

AGATHIAS

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Commentaries

- a. Vincentius Opsopoeus
- b. Johannes Brodaeus

FORTUNA*

Agathias Scholasticus was born around 532 A.D. in the city of Myrina (Asia Minor). He received his rhetorical education in Alexandria, while his later legal training and his successful career as a lawyer and a poet was at Constantinople. He died around 580 A.D.¹

His first literary work, comprising nine books of erotic poems called *Daphniaca*, does not survive. Another achievement of Agathias as a poet can be reconstructed: the so-called *Cycle*—a collection of Greek epigrams by him and his friends, put together probably around 567–68. Agathias is both editor of the collection and author of approximately one hundred of its poems.² His last project, started sometime in the early 570s, is his *History*, intended as the continuation of Procopius' *Wars*. It is an unfinished work, covering in five books the Byzantine military campaigns of the years 552–59.

While unknown in the Middle Ages, his works were recovered by the humanists. Interest in Agathias followed the discovery of Procopius, and the two texts often even featured together in composite editions. Their reception happened in two waves: first among the fifteenth-century Italian humanists, and subsequently among the sixteenth-century Flemish humanists. Italian humanism was interested in the history of the peninsula, while further north, Catholic-Protestant disputes generated an eager curiosity about the history of the early church. Moreover, there was an increasing interest in the history of the Goths as ancestors of the Germans.³

The phases of the reception of Agathias' epigrams are difficult to disentangle from the general reception history of the *Greek Anthology*, of which it was part. This collection permeated Renaissance literature so much that it is almost impossible to account for its full impact.⁴

* This article was completed with support from the Danish National Research Foundation grant DNRF 102ID.

1. A. Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970), 1–11 (ch. 1, "Biography and Background").
2. A. Cameron and A. Cameron, "The *Cycle* of Agathias," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 86 (1966) 6–25; Cameron and Cameron, "Further Thoughts on the 'Cycle' of Agathias," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 87 (1967) 131.
3. D.R. Reinsch, "The History of Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts," in P. Stephenson, ed., *The Byzantine World* (London, 2010), 435–44.
4. James Hutton attempted this formidable task in two exhaustive volumes: *The Greek Anthology in Italy to the Year 1800*, Cornell Studies in English 23 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1935); *The Greek Anthology in France and in the Latin Writers of the Netherlands to the Year 1800*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 28 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1946; repr. 1967). The subsequent pages are heavily indebted to his work.

THE HISTORY

The first modern edition of the Greek original was prepared by Barthold Georg Niebuhr as part of the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (CSHB, established in 1828). Both Niebuhr, and later Ludwig Dindorf, who was working for Teubner in Leipzig, used only two manuscripts.⁵ The latest modern edition by Rudolf Keydell,⁶ prepared for the series *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* (CFHB) using the findings of Gyula Moravcsik,⁷ Bruno Gentili,⁸ and Maria Elisabetta Colonna,⁹ is built on additional manuscripts, both complete and fragmentary.¹⁰

The first Latin translation was made by Christophorus Persona, prior of Santa Balbina in Rome, in the fifteenth century.¹¹ He intended the Agathias rendering as an appetizer to his forthcoming Procopius. Persona translated Agathias' *History* into Latin between 24 May and 20 October 1481—dates between which the Vatican lending records show him borrowing Agathias (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 151).¹² He prepared six luxury copies of this translation and dedicated it to different patrons: Pope Sixtus IV;¹³ Lorenzo Medici;¹⁴ Matthias Corvinus;¹⁵ Corvinus' wife, Beatrice of Aragon;¹⁶ Beatrice's father, Ferdinand of Aragon;¹⁷ and (possibly) Ludovico il Moro.¹⁸

Five dedications survive (see Translations. Christophorus Persona). Each dedicatee is depicted as a typical patron: the pope as guardian of all human

5 Leiden, Bibl. der Rijksuniversiteit, Vulc. 54, s. XIV, fols. 1r–132r; and Wrocław, Bibl. Uniwersytecka, Reh digeranus 11, s. XVI.

6 R. Keydell, *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque* (Berlin, 1967), xi–xxi.

7 G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 1, *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker* (Berlin, 1958), 215.

8 B. Gentili, "I codici e le edizioni delle 'Storie' di Agatia," *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e archivio muratoriano* 58 (1944) 163–76.

9 M.E. Colonna, *Gli storici bizantini dal IV al XV secolo*, vol. 1, *Storici profani* (Naples, 1956), 3.

10 These include Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 151 (s. X–XI), Vat. gr. 152 (s. XIV), Ottob. gr. 82 (s. XIV–XV); Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Cod. gr. 522 (s. XV); as well as fragments surviving in manuscripts of Constantine Porphyrogenetos' *Excerpta de sententiis* and *Excerpta de legationibus*, and the *Suida Lexicon*.

11 P. Paschini, "Un ellenista romano del Quattrocento e la sua famiglia," *L'Arcadia: Atti dell'Accademia e scritti dei soci* 19/20 (1939/40) 45–56.

12 M. Bertòla, ed., *I due primi registri di prestito della Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana. Codici Vaticani latini 3964, 3966* (Vatican City, 1942), 23.

13 Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 2004, s. XV.

14 Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 68.23, s. XV.

15 Munich, BSB, Clm. 294, s. XV.

16 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. lat. 413, s. XV.

17 Berlin, Staatsbibl., Cod. Lat. Fol. 52, s. XV.

18 Milan, Bibl. Ambr., P 129 sup., s. XV. This text has no dedication letter.

knowledge (through his library), the queen as the learned woman, Matthias as the warrior king, Ferdinand as the philosopher king, and Lorenzo di Medici as the merchant patron. All dedication letters (except the one to the queen) conclude with a vague promise of a more interesting, or substantial translation: most probably a hint at his planned Procopius translation.

The first edition of the translation, based on the Vatican copy of Pope Sixtus VI, was prepared by Iacobus Mazochius in Rome (1516). The same translation was reprinted in 1519 in Augsburg by S. Grimm and M. Wirsung. This text was also part of composite editions: in 1531 it appeared together with Procopius in Basel, published by Herwagius; and in 1576, together with Zosimus, Procopius, Jordanes, and Leonardo Bruni, it was published by Petrus Perna, again in Basel. The same collection, this time without Leonardo Bruni, was republished in 1594 at Geneva and Lyons, by Franciscus Le Preux.

In the same year, however, more than one hundred years after the first translation, the *editio princeps* of the Greek text was published in Leiden, complete with a new Latin translation by Bonaventura Vulcanius. Most of the epigrams of Agathias from the *Anthologia Planudea* were also included in this volume, together with some translations by Josephus Scaliger, Janus Dousa the Elder, and Bonaventura himself. The Greek text of the *History* was based on Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, Vulc. 54, s. XIV,¹⁹ and it includes notes of Bonaventura on the text as well as an *index auctorum*. It was reprinted with corrections in Paris (1660).

Historical works were unlikely to receive running commentaries or paraphrases. During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the textual status of historiography was that of primary material. It had informational, rather than textual or stylistic value, but notes or glosses were often supplied. Historiography, unlike philosophy, was rich in everyday details about the ancient world requiring elucidation: personal names, geographical places, and mythological allusions abounded in such texts. In addition, the problematic nature of Persona's translation (he worked from a faulty manuscript, which gave rise to many misunderstandings and lacunae in the text) resulted in further rectifying notes on both the Latin and the Greek text.

Johannes Leunclavius (ca. 1533–93) compared the translation with his better Greek sources, and upon realizing that Persona's Greek text was not complete, he offered his own translation for the missing parts. His efforts, dedicated to Petrus Pithoeus (1539–96), were added to the Basel composite edition of 1576. This addendum, called *Agathias interpolatus* was something between translation and commentary: where Persona missed passages, Leunclavius either supplied

19 P.C. Molhuysen, *Codices Vulcaniani*, vol. 1 of *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leydensis. Codices manuscripti* (Leiden, 1910), 23.

his own Latin translation, or, for longer fragments, summed up the contents; but he also corrected Persona in a number of places, most often where the latter had misunderstood names and numbers.

Another critic of Persona's translation was Hadrianus Junius (1511–75), who in his *Animadversa* of 1556 (I, 4) analyzed, with very harsh words, a particular passage from Persona's rendering of the *History* (II, 28–29). He intended this chapter to exemplify in general “quantopere illi (i.e., previous translators) hallucinent, et clara quadammodo in luce caecutiant.”²⁰ This chapter is also a borderline case of translation/commentary, since Hadrianus retranslated the problematic fragment.

Bonaventura Vulcanius also appended glosses to the text, approximately one hundred items, ranging from a page-long explanation to one-line short references. His philological discussions are mainly about the text of the Greek original, but the Latin rendering of the previous translator is again described as infinitely funny (from the comments one gets the impression that Bonaventura read it laughing) and completely unintelligible: “haec sua deliramenta Lectoribus obtrusit.”²¹ He also gathered geographical and historical information, mainly based on his readings from classical authors and contemporaries. He also made use of the partial translation of Hadrianus Junius discussed above.

EPIGRAMS

The *Greek Anthology* merits separate treatment in the CTC, but since most of the humanists credited Agathias as its main editor, and some hundred of its epigrams are ascribed to him,²² it has to be briefly discussed here. The *Greek Anthology* is a collection of thousands of short poems by ancient and Byzantine

20 “Agathii historici locus unus et item alter prodigiose perversus, integritati sue restituitur,” *Animadversa* (Basel, 1556), book 1, ch. 4.

21 *Agathiae Historici et Poetae eximij, de imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani imperatoris, libri quinque* (Leiden, 1594), 18 (See below, Composite Editions, 2).

22 The following epigrams are ascribed to Agathias (ninety-nine in total).

Book I: 34, 35, 36.

Book IV: 3, 4.

Book V: 216, 218, 220, 222, 237, 261, 263, 267, 269, 273, 276, 278, 280, 282, 285, 287, 289, 292, 294, 296, 297, 299, 302.

Book VI: 32, 41, 59, 72, 74, 76, 79, 80, 167.

Book VII: 204, 205, 220, 551, 552, 567, 568, 569, 572, 574, 578, 583, 589, 593, 596, 602, 612, 614.

Book IX: 152, 153, 154, 155, 204, 442, 482, 619, 631, 641, 642, 643, 644, 653, 662, 665, 677, 766, 767, 768, 769.

Book X: 14, 64, 66, 68, 69.

Book XI: 57, 64, 350, 352, 354, 365, 372, 376, 379, 382.

Book XVI: 36, 41, 59, 80, 109, 244, 331, 332.

Greek poets. Its basis consists of three ancient collections put together by Meleager, Philippus of Thessalonika, and Agathias, respectively. In the tenth century these three collections and further poems were brought together by Constantine Cephalas. This enlarged anthology diverged into two major collections with slightly different content. The so-called *Anthologia Palatina* consists of some 3700 epigrams and survives in a composite manuscript preserved in two libraries.²³ The *Anthologia Planudea* was put together in 1299 by Maximus Planudes, and it survives in the autograph manuscript Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. gr. 481, s. XIV–XV (E. Mioni, *Codices graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum*, vol. 2 [Rome, 1985], 276–83). Only the Planudean version was known and translated during the Renaissance. The *Anthologia Palatina*, despite being known to some humanists,²⁴ was not published until the nineteenth century. The Planudean collection, on the other hand, was prepared for publication by Janus Lascaris in Florence, at Lorenzo d’Alopa (1494). Lascaris credited Agathias as the editor of the whole collection. Countless more Greek and Latin editions, complete or selective, followed, as many humanist scholars tried imitating or translating the epigrams. We will summarize only the most important moments of its reception. The *Anthology* was reedited by Aldus Manutius in Venice three times: in 1503, 1521, and 1551. In 1519, in Florence, Filippo Giunta also reprinted the first Aldine. Badius Ascensius came out with the first edition in France (Paris, 1531). Johannes Brodaeus published the Greek poems with his Latin commentaries (Basel, 1549). Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne) in 1566 published the Greek text again.

The Wechel edition (Frankfurt, 1600) is an edition with commentaries by Johannes Brodaeus and Vincentius Opsopoeus. Until the discovery of the *Palatine Anthology*, this edition remained the standard in use.

Selections with translations were also very popular: Johannes Soter published a collection of translations by various authors in Cologne in 1525; a revised and expanded edition appeared in 1528; the third edition was published in Freiburg im Breisgau, by Gravius, in 1544. In 1529, Janus Cornarius published virtually the same text as Soter, with added translations. In 1570, Henricus Stephanus, at Fugger, in Geneva, four years after publishing the Greek text, came out with a Latin volume.

23 The major part is in Heidelberg (Universitätsbibl., Cod. Pal. gr. 23, s. X first half) and the minor in Paris (BNF, Suppl. gr. 384, s. X first half).

24 A. Cameron, “Sir Thomas More and the Greek Anthology,” in K.-L. Selig and R. Somerville, eds., *Florilegium Columbianum. Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (New York, 1987), 187–98; A. Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford, 1993), 178–201; D. van Miert, “Joseph Scaliger, Claude Saumaise, Isaac Casaubon and the Discovery of the *Palatine Anthology* (1606),” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 74 (2011) 241–61.

Until 1600, eighty-five of the Agathian epigrams were translated into Latin by some thirty translators. More than half of these translators translated only one or two epigrams, only five of them translating more than ten epigrams. Most of the epigrams exist in several different Latin versions, prose and verse alike, and they are scattered in editions of the *Anthology*, or the translators' personal work. Bonaventura translated VI.76 (about old age) three times.²⁵ In one instance, Henricus Stephanus tried out 104 variations for the last two verses of epigram VI.76.²⁶

The reception of Agathias the poet and Agathias the historian converges in the work of Bonaventura Vulcanius. There was only one attempt to single out Agathias' epigrams as a separate collection, when the edition of the *History* by Bonaventura came out, accompanied by two fascicles of poems: eighty-one epigrams (only in Greek) in the first fascicle, together with four of them translated by Bonaventura; then the rest of the translations, by Josephus Scaliger and Janus Dousa, in the second fascicle. Bonaventura promised to his readers to provide a full translation later of all the Agathian poems of the anthology, but it seems this plan was never carried out.²⁷

We know of two full commentaries to the *Anthologia Planudea*. The first by Vincentius Opsopoeus appeared in Basel in 1540. Opsopoeus not only commented on, but also translated some of the epigrams. His work was followed by that of Johannes Brodaeus nine years later (Basel, 1549). Finally, the Wechel edition of 1600 combined the two commentaries, and added fresh material from Brodaeus' manuscript notes.

I. HISTORIAE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MODERN EDITIONS

Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque, ed. S. Costanza, Biblioteca di Helikon, Testi e studi 7 (Messina, 1969); *Historici graeci minores*, vol. 2, *Menander Protector et Agathias*, ed. L. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1871), 132–392;²⁸ *Historiarum libri*

25 *Agathiae Historici et Poetae eximij, de imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani imperatoris, libri quinque* (Leiden, 1594), 199–200 (See below, Composite Editions, 2).

26 Listed in his selection of Latin translations: *Epigrammata graeca, selecta ex Anthologia. Interpretata ad verbum et carmine ab Henrico Stephano*, 284–96 (see below, Early Latin Selections).

27 T.M. Conley, "Vulcanius as Editor: The Greek Texts," in H. Cazes, ed., *Bonaventura Vulcanius, Works and Networks: Bruges 1538–Leiden 1614*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 194 (Leiden and Boston, 2010), 337–50, at pp. 340–41.

28 Dindorf also published the epigrams from the Greek Anthology authored by Agathias (vol. 2, 393–432). Out of the 108 he listed, only 99 are considered original Agathian

quinque, ed. R. Keydell, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 2 (Berlin, 1967); *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque. Accedunt Agathiae Epigrammata*, ed. B.G. Niebuhr, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* 3 (Bonn, 1828). Niebuhr's edition is also to be found in PG 88.1248–1608. In addition, PG 88 contains Bonaventura Vulcanius' annotated translation.

GENERAL WORKS

A. Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970); M.E. Colonna, *Gli storici bizantini dal IV al XV secolo* (Naples, 1956), 3–5; B. Gentili, "I codici e le edizioni delle 'Storie' di Agatia," *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e archivio muratoriano* 58 (1944) 163–76; A. Kaldellis, "The Historical and Religious Views of Agathias: A Reinterpretation," *Byzantion* 69 (1999) 206–52; G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 1, *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvolker* (Budapest, 1958), 214–17; A. Pertusi, *Storiografia umanistica e mondo bizantino* (Palermo, 1967), 12–14, 69–70, 108–9; D.R. Reinsch, "The History of Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts," in P. Stephenson, ed., *The Byzantine World* (London, 2010), 435–44; M. Whitby, "Greek Historical Writing after Procopius: Variety and Vitality," in A. Cameron and L.I. Conrad, eds., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. 1, *Problems in the Literary Source Material* (Princeton, 1992), 25–80, at 31–38.

COMPOSITE EDITIONS

1. Christophorus Persona – Christoforo Persona (d. 1486)

1531, Basileae (Basel): *Procopii Caesariensis de rebus Gothorum Cristophoro Persona interprete, Persarum ac Vandalorum a Raphaele Volaterrano latinitate donati libri VII, una cum alijs mediorum temporum historicis. Agathiae Scholastici Smyrnaei de bello Gothorum et alijs peregrinis historijs libri quinque, Christophoro Persona interprete. Leonardi Aretini de Bello Italico contra Gothos, libri quatuor. Iornandis, quem nonnulli Iordanum uocant, liber de origine rebusque Gothorum. Eiusdem de regnorum ac temporum successione liber, nunc primum in lucem aeditus. Chuonradi Peutingeri Augustani de gentium quarundam emigrationibus brevis epitome. C. Sollij Apollinaris Sidonij epistola, qua Theodoricum Vesegothorum regem describit. Procopij Caesariensis liber de aedificijs Iustiniani Augusti Graece, ante hac nunquam excusus. Basileae ex officina Ioannis Hervagii Mense Septembri, Anno M. D. XXXI. BL; VD16 P 4983.*

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

poems by modern critical editions. He acknowledged the last seven items to be of dubious attribution, and from the 101 epigrams he wrongly attributed to Agathias VI.172 and VII.592.

1576, Basileae (Basel): *Zosimi comitis et exadvocati fisci, historiae novae libri VI*, numquam hactenus editi: Quibus additae sunt historiae, Procopii Caesariensis, de bello persico Raphaelae Volaterrano interprete. De bello gothorum liber per Christophorum Personam in Latinum traductus. Agathiae Myrrinaei, libri V per Christophorum Personam in Latinum traducti. Iornandis Alani. Zosimi libros Io. Levnclavius primus ab se repertos de Graecis Latinos fecit, Agathiam redintegravit, ceteros recensuit. Adiecimus et Leonardi Aretini rerum Gothicarum commentarios, de Graecis exscriptos. Omnia cum Indicibus copiosis. Procopii de Iustiniani Caesaris aedificijs Orationes sex, Arnolde Vesaliensi interprete. Basileae ex officina Petri Pernaë 1576. BL; NUC.NA (MB); VD16 Z 549.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

1594, Lugduni (Lyons): *De bello gothorum, et aliis peregrinis historiis, libri V, per Christophorum Persona a Graeco in Latino traducti*. In Procopii Caesariensis Iustiniani Augusti Historia. Lugduni: Le Preux, 1594. BNF; NUC.NA (MN).

Bibliography: See below, Translations 1 (Persona).

Works: See below, Translations 1 (Persona).

Biography: See below, Translations 1 (Persona).

2. Bonaventura Vulcanius – Bonaventura de Smet (1538–1614)

Editions:

1594, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): *Agathiae Historici et Poetae eximij, de imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani imperatoris, libri quinque: Graece numquam antehac editi. Ex bibliotheca et interpretatione Bonaventurae Vulcanii cum Notis eiusdem. Accesserunt eiusdem Agathiae Epigrammata Graeca*. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, MDXCIII. BL; Toronto, Victoria Univ., CRRS Lib.; NUC.NA (DLC, PPULC, NN, MH, PU, MiU, SolB, MnU, CU, CtY, NNPM).

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

1660, Parisiis (Paris): *De imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani imperatoribus libri quinque. Ex interpretatione Bonaventurae Vulcanii cum notis. Accesserunt Agathiae Epigrammata. Parisiis, e typographia regia, 1660. Epigrams at pages 169–200*. BL; NUC.NA (DLC, NN, NjP, PPL, MH, IaU, OCU).

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See CTC 3.16–17; 7.137. H. Cazes, *Bonaventura Vulcanius, Works and Networks: Bruges 1538 – Leiden 1614*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 194 (Leiden and Boston, 2010); T.M. Conley, "Vulcanius as Editor: The Greek Texts," in *Bonaventura Vulcanius*, 337–50, at 340–41; A. Dewitte, "A Bibliographic Description of the Editions 1575–1612," *Lias* 8 (1991) 189–201, at 196. P.C. Molhuysen, *Codices Vulcaniani*, vol. 1 of *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leydensis. Codices manuscripti* (Leiden, 1910), 6, 23.

Biography:

See CTC 3.16–17.

TRANSLATIONS

1. Christophorus Persona – Christoforo Persona (d. 1486)

Introducing the Byzantine historian to the West did not prove to be a rewarding enterprise for Christophorus Persona. Although dedicated to various eminent personalities, his manuscript was printed and in proper dissemination only after his death, and met with harsh criticism from the next generation of humanists. A juxtaposition of three consecutive versions (of Persona, Hadrianus, and Bonaventura) offers a great opportunity to see changes in translation methods, techniques, and tools. It also illustrates the process by which a text is canonized through layers of translation, criticism, retranslation, and commentary.

For his discussion of faulty translations, Hadrianus Junius chose an embarrassing mistake from Persona's version. In a passage about the education of the Persian king Chosroes, the translator did not recognize the author's reference to Aristotle, Thucydides, and Demosthenes, as they figured not by their own names, but with patronymic and geographical references which were resonant in Antiquity and in the late Renaissance, but not so much yet in Persona's times. While the Greek original has "Καὶ τοίνυν φασίν, ὅτι δὴ ὄλον τὸν Σταγειρίτην καταπιῶν εἶη μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ Παιανιεύς τὸν Ὀλόρου" (Agathias, *History* 2.28.2 [ed. Keydell, p. 77]), Persona says, "Addunt tamen et stagiretem, id est, vini amphoram, longe melius perpotasse, quam rhetor paeanicus olori perpreserit fabulam."

Hadrianus, scorning his predecessor's ignorance, chose to parade his own learning by translating correctly, but keeping the enigmatic references. This decision risked that some of the less well-informed readers would still find the passage obscure: "Quo circa dictitant quod totum Stagiriten melius devorarit, quam Olori filium Paeaniensis orator."

Bonaventura opted for a more explicit solution, substituting the references with the names by which these authors were better known: "Aiunt itaque, quod totum Aristotelem melius ebiberit, quam Demosthenes Thucydidem."

A Stagirite, a son of Olorus, and a Paeanian orator would probably remain concealed identities unless one had read the classics. Valla's Thucydides, however, was first printed in the year Persona finished his Agathias translation. It circulated earlier as a manuscript, but there is no evidence our translator knew it.

Not possessing enough factual information about the realities of Antiquity often led to mistakes by the early humanist or medieval translators. Another major category of errors was those caused by the faults of the translator's Greek manuscript. Often the translators had bad copies, with nothing to compare them

to. When one reads through both Bonaventura's and Junius' criticism, it is obvious that the failures of Persona are conditioned by his instruments, his achievement limited by the availability of resources.

Dedications:

To Pope Sixtus IV²⁹

SIXTO. IIII. PONT. MAXIMO.

Constitueram Beatissime Pater quicquid in me unquam ingenii foret Sacris in literis e graeco in latinum uertendis impendere: Sed cum in Sanctitatis tuae bibliotheca quam inter caetera tua egregia opera librorum mira varietate ac copia: tam graecorum quam latinorum exultam parasti: Agathium historicum inuenissem: belli gothici postrema quaedam narrantem: et peregrinas nonnullas dignas memoratu historias: Deceui ac lubens ea latinis nostris facere notiora: quae apud hos forte ad id aetatis incognita sunt: ac Sanctitati tuae: quam equidem pro eius optimarum artium studiis ac praestantibus factis: mirifice colo ac ueneror: ut ante hac solitus sum: dedicare. Nam si sui gratia colenda est uirtus: eo magis et ipse eandem Beatitudinem quibusuis dignam laudibus duco et a quouis hominum promereri: ut beniuolentiam queat: quo ad eius virtutes: summum accedit dignitatis et imperii culmen: Sed libellum hunc Beate Pater sic uelim in presenti accipias: ut non longo post tempore aliud ex me habiturus uolumen: ut magnitudine: ita et materia ipsa: hoc longe prestantius. CHRISTOPHORVS PERSONA PRIOR S. BALBINAЕ.

To Beatrice of Aragon³⁰

BEATRICI DE ARAGONIA SERENISSIME REGINE VNGARIE BOEMIEQVE

Cum tua et regia animaduerto animi ornamenta uidere uideor nostra haec tempora a priscis illis esse non paenitus aliena: in quibus faeminas quasdam historiae tradunt litteris fuisse tam bene instructas ut non solum sui hominibus temporis: sed uel posteris ipsis miraculo fuerint: quandoquidem preter caeterarum consuetudinem non modo latine et elegantius scirent: sed graece etiam perdidicissent nonnullae: quod forte his factu facilius erat: cum ex linguae romanae prestantia: quam latinam fuisse et cultiorem litteris proditur: tum quia aliarum exemplis eadem emulantium studia: incitabantur ad gloriam. Sed nostra hac tempestate cum nullae uspiam faeminae preter te sint: uel si quae [*sic*] sunt forte tui tamen nil similes: non possum maiestatem tuam non uehementer mirari: quam eruditam adeo esse ac doctam accepi: ut non immerito queat cum ueteribus comparari: Et ad corporis egregiam formam ita ingenium exornasse: ut perinde uoluisset appareat eius philophi [*sic*] imitari precepta qui decoros

29 Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 2004, s. XV, fol. 1v.

30 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. lat. 413, s. XV, fol. 1v. [<http://www.corvina.oszk.hu/corvinas-html/hub1codlat413.htm>]

suapte natura adolescentes disciplinis ac simul uirtutibus excolerent animam hortanbatur. Ad hec accedit quod te fortunatissimam censeo: nam et regio orta et sanguine patreque ferdinando illustrissimo rege progenita ac Mathie vngariae Boemiaeque aliarumque nationum uictoriosissimo regi matrimonio iuncta: Quae omnia me proculdubio impulerunt Maiestatem ut tuam tam maximam ducam obseruemque et mirifice colam: quam pro tuis debeo in omnes promeritis ac meorum operum faciam non expertem; enitarque eam deinceps sic scriptis extollere ut eius tot decora uel ad posteros transmittantur.

To King Matthias³¹

MATTHIAE REGI VNGARIAE ETCETERA

Qyam maxime ualeat Rex Serenissime: ad bella gerenda priscorum res gestas perlegere: profecto neminem latet: qui ad rei militaris peritiam historiarum cognitionem adiecerit: Nam ut romae Catonem accepimus: dum interea cogere-tur senatus libros solitum in curia lectitare: ut postea in consulendo et rempublicam administrando quam optime maiorum posset exemplis eius sententias confirmare: Sic item et saepe in castris prestantes illos exercitus duces: ueterum facta commeminisse: ut Achillem homerus inducit a praelio redeuntem: ea in re quiescendo maxime delectatum: uirorum ut fortium laudes decantaret: Quod equidem reor: et te dum per ocium licet: sepius factitare: et priscorum egregie principum gesta uel memoriter recensere: uel ex libris repetere: ut maioribus animis ac simul prudentia aggredi queas: quae ex iusto tibi sunt bello: et cum turcis precipue christiano nomini omnium insensissimis: ineunda certamina: cum haec proculdubio per te ueluti peculiare auitumque ac regium decus iamdiu suscepta sic sint: ut solus in terris mortalium uidearis: ad tuendam seruandam-que christianam rempublicam a deo ipso delectus. Ipse uero de rebus bellicis librum ad te qui in his sis facile princeps nunc mitto: missurus post hunc maioris uoluminis alterum: ut saltem hoc pacto benemereri de te tam optimo possim christianae fidei defensore: et animo satisfacere meo: Maiestati tuae mirifice dedito. CHRISTOPHORVS PERSONA DICAVIT.

To King Ferdinand³²

FERDINANDO REGI SICILIAE ETC.

Quam maximi fieri, rex serenissime, hi principum solent qui ad eorum caetera ornamenta litterarum iccirco studia adiecere ut earum ex monumentis et regna tractare quam optime possint ac ipsos se priscorum exemplis sic regere: ut sua ex moderatione ac temperantia maximam referant tam apud presentes quam apud posteros laudem: unde et Plato beatiores ait Respublicam fore si

31 Munich, BSB, Clm 294, s. XV, fol. 1v. [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00035314/image_8]

32 Berlin, Staatsbibl., Cod. Lat. Fol. 52, s. XV, fol. 1v.

vel studiosi eas sapientiae regerent: vel earum rectores sapientiae studuissent.³³ Cuius rei summum de se specimen prebuit Alfonsus rex, genitor tuus: quem omnes scimus litteris adeo delectatum: ut undequaque ad se litteratos ut erat suapte natura liberalissimus ingentibus premiis evocaret. Cuius vestigiis et ipse sedulo insistendo: ut ab ineunte aetate litteris deditus viros variis disciplinis instructos tua munificentia honoribus simul et opibus sic extulisti: ut apud principum alium neminem malint quam apud te vivere: libris vero frequenter adeo et cum per otium licet: ita in cunabulis: ut ad innatam animi tui prudentiam non parva ex his sit accessio facta: cum satis constet etsi ad caetera plurimum libros valere: tum vero vel maxime ad servandam vetustatis memoriam recensendosque varios hominum casus ac temerarios fortunae eventus. Que utique omnia ex historiis possunt facile internosci: principibus ipsis tam maxime necessariis: ut sine earum cognitione vix sibi ac populis queant satis recte consulere. Et quam graecis ex auctoribus historiae non nunquam cognitio haec et fides est exigenda: et ipse quidem graecis ex commentariis id opus desumptum: ad te regem: ut mirae prudentiae virum: ita et optimarum artium studiis non parum intentum nunc mitto: missurus posthac maioris voluminis alterum: si illi id gratum fuisse accepero.

CHRISTOPHORVS PERSONA DICAVIT.

To Lorenzo Medici³⁴

LAVRENTIO DE MEDICIS DICATVM SOLEO vir prestantissime persepe mirari: qui cum sat constet inter mortales et priuatos urbium ciues fuisse olim et per id temporis esse non paucos prediuites adeo et opulentos ut principum loco haberi potius queant quam ciuium nullos extitisse iamdiu qui ex amplissimis opibus plus sibi laudis uendicarint: quam Cosmus tuus quondam auus Petrusque pater: et ipse hac nostra aetate: qui liberalitate et animi magnitudine sic caeteros anteisti: atque adeo apud tuos auctoritate et gratia uales: ut dignus hac tanta fortuna ab omnibus iudiceris. Sed existimabunt fortasse nonnulli: magnam ex eo laudem priscos quosdam philosophos retulisse: quia uel patrimonio et hoc ampliore diuendito: conflatam inde pecuniam in mare abiecerint: uel predia ipsa dono reipublicae dederint: Ipse uero maioris eos sum longe facturus: qui cum in manibus profusissimas habeant facultates: suo partim labore quaesitas: maiorum partim comparatas industria: his tamen ad liberalitatem utantur et aliorum ad commodum: unde et deum promereri facile possint: et in hac vita laudem consequi non mediocrem: Cum itaque ad caetera tua animi ornamenta

33 Cf. Boethius, *Cons.* 1.4.5: “Atqui tu hanc sententiam Platonis ore sanxisti: beatas fore res publicas, si eas uel studiosi sapientiae regerent uel earum rectores studere sapientiae contigisset.”

34 Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 68.23, s. XV, fol. 1v. [<http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaViewer/index.jsp?RisIdr=TECA0000813862&keywords=agathias>]

et optimarum accedant artium studia et summum ingenium (Nam et te esse doctrina instructum: uel a peritis quidem accipi: quod raro solet in magna fortuna contingere) nil prorsus inuitus id tibi opus quod nuper latinum feci: dicandum duxi: dicaturus non longe post alterum: si grato id exceperis animo.

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Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. lat. 413, s. XV second half (E. Bartoniek, *Codices Latini Medii Aevi* [Budapest, 1940], 377, no. 423; N. Bono, G. Görgey, F. Sicilia, and I. Monok, eds., *Nel segno del corvo: Libri e miniature della biblioteca di Mattia Corvino re d'Ungheria (1443–1490)* [Modena, 2002], 279–81).

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(*) Berlin, Staatsbibl., Cod. Lat. Fol. 52, s. XV (R. Valentin, *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 2, *Die Handschriften der kurfürstlichen Bibliothek und der kurfürstlichen Lande*, part 3 [Berlin, 1905], 1322, no. 1030).

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Biography:

Christophorus Persona's date of birth is unknown. From 1456 he was prior of Santa Balbina in Rome, and from 1484, papal librarian under Innocent VIII. His name occurs often in the registers of the Vatican library; these show him borrowing both Greek and Latin books. He died in 1486.

Works:

Persona translated into Latin Origen's *Contra Celsum*, Procopius' *Gothic Wars*, John Chrysostom's *Sermonum XXV moralium* and his *Epistola Theodoro Monacho*, Theophylact's *Commentarium in Sancti Pauli Epistolas* (he thought to have translated Saint Athanasius) and Lucian's *Tyrannus* and the *Philosophorum vitae*.

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COMMENTARIES

a. Hadrianus Junius – Andriaen de Jonghe (1511–75)

Edition:

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Basileae (Basel): Isengrinus, 1556. BL, NUC.NJ (CLU-M, DNLM, NNC, NIC, NjP, MnU), VD16 J 1094.

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Biography:

See CTC 4.278.

Bibliography:

D. van Miert, ed., *The Kaleidoscopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575). Northern Humanism at the Dawn of the Dutch Golden Age*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 199 (Leiden and Boston, 2011).

b. Bonaventura Vulcanius – Bonaventura de Smet (1538–1614)

Bibliography: See above, Composite Editions, 2.

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Biography: See above, Composite Editions, 2.

c. Johannes Leunclavius – Johannes Löwenklau (1533–93)

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See CTC 2.89.

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1529, Basileae (Basel): *Selecta epigrammata graeca latine uersa, ex septem Epigrammatum Graecorum libris. Accesserunt omnibus omnium prioribus editionibus ac uersionibus plus quam quingenta Epigrammata, recens uersa ab Andrea Alciato, Ottomaro Luscinio ac Iano Cornario Zuiccaiensi.* Basileae ex aedibvs Io.Bebelii, mense avg. M.D.XXIX. (Edited by Janus Cornarius.) BL; NUC.NA (WU), VD16 C 5144.

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Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

Prior to 1600, the following epigrams ascribed to Agathias existed in Latin translations (numbers in brackets mark the number of existing versions).

Book V: 216 (5), 218 (3), 220 (2), 222 (5), 237 (7), 261 (6), 263 (2), 267 (4), 273, 280 (3), 282 (4), 287 (4), 292 (3), 297 (5), 299 (2), 302 (5).

Book VI: 32 (1), 41 (1), 59 (4), 72 (2), 76 (5), 79 (2), 80 (3), 167.

Book VII: 152, 153, 154, 155, 204 (3), 205, 220 (2), 442, 482, 551 (3), 552 (2), 567 (3), 568, 569 (2), 572 (2), 574 (2), 578 (2), 583 (2), 589 (2), 593, 596, 602, 612 (2).

Book IX: 152 (2), 153 (2), 154 (6), 155, 204 (6), 442 (3), 482 (2), 619 (4), 631 (2), 641, 642, 643, 644 (2), 653 (2), 665 (2), 677, 768, 769.

Book X: 14 (3), 64 (3), 66 (3), 68 (2), 69 (10).

Book XI: 57 (1), 64 (2), 352 (2), 365 (6), 372 (2), 376 (3), 379 (2), 382 (3).

Book XVI: 36, 41 (2), 59 (2), 80 (2), 109 (2), 244, 331 (3), 332.

The following list of translators is organized in ascending order according to the number of poems translated by each translator. The poems translated are indicated, with one specimen given in footnotes. Epigram X.69,³⁵ on death, the most popular of the Agathian poems, existed in ten Latin variants. The Latin versions of the epigram are given below in order to make visible the range of adaptations running from prose summary through literal translation to free imitation.

TRANSLATIONS

1. Caspar Ursinus Velius – Kaspar Ursinus Velius (1493–1539)

Epigram: V.216

Editions:

1522, Basileae (Basel): *Casparis Ursini Velii e Germanis Slesii Poematum libri quinque*. Ex inlyta Basilea, apud Ioannem Frobenium. An. M.D.XXII. BL; BNF; VD16 U 366.

1528, Coloniae (Cologne): *Epigrammata Graeca Veterum Elegantissima* (see above, Early Latin Selections).

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, 277–83.

- 35 Τὸν θάνατον τί φοβείσθε τὸν ἡσυχίης γενετήρα,
τὸν παύοντα νόσους καὶ πενίης ὀδύνας;
μοῦνον ἀπαξ θνητοῖς παραγίνεται οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτὸν
εἶδέν τις θνητῶν δεύτερον ἐρχόμενον.
αἱ δὲ νόσοι πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι, ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον
ἐρχόμεναι θνητῶν, καὶ μεταβαλλόμεναι.

H. Beckby, ed. *Anthologia Graeca*, vol. 3 (Munich: Ernst Heimeran, 1958), 512.

2. Johannes Vulteius – Jean Visagier (ca. 1510–42)

Epigram: XI.376

Editions:

1536, Lugduni (Lyons): *Ioannis Vultei Epigrammatum libri duo*. Lugduni apud Seb. Gryphium, 1536. BL; NUC.NV (MH, DFO, WU).

1537, Lugduni (Lyons): *Ioannis Vultei Remensis Epigrammatum libri III. Eiusdem Xenia*. Lugduni sub scuto Basiliensi Parmanterium, 1537. BL; BNF; NUC.NV (MH, NjP, ICU, PU, ICN, NNC).

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 88–89.

3. Janus Anisius – Giano Asinio (1472–ca. 1536)

Epigram: V.237

Edition:

(*) 1531, Neapoli (Naples): *Varia Poemata et Satyrae*. Neapoli, per Ioannem Sultzbacchium. NA (ICN, NNC, MH, MdBJ).

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, 174–75.

4. Hadrianus Junius – Adriaen de Jonghe (1511–75)

Epigram: V.218 (partial translation)

Edition:

1556, Basileae (Basel): *Hadriani Ivnii Hornani Medici Animadversorum libri sex* (see above, Hadrianus Junius, Commentaries a.).

Biography and bibliography:

See CTC 4.278. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology France*, 224–25.

5. Johannes Gorraeus – Jean de Gorris (1505–77)

Epigram: IX.204

Edition:

1560, Lutetiae (Paris): *Farrago Poematum ex optimis quibusque et antiquioribus, et aetatis nostrae poetis selecta par Leodegarium á Quercu. Ad ornatissimum virum Claudium Hennequinum libellorum supplicum in regia magistrum*. Lutetiae, apud Guillelmum Cavellat, in pingui Gallina, ex adverso collegij Cameracensis, 1560, cum privilegio regis. BNF.

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 101–2.

6. Antonius Sebastianus Minturnus –
Antonio Sebastiano Minturno (d. 1574)

Epigram: XVI.331

Edition:

(*) 1564, Venetiis (Venice): *Antonii Sebastianii Minturni epigrammata, et elegiae*. Venetiis, Apud Io. Andream Valuassorem, 1564. BNF; NUC.NM (CU, AzTeS).

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, 232–33.

7. Franciscus Marius Molza –
Francesco Maria Molza (1489–1544)

Epigram: XI.365

Edition:

(*) P. Serassi, *Delle Poesie Volgari e Latine di Francesco Maria Molza, corrette, illustrate, ed accresciute colle vita dell'autore scritta da Pierantonio Serassi*, vol. 3 (Bergamo, 1754). BNF; NUC.NM 0695878 (MiU, NN, MB, IaU, PU, CU, NcD).

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, 218–20.

8. Janus Lernutius – Jan Leernout (1545–1619)

Epigram: V.261

Edition:

1614, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): *Iani Lernutii Initia, Tristia, Basia, Ocelli et alia Poemata; Quorum seriem pagina proxima indicavit*. Ab ipso auctore publicata. Lugduni Batavorum, apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, MDCXIII (published 1614, but composed ca. 1581). BL; NUC.NL (NNG, NN).

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 243–45.

9. Johannes Sleidanus – Johann Sleidan (ca. 1506–56)

Epigrams: VI.76; VII.220

Edition:

1525, Coloniae (Cologne): *Epigrammata aliquot graeca Veterum elegantissima* (See above, Early Latin Selections). Here Sleidanus' translations feature anonymously.

Revised edition 1528, Coloniae (Cologne): *Epigrammata Graeca Veterum Elegantissima* (see above, Early Latin Selections).

Another edition 1544, Friburgi Brisgoviae (Freiburg im Breisgau), by S.M. Gravius. BL (ed. Johannes Soter, rev. trans. with attribution).

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, 277–83.

10. Natalis Comes – Natale Conti (1520–82)

Epigrams: VI.59; X.69³⁶

Edition:

1568, Venetiis (Venice): *Natalis Comitum Mythologiae sive explicationum fabularum libri decem in quibus omnia prope naturalis et moralis philosophiae dogmata sub antiquorum fabulis contenta fuisse demonstratur*. Venetiis, al segno della Fontana [Comin da Trino]. BL; Toronto, PIMS Lib.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

Biography and bibliography:

See CTC 2.30–31. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, 239–40.

11. Paulus Schedius Melissus –
Paul Schede (1539–1602)

Epigrams: V.297; IX.154

Editions:

1570, Genevae (Geneva): *Epigrammata graeca, selecta ex Anthologia. Interpretata ad verbum et carmine ab Henrico Stephano* (see above, Early Latin Selections).

1574, Francoforti (Frankfurt): *Melissi Schediasmata poetica. Item Fidleri Flumina*. Francoforti ad Maenvm, Anno Christi 1574. Apud Georgium Coruinum, impensis Matthei Harnisch. VD16 S 2436.

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 137–40; E. Schäfer, “Paulus Melissus Schedius (1539–1602). Leben in Versen,” in P.G. Schmidt, ed., *Humanismus im deutschen Südwesten. Biographische Profile* (Sigmaringen, 1993; 2nd rev. ed. Stuttgart, 2000), 239–63.

- 36 Cur timor est vobis genitrix Mors alma quietis,
Quae morbos placat, pauperiemque levat?
Illa semel tantum mortales visere suavit,
Nec quisquam vidit mox rediisse virum.
Saepe recurrentes cum vexent corpora morbi
Mutati, huc illuc et sine lege fluant.

Natalis Comitum Mythologiae (Venetiis [Venice], 1568), 73r–v.

12. Lucas Fruterius –
Lucas Fruytiers (1542–66)

Epigrams: V.222; VII.551

Editions: (*)

(*) 1584, Antverpiae (Antwerp): *L. Fruterii librorum qui recuperari potuerunt reliquae inter quos verisimilium libri II et versus miscelli*. Additus J. Severiani prisci scriptoris liber omnia nunc primum edita, cura J. Dousae. Apud Christophorum Plantinum, 1584. BL; BNF.

1575, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): *J. Duzae. Nova Poemata item Hadriani Junii Lugdunensium sylva*. Lugduni Batavorum, in nova Academia, 1575. BL.

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 236–37.

13. Thomas Bicarton (fl. 1588)

Epigrams: V.222, 237

Edition:

(*) 1588, Pictaviis (Poitiers): *Thomae Bicartonis Scoti, Andreapolitani, a Caschaea, Miscellanea*. Pictaviis, ex officina Bochetorum, 1588. BNF.

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 158–59.

14. Johannes Meursius –
Johannes van Meurs (1579–1639)

Epigrams: VI.59; IX.482

Editions:

1599, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): *Ioannis Meursi Exercitationum criticarum partes II. Quarum prima curarum Plautinarum commentarium, secunda Animadversionum miscellarum libros quatuor completitur*. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina L. Elsevirii. BL; BNF; NUC.NM (ICN, MnU, NNG, PU).

1675, Amstelodami (Amsterdam): *Ioannis Meursi Creta, Cyprus, Rhodus, sive de nobilissimarum harum insularum rebus et antiquitatibus commentarii postumi, nunc primum editi*. Amstelodami, apud Abrahamum Wolfgangum, 1675. BL; BNF; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.; NUC.NM (DLC, MiEM, IU, PU, DDO, CtY, NjP, ICN).

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 254–55.

15. Thomas Morus – Thomas More (1478–1535)

Epigrams: IX.442; X.69³⁷

Editions:

1520, Basileae (Basel): *Epigrammata clarissimi disertissimique uiri Thomae Mori Britanni ad emendatum exemplar ipsius autoris excusa. Progymnasmata Thomae Mori et Gvilielmi Liliï sodalivm*. Apvd inclytam Basileam. Apvd Ioan-nem Frobenivm mense decembri. Anno. M.D.XX. NUC.NM (RPB, IEN, MH); VD16 M 6296.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

1525, Coloniae (Cologne): *Epigrammata aliquot graeca Veterum elegantissima* (See above, Early Latin Selections).

1529, Basileae (Basel): *Selecta epigrammata graeca latine uersa, ex septem Epi-grammatum Graecorum libris* (See above, Early Latin Selections).

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, 277–83.

16. Ottmar Luscinius –

Otmar Nachtgall (ca. 1487–1537)

Epigrams: V.267; X.69;³⁸ XI.365 (also attributing to Agathias XI.400)

Editions:

1529, Argentorati (Strassburg): *Seria Iocique dulcissimo literarum Mecoenati D. Antonio Fuggero ab Ottomaro Luscinio, non sine insigni delectu, congesta, quorum*

37 Num stultum est mortem matrem timuisse quietis?

Quam fugiunt morbi, moestaque pauperies

Sola semel miseris sese mortalibus offert,

Nec quisquam est ad quem mors iterum rediit.

At reliqui morbi varii, multique vicissim

Nunc hunc, nunc illum, terque quaterque premunt.

Selecta epigrammata (Basileae [Basel], 1529), 72.

38 *Summary*: “Mortem in terris malorum esse finem, atque adeo minime esse formidandam. Quod si maxime esset mala, contenta tamen est semel dumtaxat hominem accessisse.”

Translation:

Mortem quur timeas, solidam paritura quietem,

Quae morbis relevat, pauperieque gravi.

Sola semel visa est hominum petiisse penates,

Atque ego disperiam, denuo si redeat.

Languores contra varii modo illum aliumque

Infestant, vicibus tum rediisse volent.

Seria Iocique (Argentorati [Strassburg], 1529), 70.

elenchum sequens monstrabit pagella. Argentorati, Johann Schott, 1529. BL; NUC. NL (IU, CtY, NNC); VD16 N 33.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

1525, Coloniae (Cologne): *Epigrammata aliquot graeca Veterum elegantissima* (See above, Early Latin Selections).

Biography and bibliography:

See CTC 6.7. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, 276–77.

17. Jacobus Rogerius Nervius –
Roger Jacques Nervius (fl. 1539)

Epigrams: V.302; VII.567; X.69³⁹

Edition:

1539, Parisiis (Paris): *Jacobi Rogerii Nervii Neopaegnia, sive lusus puerilis*. Apud Joannem Lodoicum Tiletanum. BNF. Digital copy available in Google Books.

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 223–24.

18. Janus Dousa Pater –
Jan van der Does (1545–1604)

Epigrams: V.237, 261, 267

Editions:

1576, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): *Iani Duzae Novorum poematum secunda Lugduniensis editio, plus dimidia parte, hoc est, novem librorum accessione recens, locupletata et aucta*. Lugduni Batavorum, impressum in nova Lugduni Batavorum Academia, 1576. BL; BNF; NUC.ND (ICN, CtY).

1594, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): *Agathiae Historici et Poetae eximij, de imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani imperatoris, libri quinque* (See above, Composite Editions, 2).

Biography and bibliography:

See CTC 3.329–30; 9.241. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 239–41.

39 Quid mortem metuas matrem, autoremque quietis,

Quae morbos finit, pauperiemque levat?

Quae semel invadit mortalia corpora et eius

Nunquam quisquam iterum, spicula dura tulit.

Ast alios alii torquent morbi, atque fugati

Mox redeunt, miseros et sine fine premunt.

Jacobi Rogerii Nervii Neopaegnia (Parisiis [Paris], 1539), 88.

19. Janus Cornarius – Johann or Johannes Hainpol (1500–58)

Epigrams: V.261; VII.551, 572; XI.382

Edition:

1529, Basileae (Basel): *Selecta epigrammata graeca latine uersa, ex septem Epigrammatum Graecorum libris* (See above, Early Latin Selections).

Biography and bibliography:

See CTC 2.118. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, 283–86; Hieronymus, *Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen*, 442, no. 299.

20. Henricus Stephanus – Henri Estienne (1531–98)

Epigrams: V.297; VI.76; IX.154, 204, 619

Edition:

1570, Genevae (Geneva): *Epigrammata graeca, selecta ex Anthologia. Interpretata ad verbum et carmine ab Henrico Stephano* (see above, Early Latin Selections).

Biography and bibliography:

See CTC 3.48–49. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 128–41.

21. Janus Antonius Baiffius – Jean-Antoine de Baïf (1532–89)

Epigrams: V.216; IX.644; XI.352, 365

Edition:

1577, Lutetiae (Paris): *Iani Antonii Baifii Carminum liber I*. Apud M. Patissonium, in officina R. Stephani, 1577. BL; BNF; NUC.NB (ICN, ViU).

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 337–50.

22. Vincentius Opsopoeus – Vinzenz Heidecker (d. 1539)

Epigrams: VII.572; X.69;⁴⁰ XI.57, 365, 372, 382

Edition:

1540, Basileae (Basel): *In graecorum epigrammatum libros quatuor. Annotationes longe doctissimae, iam primum in lucem editae Vincentio Obsopoeo autore*.

40 Docet autem primum, mortem non esse metuendam, quum sit portus quietus, neque saepe defunctis iteranda veniat: morbos autem multos, et varios, quibus humana vita quotidie aliis atque aliis infestatur. Huius epigrammatis sensum sic transtuli:

Mortem quid prodest matrem metuisse quietis,

Tollentem morbos, pauperiemque gravem?

Ipsa semel tantum mortales impetit omnes:

Non fuit ad quem se mors iteranda tulit.

Adiecimus quoque rerum ac verborum memorabilium indicem locupletissimum. Cum gratia et privilegio ad quinquennium. Basileae, in officina Nicolai Brylingerii, anno M.D.XXXX. BL; BNF; VD16 O 814.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

Biography and bibliography:

See CTC 7.171. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, 286–89; F. Hieronymus, *Griechischen Geist aus Basler Pressen* (Basel, 1992), 444–45, no. 301.

23. Andreas Alciatus – Andrea Alciati (1492–1550)

Epigrams: V.222, 237, 302; VI.80; VII.574; XI.376

Editions:

1529, Basileae (Basel): *Selecta epigrammata graeca latine uersa, ex septem Epigrammatum Graecorum libris* (See above, Early Latin Selections).

1534, Parisiis (Paris): *Andreae Alciati Emblematum libellus*. Parisiis. Excudebat Christianus Wechelus. Anno 1534. BL; NUC.NA (NN, DFO, MH).

1546, Venetiis (Venice): *Andreae Alciati Emblematum Libellus, Nuper in Lucem Editus*. Venetiis, apud Aldi filios, 1546. BNF; NUC.NA (NN, MH, CtY).

1547, Lugduni (Lyons): *Emblematum libri duo*. Lugduni, apud J. Tornaesium et G. Gazeium, 1547. BL; BNF; NUC.NA (CSmH).

1550, Lugduni (Lyons): *Emblemata D. A. Alciati denuo ab ipso autore recognita et quae disederabantur imaginibus locupletata. Accesserunt nova aliquot ab autore Emblemata suis quoque eiconibus insignita*. Lugd., apud G. Rovillium, 1550. BNF; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.; NUC.NA (DLC, WU, RPB, NNC, NjP, CSmH, NN, PPL, PPULC).

Biography and bibliography:

See CTC 6.104–5. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, 195–208 (prints VI. 80 at p. 200); *Emblemata Lyons, 1550. Andrea Alciato*, trans. and notes by B.I. Knott, introduction by J. Manning (Aldershot, 1996).

24. Bonaventura Vulcanius – Bonaventura de Smet (1538–1614)

Epigrams: VI.76; IX.154, 204, 641; X.14, 69⁴¹

Editions:

1588, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): *Sapientissimi regis Constantini Porphyrogenetae De thematibus, sive de agminibus militaribus per imperium orientale*

Morborum variam sed multiplicemque cohortem,

Atque horum alternas cernimus esse vices.

In graecorum epigrammatum libros quatuor (Basileae [Basel], 1540), 85.

- 41 Cur metuis mortem causam matremque quietis,
Quae perimit morbos, pauperiemque necat?

distributis, liber, numquam antehac editus: ex bibliotheca et versione Bonaventurae Vulcanii, cum notis eiusdem. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium. BL; BNF. (IX.641)

1594, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): *Agathiae Historici et Poetae eximij, de imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani imperatoris, libri quinque* (See above, Composite Editions, 2).

Biography and bibliography:

See CTC 3.15–17. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 237–39.

25. Paulus Stephanus – Paul Etienne (1566–ca. 1627)

Epigrams: V.222, 237, 282, 287, 297; IX.154, 204, 442, 619; X.69⁴²

Edition:

1593, Genevae (Geneva) and Lugduni (Lyons): *Epigrammata latina, ex Anthologia Graecorum petita, latino carmine reddita a Paulo Stephano.* Genevae, Lugduni, Fr. le Preux, 1593. BNF.

Digital copy: Universitätsbibliothek Basel e-rara.

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 163–65.

26. Franciscus Belcarius Peguilio –

François Beaucaire de Péguillon (1514–91)

Epigrams: VII.152, 153, 154, 155, 204, 442, 482; X.14, 64, 66, 68, 69;⁴³ XI.352

Una semel lethi calcanda est semita cunctis,

Nec cuiquam omnino mors iterata venit.

Morborum multae exercent variaeque figurae

Nunc hos, nunc illos; ipsi alii ex aliis.

Agathiae Historici et Poetae eximij, de imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani (Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden], 1594), p. 199.

42 Quis timor est mortis? Veniet tranquillius aevum,

Sedabit morbos pauperiemque malam.

Illa homini tantum semel advenit: ipsa bis unum

Audita est nunquam mors adisse virum.

Morborum at variant species, veniunt frequentes,

Et subito ex aliis excipiunt alios.

Epigrammata latina (Genevae [Geneva] and Lugduni [Lyons], 1593), p. 37.

43 Mors mater tantaque parens aeterna quietis

Horretur, morbis pauperieque carens?

Improvisa homines semel illa infestat, eundem

Non repetit: bello deperit ipsa suo.

Ast aliae pestes morborum immaniter omnes

Contorquent, variis exagitantque modis.

Edition:

1543, Parisiis (Paris): *Anthologia Graecorum Epigrammatum Liber Primus universus per F. Bellicarium Peguilionem in Latinum sermonem conversus*. Parisiis, apud Ludovicum Grandinum, 1534. BL.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 93–95.

27. Josephus Justus Scaliger –
Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609)

Epigrams: V.216, 218, 220, 222, 237, 261, 263, 267, 278, 280, 282, 287, 292, 297, 299, 302; VII.583

Editions:

1594, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden): *Agathiae Historici et Poetae eximij, de imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani imperatoris, libri quinque* (See above, Composite Editions, 2).

1610, Parisiis (Paris): *Opuscula diversa Graeca et Latina partim nunquam hactenus edita, partim ab auctore recensita atque aucta. Cum notis in aliquot veteres scriptores. Omnium Catalogus proxima pagina lector inveniet*. Parisiis, apud Hadrianum Beys, 1610. BL; BNF; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.; NUC.NS (ICN, MH, PU, OU, CU).

Biography and bibliography:

See CTC 2.13. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 152–57.

28. Faustus Sabaeus – Fausto Sabeo (ca. 1478–ca. 1558)

Epigrams: V.216, 222, 237, 261, 263, 267, 273, 280, 282, 287, 292; VI.32, 41, 59, 72, 76, 79, 80; VII.204, 551, 552, 567, 568, 569, 578, 589, 593, 612; IX.152, 153, 154, 204, 442, 619, 631, 653, 665, 769; X.64, 66, 69;⁴⁴ XI.64, 365, 379; XVI.41, 59, 80, 109, 331

Edition:

1556, Romae (Rome): *Epigrammatum Fausti Sabaei Brixiani custodis bibliothecae Vaticanae. Libri quinque. Ad Henricum Regem Galliae. Primus de Dijs*.

Anthologiae Graecorum Epigrammatum (Parisiis [Paris], 1543), p. 49.

44 Curantem morbos, paupertatisque labores

Quid metuis mortem, quae requiem una parit.

Occupat illa semel mortales, nec redit ultra

Quis ne revertentem testificatur eam?

Morborem speties varia, et miserabilis in nos

Intempestivas itque, reditque vias.

Epigrammatum Fausti Sabaei Brixiani (Romae [Rome], 1556), p. 404.

Secundus de Heroibus. Tertius de Amicis. Quartus de Amoribus. Quintus de Miscellaneis. Romae, apud Valerium et Aloisium Doricos fratres Brixien. MD.LVI. BNF.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

Biography and bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, 212–18.

29. Florens Christianus –
Florent Chrétien (1541–96)

Epigrams: V.216, 218, 220, 237, 261, 263, 267, 280, 282, 287, 292, 297, 299; VI.32, 41, 59, 72, 76, 79, 80, 167; VII.204, 205, 220, 552, 567, 569, 574, 578, 583, 589, 593, 596, 602, 612; IX.152, 153, 154, 155, 204, 482, 619, 631, 642, 643, 644, 653, 665, 677, 768; X.14, 64, 66, 68, 69;⁴⁵ XI.57, 64, 365, 372, 376, 379, 382; XVI.36, 41, 59, 80, 109, 244, 331, 332

Editions:

1608, Lutetiae (Paris): *Epigrammata ex libris Graecae Anthologiae a Q. Septimio Florente Christiano selecta et Latine versa, sive Florilegium Latinum ex Graeco Florilegio. Accessit Musaei Poematium versibus ab eodem expressum.* Lutetiae, ex Typographia Roberti Stephani, MDCIIX Cum privilegio. BL; BNF. Digital copy available in Google Books.

Biography and bibliography:

See CTC 2.21–22. Hieronymus, *Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen*, 442, no. 299; Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 167–71.

COMMENTARIES

The exact number of commentaries to the *Greek Anthology* is still to be determined. Aside from brief remarks by editors,⁴⁶ there exist countless marginalia in personal copies belonging to humanists.⁴⁷ The two most popular commentaries were those of Vincentius Opsopoeus and Johannes Brodaeus, appearing in the

- 45 Cur mortem horretis, genitrix quae sola quietis,
Quae morbos tristes, pauperiemque fugat?
Sola semel trepidis mortalibus accidit, et bis
Nullus eam sensit huc retulisse pedem:
Contra morborum longa et numerosa caterua,
Nunc his, nunc illis incubat instabilis.

Epigrammata ex libris Graecae Anthologiae (Lutetiae [Paris], 1608), fol. 13r.

- 46 Henricus Stephanus' edition of the Greek text features a twenty-page commentary.

- 47 Scaliger had made notes on two copies: the 1521 Aldine edition and Henricus Stephanus' edition, as well as his *Epigrammata Selecta*. Bonaventura Vulcanius' annotated copy also survives. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 152, 238–39.

same decade, and both of them featured in the Wechel edition of 1600. Both commentators generally refrain from textual criticism and emendations. The notes are shaped to assist an average reader with a good command of Greek in understanding the verses, which, as Opsopoeus emphasizes, are more difficult to grasp than Homer's.⁴⁸ Notes provide a prose summary of the poems, translations of particular words, explanations of names, or clarification of grammatical structures. Notes to V.261, for example, read as follows:

Brodaeus: γενομένην vinum gustans τὴν χάριν osculum ἢν ἔλαβεν cum labris craterem admoveres

Vincentius: Εἰμὶ μὲν οὐ φιλόσοφος Sensus est: Equidem non sum vini amator, cum autem volueris inebriare me, primum tu gustans offer, et suscipio. Si enim tetigeris labiis, non amplius sobrium esse facile est, neque fugere dulcem pocillatricem. Transfretat, id est, mittit enim mihi calix a te osculum, et mihi nunciat Gatiam, quam accepit. Amatorie haec dicta sunt.

a. Vincentius Opsopoeus –
Vinzenz Heidecker (d. 1539)

Editions:

1540, Basileae (Basel): *In graecorum epigrammatum libros quatuor* (See above, Translations, II.22).

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

1600, Francofurti (Frankfurt): *Epigrammatum graecorum annotationibus Ioannis Brodae Turonensis, nec non Vincentii Obsopoei* (See above, First Editions).

Biography:

See CTC 7.171.

Bibliography:

E. Jovy, *Pierre Herbert et ses travaux inédits sur l'Anthologie de Planude* (Vitry-le-François, 1899), 122–37; Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy*, 286–89.

b. Johannes Brodaeus –
Jean Brodeau (1500–63)

Editions:

1549, Basileae (Basel): *Epigrammatvm graecorum libri vii. Annotationibus Ioannis Brodae Turonensis illustrati, Quibus additus est in calce operis rerum ac uocum explicatarum Index diligentissime conscriptus*. Basileae, M.D.XLIX. Apvd Hier. Frobenivm et Nic. Episcopivm. BL; VD16 E 1639.

48 “Et Homerus apud Graecos apertior est et facilius, quam haec epigrammata,” (Basileae [Basel], in officina Nicolai Brylingerii, 1540), *Epistola dedicatoria*, [p. VII].

1600, Francofurti (Frankfurt): *Epigrammatum graecorum annotationibus Ioannis Brodae Turonensis, nec non Vincentii Obsopoei* (See above, First Editions).

Biography:

See CTC 4.276.

Bibliography:

Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France*, 98–101; Jovy, *Pierre Herbert*, 196–222.