Franciscus Robortellus Utinensis s.d. Puto me tibi non parum admirationis allaturum si ego nunc me eum esse profiterer, qui cum non modo nunquam militaverim, sed ne castra quidem viderim, de castrensi ac militari disciplina aliquid scribere auderem ad te, praestantissimum ac fortissimum virum, qui tam multos annos insignium virorum commilito fuisti et rem bellicam tam strenue ac scienter administrasti, nuncque, dum periculosum et durissimum bellum geritur, administras auspiciis clarissimi ac fortissimi Insubrum Praesidis, atque ita administras ut, cum omnium consiliorum illius particeps sis, plurimum etiam tibi ob singularem prudentiam et virtutem bellicam tum in decernendo tum in exequendo tribuat. Sed, cum non praeceptiones quidem ullas tanquam peritus artis bellicae tradiderim, verum Aeliani librum de ratione instruendae aciei tum pedestris tum equestris, more Macedonum ac Graecorum omnium, qui olim rei militaris virtute et scientia tantum laudis sibi peperere, quem ad Adrianum Augustum misit, ego nunc primum graece, sicuti fuit ab illo conscriptus (latuit enim ad hanc usque aetatem), legendum sub tuo nomine omnibus proponere voluerim, eundem rursus latinum factum ad te afferam, multis figuris meo ingenio excogitatis et ad ea quae ab authore traduntur accomodatis auctum et illustratum, ni fallor, quam maxime fieri potuit, non alienum opinor putabis a meo instituto. Illud enim, quod meum proprium est, iamdiu oneris suscepi, ut libros antiquorum, qui de disciplina aliqua praeceptiones dederunt, utili ad societatem hominum aut ornandam aut tuendam, meo labore, si possim aut quatenus possim, nitidiores reddam et illustriores, quo facilius ab omnibus intelligi possint et commodis hominum inservire. Nec vero est quod mireris me ad te potissimum libellum hunc mittere voluisse: iam enim multos annos familiae tuae nobilissimae deditissimus fui, ad cuius clientelam mihi aditum patefecit primum nobilissimus idemque virtutum omnium amator et fautor summus Priamus frater tuus,

46 See Dain, *Histoire*, 270, 305, 307; A. Carlini, *L'attività filologica di Francesco Robortello* (Udine, 1967), 15–16.

qui utinam viveret. Nam, sicuti tu plurima foris bella gerendo ornamenta quaesisti, sic ille domi magnum familiae vestrae splendorem intulisset, etsi septingentos iam totos annos plurimi in ea extiterunt viri summi ac fortes, qui omni genere laudis abundarunt. Nam quis ignorat Nasinuerram illum, qui ob suam singularem virtutem et plurima in Rempublicam merita Senator a Venetiis factus est atque ita factus ut perspicuum ac maximum extaret apud posteros universae Venetorum Reipublicae testimonium illius fortitudinis ac virtutis? Cui rei ego tantum tribuo, ut nihil ad laudem putem posse esse insignius. Cum enim iniquitate temporum contigisset ut maiores tui, qui in media Istrorum regione ad extremos Italiae terminos diu magna cum nominis sui celebritate multorum oppidorum ditionem obtinuerant, principesque optimi semper fuerant habiti, inde decederent in medium veluti sinum a Republica hac insigni Venetorum peramanter recepti sunt, ut in Tarvisina nobilissima urbe domicilium haberent et opibus refertum et nobilitate splensens et imaginibus avorum ornatissimum, ubi cum diu vixissent et una cum haereditate ad suos laudem familiae vestrae deinceps multo semper auctiorem ac cumulatiorem transmisissent et fato nescio quo omnia ad unum essent redacta, opes, clientelae, gloria splendorque omnis in Baptistam patrem tuum equitem splendidissimum esset derivatus, tam praeclare omnia familiae suae ornamenta unus sustinuit, ut omnibus fuerit, et suis et externis hominibus, carus. Ecce autem repente familiae vestrae gloria latius diffusa est: nam ex nobilissimo ac fortissimo equite atque illustri lectissimaque foemina Petra, Vincislai Purliliarum Comitis sorore, sex fratres estis prognati, cuius viri summa virtus quotiescunque mihi in mentem venit, ingemisco quod tam cito nobis fuerit ereptus. Memini ego illum, nam vidi saepe et audivi maximis de rebus cum gravissimis viris disputantem, non tam ob singularem doctrinam, quam propter naturae eximium quoddam specimen et gravitatem atque auctoritatem summam, quae non in longa oratione, sed brevi—sed quid brevem dixi?—at in nuto, mehercle, uno ipsius residebat plane maxima ex honeste antea vitae fundamentis enata, memini, inquam, illum omnibus fuisse admirationi. Quid? Cum Carolus V Augustus, sapientissimus imperator et sagacissimus hominum aestimator, e Pannonia rediens a Turcico bello per Foroiulii agrum iter faceret, nonne illum multos dies in itinere comitem habere voluit ac multis de rebus colloqui? Apud illum igitur cum divertisset perbenigne ac liberaliter exceptus fuit et discedens quidem Caesar multa sui erga illum amoris signa dedit, ut facile unusquisque perspicere posset quantum illius prudentiae et bonitati tribueret. Tu vero, Antoni praestantissime, ex tali sanguine procreatus, quid mirum si humanitate, prudentia, fortitudine et omne virtutum genere omnes aequales tuos anteis? Verum de his in praesentia satis. Nunc audi reliqua. Aelianus hic cum Adriano Augusto [Agusto *ed.*] Romae diu vixit carissimusque illi fuit ob singularem bonitatem et doctrinam. Habebat ea aetas etiam Frontinum virum clarissimum et consularem, quo cum saepe hic noster de militari

graecorum disciplina sermonem habuit in ocio, praesertim si quando cum Augusto aut Antium aut Formias aut aliquo exirent in proxima urbi loca, animi relaxandi, ut fit, causa. Nec miror Aeliani disputatione tum Frontinum virum doctissimum, tum Adrianum ipsum vehementer oblectari solitos: cum enim castrensis omnis et militaris ratio mathematicorum scientia egeat, potuit ille, cum eam optime calleret, omnia apte et distincte describere quae ad hanc disciplinam pertinent. Quantum igitur Aeliano sit tribuendum, tum quod Adriani florentissimi imperatoris aetate vixerit et ad eum libellum hunc scripsit, tum quod Frontino viro insigni, qui et ipse nobis librum de vafritia [vafricie *ed.*] militari scriptum reliquit, familiarissime fuerit usus, facile iudicare potes. Adde quod ordine mirifico omnia exposuit a primis huius disciplinae elementis ordiens: sic enim plane natura comparatum est ut omnia quae maxima sunt et acerrime aliquid conficiunt, lenioribus quibusdam principiis praetextantur. Quod verum esse in fulmine, in tonitru, in annuum excursu et exundatione cognosci potest: singula enim horum ex remissioribus orta principiis, paulatim aucta et confecta acerrima sese ostendunt. Quis crederet ex bene instructa non acie quidem una, nam id permagnum est, sed ordine uno, subinde et altero aptaque peditum serie, et equitum dispositione compagem firmissimam phalangis totius fieri, unde postmodum profligatio hostium et caedes consequatur ac dulcissimum illud ac fructuosissimum victoriae nomen? Hanc igitur disciplinam totam explicat Aelianus demonstratque quo artificio olim a Macedonibus, Lacedaemoniis et aliis fuerit instituta, et quoniam phalanx triplici militum generi constabat, de omnibus sigillatim loquitur armorumque formam, longitudinem et usum demonstrat. Illud mihi admirabile visum est legenti libellum hunc, quanta vi phalangem suam contexerent Graeci, subinde insertis viris lectissimis qui et primam et mediam et extremam aciem tuerentur, ut cum omnia libramento veluti quodam pari sint coniuncta, non facile posset, aut in hanc, aut in illam partem acies inclinare, sed se ab omni parte aequilibri prorsus commensuratione sustineret. Quid? Quod quae acies cui aciei, si cum hostibus sit decertandum, opponi debeat docet, ne facile perfringi illorum impetu possit. Mitto nomina singulorum ducum, ac, mehercle, ipsorum militum, quis cui pareat ac subiectus sit, quot numero sint et qua potestate singuli. Quod, si principibus nostrae aetatis libeat suas copias, suos duces disciplinamque omnem militarem ita instituere, sentiant prorsus utilissimam esse: nam quod armorum genus, cui generi nostrae aetatis respondeat, facile poterit intelligi. Ego, ut omnia essent in promptu et fere ante oculos constituta, suis locis aptas, uti mihi videor, distributiones collocavi ac singula, uti se habent, digito fere monstravi picturis ac figuris exprimens eas vero quae in antiquis libris manu librariorum descriptis visebantur, ab ipso Aeliano appositas ita plane expressi ac si oculis cernerentur ipsi milites. Nam, si signa apposuissem nonnulla, non tam facile gravis armaturae pedites a funditoribus et sagittariis potuissent dignosci, nec dubito, quando in scientia qualibet multa



semper ingenio erui possunt, quin ex his alia etiam elici possint et deduci ad quotidianos militiae usus. Ego certe, cum sensero me tibi virisque omnibus tui similibus, hoc est bellicosis et fortibus, gratum fecisse, vehementer laetabor in hoc libello tantum operae posuisse. Circumferebatur quidem ante Theodori Gazae viri doctissimi tralatio, quod tamen neque figuris apte res essent expressae et duriuscule multa viderentur ab illo prolata; iacuit liber hic, nec fuit hominum lectione tritus. Nunc spero fore ut ab omnibus legatur: cum enim viderint omnia a me excogitatis picturis, qualescunque illae sint, et supputationibus ac divisionibus illustrata, sese libenter applicabunt ad notionem veteris huius tam praestantis disciplinae, adiuti praesertim nova hac nostra tralatione, in qua illud efficere studui ut cum disciplinae militaris Graecorum voces totidem latinis exposuerim, non quidem iis quibus Romanarum rerum scriptores utuntur, sed aut iisdem aut latinis idem significantibus novis ac fictis omnia dilucidius perspiciantur. Nam si Legatorum, Tribunorum, Centuriorum, Primpilorum et aliorum ducum aut militum appellationibus fuissem usus, multum caliginis ubique effundissem: Graecorum [Graecotum *ed.*] enim scientia militaris suis constat vocabulis, Romana itidem suis, quae commiscenda non sunt cum de alterutra loquaris. Hoc meum iudicium est, sententiam suam per me quisque sequatur. Tu, praestantissime Antoni, qui a pueritia longe a domo saepe bellasti et crebrius ac libentius in castris et tabernaculo versatus es, quam caeteri in theatro aut thalamo qui sese totos voluptatibus dediderunt, maximaque subiisti pericula adversus ferocissimos hostes stans in acie, poteris facile iudicare qualia haec sint et quanti facienda, cum omnem castrensem ac militarem rationem teneas. Non plura enim trophaea ab hostibus referentem spectavit olim Sylla suum Pompeium, aut Marius Caesarem, quam te Ferdinandus Gonzaga summus bellator et disciplinae militaris peritissimus, cuius tu alumnus semper diceris. Te enim Belgico bello, quod est adversus Clevensium Ducem magna vi gestum, ubi et Caesar aderat, quadringentorum peditum ducem constituit, postea semper tua opera est usus in maximis rebus gerendis, ac maiori semper peditum numero praeposuit, munitissimas arces asservandas dedit, in praesidio maximarum urbium collocavit, postremo equitum te totidem ductorem esse voluit, quot ipsum filium suum et alios nobilissimos principes; nec mirum sane: te enim summopere diligit, cum illi domi et militiae tam multos annos fidem tuam praestiteris. Non habet igitur ille periculoso hoc ac durissimo bello, quod nunc geritur, cui ob singularem virtutem et summam fidem plus tribuat. Nec sane ego sum veritus ne, si ad te in praesentia, dum in castris versaris, librum hunc mitterem, tibi molestus essem. Nam cum scias me tui familiaeque tuae studiosissimum esse, excipies librum hunc tam hilari vultu quam me praesentem soles, nec leges quidem, si fueris occupatus, sed reservabis in ocium aliquod maius; interrim memineris me tui nominis observantissimum esse, pro certoque habeas velim cupere me quacunque re possum meam erga te voluntatem praeclaram

ostendere. Dii modo te fortunent augeantque in dies magis una cum fortissimo fratre tuo Sergio, quem audio una tecum in castris esse et in acie versari, quod cum ego cogito, venit mihi in mentem admirari illius virtutem singularem, qui, ut tibi frater est coniunctissimus, sic etiam omnium periculorum particeps esse et eandem belli fortunam una tecum experiri vult. Nec diffido vos parem vestrae virtuti et coniunctioni exitum habituros: tantum enim non concident hostes, si cum ea equitum acie decertandum sibi esse videant, quam duo coniuncti inter se fratres, summa virtute pares, gloriae ardore inflammati, consociata voluntate adversus se instruxerint. Vale. Venetiis, Nonis Iulii MDLII.

*Tactica theoria.* [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Scientia illa quae ad instruendam aciem spectat, ab Homeri usque temporibus originem duxit, o Caesar divi Nervae filii Adriane Auguste, ac multi quidem eam ante nos literis mandarunt mathematicam non callentes scientiam, in qua nos multum excellere crediti sumus. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 65) praeceptiones a me traditae hactenus sunt artis militaris, quae si servatae fuerint, salutem tibi afferent et victoriam, nostris hostibus autem damnum et exitium.

*Editions:*

1552, Venetiis (Venice): Andreas et Iacobus Spinelli. *Editio princeps* (see above, no. 2).

1556. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Francesco Robortello (Udine, 1516–Padua, 1567) was one of the principal Italian Renaissance humanists. He studied in Bologna, where he acquired great knowledge of and skills in Greek and Latin, as well as in ancient philosophy (especially Aristotle). Robortello taught philosophy and rhetoric in various Italian universities (Lucca, Pisa, Bologna, and Padua), and quickly became famous in the field of textual criticism, in which he employed a strong philological method, based on a thorough study of the manuscript witnesses. His scientific approach to the text is evident in his commentaries and editions of classical writings (e.g., the very important commentary on Aristotle’s *Poetics*, which opened new cultural vistas), and from his emendations to editions published in Venice by Aldus Manutius. Because of his philological positions, Robortello sustained controversies with Carlo Sigonio, Giovan Battista Egnazio, and Vincenzo Maggi.

*Works:*

*Variorum locorum annotationes tam in Graecis quam Latinis authoribus* (1543); *In librum Aristotelis “de Arte poetica” explanationes* (1548; anastatic reprint Munich, 1968); *De historica facultate disputatio, Laconici seu sudationis explicatio, De Nominibus Romanorum, De Rhetorica facultate, Explicatio in Catulli Epithalamium* (1548); *Oratio Venetiis habita antequam initium faceret interpretandi*

*pridie Cal. Novem. 1549* (1549); *In libros politicos Aristotelis disputatio* (1552); *De arte sive ratione corrigendi antiquos libros disputatio* (1557); *De convenientia suppurationis Livianae annorum cum marmoribus quae in Capitolio sunt* (1557); *De vita et victu populi Romani* (1559); *Disputationes novem* (1559); *Oratio in funere Imp. Caroli V Augusti, in Hispaniorum collegio Bononiense habita* (1559); *Ephemerides patavinae* (1562, published under the pseudonym of Constantius Charisius Forojuliensis); *De artificio dicendi liber* (1567). He edited important classical texts including Callimachus, Aeschylus, Aelian, and the treatise *On the Sublime* ascribed to Longinus.

#### *Bibliography:*

E. Allodoli, ed., "L'orazione di Francesco Robortelli per la morte del Guidiccioni," *La Rinascita* 5 (1942) 372–406; D. Blocker, "Élucider et équivoquer: Francesco Robortello (ré)invente la catharsis," *Les cahiers du centre de recherches historiques* 33 (2004) 109–40; T. Bozza, *Scrittori politici italiani dal 1550 al 1650* (Rome, 1949), 34–35; A. Carlini, *L'attività filologica di Francesco Robortello* (Udine, 1967); E. Costa, "La prima cattedra d'umanità nello Studio bolognese durante il secolo XVI," *Studi e memorie per la storia dell'Università di Bologna* 1 (1907) 23–63; A. Dain, *Histoire du texte d'Élien le Tacticien des origines à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris, 1946), 22, 270, 305, 307, 318, 382; Dain, "Une minute d'atelier. Le Scorialensis  $\Phi$ -III-2," in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1949), 329–49, at 347–49; R. De Maio, "La mancata biografia di Paolo IV di Francesco Robortello," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 3 (1965) 339–52; P.B. Diffley, "Paolo Beni's Commentary on the *Poetics* and Its Relationship to the Commentaries of Robortelli, Maggi, Vettori and Castelvetro," *Studi secenteschi* 25 (1984) 53–100; F. Donadi, "La 'catarsi storica' secondo Robortello," *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia patavina di scienze, lettere ed arti* 82 (1969/70) 63–69; Donadi, "Un inedito del Robortello: La 'Praefatio in Tacitum,'" *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia patavina di scienze, lettere ed arti* 82 (1969/70) 299–321; R. Fabbri, "Ancora su Francesco Griffolini e sugli esperimenti di traduzione da Omero," in *Studi latini in ricordo di Rita Cappelletto* (Urbino, 1996), 195–206, at 205–6; S. Gensini, *Volgar favella: Percorsi del pensiero linguistico italiano da Robortello a Manzoni* (Scandicci, 1993); E. Kessler, *Theoretiker humanistischer Geschichtsschreibung. Nachdruck exemplarischer Texte aus dem 16. Jahrhundert: Francesco Robortello, Dionigi Atanagi, Francesco Patrizi, Giacomo Aconcio, Giovanni Antonio Viperano, Uberto Foglietta, Alessandro Sardi, Sperone Speroni. Mit einer Einleitung, analytischer Inhaltsübersicht, Bibliographie und Indices* (Munich, 1971), 53–54; E. Cicogna, ed., *Lettera inedita di Francesco Robortello udinese intorno al modo di scrivere la storia particolarmente veneziana* (Venice, 1843); G.-G. Liruti, *Notizie delle vite ed opere scritte da letterati del Friuli*, vol. 2 (Venice and Udine, 1762; repr. Bologna, 1971), 413–83; G. Pompella, ed., *Francisci Robortelli Utinensis. De arte sive ratione*

*corrigendi antiquorum libros disputatio* (Naples, 1975); E.E. Ryan, “Robortello and Maggi on Aristotle’s Theory of Catharsis,” *Rinascimento* 22 (1982) 263–73; M.J. Vega, *La formación de la teoría de la comedia: Francesco Robortello* (Cáceres, 1987); M. Venier, “Belloni, Robortello ed Eganzio: Nuovi e vecchi documenti su una contesa umanistica,” *Metodi e ricerche* 17.1 (1998) 51–66; B. Weinberg, *Estudios de poética clasicista: Robortello, Escalígero, Minturno, Castelvetro* (Madrid, 2003).

#### 4. Sixtus Arcerius

This translation appeared, under the title *De motionibus ac præceptis militaribus, ad formandas et transformandas acies necessariis*, in a Greek-Latin Elzevir edition of 1613, in parallel columns, with the incorrect attribution to Claudius Aelianus. It was reissued in the same year, together with the Byzantine treatise *Tactica* of the Emperor Leo VI (translated by Johannes van Meurs), which was already edited in 1612, in order to make the two books more generally available. Arcerius’ exegetical notes follow the translation. There is no dedication.

*Tactica theoria* (ed. Leiden 1613<sup>1</sup>). [*Inc.*]: (p. 3b) Scientiam tacticam quae sumpto ab Homeri temporibus primordio apud Graecos in usu fuit, multi, dive Adriane Caesar Auguste, ante nos conscripsere qui non eam habebant disciplinarum cognitionem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 85b) haec tibi, imperator, de arte tactica doctrina a me explicata est, iis qui eam ad usum applicabunt salutem, adversariis autem praecipitem cladem allatura.

##### *Editions:*

1613, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): Ludovicus Elzevirius (reprinted Osnabrück, Biblio Verlag, 1981). *Editio princeps* of the Arcerius’ translation; (Gr.-Lat.) printed in parallel columns. Notes and illustrations follow the text. Hoffmann 1.18. BL; BSB.

1613<sup>1</sup>, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): Ludovicus Elzevirius. Reissue of the previous item, (Gr.-Lat.), containing (in the order shown): Aelianus, *Tactica Theoria* (trans. Sixtus Arcerius); Leo VI Imperator, *Tactica* (trans. Johannes van Meurs); ps.-Modestus, *De vocabulis rei militaris*. Hoffmann 1.18. BL; BSB; Florence, BNC; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.

1632. See above, Composite Editions.

1644. See above, Composite Editions.

##### *Biography:*

Sixtus Arcerius (Franeker, 1578–Franeker, 1623), son of the philologist Theodorus Arcerius, was a Frisian doctor, appointed as a professor at University of Franeker. His literary production is limited to some editions and translations printed in Leiden or in Franeker; his main work is the translation of Aelian.

*Works:*

Edition of Philippus Marnixius' *De institutione principum ac nobilium puorum* (1615); translation of Galenus' *Oratio suasoria ad artes* and *Quod optimus medicus sit etiam philosophus* (1616).

*Bibliography:*

*L'Europe des humanistes (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, ed. J.-F. Maillard, J. Kecskeméti, and M. Portalier (Turnhout, 1995), 41.

