

MUSAEUS

PAOLO ELEUTERI
(*Università Ca' Foscari Venezia*)

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FORTUNA*

Little is known about the author of the 343-line hexameter *epyllion* Τὰ καθ' Ἡρώ και Λέανδρον, the tale of Hero and Leander. Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558), in book 5, chapter 2 of his *Poetices libri VII* (Lyons, 1561), identified Musaeus with the mythical poet, companion of the Muses and pupil of Orpheus. Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) vigorously opposed this theory, associating Musaeus with Nonnus of Panopolis.¹ It was only as late as 1805 that Gottfried Hermann established that Musaeus was posterior to Nonnus.² The first author who undoubtedly knew Musaeus was the poet Colluthus, who lived under the Emperor Anastasius I (491–518). Hence, Musaeus can almost certainly be dated to the second half of the fifth century, probably in Egypt, and may be identified as the Musaeus who received two letters from Procopius of Gaza (ca. 465–528), as suggested by Claude Saumaise (1588–1653).³ Some of the most ancient manuscripts of the poem give Musaeus the title *grammatikós*, namely, “learned.” He may have been a Christian Neoplatonist, although there is no solid evidence to support this theory.⁴

The *epyllion* relates the love story between the young Leander, who lives in Abydos on the bank of the Hellespont, and Hero, a priestess of Aphrodite, who lives in Sestos on the opposite bank. As Hero’s parents oppose their marriage, every night Leander has to swim across the strait to meet her in secret, following a light at the top of the tower in which Hero lives alone. One night the storm blows out the lamp and Leander drowns. When Hero becomes aware of the death of her lover, in despair she throws herself from the tower to her death. As we know,

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The following abbreviations will be used:

Eleuteri = P. Eleuteri, *Storia della tradizione manoscritta di Museo*, Biblioteca di studi antichi 30 (Pisa, 1981);

Jellinek = M.H. Jellinek, *Die Sage von Hero und Leander in der Dichtung* (Berlin, 1890);

Kost = K. Kost, ed., *Musaios Hero und Leander. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Bonn, 1971).

- 1 M. Meibomius, ed., *Diogenis Laertii De vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus clarorum philosophorum libri X*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1692), 3 n. 17.
- 2 *Orphica* (Leipzig, 1805; repr. Hildesheim, 1971), 690–91.
- 3 A. Garzya and R.-J. Loenertz, eds., *Procopii Gazaei epistolae et declamationes*, nos. 147 and 165; cf. Fabricius and Harles 1.126 note o).
- 4 On this question see A. Villarrubia, “Notas sobre el poema *Hero y Leandro* de Museo,” *Habis* 31 (2000) 365–401, especially at 398–99.

the Roman poet Ovid also treated the tale in two of his *Heroides* (epistles 18 and 19), and the narrative seems to have been well known already in Antiquity in the early Augustan Age. What remains uncertain is whether Musaeus developed the story from Ovid, or rather did both draw on a Hellenistic model for their inspiration that is not earlier than the third century B.C.

Familiarity with and reference to the tale of Hero and Leander can be found from the first century B.C. onwards, with the geographer Strabo (ca. 63 B.C.–19 A.D., *Geogr.* 13.1.22), Vergil (*Georgica* 3.258–63), the epigrammatist Antipater of Thessalonica, who lived in the Augustan Age (*AP* 7.666 and 9.215), and in a fragment of a hexameter poem preserved in a first century A.D. papyrus, attributed to an Egyptian “poetaster” (*Suppl. Hell.* 951).⁵ The most complete treatment of the myth is found in *Epistulae* 18 (“Leander Heroni”) and 19 (“Hero Leandro”) in Ovid’s *Heroides*. The story is often mentioned in Imperial Latin literature: Pomponius Mela (*De chorographia* 1.97 and 2.26), Lucan (*Phars.* 9.954–55), Silius Italicus (8.619–21), Papinius Statius (*Silv.* 1.2.87–90 and 1.3.27–28; *Theb.* 6.542–47), Martial (*Spect.* 25a and 25b; 14.181), Cornelius Fronto (*Ep.* 3.14), Ausonius (*Mosella* 287–88; *Cupido cruciatur* 22–23), and Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carm.* 11.70–71). Among Greek authors we find Bishop Hippolytus of Rome (*Ref.* 5.14.10), and the author of epigram *AP* 9.381. However, the myth has also been frequently represented in classical art works, such as in wall paintings at Pompeii, mosaics, reliefs, coins, *contornianti*, jewellery, and lamps. These works almost always depict the same scene of Leander swimming across the Hellespont to the lighthouse at Sestos, where Hero awaits him.⁶

5 See G. D’Ippolito, “Ero e Leandro dai papiri,” in B.G. Mandilaras, S. Adam, et al., eds., *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology, Athens 25–31 May 1986* (Athens, 1988), 481–91.

6 On the saga of Hero and Leander and its reception: Jellinek; “Leandros,” in W.H. Roscher, ed., *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. 2.2 (Leipzig, 1894–97; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), 1919–20 (p. Weiszäcker); E. Sittig, “Hero,” *PW* 8.1 (1912), 909–16; L. Malten, “Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Sagenforschung III. Hero und Leander,” *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 93 (1950) 65–81; S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, vol. 5 (Copenhagen, 1957), 346–47 (T83); H. Hunger, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Vienna, 5th ed., 1959), 151–53; A. Aarne and S. Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale*, 2nd rev. ed. (Helsinki, 1961), no. 666*; *Hero und Leander. Musaios und die weiteren antiken Zeugnisse*, gesammelt und übersetzt von H. Färber (Munich, 1961); B. Murdoch, “Die Bearbeitungen des Hero- und Leander-Stoffes. Zur literarischen Ovid-Rezeption im späten Mittelalter,” *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., 18 (1977) 231–47; *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 6 (Berlin and New York, 1990), 845–51 (J. Jech); A. Kossatz-Deissmann, “Hero et Leander,” *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)*, vol. 8.1 (Zurich and Düsseldorf, 1997), 619–23; C. Wollin, “Hero und Leander an der Themse. Ein unbekanntes Epigramm Peters von Blois,” *Sacris Erudiri* 39 (2000) 383–93 (particularly at 389, 392–93); A. Bajard, “La légende de Léandre et Hérodans la littérature latine: Du thème poétique à l’exploitation

BYZANTINE MIDDLE AGES

The first author to be familiar with Musaeus' *epyllion* is the Egyptian poet Colluthus, who lived under Anastasius I (491–518); in his short poem *De raptu Helenae*, Colluthus evidently imitates Musaeus in some parts. There is a question of authorship concerning epigram AP 9.362, as some scholars have associated it with Musaeus, but it is more likely to be an imitation in the style of Musaeus.⁷ There is more evidence of familiarity with the tale in the Age of Justinian, such as in the description of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople by the poet Paulus Silentiarius, recited in 562, and in a few epigrams (in particular AP 11.64) and passages of the *Historiae* (5.12) by Agathias Scholasticus (died shortly after 580). Likewise, the cento AP 9.381, attributed to Leo the Philosopher (ninth century) by Stadtmüller provides evidence of knowledge of Musaeus, and in the second half of the tenth century the poet John Geometres frequently imitated him.⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Codex Baroccianus 50, the oldest manuscript of Musaeus, copied in southern Italy in the tenth century, contains marginal scholia that are not extensive, but are nevertheless of great importance for the *constitutio textus*. They draw on an older, different tradition compared to what has reached us and were copied in the Baroccianus from a codex in majuscule script.⁹

Echoes of Musaeus are to be found in the texts of the twelfth-century novelists Theodorus Prodromus and Nicetas Eugenianus, who seem to attribute the novel form to the story.¹⁰ An evident reworking of the tale, albeit through Nicetas Eugenianus, is present in a poem by Giovanni Grasso, notary and writer active in Terra d'Otranto in the thirteenth century. This is a dialogue of the dead

théâtrale," *Revue des études latines* 80 (2002) 150–61; *Dizionario letterario Bompiani delle opere e dei personaggi di tutti i tempi e di tutte le letterature*, vol. 3 (Milan, 2005), 3095–96 (L. Fuà); G. Cipriani, "Miti di mare, miti d'amore: La fabula di Ero e Leandro in 'multimedia,'" in S. Rocca, ed., *Latina didaxis*, vol. 22 (Genoa, 2007), 119–95; G. Cipriani, *Ero e Leandro: Un mare d'amore* (Taranto, 2007); M. Moog-Grüneward, ed., *Mythenrezeption. Die antike Mythologie in Literatur, Musik und Kunst von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart and Weimar, 2008), 352–56 (M. Baumbach); Th. Gärtner, "Wer löscht das Feuer? Zur Rezeption der Hero-und-Leander-Sage in Mittelalter, Renaissance und Neuzeit," *Orbis Litterarum* 64 (2009) 263–82; "Hero and Leander," in A. Grafton, G.W. Most, and S. Settis, eds., *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge and London, 2010), 433–34 (E.M. Hull).

7 See M. Brioso Sánchez, "Sobre la autoría de AP 9.362," *Habis* 27 (1996) 247–61.

8 Above all J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis*, vol. 4 (Oxford, 1841; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), 338.34–35.

9 Cf. Eleuteri, 130–33.

10 For the former (ca. 1110–58) see *De Rhodanthes et Dosiclis amoribus*, 2.175–78, and in particular for the latter the lengthy *excursus* on Leander in *De Drosillae et Chariclis amoribus*, 6.471–89.

in twenty-four Byzantine dodecasyllables between Leander and a stranger.¹¹ Three other Byzantine codices dating back to the late thirteenth century and hence prior to the fifteenth century (apart from the above-mentioned tenth-century Baroccianus) are the Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, II D 4; Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. gr. 43; and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 915. All three originate from a single copy now lost, and were produced in Constantinople. The first two are similar from a textual and palaeographical point of view, whereas the third certainly derives from the circle of the scholar Maximus Planudes (ca. 1255–1305), who was also the author of a Greek translation of the *Heroides* by Ovid.

WESTERN MIDDLE AGES

The tale of Hero and Leander circulated in the Western Middle Ages primarily through Ovid's *Heroides* 18 and 19. Fulgentius Mythographus (fifth–sixth century) provided an allegorical interpretation (*Myth.* 1.598 and 613, 3.710). An epigram doubtfully attributed to Luxurius (or Luxorius), a poet who was active in Northern Africa in the first half of the sixth century (*Anthologia latina*, ed. A. Riese, 48; ed. D.R. Shackleton Bailey (Stuttgart, 1982), 35), alludes to the tragic love story. The three *Mythographi Vaticani*, the first two composed between the ninth and eleventh century, and the third in the late twelfth century, take up the story again (*Mythographi Vaticani*, ed. P. Kulcsár, [Turnhout, 1987], 1.28, 2.262; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum latini tres Romae nuper reperti*, ed. G.H. Bode [Cellis, 1834], 3.11.19); the latter also includes Fulgentius' allegorical and moralizing interpretation. The French classicist poet Baudri of Bourgueil (Baldericus Burguliensis, 1046–1130) retells Fulgentius' tale in ode 154 (carmen 154, lines 1139–1242, Baudri de Bourgueil, *Poèmes*, ed. J.-Y. Tilliette, vol. 2 [Paris, 2002]), a transposition in couplets from the *Mitologiae* by Fulgentius, modelled on Ovid's *Heroides*.¹² The poet with the fictitious name of Martius or Marcus Valerius, who lived between the eleventh and twelfth century, mentioned the tale in *Bucolica* 4.56–67 (ed. F. Munari, [Florence, 1955]). Various echoes of the tale are also present in some twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts: the sequence *Parce continuis* attributed to Peter Abelard (1079–1142);¹³ the English writer and

11 M. Gigante, *Poeti bizantini di Terra d'Otranto nel secolo XIII* (Naples, 1979; 2nd rev. and augmented ed., Galatina, 1985), 113–14.

12 J.-Y. Tilliette, "Le retour du grand Pan. Remarques sur une adaptation en vers des 'Mitologiae' de Fulgence à la fin du XI^e siècle (Baudri de Bourgueil, c. 154)," *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., 37 (1996) 65–93, especially at 83–85.

13 H. Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris latinorum* (Göttingen, 1959), 13675; the most recent work is by D.A. Traill, "Parce continuis—A New Text and Interpretative Notes," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 21 (1986) 114–24.

poet Peter of Blois (ca. 1130/5–1211/2), who composed an epigram on the story taken from *Heroides*;¹⁴ *accessus* and commentary on Ovid's *Her.* 18 and 19 contained in a twelfth-century Munich manuscript;¹⁵ the historian William of Tyre (ca. 1130–86) in his *Chronicon*, chapter 20, section 24;¹⁶ the English scholar Alexander Neckam (1157–1217) in his ode *De commendatione vini* 1, 19–22.¹⁷ The tale is even echoed in the twelfth-century hagiographic tale of a miracle performed by the Virgin Mary (*De clerico et moniali lascivis*), set in Lindau on the Bodensee in Bavaria.¹⁸

In French medieval literature the tale is present in the second revision of the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, an extensive thirteenth-century historical compilation, in which at least fourteen *Heroides* are included (*Heroides* 18 and 19 among them);¹⁹ and in the fourth book of *Ovide moralisé*, an early fourteenth-century compilation of mythological texts written in over seventy thousand lines.²⁰

In fourteenth-century Italian literature the tale of Hero and Leander was known to Dante (*Purg.* 28.73),²¹ Petrarch (*Triumphus Cupidinis* III 21), and Boccaccio (above all *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta*, ch. 8). It is likely that in the 1320s a Florentine notary, Filippo Ceffi, vernacularized the *Heroides* and in the early fifteenth century the Siennese writer Domenico da Monticchiello at the court of Galeazzo Visconti turned the poems into octaves, modelled on Ceffi's work.²² The Venetian writer Giovanni Girolamo Nadal rewrote the story in his

- 14 C. Wollin, "Hero und Leander an der Themse. Ein unbekanntes Epigramm Peters von Blois," *Sacris erudiri* 39 (2000) 383–93.
- 15 R.J. Hexter, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling: Studies in Medieval School Commentaries on Ovid's Ars amatoria, Epistulae ex Ponto, and Epistulae heroidum* (Munich, 1986), 289–96.
- 16 R.B.C. Huygens, H.E. Mayer, and G. Rösch, eds., *Willelmi Tyrensis archiepiscopi chronicon* (Turnhout, 1986).
- 17 M. Esposito, "On Some Unpublished Poems Attributed to Alexander Neckam," *English Historical Review* 30 (1915) 450–71, at 453.
- 18 E. Winkler, "Eine mittelalterlich-kirchliche Fassung der Sage von Hero und Leander," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 132 (1914) 405–8.
- 19 L. Constans, "Une traduction française des Héroïdes d'Ovide au XIII^e siècle," *Romania* 43 (1914) 177–98; Italian *volgarizzamenti* also exist: cf. G. Ronchi, "I volgarizzamenti italiani dell'*Histoire ancienne*. La sezione tebana," in *Studi su volgarizzamenti italiani due-trecenteschi*, a cura di P. Rinoldi and G. Ronchi (Rome, 2005), 99–162.
- 20 D. Lechat, "Héro et Léandre dans l'*Ovide moralisé*," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 9 (2002): <http://crm.revues.org//index54.html>.
- 21 In his commentary on Dante, written in about 1324–28, Iacomo della Lana narrates the story briefly: *Iacomo della Lana, Commento alla Commedia*, a cura di M. Volpi, con la collaborazione di A. Terzi, vol. 2 (Rome, 2009), 1535–36.
- 22 On Ceffi see now *Ovidio, Heroides. Volgarizzamento fiorentino trecentesco di Filippo Ceffi*, ed. M. Zaggia, vol. 1 (Florence, 2009), 599–624 (*Heroides* 18 and 19); on Domenico da Monticchiello see E. Bellorini, *Note sulle traduzioni italiane delle Eroidi d'Ovidio anteriori al Rinascimento* (Turin, 1900), 41–56.

Leandreride, an immense work composed in tercets (5338 lines) between ca. 1381 and 1382.²³

The first reference to the story of Hero and Leander in German medieval literature is to be found in the Middle High German poem *Hero und Leander* (486 lines), included in the “Liedersaal-Handschrift,” a collection of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century German poetry. This poem appears to be a direct translation of Ovid, although it is not the only source.²⁴ In about 1412, the Dutch poet Dirc Potter (ca. 1368/70–1428) wrote *Der minnen loep*, an extensive verse treatise on love that also makes use of Ovidian material. The story of Hero and Leander is told in book 2, lines 119–340 (*Der minnen loep*, ed. P. Leendertz [Leiden, 1845–47]), in which the letter from Hero to Leander takes up a sizable part (lines 193–336). In Sebastian Brandt’s moral satire (ca. 1457–1521) *Das Narrenschiff* (Basel, 1494), Leander is included in the catalogue of fools in love (13.49). The legend is also featured in German popular literature in the late Middle Ages in the ballad “Es waren zwei Königskinder,”²⁵ whose tradition is vast.

RENAISSANCE

In the fifteenth century there are no translations of Musaeus prior to Aldus Manutius (ca. 1498).²⁶ However, the original text was widespread in the Age of Humanism up to the early sixteenth century, and twenty-seven Greek manuscripts were produced in this period, all in Italy. The different parts of the stemma can be traced back to Rome to Cardinal Bessarion and his circle. In the 1450s a copy, now lost, which presumably originated in Florence, gave rise to many other texts, the majority of which were produced in erudite circles at the court of the Medici family. The origin of some manuscripts has been traced back to Venice.

Antonius Volscus (Antonio Costanzi) from Piperno (second half of the fifteenth century), professor at the University of Rome and member of the Roman Academy of Pomponio Leto, sums up the story in the edition of Ovid’s *Heroides*

23 Giovanni Girolamo Nadal, *Leandreride*, edizione critica con commento a cura di E. Lippi (Padua, 1996).

24 The text in S. Singer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Lesebuch. Texte des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Bern, 1945), 38–45; see “Hero und Leander,” *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 3 (Berlin and New York, 1981), 1122–23 (W. Fechter); vol. 11 (2004) 649.

25 *Deutsche Volkslieder. Balladen*, hrsg. von J. Meier, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1935), 197–222 (eight versions).

26 On Latin translations in the Renaissance see B.K. Baiopoulos, “Λατινικές μεταφράσεις στο ποίημα Τὰ καθ’ Ἡρῶ καὶ Λέανδρον Μουσαίου του Γραμματικού,” *ΕΕΦΣΠΘ*, τεύχ. Τμήματος Φιλολογίας” 10 (2002) 318–31, and *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa. Secoli XV–XVI*, a cura di M. Cortesi and S. Fiaschi, vol. 1 (Florence, 2008), 1053–57 (with mistakes and omissions).

published in Venice in 1481 (*arg.* 18, fol. giii^v), but incorrectly attributes it to Philostratus.²⁷

The first printed Greek edition of Musaeus was published in Florence almost certainly in 1494 by Lorenzo Francesco de Alopa, edited by the philologist and eminent Byzantine scholar Janus Lascaris (d. 1534), who was also responsible for publishing other important editions such as the *Planudean Anthology* (1494), Lucian (1496), and Apollonius Rhodius (1496). The text is printed in capital letters and offers numerous textual conjectures.²⁸ Aldus Manutius' edition was probably published in Venice in 1495, and may have been edited by the Cretan humanist Marcus Musurus (ca. 1470–1517), although it cannot be ruled out that Aldus himself edited the work. The edition is undated, and Aldus himself states in his prefatory letter that he intended to print Musaeus before embarking on the printing of Aristotle's works, which were soon to be published. The edition of Aristotle's works began to come out on 1 November 1495, so the Musaeus edition would have been printed much earlier. Moreover, a second hand in the codex Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. gr. 166 revised the text, which was finished on 4 September 1495, on the basis of the Aldine edition. Hence, it is reasonable to suggest that the Aldine edition was printed between this date and 1 November 1495. At first, Aldus printed only the Greek text, using the codex Modena, Biblioteca Estense, alpha R.7.18, after it had been corrected. The codex may have belonged to Musurus or at least would have been accessible to him. The Latin translation was added prior to October 1498, when the work appeared in the Aldine catalogue *cum interpretatione latina*, but not before 1497. Indeed, this last date seems to be the most reliable, considering the presence of the paragraph sign. The translation was traditionally attributed to Musurus until 1976, when Martin Sicherl identified the hand of Aldus in a manuscript at the Bibliothèque Humaniste of Sélestat (K 930 [336 = K 930c]), which also proved to be the copy used for the printed edition. In the edition there are also two Greek epigrams by Musurus on Musaeus, together with the Latin translation. The Greek text and the Latin translation effectively became the *vulgata* during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and were reprinted many times (Venice, 1517; Florence, 1519; Paris, 1538; Geneva, 1584; Geneva, 1600; Geneva, 1606; Geneva, 1612; Geneva, 1639), often with only a few minor corrections (see below, Composite Editions).

27 On Volscus see CTC 3.273 and 9.218–20.

28 ΓΝΩΜΑΙ ΜΟΝΟΣΤΙΧΟΙ ΕΚ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΩΝ ΠΟΙΗΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟΝ ΣΥΝΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΑΙ. ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΥ ΤΑ ΚΑΘΗΡΩ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΑΝΔΡΟΝ (Musaeus fols. b4v–c2v). H 7787; Hoffmann 2.605; Legrand 1.41; Eleuteri, 34, 94–95 and pl. XXIV; *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century Now in the Bodleian Library*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 2005), 1144 (G-161).

In 1511 the Latin translation by Guillaume de la Mare (1451–1525) was published by Josse Badius Ascensius in Paris. A second edition of the translation came out in 1514, in which the translation alternates with the commentary by Jean Vatel (as occurred in the subsequent reprints in Paris, 1538 and Frankfurt, 1627); this edition was reprinted in Cologne in 1526 without the dedications and Vatel's commentary. It is likely that only the Greek text was printed in Paris by Gilles de Gourmont and Jean Marchant in around 1512.²⁹ The Cretan scholar Demetrius Ducas (ca. 1480–ca. 1527), one of Aldus' collaborators and editor of Greek texts, printed the Greek text of Musaeus in Alcalà in 1514—the second Greek work to be published in Spain—basing it on the Aldine edition.³⁰ Another copy of the Aldine edition is the Greek text printed in Cologne in 1517.³¹

Johann Froben (ca. 1460–1527), who had been printing since 1494 in Basel, published five editions in January 1518: Musaeus, Agapetus, *Galeomyomachia* by Theodorus Prodromus, Aesop, and *Batrachomyomachia*. These texts were essentially intended for teaching Greek, as can be ascertained from the preface to Aesop. They were gathered together and republished in 1524, accompanied by a new prefatory letter: here Froben acknowledges that the 1521 edition of the *Scriptores aliquot gnomici*, in which he had published some texts from the 1518 edition in addition to others only in Greek (not Musaeus, however), had not been popular with those who intended to learn Greek. The text and the translation are essentially based on the Aldine edition. None of the numerous reprints differs very much from the others: 1530, 1534, 1538, 1541, 1542, 1544, 1546, 1547, 1549, 1550, 1553, 1558, 1561, 1567, 1574, 1584, 1593, 1601, 1616, 1619, and 1650.³²

In Florence Filippo Giunta's heirs published the Greek text together with the Latin translation in 1519, both based on the 1517 Aldine edition. This edition was edited by Antonio Francini (after 1480–after 1537), an active collaborator of the Giunta family.

29 *Musaeus De Leandri et Herus amoribus*. Hoffmann 2.605 (ca. 1507); B. Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*, vol. 2, 1511–1520 (Paris, 1977), 150, no. 411. The edition is rather rare. NUC. BL; BNF. Reprinted ca. 1522, *Musaeus De Leandri et Herus amoribus* (Paris: Jean Cheradame, Gilles (et Jean) de Gourmont, s.d.). Cf. *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*, vol. 3, 1521–1530 (Paris, 1985), 145, no. 376. BL; Oxford, Bod. Lib.

30 Μουσαίου ποιημάτων τὰ καθ' ἑρῶν καὶ λέανδρον (Alcalà, 1514). *Musaei opusculum de erone et leandro* (fols. A2r–A8v); two Greek epigrams by Musurus from the Aldine edition and a Greek epigram by Ducas himself (fol. 1v). Legrand 1.120–21; D.J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 237–38; J.M. Abad, *La imprenta en Alcalá de Henares (1502–1600)*, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1991), 235–36.

31 *Musaei antiquissimi poetae, De Leandri et Herus amoribus* (Coloniae (Cologne): apud Eucharium Ceruicornum habitantem prope domum consulatus, 1517). Hoffmann 2.606. Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

32 See below, Composite Editions.

There is little solid evidence for dating the translation by the Veronese doctor Ioannes Baptista Montanus (Giovanni Battista Da Monte, 1489–1551), although it seems to be a work undertaken in his early years. The translation (ca. four hundred hexameters), conserved in a single codex that lacks the last lines, is neither literal nor accurate and often tends to be too wordy compared to the Greek text. In addition, there are several spelling mistakes, which in some cases modify the metrics.

An unpublished 413-hexameter translation was undertaken by the humanist from Como, Benedictus Jovius (Benedetto Giovio, 1472–1545), brother of the historian Paolo. In Paris in 1538 Christian Wechel published an edition of the Greek text only, based on the Aldine edition,³³ with the addition of the Latin translation by Aldus later in the same year. The Greek edition was reprinted in 1548.³⁴ In 1540 a reprint of the 1519 Iuntina Greek text was published in Florence.³⁵ The Greek edition published in Venice in 1543 by the Farri brothers also derives from the Aldine edition.³⁶

Kaspar Schütz (ca. 1540–94), German historian and poet, composed a Latin translation in 418 hexameters preserved in one autograph codex (Elbląg, Bibl. Elbląska im. C. Norwida, 28), which also contains various other poems by him partly published between 1561 and 1569. Hence, the translation of Musaeus may be datable to the early 1560s, when Schütz was professor of poetry in Königsberg.

The breakthrough in attempting to establish a critical text was made by Henri II Estienne (ca. 1531–98), the eminent French scholar and editor of classical texts. The Greek text was published in the collection *Poetae Graeci principes heroici carminis*, in Geneva in 1566, reconstructed on the basis of the two first

33 *Musaei opusculum de Herone et Leandro. Sententiae monostichi ex varijs poetis* (Paris: Chr. Wechel, 1538). *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle*, vol. 5, 1536–1540 (Paris, 2004), 302, no. 995. The *Sententiae* follow the 1517 Iuntina. BNF; New York, Public Lib.; Oxford, Bod. Lib.; Paris, Bibl. Mazarine; Rome, BNC.

34 *Musaei opusculum de Herone et Leandro. Sententiae monostichi ex varijs poetis* (Paris, 1548). BNF; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

35 *Hesiodi Opera et dies et Theogonia & Clypeus. Theognidis Sententiae. Sibyllae Carmina de Christo, quorum mentionem facit Eusebius et Augustinus. Musaei opusculum de Herone et Leandro Orphei Argonautica, Hymni, et de Lapidibus. Phocylidis Paraenesis* (Florentiae [Florence]: per Benedictum Iunctam, 1540). A.M. Bandini, *De Florentina Iuntarum typographia eiusque censoribus ex qua Graeci, Latini, Tusci scriptores ope codicum manuscriptorum a viris clarissimis pristinae integritati restituti in lucem prodierunt*, vol. 2 (Lucca, 1791), 234; Graesse 3.262. Florence, BNC; Rome, BNC; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

36 *Hesiodi Opera et dies, et Theogonia, et Clypeus. Theognidis Sententiae. Sibyllae Carmina de Christo, quorum mentionem facit Eusebius et Augustinus. Musaei Opusculum de Herone et Leandro. Orphei Argonautica, Hymni, et De lapidibus. Phocylidis Paraenesis* (Venetiis [Venice]: ex officina Farrea. 1543). Musaeus fols. Iiii^r–Ki^r, prefaced by Marcus Musurus' epigram on Musaeus (ed. Legrand 1.21–22), followed fol. Ki^r by epitaph on Musaeus AP 7.615. Graesse 3.262; NUC. BNF; Rome, BNC; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

editions, with indications of the respective variants in the margin.³⁷ The critical text by Stephanus was the basis for the Latin translation published in Antwerp in 1575 by the Fleming Andreas Papius (1542–81). The edition is accompanied by brief notes of a philological and interpretive nature.³⁸ In 1584 Jean Crespin's (ca. 1520–72) Genevan press, which was run by Crespin's son-in-law Eustache Vignon after his death, republished the bilingual edition of the Greek poets, which Crespin had published in four volumes in 1569, this time including Musaeus, which reproduced one of the two Aldine editions or the 1519 Iuntina.³⁹

The scholarly Friulian Fabius Paulinus (Fabio Paolini, ca. 1535–1605) composed his Latin translation of Musaeus in hexameters when he was young, *adolescens*, as he writes on the title page of the 1587 edition and in his letter addressed to the Venetian politician Giovanni Gritti, which is thus presumably at the beginning of the 1550s. The edition also contains the translations of *Fabulae* by Babrius, of *Galeomyomachia* by Theodorus Prodromus, of the prophecy of the Sybil about Jesus Christ (*Oracula Sibyllina* 8.217–50), taken from *Oratio Constantini ad sanctorum coetum* (chapter 18) by Eusebius of Caesarea, and of *Batrachomyomachia*.

In 1595 Eilhardus Lubinus (1565–1621), German philologist, geographer and professor of Theology, published the Greek text of Musaeus in Rostock with his own Latin translation in 339 hexameters.

The Latin translation by Florens Christianus (Florent Chrestien, 1542–96), in 350 hexameters, was posthumously published by Robert Estienne III (1608), added as an appendix to the Latin translation of 825 epigrams of the *Greek Anthology*. The translation appears to have been based on Henri Estienne's edition (1566), as was the translation of the *Greek Anthology*. Moreover, there appears to have been a commentary to the text, but this has not survived.

William Gager (1555–1622), English poet and playwright, translated Musaeus in 452 hexameters in Oxford between 1577 and 1580; the translation is conserved in the codex London, British Library, Add. 22583.

37 *Poetae Graeci Principes heroici carminis, et alii nonnulli. Homerus, Hesiodus, Orpheus, Callim., Aratus, Nicand., Theocrit., Moschus, Bion, Dionysius, Coluthus, Tryphiodorus, Musaeus, Theognis, Phocylides, Pythagorae aurea carmina, Fragmenta aliorum* ([Geneva]: excudebat Henricus Stephanus, 1566), 419–27 (last pagination), with marginal corrections and emendations; on p. 487 a note on the manuscript of the work, seen in Genoa by Michael Sophianus (d. 1565), which was entitled Μουσαίου γραμματικῶν τὰ καθ' ἡρῶν καὶ λέανδρον (Eleuteri, 36–37). A.A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1843), 126; J. Kecskeméti, J. Céard, B. Boudou, and H. Cazes, *La France des humanistes. Henri II Estienne, éditeur et écrivain* (Turnhout, 2003), 144–65.

38 The translation was reprinted in 1617, 1645, and 1737.

39 *Vetustissimorum auctorum Georgica, Bucolica, et Gnomica poemata quae supersunt*, ([Geneva], 1569). On the 1569 edition see J.-F. Gilmont, *Bibliographie des éditions de Jean Crespin 1550–1572*, vol. 1 (Verviers, 1981), 217–20. Reprinted 1600, 1612, 1639.

One William Croft, an Englishman who lived between the sixteenth and seventeenth century, is the author of a Latin translation in 355 hexameters contained in codex Holkham Hall, 435 and dedicated to Edward Coke (1552–1634), English jurist and politician. The dedication and translation in all probability date back to between 1613 and 1616. The translation is also accompanied by a brief commentary.

AFTER 1600

The codex of Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Gudian. gr. 105.2 (s. XVI–XVII), contains on fols. 21v–38r the Greek text accompanied by a Latin translation, which appears to reproduce the 1549 or 1567 edition; the text is prefaced on fols. 20v–21r by Musurus' epigrams on Musaeus and followed on fols. 39v–47r by a short word index with Latin explanations). The scribe dedicated the codex to a certain Urbanus Rack.⁴⁰ The codex, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 322 is a miscellany that contains on fols. 1r–105a^r autograph Latin translations by the German scholar Lucas Holstenius (Lukas Holste; Hamburg 1596–Rome 1661): the complete translation of *Vita Pythagorica* by Iamblichus and two fragmentary translations of *De communi mathematica scientia* and *De mysteriis*, datable to the 1620s or 1630s; on fols. 165r–175v and 185r–186r, again by Holstenius, notes on Euripides and Latin excerpts from Stobaeus; on fols. 155r–164r, written by another hand, but of the same period, “De Leandro et Ero ex Musaeo”, and a translation of the entire poem, [*Inc.*] *Musa mihi iuvenem memora, quem nocte natantem, [Expl.] Ultima non illam diduxit funeris hora.*⁴¹ The Oxford codex, Bodleian Library, lat. class. e. 18 (Western 34085), late s. XVII in England, contains a *Clavis* or explanatory and etymological glossary of Musaeus' Greek text, with alphabetical index.⁴² The codex of

40 [*Inc.*] *Dic dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, [Expl.] Seinvicem autem fruiti sunt etiam in suprema morte.* Cf. F. Koeler and G. Milchsack, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, vol. 4 (1966 ed. vol. 9), *Die Gudischen Handschriften* (Wolfenbüttel, 1913; repr. Frankfurt a.M., 1966), 72–74; Eleuteri, 30–31.

41 On the translations of Iamblichus and the codex see M. Sicherl, *Die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Übersetzungen von Iamblichos De mysteriis. Eine kritisch-historische Studie* (Berlin, 1957), 193–95 with pl. XVI; see also Kristeller, *Iter* 2.458. Holstenius was the author of brief exegetic notes in Greek in lines 3–66 of Musaeus, an autograph conserved in the codex, Vatican City, BAV, Barb. gr. 69, fols. 94r–96v; it may be dated to the period in which Holstenius was librarian of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, namely from 1636: see U. Criscuolo, “A proposito di un incompiuto commento di Luca Holste a Museo,” *Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Bollettino del comitato per la preparazione dell'edizione nazionale dei classici greci e latini*, n.s., 18 (1970) 65–71.

42 F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 6 (Oxford, 1924), 299.

Dubrovnik, Franjevački Samostan Male Braće, 1165 (s. XVIII), on fols. 1r–2r contains an anonymous and incomplete Latin translation.⁴³

In 1606 Rudolf Diephold (1572–1626), professor of Greek at the University of Helmstedt from 1605, published the Greek text introduced by a prefatory letter in Latin.⁴⁴ In the same year Jacques Lect (Lectius), Swiss juriconsult and learned scholar (1560–1611), reprinted the Greek text from the Stephanus edition with the Latin translation from the Aldine edition or a subsequent reprint.⁴⁵

Caspar Barth (Küstrin 1587–Leipzig 1658) studied Classics at the University of Wittenberg (1607), travelled widely in Germany, Italy, Holland, and France, was the author of numerous works, including commentaries and notes on classical authors.⁴⁶ In 1608 he published the Greek text of Musaeus in Amberg together with his own Latin translation, followed by *In Musaeum notae*, which the author proudly asserts to have written in four days.⁴⁷ Barth published his revised and corrected Latin translation in 1624 as an appendix to *Pornoboscodidascalus latinus*, a translation of the Spanish book *Celestina* (1499); he explains that for the 1608 edition he had provided a long commentary to the text, but this had not been published.⁴⁸ In the same year, in the voluminous *Adversariorum commentariorum libri LX* he provided the collation of lines 1–67 from a codex Palatinus, now lost, and printed the *Secundae nostrae in Musaeum notae*, in which he complains of having given the printer his annotations of Musaeus six years earlier, but of still not having any reply from him.⁴⁹ It is worth mentioning that Barth also composed *Leandridos libri III*, a Latin epic poem in 1701 hexameters.⁵⁰

43 *Musaei grammatici de Hero et Leandro*, only 111 lines (= 91 Greek lines), [*Inc.*] *Diva mihi testem furtivi lampada amoris*, [*Expl.*] *agitabant pectora flammis*. Kristeller, *Iter* 5.437.

44 ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΥ ΤΑ ΚΑΘ' ΗΡΩ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΑΝΔΡΟΝ (Helmstadii [Helmstedt]: in academia Iulia, 1605). VD17 32:624535D. Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibl.

45 See below, Composite Editions.

46 Cf. ADB 2.101–2 (F.A. Eckstein); NDB 1.605 (F.-W. Wentzlaff-Eggebert); CTC 3.335–36, 6.11; DBE 1.300 (ed. of 2005, 1.337); W. Zrenner, “Der Humanist Caspar von Barth (1587–1658),” *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Goethe-Gesellschaft*, 106/107 (2002/2003) 155–85.

47 *Musaeus De Herone et Leandro: a Caspare Barthio interpretatus et illustratus* (Ambergae [Amberg]: ex Typographeo Schönfeldiano, 1608). Hoffmann 2.606; VD17 3:610404A. Latin translation [*Inc.*] *Dic, Dea, tectorum testem mihi lampada Amorum*.

48 *Pornoboscodidascalus latinus* (Francofurti [Frankfurt a.M.]: Typis Wecheliani, apud Danielelem et Dauidem Aubrios et Clementem Schleichium, 1624). Introduction *Candido lectori* p. 394. Hoffmann 2.610; VD17 23:271391W. On pp. 451–62 of *C. Barthi Musaei de Hero et Leandro latina versio*, [*Inc.*] *Dic Dea caecorum testem mihi lampada Amorum*.

49 *Casp. Barthi Adversariorum commentariorum libri LX* (Frankfurt a.M., 1624), 354–57, 1006–9.

50 *Casp. Barthi opuscula varia. Nunc primum edita* (Hanoviae [Hannover], 1612), 92–148, reprinted in 1624, *Pornoboscodidascalus latinus*, 395–450 (and in Pareus ed. 1627, 169–208). Cf. Jellinek, 28–37. It is worth mentioning that in *Heroum infelicitium Liber unus* (pp. 151–80) the second composition is dedicated to Hero (pp. 152–54).

Johann Weitz (Hohenkirchen 1576–Gotha? 1642), *rector* of the grammar school in Gotha and scholar of classical texts, is the author of a commentary (1613), complete with an index of words, the very first to be printed.⁵¹ Bernhard Melethraeus (Strick; Stade 1595–Hamburg, 1645), *subrector* and *conrector* in Hamburg, translator of the *Aeneid* in German (1644), provided an annotated Latin translation (1624).⁵² Daniel Pareus (Wängler; Neuhausen 1605–Kaiserlautern, 1635?), son of Johann Philipp, German historian and philologist, editor of Quintilianus (1629), Lucretius and Heliodorus (1631), in 1627 published Musaeus in a collection of Greek poetry dedicated to Melchior Goldast von Haminsfeld (1578–1635). The text and the Latin translation are probably based on the 1519 Iuntina, followed by an extensive commentary.⁵³

Ralph Winterton (Leicestershire 1600–36), fellow of King's College, Cambridge, published Musaeus in his *Poetae minores Graeci* (Cambridge, 1635, reprinted several times). He reproduced the 1566 Stephanus edition for the Greek, and based the Latin translation on the 1600 Crispinus edition.⁵⁴ Paulus Voet (Heusden 1619–Utrecht 1667), Dutch historian, philologist, and jurist, in 1645 reprinted the text of the 1575 Papius, accompanied by brief annotations.⁵⁵ David Whitford (1626–74), English soldier and scholar, published the text with his own Latin translation in 1655, in a collection of Greek poetry addressed to

51 *Notae in Musæum Una Cum Indice Conscriptae à Johanne Weitzio* (Ambergae: Johann Schönfeld, 1613). VD17 23:620509X. *L'Europe des humanistes*, 429; J.L. Food, *Poets laureate in the Holy Roman Empire. A bio-bibliographical handbook*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 2006), 2220–23.

52 *Musaei antiqui et nobilis poetae elegantissimum poematione de amore Heronis et Leandri: denuo nunc quam emendatissime in lucem datum, cum versione Latina et scholiis Bernhardi Melethraei* (Hamburg, 1624). Jöcher 3.395.

53 See below, Composite Editions. In the volume the translation by Guillaume de la Mare, *Leandris* by Caspar Barth and the French translation by Clément Marot are also reprinted. Jöcher 3.1254; ADB 25.167 (R. Hoche), and *Die deutschen Humanisten. Dokumente zur Überlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur in der frühen Neuzeit*, part 1, *Die Kurpfalz*, vol. 2, David Pareus, Johann Philipp Pareus, und Daniel Pareus, eds. W. Kühlmann, V. Hartmann, S. El Kholi, and B. Spiekermann (Turnhout, 2010), 883–96 (on the edition 888–96). The text of Μουσαίου Τὰ καθ' Ἑρῶ καὶ Λέανδρον. *Musaei De Hero et Leandro poema elegantissimum. Cum interpretatione Latina recognita* (Lipsiae (Leipzig): Impensis Zachariae Schüreri, et Matthiae Götzii. Excudebat Fridericus Lanckisch, 1628), entitled *Musaei Lusus de amoribus Herus et Leandri*, [Inc.] Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, seems to be a reprint of the 1627 Pareus edition. VD17 23:281352F.

54 See below, Composite Editions. R. Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1824), 975, letter l.

55 *Musaei Hero et Leander. Notulas adiecit Paullus Voetius* (Ultraiecti [Utrecht]: ex officina Gisberti a Zyl, 1645). *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 3 (Leiden, 1914), 1329–30 (J. van Kuyk); R. Dekkers, *Bibliotheca Belgica juridica* (Brussels, 1951), 181–82.

Edward Bysshe (ca. 1615–79), reprinted in 1659 without the dedication.⁵⁶ Johann Friedrich Stapel (Stapelius), from 1659 minister in Wollen near Lübeck, author of religious homilies and essays, is said to have produced a Latin edition, but this has not survived.⁵⁷ Jacques du Rondel (ca. 1630–1715), Protestant philosopher and writer, professor at the Huguenot Academy in Sedan, in 1678 published an annotated Greek and Latin edition of Musaeus, in which he also copied the collation of a codex from Paris, probably Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 2600.⁵⁸ Charles Blake (Reading 1664–York 1730), prebendary (1716), and Archdeacon of York (1720), in 1693 translated the text into Latin.⁵⁹ Johann Heinrich Kromayer (Schulpforte 1689–Jena 1734), professor in Jena, published the text in 1721, based on the Stephanus edition and annotated throughout, in which the author attempts to eliminate any criticism that could damage Musaeus; he also reprints the Voet Latin translation. The collection of unpublished contributions that are cited is useful.⁶⁰ The Orientalist Hermann von der Hardt (Melle 1660–Helmstedt 1746) in 1725 published a Greek and Latin edition, in which he interpreted the *epyllion* in an allegorical manner: Sestos is the Western Empire and Abydos the Eastern Empire, Hero is Rome, Leander Byzantium.⁶¹ The young Dutch jurist and philologist Matthias Röver (Delft 1719–1803) with his 1737 edition was the first to provide the *constitutio textus* with a more solid base, using all the manuscripts (in particular Oxford, Bodleian Library, Baroccianus 50 for the first time, the oldest testimony to Musaeus) and the editions familiar to him.⁶²

- 56 *The Compact Edition of the Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1975), 124–25.
- 57 See n. 60 below J.H. Kromayer, ed., *Musaei Grammatici de Hero et Leandro* (1721), 14; Jöcher 4.776.
- 58 *Musaei de Herone et Leandro Carmen. Cum notis Jacobi Rondellii* (Paris: apud Ludovicum Billaine, 1678); Hoffmann 2.607.
- 59 *Lusus amatorius sive, Musaei Poema de Herone et Leandro, e Graeca in Latinam Linguam Translatum, Authore C. B.* (Londini [London], 1693, corrected 1692), [Inc.]: (p. 1) *Lampada, furtivos quae conscia vidit amores*, [Expl.]: (p. 15) *Qui non a sese poterant vel morte revelli*. About him see *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 5 (New York and London, 1886), 169.
- 60 *Musaei Grammatici de Hero et Leandro Poema recensuit, notis C. Barthii, Jo. Weitzii, P. Voetii, C.A. Hermannii, C. Schoettengeni, I.M. Gesneri, St. Bergleri, I.A. Groeblii, et suis, indicibusque, instruxit, ac de Musaei dissertationem praemisit Io. Henri. Kromayerus* (Haleae Magdeburgicae [Halle], 1721). The edition was reprinted in Leipzig in 1725.
- 61 *Musaei grammatici de Hero et Leandro carmen. Illustris historia antiqua civilis seculo IV et V ancipitibus veteris Romae et Imperii Romani fati Arcadio et Honorio Caesaribus, occidentali et orientali imperio diviso, Stilichone belli duce vivo et defuncto* (Helmstadii [Helmstadt], Schnorrius, 1725). For more about him see ADB 10.595–96 (O. v. Heinemann), NDB 7.668–69 (H. Bardtke).
- 62 ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ Τὰ ΚΑΘ’ ἩΡΩ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΑΝΔΡΟΝ. *Musaei Grammatici de Herone et Leandro carmen. Cum scholiis graecis nunc primum e codice MS. Bibliothecae Bodlejanae editis. Ex recensione Matthiae Röver qui variantes lectiones et notas adiecit*

The first modern edition which can be defined as critical is the one by Carl Diltthey (1874). Of the sixteen manuscripts known to him he used the four oldest ones, apparently unconcerned with the problem of a thorough *recensio*, but rather intervening directly in the text in an excessive and hypercritical manner, often in order to model Musaeus more closely on Nonnus.⁶³ However, a more complete overview of the manuscript tradition and an acceptable, but not always uniform *constitutio textus* would only arrive as late as the nineteenth century, with the studies and edition by Arthur Ludwich (1896 and 1912 respectively). The latest critical edition is by Enrico Livrea and Paolo Eleuteri (1982).⁶⁴

VERNACULAR TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

On the translations into modern languages see Hoffmann 2.610–12; Kost, 75–84; *Geschichte der antiken Texte. Autoren- und Werklexikon*, eds. B. Egger and M. Landfester (Stuttgart and Weimar, 2007), 409.

A. Italian (up to ca. 1750)

In general see F.S. Quadrio, *Della storia, e della ragione d'ogni poesia*, vol. 4 (Milan, 1749), 429–31; J. Paitoni, *Biblioteca degli autori antichi Greci, e Latini volgarizzati*, vol. 2 (Venice, 1766), 252–54; vol. 3 (Venice, 1767), 80; F. Argelati, *Biblioteca degli volgarizzatori*, vol. 3 (Milan, 1767), 46–47; vol. 4 (Milan, 1767), 345; Fabricius and Harles 1.133; F. Federici, *Degli scrittori greci e delle italiane versioni delle loro opere* (Padua, 1828), 8–11; Hoffmann, 2.610–11; Kost, 75–76; B. Rizzardi, “Ero e Leandro: Le occasioni di un mito umano,” in M. Curreli and F. Ciompi, eds., *Many-voicèd Fountains. Studi di anglistica e comparatistica in onore di Elsa Linguanti* (Pisa, 2003), 78–91 (especially on Bernardo Tasso, 81–83); P. Eleuteri, “Le traduzioni italiane dell’Ero e Leandro di Museo nel Rinascimento,” in M. D’Agostino and P. Degni, eds., *Alethes philia. Studi in onore di Giancarlo Prato* (Spoleto, 2010), 365–88.

Bernardo Tasso (Venice 1493–Ostiglia 1569), father of Torquato, wrote a paraphrase of Musaeus in 679 free hendecasyllables, *Favola di Leandro e d’Ero*, published for the first time in *Libro terzo de gli amori* (Venice, 1537) and republished during his lifetime in Venice in 1555 (*I tre libri de gli Amori*) and in 1560 (*Rime*).

(Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden]: Apud Theodorum Haak, 1737); [*Inc.*]: (p. 3) Dic, Dea, occultorum testem lychnum amorum, [*Expl.*]: (p. 63) Suique invicem potiti sunt etiam in ultima pernicie. He also reprints the translations by Andreas Papius (pp. 64–76), Florent Chrestien (pp. 77–89), and David Whitford (pp. 90–101).

63 *Musaei grammatici carmen de Hero et Leandro*, recensuit C. Diltthey (Bonn, 1874).

64 An almost complete list of the editions in Hoffmann 2.605–610; Kost, 592–95; Livrea and Eleuteri, eds., XVI–XIX.

Pietro Angèli (humanistic name Pier Angelio Bargeo, Petrus Angelius Bargeus) (Barga 1517–Pisa 1596) taught Greek and Latin in Reggio Emilia (1546–48) and was professor at the University of Pisa 1549–86 and from 1592. He was author of Latin poems, of a Latin translation of *Strategemata* by Polyaeus (Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 47.14) and of an Italian translation of Sophocles' *Oedipus rex* (Florence, 1588).

Manuscript:

(CD-ROM) Reggio Emilia, Bibl. Panizzi, Reggiano F 177, cart., s. XVII, fols. 10r–25r (Kristeller, *Iter* 2.84a). *Museo del amor di Leandro et di Hero tradotto dal greco nel verso toscano da P. A. B.* [*Inc.*]: Cantiamo, o santa dea, l'accesa face / già testimon degli amorosi furti . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: così nel fin dela lor vita estremo / si goderan tra lor amenduo insieme. 489 lines of blank verse.

Bibliography:

Cosenza 1.182–84, 5 nos. 86–88; DBI 3.201–4 (A. Asor-Rosa); Eleuteri, “Le traduzioni italiane,” 375–78; *L'Europe des humanistes*, 38; A. Maranini, “L'Ordo historicus di Bargeo,” *Schede Umanistiche*, n.s., 1 (1998) 39–65; N. Ruzzenenti, “Una crociata diversa: Osservazioni sulla ‘Syrias’ di Pietro Angèli da Barga,” *Studi Tassiani* 48 (2000) 53–65.

Giovanni da Falgano, one of Pietro Vettori's pupils, who was active in Florence in the 1560s and 1570s, translated Hesiod into Italian, *Hippolytus* and *Hecuba* by Euripides (1571 and 1572), *Batrachomyomachia*, *De sublimitate* by Pseudo-Longinus (1575) and *Christus patiens* (ca. 1575). The translation of Musaeus is an unpublished autograph (768 hendecasyllables).

Manuscript:

Florence, BNC, Pal. 227, s. XVI, fols. 24r–55v (L. Gentile, *I codici Palatini*, 1 [Rome, 1889], 317–18). Autograph. *Del caso di Leandro et Hero.* [*Inc.*]: (fol. 24r) La lucerna, che, mentre ch'arse, un occhio. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 55v) Così 'n doppia rovina è frutto doppio.

Bibliography:

Cosenza 2.1616; Eleuteri, “Le traduzioni italiane,” 378–81; Ferrari, 293; Giovanni da Falgano, *Ippolito*, *Ecuba*, *Christus patiens*. *Volgarizzamenti inediti dal greco*, saggio introduttivo ed edizione critica a cura di L. Caciolli (Florence, 1995); L. Caciolli, ed., Giovanni da Falgano, *Opere et giornate*, *Scudo di Hercole*, *Theogonia*. *Volgarizzamenti inediti dal Greco* (Florence, 1998).

An Italian translation of Musaeus (now lost) is ascribed to Girolamo Pallantieri (Castel Bolognese [Ravenna], 1510–91), a man of letters active at the court of Ferrante II Gonzaga, Duke of Guastalla (1563–1632), *Accademico Innominato* of Parma, on the basis of his sonnet to Lavinia Della Rovere (1558–1632), composed ca. 1585: [*Inc.*] Il già greco, hor toscan sacro Museo (cf. F.S. Quadrio, *Indice*

universale della storia, e ragione d'ogni poesia scritta dall'abate Francesco Saverio Quadrio con alcune correzioni ed aggiunte premesse da esso Autore al medesimo indice [Milan, 1752], 253); in point of fact, the sonnet contains the praise of Bernardino Baldi for his translation, which introduces the translation in the autograph codex Forlì, Bibl. Comunale A. Saffi, Raccolte Piancastelli, Sez. Aut. Sec. XII–XVIII, Busta 5, ad vocem, fol. 4r (see below). He also translated Virgil's *Bucolica* (Bologna, 1603). On Pallantieri see G. Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, vol. 6 (Bologna, 1788), 228–29.

Bernardino Baldi (Urbino, 1553–Urbino, 1617), scholar and poet, had written an Italian translation of Musaeus for Lavinia Della Rovere (1558–1632) in 1585. Prompted by Bernardo Tasso's work, he subsequently translated the work again in 524 lines of blank verse which was closer to the original, again addressing it to Lavinia and including it in the 1590 edition of his works (cf. 1590 ed., 593–94). Baldi also translated *Posthomericæ* by Quintus Smyrnaeus into Italian (cf. Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, it. IX 354 [= 6594], early s. XIX).

Manuscript:

(CD-ROM) Forlì, Bibl. Comunale A. Saffi, Raccolte Piancastelli, Sez. Aut. Sec. XII–XVIII, Busta 5, ad vocem (Kristeller, *Iter* 1.232, 5.631; Serrai, *Bernardino Baldi*, 59). *Il Leandro di Museo, Tradotto dal Greco da Bernardino Baldi da Urbino* 1585. [Inc.]: (fol. 7r) Spiegami, o Diua il luminoso foco / Sol testimon de' non palesi amori. ./. . . [Expl.]: (fol. 22v) Talche insieme godersi anco l'estremo / Et infelice caso a lor non tolse. Autograph containing numerous corrections by the author, which are almost all present in the 1590 edition. The work is prefaced by (fol. 3r–v) a dedicatory letter (Guastalla, 9 May 1585) to Lavinia Della Rovere, Marchioness of Vasto; (fol. 4r) a sonnet by Girolamo Pallantieri (see above); (fol. 4v) a sonnet by Bernardino Baldi; (fol. 5r) a sonnet by Muzio Manfredi, followed by the reply in fol. 5v.

Editions:

1590, in Venetia (Venice): appresso Francesco de' Franceschi Senese. 'Versi e prose di monsignor Bernardino Baldi da Urbino.' *La favola di Museo degli amori di Leandro, et d'Ero*. [Inc.]: (p. 597) Spiegami o Diua il luminoso foco / Sol testimon de' non palesi amori. ./. . . [Expl.]: (p. 614) Talche insieme godersi anco l'estremo / Et infelice caso à lor non tolse.

1853, Rome: *Una parte dell' "Ero e Leandro" di Museo poeta greco tradotta da Monsignore Bernardino Baldi da Urbino e pubblicata la prima volta per le nozze del signor Pio Barberi colla signora Barbara Ferretti romani* [ed. A. Checcucci].

1859, Florence: *Versi e prose scelte di Bernardino Baldi*, eds. F. Ugolini and F.L. Polidori, 275–89. Reproduces and completes the text of the previous edition.

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M. Cerutti, "Bernardino Baldi volgarizzatore di Museo," in E. Nenci, ed., *Bernardino Baldi (1553–1617) studioso rinascimentale: Poesia, storia, linguistica, meccanica, architettura* (Milan, 2005), 81–93; DBI 5.461–64 (R. Amaturò); Eleuteri, "Le traduzioni italiane," 381–86; G. Ferraro, *Bernardino Baldi e il recupero del pensiero tecnico-scientifico dell'antichità* (Alessandria, 2008); Ferraro, "Bernardino Baldi, le matematiche, l'architettura," in F.P. Di Teodoro, ed., *Saggi di letteratura architettonica. Da Vitruvio a Winckelmann*, vol. 1 (Florence, 2009), 207–20; G. Micheli, "Per una nuova edizione della meccanica di B. Baldi," *ibid.*, 221–28; G. Cerboni Baiardi, ed., *Seminario di studi su Bernardino Baldi Urbinate (1553–1617)* (Urbino, 2006); A. Serrai, *Bernardino Baldi. La vita, le opere, la biblioteca* (Milan, 2002); A. Siekiera, "L'ingegno e la maniera di Bernardino Baldi," in Di Teodoro, ed., *Saggi di letteratura architettonica*, 299–312.

Pomponio Montanaro (or Montenaro), poet from Vicenza, *Accademico Olimpico* who lived between the sixteenth and seventeenth century, is the author of a rather free translation in three octave-rhyme cantos, *Gli amori infelici di Leandro, et Hero* (Vicenza, 1617), dedicated to Giovanni Cavalli.

See P. Calvi, *Biblioteca, e storia di quei scrittori così della città come del territorio di Vicenza che pervennero fin'ad ora a notizia del P. F. Angiolgabriello di Santa Maria*, vol. 6 (Vicenza, 1782), LXXXIX–XCII; Federici, 9–10; Hoffmann 2.611; Quadrio, 429.

Giovanni Capponi (Porretta, Bologna, 1586–Bologna 1628), poet and scholar, wrote the idyll *Gli amori infelici di Leandro, e d'Ero* (Venice, 1618). DBI 19.55–57 (C. Mutini).

Francesco Bracciolini (1566–1645), playwright and poet, in 1627 wrote the play *Hero, e Leandro fauola marittima del Bracciolino dell'Api* (Rome, 1630), dedicated to Taddeo Barberini (Rome 1603–Paris 1647), on occasion of his marriage to Anna Colonna. DBI 13.634–36 (L. Rossi); S. Morisani, "Percorsi simbolici ed ermetici in una favola marittima del primo Seicento romano: l'Hero e Leandro' di Francesco Bracciolini," *Biblioteca teatrale*, n.s., 59/60 (2001) 81–115.

Gli amori di Leandro, e di Ero, di Museo, dati in luce per il mezzo, e la diligenza del Cavaliere Milleran, di Saumur, Professore della lingua Francese, Latina, Italiana, Todesca, ed Inglese, sopra la richiesta, ch'egli ne ha fatta all'Autore per render la detta Opera pubblica a causa del suo merito (Venice, 1709). The translation in thirty-two octaves is by the Marquis Pietro Gabrieli, not René Milleran (b. 1655), and is dedicated to Frederick IV of Denmark and Norway: [*Inc.*] *Canta, o Musa, la face e l'infedele / ministra*. The same text in London, British Library, Add. 16513, fols. 242r–252v, and 16514, fols. 35r–46v (both by the same hand). Argelati 3.46; Fabricius and Harles 1.133; Federici, 10; Hoffmann 2.611; Paitoni 2.253.

Domenico Regolotti (1675–1735), professor at the University of Turin, in 1728 published the (rather free) translation of Musaeus (746 hendecasyllables)

together with that of other Greek poets: *Teocrito, Mosco, Bione, Poeti Greci Siciliani volgarizzati da Domenico Regolotti, Romano, Professore di Poetica e lingua Greca Nella Regia Università di Torino: Aggiontavi La Traduzione del Poemetto di Museo* (Turin, 1728), 316–43. The book is dedicated to Carlo Emanuele III of Savoy.

Giovanni Battista Caracciolo (1695–1765), whose real name was Francesco Saverio, Theatine, professor of Logic and then Universal Algebra at the University of Pisa, Bishop of Aversa, in 1750 published a fairly faithful translation with parallel Greek text, Μουσαιου τα καθ' Ἡρω και Λεανδρον. *Avvenimenti tra Erone, e Leandro, Poema greco di Museo, recato in versi volgari sciolti da G.B.C.* (Florence, 1750). Argelati 3.46, 4.345; Fabricius and Harles 1.133 (as Ioan. Baptista Casaragi); Federici, 10; Hoffmann 2.608; Paitoni 2.253. For further information regarding Caracciolo, see DBI 19.389–90 (S. Chiogna).

The translation into blank verse by Anton Maria Salvini (Florence 1653–1729), Florentine professor of Greek at the Florentine Studio and prolific translator, was made (in one night!) in 1701, but published in 1765 with the Greek text and Latin translation by Angelo Maria Bandini: *Di Museo le cose d'Ero, e di Leandro: Μουσαιου του γραμματικου τα καθ' Ἡρω και Λεανδρον. Musaei Grammatici de Herone et Leandro carmen ab Ant. Mar. Salvinio Italicis versibus, nunc primum editis, redditum. Accedunt Praeter Latinam Interpretationem, Variantes Codicum Lectiones, Selectae Adnotationes, et Index Graecus Verborum.* Recensuit, et illustravit Ang. Mar. Bandinius (Florence, 1765), 28–71; 72–91 (notes). Federici, 10; Hoffmann 2.608. For Salvini see M.P. Paoli, “Anton Maria Salvini (1653–1729). Il ritratto di un ‘letterato’ nella Firenze di fine Seicento,” in J. Boutier, B. Marin, and A. Romano, eds., *Naples, Rome, Florence. Une histoire comparée des milieux intellectuels italiens (XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles)* (Rome, 2005), 501–44.

Giuseppe Bartoli (1717–88), professor at the University of Turin, translated the text into blank verse before 1742, but the translation seems to have not survived; see *P. Lacermi Academici Patavini in Militem gloriosum Plauti commentarius, Et eiusdem Fabulae interpretatio Italicis versibus concinnata* (Venice, 1742), [3–4], dedicatory letter to Sebastiano Molin: “jam accedebat manus extrema . . . iam Musaei Poemati de Hero et Leandro: quae fere omnia ab Italis adhuc Interpretibus intentata, ipse a Graeco in Italicum carmen converteram.” Argelati 3.47; G. Vedova, *Biografia degli scrittori padovani*, vol. 1 (Padua, 1832), 84. For more about him see DBI 6.578–81 (L. Moretti).⁶⁵

65 In the *Trattato de' colori* by Coronato Occolti (Parma: appresso S. Viotto, 1568), fol. 23r–v, is quoted *L'Amore fuggitivo di Museo, tradotto dal sig. conte Aloisio Boschetti*, in six octaves, but the Greek work is evidently by Moschus.

B. French (up to ca. 1750)

In general Hoffmann 2.610; Kost, 78–79.

In the period concerned, the only French translation, which may be the first in a modern language, is the one by Clément Marot (1496–1544) that was published five times in 1541: Paris, Paris (pirated edition), Poitiers, Lyons, and Rouen. The first is *Museus ancien Poete grec, des amours de Leander et Hero, traduit en Rithme francoise, par Clement marot de Cahors en quercy, valet de chambre du Roy. Avec privilege. On les vend a Paris en la grand salle du Pallais en la boutique de Iehan andre 1541. Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1964), 68, no. 147; C.A. Mayer, *Bibliographie des éditions de Clément Marot publiées au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1975), 43, no. 92. BNF.

The request for the privilege on behalf of Gilles Corrozet, Parisian bookseller, bears the date 10 January 1540. [*Inc.*]: (fol. A2r) Muse dy moy le flambeau quon feit luyre, [*Expl.*]: (fol. [C4]v) Se sont encor trouvez tous deux ensemble.

In October 1541 Marot published a new edition in Lyons: *L'histoire de Leander et de Hero, Premierement faict en Grec par Musæus poëte tres ancien: et depuis mis de Latin en Francois par Clement Marot* (Lugduni [Lyons]: apud Seb. Gryphium, 1541). C.A. Mayer, *Bibliographie des éditions de Clément Marot publiées au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1975), 45, no. 99; S. von Gültlingen, *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle*, vol. 5, Sébastien Gryphius (Baden-Baden, 1997), 1541, no. 638. BNF.

[*Inc.*]: (p. 5) Muse dy moy le flambeau qu'on fit luire, [*Expl.*]: (p. 26) Se sont encor tous deux trouvez ensemble.

In the preface introducing the text (p. 3) Marot criticizes the previous editions, that is to say, the *princeps*, the Parisian edition by Charles l'Angelier and the Poitiers edition; he does not mention the Rouen edition (assuming that he was aware of it).

“Clement Marot, aux lecteurs.

A peine estoit la presente histoire hors de mes mains (lecteurs debonnaire) que ie ne scay quel avare libraire de Paris, qui la guettoyt au passage, la trouva, et lemporta tout ainsi qu'un Loup affamé emporte une Brebis: puis me la va imprimer en bifferie du Palais, cest assavoir en belle apparence de papier et de lettre, mais les vers si corrompus, et le sens si dessiré que vous eussiez dit que cestoit ladicte Brebis eschappee dentre les dentz du Loup: et qui pis est ceulx de Poytiers, trompez sur lexemplaire des aultres men ont fait autant. [. . .] Ce que voyant, en passant par la noble ville de Lyon, ie priay maistre Sebastien Gryphius, excellent homme en lart de Imprimerie, d'y vouloir mectre la main, ce quil ha faict [. . .].”

A copy of the pirated edition by Charles l'Angelier is housed at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris (shelf mark BL 2343 = 8-L-4027): *Museus, ancien*

Poete grec, des amours de Leander et Hero, traduit en Rithme francoise, par Clement marot de Cahors en quercy, valete chambre du Roy. On the recto of the title page a request for privilege on behalf of Gilles Corrozet, dated 10 January 1540. C.A. Mayer, *Bibliographie des éditions de Clément Marot publiées au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1975), 44, no. 97. For the Rouen edition (*Histoire de Leander et Hero* [Rouen: G. de la Motte, s.d.], see Mayer, *Bibliographie*, 45, no. 100); the Poitiers edition, mentioned by Marot himself, has never been found, see Mayer, *Bibliographie*, 45, no. 98.

The translation, which is fairly close to the original, was not based on the Greek text, but on a Latin translation. See a modern edition, based on the Lyons edition, in C.A. Mayer, ed., *Clément Marot, Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 6, *Les traductions* (Geneva, 1980), 230–47.

Christophe de Harlay, comte de Beaumont (1569–1616), French ambassador in England (1602–7), wrote a translation or rather made a paraphrase supposedly in his early years, *Histoire des amours de Léandre et de Héro*, incomplete (468 lines in French, up to line 255). E. Miller, “Héro et Léandre, poème de Musée, traduit en français par Christophe de Harlay, comte de Beaumont,” *Annuaire de l’association pour l’encouragement des études grecques en France* 14 (1880) 60–79. *L’Europe des humanistes*, 228.

In 1633 one de la Selve, lawyer in Montpellier, published *Les Amours infortunées de Léandre et d’Héron*, a tragicomedy in Alexandrine verse; Paul Scarron (Paris 1610–60) in 1656 dedicated *Leandre et Hero*, an *Ode burlesque*, a parody of the story, to Nicolas Fouquet; in 1681 an anonymous free prose translation was published in Paris, entitled *Les amours de Léandre et d’Hero*.

C. English (up to ca. 1750)

R. Booth, “Hero’s Afterlife: Hero and Leander and ‘Lewd Unmannerly Verse’ in the Late Seventeenth Century,” *Early Modern Literary Studies* 12.3 (January 2007) 4.1–24 (<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/12-3/boother2.htm>); D. Bush, “Musaeus in English Verse,” *Modern Language Notes*, 43.2 (1928) 101–4; Fabricius and Harles 1.133; F.M.K. Foster, *English Translations from the Greek. A Bibliographical Survey* (New York, 1918; repr. 1966), 85–87; Hoffmann 2.611–12; Kost, 77–78; H.R. Palmer, *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed before 1641* (London, 1911), 74–75; “Musaeus Grammaticus,” in O. Classe, ed., *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English*, vol. 2 (London and Chicago, 2000), 983–84 (Z. Pavlovskis-Petit); G. Watson, ed., *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1971), 1493.

Apart from a translation by Abraham Fleming (ca. 1552–1607), now lost, *The Georgiks of Publius Virgilius Maro, otherwise called his Italian Husbandrie divided into foure bookes* (London, 1589), 45 (“Englished by me a dozen yeares

ago, and in print”), the first English version is Christopher Marlowe’s adaptation (1564–93), *Hero and Leander*, written in iambic pentameter lines, incomplete, two sestiams only (818 lines), based on Musaeus and on Ovid’s *Heroides* 18 and 19.⁶⁶ Marlowe, who seems to have translated directly from the Greek text in the Aldine edition, composed the poem in his last years. Two editions of the poem were issued in London 1598: the first contains Marlowe’s text, while the second includes the additional three final sestiams written by George Chapman (1559–1634). A third edition, published in 1600, bears on the title page a note on the addition of Marlowe’s translation of book 1 of Lucan’s *Pharsalia* to the original poem, although the book itself merely adds Chapman’s part. In the fourth edition (1606) no mention is made of Lucan, and again Marlowe’s and Chapman’s poems are joined together, as was also done in the following editions in the seventeenth century (1609, 1613, 1629, 1637, and after).⁶⁷ In 1616 Chapman published his own translation of Musaeus, closely following the original, *The divine poem of Musaeus. First of all Bookes. Translated According to the Originall*.⁶⁸ Henry Petowe (fl. 1598–1612), poetaster, completed Marlowe’s translation too, *The Second Part of Hero and Leander, conteyning their further Fortunes* (London, 1598).⁶⁹ A brief list of translators follows.

Robert Stapylton (ca. 1607–69): *The loves of Hero and Leander, A Greeke Poem, Written by Musaeus* (Oxford, 1645; repr. London, 1647).

Thomas Hoy (1659–1718), physician and poet: *Two Essays. The former Ovid, De arte amandi, or, The Art of Love. The First Book. The later Hero and Leander of Musaeus. From the Greek* (London, 1682; repr. 1692).

Anonymous translation in heroic couplets: *Miscellany, Being a Collection of Poems By Several Hands* (London, 1685).

Laurence Eusden (1688–1730): *Hero and Leander*, in Dryden’s *Poetical Miscellanies. The Sixth Part, Containing a Collection of original Poems, with Several New Translations. By the most Eminent Hands* (London, 1709; repr. London, 1716 and 1727, separately in Glasgow, 1750), 594–619.

Alexander Stopford Catcott (1692–1749): *The Poems of Musaeus on the loves of Hero and Leander* (Oxford, 1715).

66 T.W. Baldwin, “Marlowe’s Musaeus,” *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 54 (1955) 478–85; W. Boucher, “‘Who Taught Thee Rhetoricke to Deceive a Maid?’: Christopher Marlowe’s *Hero and Leander*, Juan Boscán’s *Leandro*, and Renaissance Vernacular Humanism,” *Comparative Literature* 52 (2000) 11–52.

67 R. Gill, ed., *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1987), 189–209.

68 On the translation see R.P. Corballis, *George Chapman’s Minor Translations. A Critical Edition of his Renderings of Musaeus, Hesiod and Juvenal* (Salzburg, 1984).

69 A.T. Crathern, “A Romanticized Version of *Hero and Leander*,” *Modern Language Notes* 46 (1931) 382–85.

Lewis Theobald (1688–1744), *Hero and Leander in The Grove; or, a Collection of Original Poems, Translations, etc.* (London, 1721), 2–32.

James Sterling (1718–55): *The loves of Hero and Leander* (Dublin, 1728).

Robert Luck or Lucke (1674–1749): *The loves of Hero and Leander*, in *A miscellany of New Poems on several Occasions. The Loves of Hero and Leander. From the Greek of Musaeus. Addres'd to the Ladies of Great-Britain* (London, 1736), 155–72.

George Bally (fl. 1747–67), *The loves of Hero and Leander* (London, 1747).

John Slade (eighteenth century): *The Loves of Hero and Leander, a poetical Translation from the Greek of Musaeus* (London, 1753).

Francis Fawkes (1720–77): *The Loves of Hero and Leander*, in *The Works of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, Moschus and Musaeus. Translated from the original Greek* (London, 1760), 297–321 (several reprints).

Robert Samber (1682–ca. 1745), Oxford, Bod. Lib., Rawl. Poet. 11, s. XVIII, fols. 35r–48r, includes Musaeus in English prose and verse, cf. F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1895), 285, no. 14504.

D. German (up to ca. 1750)

J.F. Degen, *Litteratur der deutschen Uebersetzungen der Griechen*, vol. 2 (Altenburg, 1798; repr. Hildesheim, 1999), 126–37; Fabricius and Harles 1.133; Hoffmann 2.610; Kost, 79–84.

In the modern period the German reception of the myth of Hero and Leander began in 1541 with the *Historia. Die unglückhafft lieb Leandri mit fraw Ehron*, poem by Hans Sachs (1494–1576), who seems to have drawn on the Greek poet, even if read in translation, and not on Ovid's *Heroides*.⁷⁰ Setting aside the first adaptation in German by the poet Christoph Bruno (d. ca. 1569), *Histori von dem Jüngling Leander und von der Jungkfrauen Ero ex Museo*,⁷¹ and several references present in the humanistic poetry of the sixteenth century, there are apparently only two German translations up to the mid-eighteenth century. The first is by Christian Alectorander (Christian Hahnemann or Haneman), dedicated to Constantinus Markstaller in 1633: *Des schönen Poëten Musaeus Lieb- und Lobgedichte Von Hero und Leandern. Aus dem Griechischen in Hochteutsche itzt übliche newe Reimen ubersetzet Sampt nothwendiger Erklärung durch Christian. Alectorandrum Lipsiensem* (Leipzig: In Verlegung Andreae Ohlen Buchhendlers, 1633). It is in rhyming verse, with brief annotations in German. Gottfried Wilhelm Sacer

70 A. von Keller, ed., *Hans Sachs*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1870; repr. Hildesheim, 1964), 195–97; cf. Jellinek, 10–11.

71 In *Etlliche Historien und fabulen gantz lustig zu lesen jetzt newlich zu ainer übung und kurtzweyl zusammenn getragen und inn das Teütsche gebracht* (Augsburg, 1541), fols. I^r–VII^r. For Bruno, see F.J. Worstbrock, *Deutsche Antikerezeption 1450–1550*, Veröffentlichungen zur Humanismusforschung, vol. 1, part 1 (Boppard am Rhein, 1976), 186.

(1635–99), poet and jurist, is also supposed to have produced a translation (cf. Degen, *Litteratur*, 2.127), but it has been impossible to confirm its existence.

In the Romantic period the myth of Hero and Leander was immensely popular: Goethe intended to produce a poetic version on the theme, in 1788 Friedrich Hölderlin wrote the poem *Hero*, Friedrich Schiller composed the ballad *Hero und Leander* in 1801 and Franz Grillparzer wrote the tragedy *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* in 1831.

E. Spanish (up to ca. 1750)

J.M. de Cossío, *Fábulas mitológicas en España* (Madrid, 1952), 883 (index); Kost, 76–77; Ph. Krummrich, *The Hero and Leander Theme in Iberian Literature, 1500–1800. An Anthology of Translations* (Lewiston, 2006); M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, 10. Parte 3. Boscán = Edición nacional de las obras completas de Menéndez Pelayo, vol. 26 (Madrid, 1945), 314–32; F. Moya del Baño, *El tema de Hero y Leandro en la literatura española* (Murcia, 1966).

In Spain the myth of Hero and Leander was extremely popular from the sixteenth century onwards. It may be found in numerous poems, above all sonnets, but also in burlesque works, Luis de Góngora (1561–1627) being the first to write such a work.

The poem by Juan Boscán (d. 1542), *Fábula de Leandro y Hero*, in 2965 free hendecasyllables, is a rewriting of both Musaeus and Ovid, which probably also contains echoes of Bernardo Tasso's paraphrase.⁷² Jerónimo Barrionuevo de Peralta (1587–1671), writer and playwright, composed a *Fábula de Hero y Leandro*. Gabriel Bocángel Unzueta (1608–58) wrote *Fábula de Leandro y Hero* in 832 hendecasyllables, partly a paraphrase and partly an adaptation, drawing on Boscán.⁷³ Ignacio de Luzán (1702–54) was author of *Leandro y Hero, idilio anacréontico*, loosely based on the text, written on occasion of the entry of King Fernando VI in Madrid (1746). The first Spanish translation of the poem is by José Antonio Conde (Madrid, 1797).

The story was also known in modern Polish literature: the poet Walenty Jakubowski (d. 1582) wrote *Leander i Hero* (Krakau [Krakow], 1572), cf. T. Sinko, "O poemacie Musajosa," *Meander* 10 (1955) 166–86, at 173.

72 Posthumous in *Las obras de Boscán y algunas de Garcilasso de la Vega repartidas en quatro libros* (Barcelona, 1543; repr. several times), fols. 73v–118v; critical edition in M. de Riquer, A. Comas, and J. Molas, eds., *Obras poéticas de Juan Boscán* (Barcelona, 1957), 245–318. Jellinek, 11–16; M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, 10. Parte 3, Boscán = Edición nacional de las obras completas de Menéndez Pelayo, vol. 26 (Madrid, 1944), 295–314; M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Biblioteca de traductores españoles*, vol. 1 (Santander, 1952), 255–56.

73 *Rimas y prosas, iunto con la Fabula de Leandro y Ero* (Madrid, 1627).

In modern times the myth has been depicted in sculpture, painting, music, opera, and dance: H. Hunger, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, 5th ed. (Vienna, 1959), 152–53; Kost, 84–85; *Dizionario letterario Bompiani delle opere e dei personaggi di tutti i tempi e di tutte le letterature*, vol. 3 (Milan, 2005), 3095–96 (L. Fuà); M. Moog-Grünewald, ed., *Mythenrezeption. Die antike Mythologie in Literatur, Musik und Kunst von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart and Weimar, 2008), 352–56 (M. Baumbach).

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I. MODERN EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARIES

Musaios, Hero und Leandros mit ausgewählten Varianten und Scholien, ed. A. Ludwich (Bonn, 1912; 2nd ed. Berlin, 1929); *Museo, Ero e Leandro*, critica e traduzione a cura di E. Malcovati (Milan, 1947); *Musée, Héro et Léandre*, texte établi et traduit par P. Orsini (Paris, 1968); *Musaios, Hero und Leander*, Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar von K. Kost (Bonn, 1971); *Musaeus, Hero and Leander*, ed. Th. Gelzer, trans. C.H. Whitman, in C.A. Trypanis, ed., *Callimachus* (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1974); *Musaeus, Hero et Leander*, ed. E. Livrea, with P. Eleuteri (Leipzig, 1982); *Museo, Ero e Leandro*, a cura di L. Migotto (Pordenone, 1992); *Museo, Ero e Leandro*, a cura di G. Paduano (Venice, 1994); *Museo, Hero y Leandro*, introd., trad. y notas. de J.G. Montes Cala, prólogo C.G. Gual (Madrid, 1994); *Longus, Daphnis et Chloé. Suivi de Héro et Léandre*, *Musée*, traduit et éd. par A. Tallet-Bonvalot (Paris, 1995); *Museo, Hero y Leandro*, introd., texto, trad. y notas por A. Ruiz de Elvira (Madrid, 2003); *Museu, Hero e Leandro*, trad. do grego clássico F. Possebon (João Pessoa, Brazil, 2008); *Musaios, Hero und Leander*, aus dem Altgriechischen neu übers. und hrsg. von M. Giebel (Frankfurt a.M., 2009); *Hero und Leander*, trans. W. Gernsheim (Dettelbach, 2009).

Scholia: *Scholia Graeca in Musaei Carmen*, ed. A. Ludwich (Königsberg, 1893).

II. GENERAL STUDIES

W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, rev. W. Schmid and O. Stählin, vol. 2.2 (Munich, 1924), 972; Fabricius and Harles 1.123–33; R. Keydell, “Musaios,” *PW* 16.1 (1933), 767–69; “Musaios Grammatikos,” in *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, vol. 8 (Stuttgart and Weimar, 2000), 503–4 (S. Fornaro); “Musaios II,” in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 25 (Stuttgart, 2012), 162–71 (D. Accorinti).

III. MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

The text has been conserved wholly or in part in thirty-seven codices, as well as the collation of a lost codex. During my studies I was unaware of the existence of one complete manuscript and four fragmentary copies, which I shall now add: Vicenza, Bibl. Bertoliana, 598bis (s. XVII), pp. 92–138; Madrid, Bibl. Nac., 4743, s. XVIII, fol. 2r lines 1–12, copied by the calligrapher Francisco Xavier de Santiago Palomares (1728–96), cf. G. De Andres, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1987), 325; Munich, Universitätsbibl., 4° Cod. ms. 827, early s. XVI (parts 1–4 = fols. 1r–78a^r), fols. 41r–42v; contains lines 1–47 in Greek and Latin (from the Aldine edition, see Aldus Manutius), cf. M. Reuter, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München: Die Handschriften aus der Quartreihe* (Wiesbaden, 2000), 199–203; New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Lib., 534 (early s. XIX), a manuscript facsimile of the Aldine edition (1495–98), the binding is by the French binder François Bozerian, called Bozerian le Jeune (fl. 1801–18), cf. Kristeller, *Iter* 5.282; Washington, Folger Shakespeare Lib., V.a.267 (s. XVII), fol. 19v, few lines in Greek and Latin (lines 22, 94–95, 152, 245–47, 255, 271, 287), cf. Kristeller, *Iter* 5.413.

A. Ludwich, *Über die Handschriften des Epikers Musaios* (Königsberg, 1896); M. Sicherl, “Die Musaios-Ausgabe des Aldus Manutius und ihre lateinische Übersetzung,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 19 (1976) 257–76 (rev. and supplemented in M. Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius. Druckvorlagen, Stellenwert, kultureller Hintergrund* [Paderborn, 1997], 11–30); P. Eleuteri, *Storia della tradizione manoscritta di Museo*, Biblioteca di studi antichi 30 (Pisa, 1981); E. Livrea, “Geschichte der Textüberlieferung des Musaios zwischen Byzanz und Renaissance,” *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32.4 (1982) 23–29; S. Bernardinello, “In margine alla tradizione manoscritta di Museo,” in J. Dummer, ed., *Texte und Textkritik. Eine Aufsatzsammlung* (Berlin, 1987), 43–48; J. Irigoin, “Historiens grecs, d’Hérodote à Georges le Moine. Musée. Euripide,” in *Tradition et critique des textes grecs* (Paris, 1997), 45–54, at 52–53.

IV. CRITICAL AND TEXTUAL STUDIES

Kost (I above), Livrea and Eleuteri (I above), and Eleuteri (III above) provide a full bibliography both of specific studies on Musaeus and of the other works dealing with late Greek epic poetry. To their lists should be added M. Magnani, “Tre note a Museo,” *Eikasmos* 13 (2002) 221–30; A. Villarrubia Medina, “Notas estilísticas sobre las Dionisiacas de Nono de Panópolis: Modelos literarios y relaciones intertextuales,” *Habis* 36 (2005) 443–58; H. Morales, “Gender and Identity in Musaeus’ ‘Hero and Leander,’” in R. Miles, ed., *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity* (London, 1999), 41–69; M.L. Nardelli, “L’esametro di Museo,” *Koinōnia* 9 (1985) 153–66; M. Rossi, “L’empio mitico di Atalanta

nell'epico Museo," *Prometheus* 8 (1982) 177–86; O. Schönberger, "Mythologie und Wirklichkeit bei Musaios," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 130 (1987) 385–95.

COMPOSITE EDITIONS

PUBLICATIONS CONTAINING MORE THAN ONE TRANSLATION AND/OR COMMENTARY UP TO CA. 1650

1517, Venetiis (Venice): in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri, mense nouembri 1517. Title: Μουσαίου ποιημάτων τὰ καθ' Ἡρῶ καὶ Λέανδρον. Ὀρφείως ἀργοναυτικά. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὕμνοι: Ὀρφεὺς περὶ λίθου. *Musaei opusculum de Herone et Leandro. Orphei argonautica. Eiusdem hymni. Orpheus de lapidibus.* Musaeus is based on the 1495–98 Aldine edition, with few differences: fol. 1v the epigram *AP* 7.615, together with the Latin translation; fol. 2r prefatory letter by Aldus in Greek; fols. 2v–3r two Greek odes by Marcus Musurus, accompanied by the Latin translation; fols. 3v–16r Musaeus (fols. 8v–9r two engravings, one depicting the encounter between Hero and Leander, the other the death of both; at the top of fol. 8v the epigram by Antipater of Thessalonica, *AP* 7.666 accompanied by the Latin translation [(*Inc.*) Hic est Leandri tranatus] fol. 9r, below a conflation of Martial 14.181 line 1 and 1.25b line 4). A.A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde, ou Histoire des trois Manuce et de leurs éditions* (Paris, 3rd ed., 1834; repr. New Castle, Del., 1991), 81; Graesse 4.633; Legrand 1.158–59; A. Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco d'Asola e la tipografia aldina* (Genoa, 1998), 607. BL; BNF; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

Musaei de Herone et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 3v) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum. / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare vectarum nuptiarum / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non vidit immortalis aurora. / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Herūs . . . / [*Expl.*]: (fol. 16r) Variam scindens circa pectora tunicam / Cum strepitu praeceps ab alta deturbata est turri / Atque Hero mortua est ob mortuum maritum, / Suique potiti sunt et in ultima pernicie.

1518, apud inclytam Germaniae Basileam (Basel): apud Io. Frobenium. Title: *Musaeus poeta vetustissimus, De Ero et Leandro, Graece et Latine.* (Gr.-Lat.). This edition was published in January 1518 together with Aesop, introduced by *Vita* by Maximus Planudes, Babrius, Agapetus' *De officio regis*, and Theodorus Prodromus' *Galeomyomachia*. Aesop's text is prefaced by Johann Froben dated 2 December 1517, the one by Agapetus has a preface dated 14 January 1518, the preface to *Galeomyomachia* is dated 18 January 1518. Musaeus (pp. 36–63) has a prefatory letter of 13 January 1518, followed by (p. 35) the two Greek odes by Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. The Latin translation is essentially faithful to Aldus' version, although there are a few changes. Graesse 1.32; Legrand 3.237–38; D. Harlfinger, ed., *Graecogermania. Griechischstudien deutscher Humanisten.*

Die Editionstätigkeit der Griechen in der italienischen Renaissance (1469–1523) (Wolfenbüttel, 1989), 140, 364–65; *Εν Βασιλείᾳ πόλει της Γερμανίας. Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen* (Basel, 1992), 36–39. VD16 M 7097, NUC. BNF; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.

(p. 34) Io. Frobenius studiosis S.D. Musaei Poetae de Erûs et Leandri iactatis amoribus dignissimum carmen cum interpretatione latina uobis in hoc dedimus typis nostris excusum, ut hinc deprehendere queatis, quantum ex hoc Ouidius sit mutuatus in Leandri illa ad Ero epistola ac altera ad Leandrum Erûs, si modo ueteris illius Poetae carmen hoc est. Nam sunt in doctis, qui Musaei negent uideri. Nos nihil pronunciamus, sed cum Academicis ἐπέχομεν. Id nobis non uulgariter dolet, tam multa non in humanis tantum, sed et diuinis literis subdititia reperiri ac ψευδεπίγραφα. Hic autor mirus est in exprimendis amantium affectibus, ut qui sit ubique decori sui pulchre memor. Quam depingit graphice, cum iuuenilem Leandri impotentiam et ardorem, tum Erûs muliebrem imbecillitatem! In uerbis non minus felix est, quae et scite fingit et cum gratia rebus accommodat. Aiunt Musaeum Eumolpi filium fuisse et primum, deorum genealogiam uersibus complexum, ac sphaeram inuenisse. Bene Valete et Frobenium amate. Apud inclytam Basileam, ex aedibus nostris. Sub Idus Ianuarias. An. MDXVIII.

Musaei de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 37) Dic dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erûs. . . / [*Expl.*]: (p. 63) Variam populata circa pectus uestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero com-mortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Seinuicem autem freti sunt etiam in suprema morte.

(CD-ROM) 1519, Florentiae (Florence): per haeredes Philippi Iuntae. *Musaei opusculum de Herone et Leandro. Orphei argonautica. Eiusdem hymni. Orpheus de lapidibus. Sententiae ex varijs poetis. Homeri batrachomyomachia*. (Gr.-Lat.). On fol. iv a Greek prefatory letter by Antonio Francini from Montevarchi (ed. Bandini, 2.147–48), who actively collaborated with the Giunta family. For more information about him (after 1480–after 1537) see DBI 50.142–44 (F. Bacchelli). The edition is based on the 1517 Aldine edition. Musaeus fols. 2v–16r; preceded by two Greek and Latin epigrams by Marcus Musurus, fols. 8v–9r two engravings and an epigram by Antipater of Thessalonica, AP 7.666, accompanied by a Latin translation, below a conflation of Martial 14.181 v. 1 and 1.25b v. 4, precisely the same as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. A.M. Bandini, *De Florentina Iuntarum typographia eiusque censoribus ex qua Graeci, Latini, Tusci scriptores ope codicum manuscriptorum a uiris clarissimis pristinae integritati restituti in lucem prodierunt*, vol. 2 (Lucca, 1791; repr. Ridgewood, N.J., 1965), 147–48; Grasse 4.633; Brunet 3.1957; D. Decia, *I Giunti tipografi editori di Firenze, 1497–1570*.

Parte 1: *Annali, 1497–1570* (Florence, 1978), 107. NUC. BAV; BNF; Berlin, Staatsbibl; Bologna, Bibl. Comunale dell'Archiginnasio; Florence, BNC; Rome, BNC.

Musaei de Herone et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 3r) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare vectarum nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non vidit immortalis aurora, Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Herus. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 16r) Variam scindens circa pectora tunicam, / Cum strepitu praeceps ab alta deturbata est turri, / Atque Hero mortua est ob mortuum maritum, / Suique potiti sunt et in ultima pernicie.

1524, Basileae (Basel): in officina Ioannis Frobenii. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabellae Graece et Latine, cum alijs opusculis, quorum index proxima refertur pagella*. (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. On p. 3 prefatory letter by Johann Froben: Ioannes Frobenius studiosis sal. Iterum exhibemus vobis Aesopi fabellas cum aliquot alijs libellis Graece et Latine, quod proximam aeditionem, quae tota Graeca fuit, ijs, qui adhuc tirones sunt in Graecanica literatura, minus gratam fuisse cognoverimus, quibus hoc Enchiridium praecipue paratur. Nam qui iam aliquatenus profecerunt, malunt in alijs autoribus se exercere. Nos etiam incipientibus consulendum putamus. Nec libet quibusdam hodie in Academijis versari, ubi sunt publici Graecarum literarum professores, propter ingens istud dissidium, quod magnam orbis partem, sed praecipue gymnasia affligit, bonis studijs omnibus internicionem minitans, nisi melior deus aliquis succurrat. Talibus igitur qui domi, suo, quod aiunt, Marte, aliquid Graecanicae eruditionis comparare volunt, muti magistri vice erit Latina versio. Vos nostram operam boni consulite et Bene valete. Basileae. On p. 287 two odes by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Ἐν Βασιλείᾳ πόλει τῆς Γερμανίας. Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen* (Basel, 1992), 247, no. 159. NUC; VD16 M 7098. Basel, Universitätsbibl.

Musaei de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 289) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non vidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erūs. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 311) Variam populata circa pectus vestem, / In fluctus praecipue ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero comortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Seinvicem autem freti sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1530, Basileae (Basel): in officina Frobeniana. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabellae Graece et Latine, cum alijs opusculis, quorum index proxima refertur pagella*. (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. On p. [3] prefatory letter by Johann Froben, as in 1524 Basel edition: Ioannes Frobenius studiosis salutem.

On p. 287 two odes by Marcus Musurus, as in 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.046; NUC. BSB; Basel, Universitätsbibl.; Padua, Bibl. del Seminario; Toronto, Victoria Univ., CRRS Lib.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 289) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non vidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erūs. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 311) Variam populata circa pectus vestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero commortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem, / Seinvicem autem freti sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1534, Basileae (Basel): in officina Frobeniana per Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabellae Graece et Latine, cum alijs opusculis, quorum index proxima refertur pagella.* (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. On p. [3] prefatory letter by Johann Froben, as in 1524 Basel edition. Preceded (p. 287) by two odes by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.066; NUC. Basel, Universitätsbibl.; Florence, BNC; Rome, Bibl. Universitaria Alessandrina; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana; Venice, Fondazione Querini Stampalia.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 289) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non vidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erūs. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 311) Variam populata circa pectus vestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero commortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem, / Seinvicem autem fructi sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1538, Basileae (Basel): in officina Hervagiana. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graece et Latine, cum alijs opusculis, quorum, index proxima refertur pagella.* (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. On p. [3] prefatory letter by Johann Froben, as in 1524 Basel edition. On p. 287 prefaced by two Greek odes by Marcus Musurus as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.092; NUC. BNF; BSB; ÖNB; Basel, Universitätsbibl.; Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibl.; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 289) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non vidit incorruptibilis aurora. / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erūs. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 311) Variam populata circa pectus vestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero commortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Se invicem autem fructi sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1538, Parisijs (Paris): in officina Christiani Wecheli (Chrestien Wechel). Title: ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΥ Ποιημάτων τὰ καθ' Ἡρῶ καὶ Λέανδρον. Musaei opusculum de Herone et Leandro. Γνώμαι μονόστιχοι ἐκ διαφορῶν ποιητῶν. Sententiae monostichi ex uarijs poetis. (Gr.-Lat.). Epigram *AP* 7.615 on the title page verso, together with Latin translation. On fol. a2r prefatory letter by Aldus in Greek; on fol. a2v two odes in Greek by Marcus Musurus (ed. Legrand 1.21–22); Greek text fol. a3r–b3r. This is followed by the Latin translation with its own title page, fol. a1v Latin translation of *AP* 7.615, fol. a2r conflation of Martial 14, 181 line 1 and 1.25b line 4 (with two engravings, one that depicts the encounter between Hero and Leander, the other their death), fol. a2v Latin translation of two odes in Greek by Marcus Musurus, fols. a3r–a8v, all as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle*, vol. 5, 1536–1540 (Paris, 2004), 301, no. 994. Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana; Munich, Universitätsbibl.; New York, Public Lib.; Oxford, Bod. Lib.; Paris, Bibl. Mazarine; Rome, BNC.

1541, Basileae (Basel): in officina Hervagiana. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graece et Latine, cum alijs opusculis, quorum index proxima refertur pagella*. (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. On p. 3 prefatory letter by Johann Froben, as in 1524 Basel edition. Preceded by two odes in Greek (p. 287) by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.107; NUC; VD16 M 7100. BSB; ÖNB; Basel, Universitätsbibl.; Rome, BNC; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.

Musaeus de Hero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 289) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosom: quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 311) Variam populata circa pectus uestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero commortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Se inuicem autem etiam in suprema morte.

1542, Venetiis (Venice): apud Ioannem Farreum et fratres. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabellae Graece et Latine, cum alijs opusculis, quorum index proxima refertur pagella*. (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. On p. 3 prefatory letter by Ioannes Farreus, although the letter is in fact by Johann Froben from his 1524 edition. Preceded by two Greek odes (p. 287) by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.116; *Le edizioni italiane del XVI secolo. Censimento nazionale*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1990), 30, no. 363. NUC. BNF; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 289) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium

nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosus, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 311) Obtristum procellis cum uidisset mortuum maritum, / Variam populata circa pectus uestem, in fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero commortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Seinvicem autem freti sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1544, Basileae (Basel): per Ioannem Heruagium. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graece et Latine, cum alijs opusculis, quorum Index proxima refertur pagella*. (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. On p. 3 prefatory letter by Johann Froben, as in 1524 Basel edition. Preceded by two Greek odes (p. 287) by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.121; C. Griffante, “Gli incunaboli e le cinquecentine possedute dalla Biblioteca civica di Belluno. Con note in margine alla bibliografia bellunese,” in P. Pellegrini, ed., *Umanisti bellunesi fra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Florence, 2001), 37–105, at 49. NUC. Basel, Universitätsbibl.; Belluno, Bibl. Civica; Venice, Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti.

Musaeus de Hero et Leandro. [Inc.]: (p. 289) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosus: quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 311) Variam populata circa pectus uestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero commortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Se inuicem autem fruiti sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1546, Tubingae (Tübingen): per Ulrichum Morhardum. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graece et Latine, et alijs opusculis, quorum Index proxima refertur pagella*. (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. Introduced (p. 3) by prefatory letter by Johann Froben, as in 1524 Basel edition; p. 359 two Greek odes by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.142; VD16 M 7101. BSB; Berlin, Staatsbibl.; Bern, Universitätsbibl.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [Inc.]: (p. 361) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosus, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abidum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 385) Variam populata circa pectus uestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero commortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Se inuicem autem fruiti sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1547, Basileae (Basel): apud Nicolaum Bryling. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graece et Latine, cum alijs quibusdam opusculis, quorum Indicem sequens pagella indicabit*. (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*.

Preceded (p. 343) by two Greek odes by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Ἐν Βασιλείᾳ πόλει τῆς Γερμανίας. Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen* (Basel, 1992), 247, no. 160. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.144; NUC; VD16 ZV 141. ÖNB; Bergamo, Bibl. Civica A. Mai.

Musaeus de Hero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 345) Dic dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 373) Variam populata circa pectus uestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero commortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Seinuicem autem fructi sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1549, Venetiis (Venice): apud Petrum et Io. Mariam et Cornelium eorum nepotem Nicolinos Sabienses, impensa Melchioris Sessae. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabellae Graece et Latine, Cum alijs opusculis, quorum index proxima refertur pagella.* (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. Preceded by two Greek odes (p. 287) by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.152; *Le edizioni italiane del XVI secolo. Censimento nazionale*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1990), 30–31, no. 372. NUC. BL; BNF; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 289) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 311) Obtritum procellis cum uidisset mortuum maritum, / Variam populata circa pectus uestem, in fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero commortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Seinuicem autem freti sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1549, Parisiis (Paris): impensis viduae Arnoldi Birkmanni. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graece et Latine, cum alijs quibusdam opusculis, quorum indicem sequens pagella indicabit.* (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesopus, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. Preceded by two Greek odes (fol. 173r) by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.151; NUC. BNF; BSB; Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibl.; Vicenza, Bibl. Civica Bertoliana.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 174r) Dic dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium hymenaeorum, / Et nuptias obscuras, quas non uidit immortalis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 311) Obtritum procellis quum uidisset mortuum maritum, / Variam quum fregisset circa pectus uestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Et Ero commortua est, ob tum qui perierat coniugem. / Seinuicem autem fructi sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1550, Basileae (Basel): apud Nicolaum Bryling. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graece et Latine, cum aliis quibusdam opusculis, quorum Indicem sequens pagella indicabit.* (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. Preceded by two Greek odes (p. 201) by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.154; NUC. BSB; Basel, Universitätsbibl.; Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibl.; Rome, BNC.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 203) Dic dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non vidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 221) Variam populata circa pectus vestem, / In fluctus praiceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero commortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem, / Se invicem autem fructi sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1553, Basileae (Basel): apud Nicolaum Bryling. (First part) *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graece, cum aliis quibusdam opusculis, quorum Indicem sequens pagella indicabit*; (second part) *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Latine, cum aliis quibusdam opusculis, quorum Indicem sequens pagella indicabit.* (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*; the Greek texts and Latin translations fall into two separate parts, each one having its own title page and pagination: the Greek text of Musaeus is in the first part, pp. 200–14 and is preceded by two Greek odes by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. It appears to be a reprint of the 1547 Basel edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.172. ÖNB; Basel, Universitätsbibl.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 191) Dic dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 208) Variam populata circa pectus uestem, / In fluctus praiceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero commortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem, / Se inuicem autem fructi sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1558, Basileae (Basel): apud Nicolaum Bryling. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graece et Latine, cum aliis quibusdam opusculis, quorum Indicem, sequens pagella indicabit.* (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesopus, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. Prefaced by two Greek odes (p. 343) by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.190; NUC; VD16 M 7102. BSB; ÖNB; Milan, Bibl. comunale; Padua, Bibl. del Seminario; Venice, Fondazione Querini Stampalia.

Musae [*sic*] de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 345) Dic dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et

Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. ./. . . [Expl.]: (p. 373) Variam populata circa pectus uestem, / In fluctus praiceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero commortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem, / Se inuicem autem fruti sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1558, Lugduni (Lyons): The *Index Aureliensis*, 101.191, incorrectly ascribes this edition (*Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graece et Latine, cum aliis quibusdam opusculis, quorum Indicem, sequens pagella indicabit*) to Jean de Tournes, whereas it should indicate the 1558 Basel edition.

1561, Venetiis (Venice): apud Francescum Rampazetum. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabellae Graece et Latine, Cum aliis opusculis, quorum index proxima refertur pagella*. (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, Hermogenes, Macrobius, A. Gellius, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. On p. 2 prefatory letter: Ad lectorem. En tibi Lector, collecti et denuo emendati complures Auctores, quorum nomina aduersa manifestat pagella. Quam uero fructuosa iucundaque fuerint semper eorum scripta, uel ex eo coniiicere possumus, quod a prima literarum origine ad nos usque tot aetatibus exulta celebriaque fuerunt: plusque haec pusilla et puritate sermonis et inuentionis gratia, tam longo tempore conseruata ualuerunt, quam numerosa aliorum, quae breui interierunt, uolumina. Prudenter quippe inuenta apertisque uerbis expressa, modo frugem aliquam afferant, ex usu nunquam recedere conseruerunt. Itaque sapienter faciet, quisquis rationem in adolescentibus adhuc separatam [soporatam *ed.*], hisce fabellis ad uirtutem et eloquentiam excitabit: posthabitis et bellicis historiis, et amatoriiis narrationibus, quae ad ambitionem exagitare, et cupiditates incendere solent, uel nimium per se in animis hominum uigentes, unde totius uitae postmodum conturbatio erumpit. Quod si haec uera sunt, carum tibi prae caeteris saepeque relegendum, hunc libellum trado. Non praeter optimos mores, cum Graeco stilo descripta ab eruditis uiris sint totidem Latinis uerbis expressa, utriusque sermonis peritiam, uel per te ipsum facile consequeris. Vale. Musaeus (p. 287) is preceded by two Greek odes by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.200; *Le edizioni italiane del XVI secolo. Censimento nazionale*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1990), 31, no. 384. NUC. BL; Rome, BNC; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [Inc.]: (p. 289) Dic dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. ./. . . [Expl.]: (p. 311) Variam populata circa pectus uestem, / In fluctus praiceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero, commortua, ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Seinuicem autem fruti sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1567, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Christophori Plantini. *Aesopi Phrygis fabulae Graece et Latine, cum aliis quibusdam opusculis, quorum indicem sequens*

pagella indicabit. Three parts (pp. 1–112, 1–142 [143–44], 1–142 [143–44]); printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. (Gr.-Lat.). Preceded (part 3, p. 55) by two Greek odes by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589)*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1980), 12–14 (also indicates another Parisii edition, sub circino aureo, via Iacoba, M.D.LXVII probab. = Antwerp 1567 with only a change in the title page, of which no complete copies are known). *Index Aureliensis*, 101.223; NUC. BNF; Florence, BNC; Padua, Bibl. del Seminario; Vicenza, Bibl. Civica Bertoliana.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (part 3, p. 57) Dic dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium hymenaeorum, / Et nuptias obscuras quas non vidit immortalis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 85) Variam quum fregisset circa pectus vestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Et Ero commortua est, ob tum qui perierat coniugem, / Seinvicem autem fructi sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1574, Basileae (Basel): apud heredes Nicolai Brylingereri. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graece et Latine, cum aliis quibusdam opusculis, quorum Indicem, sequens pagella indicabit*. (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. Preceded by two Greek odes (p. 343) by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.245; VD16 M 7103. NUC. BSB; Basel, Universitätsbibl.; Bern, Universitätsbibl.

Musaei de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 345) Dic dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 373) Variam populata circa pectus uestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero commortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Se invicem autem fructi sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1575, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Christophori Plantini, Architypographi Regii. Title: Διονυσίου Ἀλεξανδρέως περιήγησις. *Dionysii Alexandrini De situ orbis liber, Interprete Andrea Papio Gandensi*. Μουσαίου τὰ καθ' Ἡρῶ καὶ Λέανδρον. *Musaei Hero et Leander, eodem interprete*. (Gr.-Lat.). *Index Aureliensis*, 154.291; E. Cockx and G. Glorieux, *Belgica Typographica 1541–1600*, vol. 1 (Nieuwkoop, 1968), 69 no. 911; CTC 3.25; L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589)*. *A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1981), 813–14; I.On. Tsavari, *Histoire du texte de la Description de la terre de Denys le Périégète* (Iōannina, 1990), 432. NUC; BL; BNF; Berlin, Staatsbibl.; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana. Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

1584, Basileae (Basel): typis Brylingerianis. *Aesopi Phrygis fabulae graece et latine, cum aliis quibusdam Opusculis: Quorum Indicem sequens pagella indicabit.* (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. Preceded by two Greek odes (p. 343) by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.273; NUC. BNF; Berlin, Staatsbibl.

Musaei de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 345) Dic dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 373) Variam populata circa pectus uestem, / In fluctus praecipit ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero com-mortua ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Se inuicem autem fruti sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1584, [Geneva]: Jean Crispin. *Vetustissimorum Authorum Georgica, Bucolica, et Gnomica poemata quae supersunt.* (Gr.-Lat.). Four volumes. Vol. 3 has title page in Greek and Latin: ΕΙΔΥΛΛΙΑ ΜΟΞΧΟΥ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΙΟΥ, καὶ ΒΙΩΝΟΣ Σμυρναίου, *Interpretatione Latina ad verbum, et Scholiis illustrata. Quibus accessit Ausonii elegans Eidyllion a Feder. Iamotio versibus Graecis expressum: itemque Musaei elegantiss. Poëma de Herone et Leandro.* The text is based on the Aldine or Iuntina edition; preceded by (p. 334) AP 7.615 (Gr.-Lat.), (p. 335) prefatory letter in Greek by Aldus, (pp. 336–37) two Greek odes by Marcus Musurus with Latin translation, same as the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 146.916. Geneva, Bibl. de Genève.

Musaei de Herone et Leandro poëma elegantissimum. [*Inc.*]: (p. 338) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum: / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare vectarum nuptiarum: / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit immortalis aurora: / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Herus. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 356) Variam scindens circa pectora tunicam, / Cum strepitu praecipit ab alta deturbata est turri. / Atque Hero mortua est ob mortuum maritum: / Suique potiti sunt et in ultima pernicie.

1587, Venetiis (Venice): apud haeredes Francisci Ziletti. *Centum fabulae ex antiquis Scriptoribus acceptae, et Graecis, Latinisque Tetrastichis Senariis explicatae a Fabio Paulino Vtinensi. Gabriae Graeci fabulae, Musaei Leander, et Hero, Galeomyomachia Incerti, Sibyllae Vaticinium de Iudicio Christi, Batrachomyomachia Homeri Ab eodem latinis versibus e graeco conversa.* Latin translation by Fabio Paolini. NUC. BAV; BL; BNF; Florence, BNC; Venice, Bibl. Museo Correr. Digital copy in Google Books.

1593, Venetiis (Venice): apud Haeredes Iohannis Varisci. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabellae Grace et Latine, Cum aliis opusculis, quorum index proxima refertur pagella.* (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, Her-mogenes, Macrobius, A. Gellius, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates,

and *Galeomyomachia*; with over one hundred engravings. On p. 2 prefatory letter same as the 1561 Venice edition. Preceded by two Greek odes (p. 355) by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Index Aureliensis*, 101.302; *Le edizioni italiane del XVI secolo. Censimento nazionale*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1990), 33, no. 408. NUC. Milan, Bibl. Ambr.; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 357) Dic dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 393) Variam populata circa pectus vestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero, commortua, ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Se inuicem autem fructi sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1600, Geneva: ed. Jean Crispin apud haeredes Eustathii Vignon. *Vetustissimorum aethorum georgica, bucolica et gnomica poemata quae supersunt. Accessit huic edizioni Is. Hortiboni Theocritarum lectionum libellus.* (Gr.-Lat.). Four volumes, the second and third with continuous pagination. Vol. 3 has its own title page: ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ Συρακουσίου Ειδύλλια καὶ Ἐπιγράμματα σωζόμενα. ΣΙΜΜΟΥ ΡΟΔΙΟΥ, ΜΟΣΧΟΥ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΙΟΥ, ΒΙΩΝΟΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΥ, *Theocriti, Simmia, Moschi, et Bionis Eidyllia et Epigrammata quae supersunt, cum Musaei poematio: omnia Graecolatina et exposita.* Reprint of 1584 Geneva edition; preceded (p. 334) by AP 7.615 (Gr.-Lat.), (p. 335) prefatory letter by Aldus in Greek, (pp. 336–37) two Greek odes by Marcus Musurus with Latin translation. *Index Aureliensis*, 146.934. Geneva, Bibl. de Genève; Parma, Bibl. Palatina; Rome, Bibl. Casanatense; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.

Musaei de Herone et Leandro poema elegantissimum. [*Inc.*]: (p. 338) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum: / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare vectarum nuptiarum: / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit immortalis aurora: / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Herus. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 356) Variam scindens circa pectora tunicam, / Cum strepitu praeceps ab alta deturbata est turri. / Atque Hero mortua est ob mortuum maritum: / Suique potiti sunt et in ultima pernicie.

1601, Venetiis (Venice): apud Sebastianum Combi. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabellae Graece et Latine, Cum aliis opusculis, quorum index proxima refertur pagella.* (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, Hermogenes, Macrobius, A. Gellius, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. Preceded by prefatory letter (p. 2), as in 1561 Venice edition. *Le edizioni veneziane del Seicento. Censimento*, a cura di C. Griffante, con la collaborazione di A. Giachery e S. Minuzzi, vol. 1 (Milan, 2003), 9, no. 162. NUC. Verona, Bibl. Civica.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 357) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium

nuptiarum / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 393) Variam populata circa pectus vestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero, commortua, ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Se inuicem autem fructi sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1606, Aureliae Allobrogum (Geneva): excudebat Petrus de la Rouiere. ΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΗΡΩΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΩΣ ΠΑΛΛΑΟΙ ΠΟΙΗΤΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ. *Poetae Graeci veteres carminis heroici scriptores, qui extant, omnes. Apposita est e regione Latina interpretatio. Notae item et variae lectiones margini adscriptae. Cura et recensione Iac. Lectii.* (Gr.-Lat.). The edition is edited by the Swiss juriconsult and scholar Jacques Lect (Lectius) and is modelled on the Stephanus edition, Geneva 1566. Toronto, Victoria Univ., CRRS Lib.; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

Vol. 1: [Inc.]: (p. 698) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare vectarum nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non vidit immortalis aurora: / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Herûs. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 703) Variam scindens circa pectora tunicam, / Cum strepitu praeceps ab alta deturbata est turri. / Atque Hero mortua est ob mortuum maritum, / Suique potiti sunt etiam in ultima pernitie.

1612, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva): ed. Jean Crispin apud Iohan. Vignon. *Vetustissimum* [!] *Authorum Georgica, Bucolica, et Gnomica poemata quae supersunt. Accessit huic editioni Is. Hortiboni Theocriticarum lectionum libellus. Caetera sequentes paginae indicant.* (Gr.-Lat.). In three volumes; the second has the same title page as the 1600 Geneva edition; preceded (p. 334) by AP 7.615 (Gr.-Lat.), (p. 335) prefatory letter by Aldus in Greek, (pp. 336–37) two Greek odes by Marcus Musurus with Latin translation. Reprint of 1600 Geneva edition. BNF; Geneva, Bibl. de Genève.

Musaei de Herone et Leandro poëma elegantissimum. [Inc.]: (p. 338) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum: / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare vectarum nuptiarum: / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit immortalis aurora: / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Herûs. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 356) Variam scindens circa pectora tunicam, / Cum strepitu praeceps ab alta deturbata est turri. / Atque Hero mortua est ob mortuum maritum: / Suique potiti sunt et in ultima pernicie.

1616, Basileae (Basel): typis Ioan. Iacobi Genathi. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae Graece et Latine, cum aliis quibusdam opusculis: Quorum Indicem sequens pagella indicabit.* (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. Preceded by two Greek epigrams (p. 391) by Marcus Musurus, as in the 1495–98 Aldine edition. *Ev Βασιλεία πόλει της Γερμανίας. Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen* (Basel, 1992), 248, no. 162. NUC. Basel, Universitätsbibl.

Musaei de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 393) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum, / Et coitum tenebrosam, quem non vidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 421) Variam populata circa pectus vestem / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre. / Ero commortua ab eum qui perierat coniugem. / Se invicem autem fruti sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1617, Hamburgi (Hamburg): ex Typographia Pauli Langii. *Coluthi Thebani Lycopolitae de raptu Helenae Liber Ab Helio Eobano Hesso Latino Carmine redditus. Musaei de Herone et Leandro. Interprete Andrea Papio Gandensi. Utrumque Poëma mire elegans et eruditum, seorsim Graecolatine in gratiam studiosae iuventutis excusum, et in Gymnasio Hamburgensi propositum est a M. Henrico Rumpio.* (Gr.-Lat.). Reprint of 1575 Andreas Papius edition. Hoffman 1.470; VD17 1:060762U. BNF.

Musaei Hero et Leander. [*Inc.*]: (p. 41) Musa mihi testem taciti cane lychnon amoris. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 67) Seque illi summaque quoque sunt in morte potiti.

1619, Venetiis (Venice): apud Io. Baptistam Combum. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabelae Graece et Latine, Cum aliis opusculis, quorum Index proxima refertur pagella. Denuo, et quam correctissime in lucem editae.* (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, Hermogenes, Macrobius, A. Gellius, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. Preceded by a prefatory letter (p. 2), as in 1561 Venice edition. *Le edizioni veneziane del Seicento. Censimento*, a cura di C. Griffante, con la collaborazione di Giachery and S. Minuzzi, vol. 1 (Milan, 2003), 9, no. 165. NUC. Oxford, Bod. Lib.; Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 357) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum / Et coitum tenebrosam, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 393) Variam populata circa pectus vestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero, commortua, ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Se inuicem autem fruiti sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1627, Francofurti (Frankfurt a.M.): Impensis Gulielmi Fitzeri. *Musaei Vetusissimi, venustissimique Poetae Graeci Erotopaegnon Herus et Leandri. Cum versione Latina prorsa-vorsa: cui accesserunt alia eiusdem argumenti poematia: quae singula collegit, et commentario libro illustravit Daniel Pareus Philippi Filius, Davidis nepos.* (Gr.-Lat.). Edited by Daniel Pareus. The text and Latin translation (pp. 3–16) are probably taken from the 1519 Iuntina edition. Preceded by two Greek odes by Marcus Musurus and epigram by Antipater of Thessalonica (*AP* 7.666), all

three with Latin translation; followed by (pp. 17–36) *Index Graecarum dictionum, quae in Musaei habentur carmine, omnium*; (pp. 37–150) *Commentarius*. Reprint of Latin translation by Guillaume de la Mare (1511) (pp. 151–70), *Leandris* by Caspar Barth (pp. 169–208) and French translation by Clement Marot (pp. 227–40). Hoffmann 2.606; VD17 1:071867V. BNF; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

Musaei lusus de amoribus Herus et Leandri. [*Inc.*]: (p. 4) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 16) Suique potiti sunt et in ultima pernicie.

1628, Parisiis (Paris): apud Ioannem Libert. ΤΩΝ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ ΠΟΙΗΤΩΝ ΤΑ ΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΑ, Ησιόδου. Θεοκρίτου. Θεόγνιδος. Μόσχου. Μουσαίου. Βίωνος. Φωκυλίδου. κἄλλων τῶν παλαιογνωμογράφων. *Vetustissimorum Poëtarum, Hesiodi. Theocriti. Theognidis. Moschi. Musaei. Bionis. Phocylidis. et aliorum, opera Georgica. Bucolica. Gnomica. Omnia notis suo loco necessariis illustrata, et indicibus locupletata.* (Gr.-Lat.). On pp. 351–431 (erroneously “417”) an edition by Moschus and Bion with Ausonius and Musaeus, dated 1627; the title page (p. 351) bears the title: ΕΙΔΥΛΛΙΑ ΜΟΣΧΟΥ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΙΟΥ, ΚΑΙ, ΒΙΩΝΟΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΥ. Interpretatione Latina ad verbum, et Scholiis illustrata. Quibus accessit Ausonii elegans Eidyllion à Feder. Iamotio versibus Graecis expressum itemque Musaei elegantiss. Poema de Herone et Leandro. Parisiis, apud Ioannem Libert. The text by Musaeus is on pp. 405–31 (431 = “417” in the volume).

[*Inc.*]: (p. 410) Dic dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. “417,” actually p. 431) Suique potiti sunt et in ultima pernicie. It appears to be a reprint of the 1584 or 1600 Geneva edition. A composite volume, whose various parts, including Musaeus, were published individually in 1627. Brunet 3.142; Hoffmann 2.250. BNF.

1635, Cantabrigiae (Cambridge): apud Tho. et Io. Buck, et Roger. Daniel. *Poetae Minores Graeci, Quorum Catalogum versa indicabit pagina, A Radulpho Wintertono recogniti.* (Gr.-Lat.). Edited by Ralph Winterton.

Musaei De Herone et Leandro [*Inc.*]: (p. 364) Dic, Dea, occultorum testem lucernam amorum. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 380) Suique potiti sunt et in ultima pernicie.

Repr. 1652, 1661, 1667, 1671, 1677, 1684, 1700, 1712, 1728, and 1739. The 1566 Stephanus edition is used for the Greek version and the 1600 Crispinus edition for the Latin translation. Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.

1639, [Geneva]: ed. Jean Crispin, sumptibus Ioannis de Tournes Reip. et Academiae Typographi. *Vetustissimorum Authorum Georgica, Bucolica, et Gnomica poemata quae supersunt. Accessit huic editioni Is. Hortiboni Theocriticarum lectionum libellus. Caetera sequentes paginae indicant.* (Gr.-Lat.). In three volumes; the third has identical title page to the 1600 Geneva edition; preceded (p. 334) by *Anth. Pal.* 7.615 (Gr.-Lat.), (p. 335) prefatory letter in Greek by Aldus,

(pp. 336–37) two Greek odes by Marcus Musurus with Latin translation. Reprint of 1600 Geneva edition. Florence, BNC; Geneva, Bibl. de Genève.

Musaei de Herone et Leandro poëma elegantissimum. [*Inc.*]: (p. 338) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum: / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare vectarum nuptiarum: / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit immortalis aurora: / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Herûs. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 356) Variam scindens circa pectora tunicam, / Cum strepitu praeceps ab alta deturbata est turri. / Atque Hero mortua est ob mortuum maritum: / Suique potiti sunt et in ultima pernicie.

1650, Venetiis (Venice): apud Sebastianum Combi. *Aesopi Phrygis Fabel-lae Graece et Latine, Cum aliis opusculis, quorum Index proxima refertur pagella. Denuo, et quam correctissime in lucem editae.* (Gr.-Lat.). Printed together with Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Philostratus, Hermogenes, Macrobius, A. Gellius, *Batrachomyomachia*, Agapetus, Hippocrates, and *Galeomyomachia*. Introduced by a prefatory letter, (p. 2) as in 1561 Venice edition. *Le edizioni veneziane del Seicento. Censimento*, a cura di C. Griffante, con la collaborazione di A. Giachery e S. Minuzzi, vol. 1 (Milan, 2003), 9, no. 167. Rovereto, Bibl. civica Tartarotti.

Musaeus de Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (p. 357) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum, / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare transeuntium nuptiarum / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non uidit incorruptibilis aurora, / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Erus. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 393) Variam populata circa pectus vestem, / In fluctus praeceps ab excelsa cecidit turre, / Ero, commortua, ob eum qui perierat coniugem. / Se inuicem autem fructi sunt etiam in suprema morte.

1655, Londini (London): typis Thomae Roycroftii. *Musaei, Moschi et Bionis, quae extant omnia, quibus accessere quaedam selectiora Theocriti Eidyllia. Autore Davide Whitfordo.* (Gr.-Lat.). Dedicated to Edward Bysshe (ca. 1615–79). Fol. A3v the Latin translation of the two odes by Marcus Musurus. The translation was reprinted in the Matthias Röver edition, published in Leiden in 1737 (pp. 90–101). Hoffmann 2.606.

Musaeus. [*Inc.*]: (p. 2) Diva facem memora tacitos quae vidit amores. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 26) Ultima nec miseros necis hora diremit amantes.

1659, Londini (London): typis Thomae Roycroftij. *Musaei, Moschi et Bionis, quae extant omnia: Quibus accessere quaedam selectiora Theocriti Eidyllia. Impressa majore caractere, Sculptura adornata, Latinoque carmine reddita, Graecis e regione appositis, autore Davide Whitfordo.* (Gr.-Lat.). Reprint of Londini 1655 edition with a new title page without dedication. Hoffmann 2.606–7. BNF; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

Musaeus. [*Inc.*]: (p. 2) Diva facem memora tacitos quae vidit amores. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 26) Ultima nec miseros necis hora diremit amantes.

HERO ET LEANDER

TRANSLATIONS

1. Aldus Manutius

The Latin translation written in hexameters contained in the first Aldine edition was for a long time attributed to the Cretan humanist Marcus Musurus (ca. 1470–1517) who began to work in Venice with Aldus in around 1495, and is undoubtedly the author of two Greek epigrams in the edition together with their Latin translation. In 1976 Martin Sicherl discovered a Latin translation in Sélestat, Bibl. Humaniste, K 930c (336) codex, and his palaeographical and codicological analysis provided conclusive evidence that it was by Aldus himself. The date of the Aldine edition is uncertain, but it is likely that the Greek text was printed in 1495 (shortly before 1 November, see Eleuteri, 160–61), whereas it would seem that the Latin translation was added in 1498 (the year in which the edition appeared in Aldus' catalogue accompanied by the information *cum interpretatione latina*). In any case it would not be prior to 1497. The Greek text and the Latin translation were each printed on five bifolia and were arranged in such a manner that when the book was opened it displayed one page in Greek and one in Latin. In this way the Latin translation could be removed from the book without interfering with the Greek text. This was a technique that Aldus would apply again in the future. Some copies only have the Greek text (for instance, Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Aldine 319), and others only contain the Latin translation (Piacenza, Bibl. Passerini-Landi).

Dedication (ed. Aldina, fol. ar). Ἄλδος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τοῖς σπουδαίοις εὐπράττειν. Μουσαῖον τὸν παλαιότατον ποιητὴν ἠθέλησα προοιμιάζειν τῷ τε Ἀριστοτέλει καὶ τῶν σοφῶν τοῖς ἑτέροις αὐτίκα δι' ἐμοῦ ἐντυπησομένοις, τῷ τε εἶναι αὐτὸν ἡδιστὸν ἄμα καὶ λογιώτατον, καὶ μάλιστα ὡς ἂν εἰδῆτε τὰ παρὰ τούτου τῷ Οὐιδίῳ δανεισθέντα (sc. δανεισθέντα) δαιμονίως τῷ ὄντι καὶ εὐφυῶς, καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐμιμήσατο ἐν ταῖς Ἡροῦς καὶ Λεάνδρου πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπιστολαῖς. Λαμβάνετ' οὖν τουτὶ τὸ βιβλίδιον, οὐ προῖκα μέντοι, δότε δὲ τὰ χρήματα, ἵν' ἔχω καὶ αὐτὸς πορίζεσθαι ὑμῖν πάσας τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρίστας βίβλους. καὶ ὄντως, εἰ δώσετε, δώσω, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχω ἐντυποῦν ἄνευ χρημάτων πολλῶν. Πιστεύετε τοῖς οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ἐμπερασθεῖσι, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα οὕτως λέγοντι Δημοσθένει: «Δεῖ δὴ χρημάτων, καὶ ἄνευ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστι γενέσθαι τῶν δεόντων» [Demosthenes, *Olynth.* 1, 20]. Οὐ μὴν φιλοχρημάτων ἔχων, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τοιοῦτους ἀπεχθανόμενος ταῦτά γε εἶρηκα· καὶ τοι χρημάτων ἄνευ οὐ δυνατὸν εὐπορεῖν ὧν ὑμεῖς μὲν ὑπερβαλόντως ἐφίεσθε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολλῷ μόχθῳ καὶ δαπάνῃ πεπονηκότες διατελοῦμεν. Ἐρῶρωσθε (G. Orlandi ed., *Aldo Manuzio editore. Dediche, prefazioni, note ai testi*, vol. 1 [Milan, 1975], 5, annotated Italian translation vol. 2, 197).

Musaei de Ero et Leandro (Sélestat, Bibl. Humaniste, K 930c (336), fol. 1v; textual variants from the Aldine edition in italics). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1v) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare *transeuntium* nuptiarum / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non vidit immortalis aurora / Et *Sextum* et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Herus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 10v) Stabat fluctuans miseris curis. / Venit autem aurora, et non vidit sponsum Hero. / Circunquaque oculum dirigebat in lata dorsa maris / Sicubi videret errantem *suum* (errantem Aldina) maritum (breaks off after line 337).

Musaei De Herone et Leandro (ed. Aldina, fol. b^v; textual variants from Sélestat, Bibl. Humaniste, K 930c (336) in italics). [*Inc.*]: (fol. b^v = [b2v]) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum / Et nocturnum natatorem per mare *vectorum* nuptiarum / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non vidit immortalis aurora / Et *Sestum* et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Herus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. b12r) Variam scindens circa pectora tunicam / Cum strepitu praeceps ab alta deturbata est turri / Atque Hero mortua est ob mortuum maritum / Suique potiti sunt et in ultima pernicie.

Manuscripts:

Sélestat, Bibl. Humaniste, K 930c (336), late s. XV, fols. 1v–10v (Kristeller, *Iter* 3.348). Last part missing owing to lost page (translation ends with line 337). The autograph of Aldus, containing numerous corrections made by the author, is the *Druckvorlage* of the translation printed by Aldus himself. The pages are supplied with notes by the scribe that provide directions for the printing, which specify the correct page sequence; the lines for each page that are identical to those of the Aldine edition. The manuscript belonged to Johannes Cuno (d. 1513) and together with his library was inherited by Beatus Rhenanus (fols. 11r–67v texts by Rhenanus). See M. Sicherl, *Johannes Cuno. Ein Wegbereiter des Griechischen in Deutschland. Eine biographisch-kodikologische Studie* (Heidelberg, 1978), 79; Sicherl, *Griechische Erstaussgaben des Aldus Manutius*, 22–30 and pl. I; D. Harlfinger, J. Harlfinger, J.A.M. Sonderkamp, and M. Sicherl, *Griechische Handschriften und Aldinen. Eine Ausstellung anlässlich der XV. Tagung der Mommsen-Gesellschaft in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel* (Wolfenbüttel, 1978), 124 (pl.).

(CD-ROM) Munich, Universitätsbibl., 4° Cod. ms. 827, early s. XVI (parts 1–4 = fols. 1r–78^r), fols. 41r–42v; contains lines 1–47 in alternate Greek and Latin (M. Reuter, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München: Die Handschriften aus der Quartreihe* [Wiesbaden, 2000], 199–203). Parts 1–4 of the codex originate from German humanistic circles, in particular the Swabians. Copy of the first Aldine edition. Title (fol. 41r): Μουσαίου ποιημάτων τὰ καθ' ἡρώ καὶ Λέανδρον ὃ δὴ καὶ εἰς τῶν ῥωμαίων διάλεκτον αὐτολεξεῖ μετωχγεύθη. *Musaei opusculum de Herone et Leandro, quod et in latinam linguam tralatum est*. Followed by AP 7.615 in Greek and Latin. [*Inc.*]:

(fol. 41r) Dic Dea occultorum testem lucernam amorum / Et nocturnum nata-
torem per mare vectarum nuptiarum / Et coitum tenebrosum, quem non vidit
immortalis aurora / Et Sestum et Abydum, ubi nuptiae nocturnae Herus . . . / . . .
[*Expl.*]: (fol. 42v) Neque mulier ulla remansit in oppidis Cythareorum.

(micro.) New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Lib., 534, early s.
XIX, manuscript facsimile of the Aldine edition, with Greek text (fols. a2r–a10v)
and Latin translation (fols. b1v–b12r), two epigrams by Marcus Musurus (fols.
a1v and b1r) and the Greek prefatory letter by Aldus (fol. A1r). The binding is by
François Bozerian, called Bozerian le Jeune (fl. 1801–18). See Kristeller, *Iter* 5.282.

Editions:

[1495–98], Venetiis (Venice): Aldus Romanus. Μουσαίου ποιημάτων τὰ
καθ' ἠρώ καὶ Λέανδρον ὃ δὴ καὶ εἰς τῶν ῥωμαίων διάλεκτον αὐτολεξεῖ μετωχετεύθη.
*Musaei opusculum de Herone et Leandro, quod et in latinam linguam ad verbum
tralatum est.* (Gr.-Lat.). On the verso of the title page (unnumbered) are added
lines 49 and 142, omitted in the text; below, the epigram AP 7.615, with Latin
translation. On fol. a1r the Greek prefatory letter by Aldus; on fol. a1v two Greek
odes by Marcus Musurus (ed. Legrand 1.21–22), accompanied on fol. b^r (= b2r)
by Latin translation, [*Inc.*] Templum erat in Sesto, porriciebant ubi libamenta,
[*Expl.*] Et eos luce privavit, privavit etiam lusibus venereis, and [*Inc.*] Etiam prae-
cordia invidia deorum tetigit; nam carminibus, [*Expl.*] Quae parvis ludens mani-
bus patravit cupido. On the two pages with no text halfway through the volume
(b6v–a6r) there are two engravings, one depicting the encounter between Hero
and Leander, the other their deaths (V. d'Essling, *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la
fin du XV^e siècle et du commencement du XVI^e*, vol. 2 [Florence and Paris, 1909], 22,
no. 1296; M. Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530*, vol. 2 [Milan
and New York, 1941; repr. 1969], 842, no. 4912), at the top (b6v) the epigram by
Antipater of Thessalonica, AP 7.666, with the Latin translation ([*Inc.*] Hic est
Leandri tranatus, hoc est ponti), below a conflation of Martial 14.181 line 1 and
1.25b line 4. A.A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde, ou Histoire des trois
Manuce et de leurs éditions* (Paris, 3rd ed., 1834; repr. New Castle, Del., 1991), 257–
58; Legrand 1.20–22; A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Venise* (Paris,
1875; repr. Brussels, 1966), 54–56; C.F. Bühler, “Aldus Manutius and His First
Edition of the Greek Musaeus,” *La Bibliofilia* 52 (1950) 123–27 (= *Scritti sopra
Aldo Manuzio*, ed. R. Ridolfi [Florence, 1955], 3–7 and 106–7, and Bühler, *Early
Books and Manuscripts. Forty Years of Research* [New York, 1973], 162–69); M.
Sicherl, “Die Musaios-Ausgabe des Aldus Manutius und ihre lateinische Über-
setzung,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 19 (1976) 257–76 (rev. and supplemented
in M. Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius. Druckvorlagen, Stellen-
wert, kultureller Hintergrund* [Paderborn, 1997], 11–30); D. Harlfinger, J. Harlfinger,
J.A.M. Sonderkamp, and M. Sicherl, *Griechische Handschriften und Aldinen*.

Eine Ausstellung anlässlich der XV. Tagung der Mommsen-Gesellschaft in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (Wolfenbüttel, 1978), 125; Eleuteri, 34–35; D. Harlfinger, ed., *Graecogermania. Griechischstudien deutscher Humanisten. Die Editionstätigkeit der Griechen in der italienischen Renaissance (1469–1523)* (Wolfenbüttel, 1989), 65–66; L. Bigliuzzi, A.D. Bussi, G. Savino, and P. Scapecchi, *Aldo Manuzio tipografo 1494–1515* (Florence, 1994), 30; W.J. Sheehan, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae incunabula*, vol. 2 (Vatican City, 1997), 890 (M-368); *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Inkunabelkatalog*, vol. 4 (Wiesbaden, 1998), 130 (M-592); A. Coates, K. Jensen, C. Dondi, B. Wagner, and H. Dixon, *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century Now in the Bodleian Library*, vol. 4 (Oxford, 2005), 1832–33 (M-331). BMC 5,552–53; Goff M-880; HC 11653; IGI 6761. BAV; BL; BNF; BSB; ÖNB; Ravenna, Bibl. Classense; Washington, Lib. of Congress.

1517, Venetiis (Venice). See above, Composite Editions.

1519, Florentiae (Florence). See above, Composite Editions.

1538, Parisijs (Paris). Lat. Translations, See above, Composite Editions.

1584, [Geneva]. See above, Composite Editions.

1600, Geneva. See above, Composite Editions.

1606, Aureliae Allobrogum (Geneva). See above, Composite Editions.

1612, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva). See above, Composite Editions.

1639, [Geneva]. See above, Composite Editions.

Biography:

See CTC 2.65–68 (Biography, 67–68) (Gregorius Nazianzenus), 3.415–16.

Add to *Bibliography*: DBI 69.236–45 (M. Infelise); M. Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius. Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford, 1979); Lowry, *Il mondo di Aldo Manuzio. Affari e cultura nella Venezia del Rinascimento* (Rome, 2000; with an essay by the author on Aldine studies from 1979 to 1999).

Works:

Aldus translated sixty-six poems by Gregory of Nazianzus into Latin, and the translations of Pseudo-Phocylides (1495), Pseudo-Pythagoras' *Carmina aurea* (1495), and Aesop (1505) are also ascribed to him. In addition, he wrote *Musarum Panagyris* (ca. 1490), *Institutiones grammaticae* (1493), and *Grammaticae institutiones Graecae*, autograph contained in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, P 35 sup. and published posthumously (1515) by Marcus Musurus.

2. Guillaume de la Mare

It is likely that Guillaume de la Mare translated the work in hexameters shortly before 1511, as can be inferred from Jean Vatel's dedicatory letter in the 1514 edition: "superioribus hisce annis, dum per legalia munera suumque a secretis officium liceret." The 1511 edition is dedicated to Nicolas de Cerisay,

archdeacon of the Cathedral of Coutances, deacon of Saint-Germain in Paris and Baron of Riparia (= de la Rivière). Nevertheless, the identification of this person is uncertain. One Nicolas III of Cerisay, deacon and canon of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois in 1507 actually existed (cf. H.J.P. Fisquet, *La France pontificale*, 1. *Province de Paris*, vol. 2 [Paris, 1864], 141), but no mention is made of the de la Rivière seignory. Likewise, a certain Nicolas de Cerisay, Baron of Hommet, Lord de la Rivière, bailiff of Cotentin, King's counsellor and chamberlain also exists (cf. G. Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia regia*, vol. 2 [Paris, 1942], 199, no. 7085). In addition, there also exists a copy of an inventory drawn up after the death of (another?) Nicolas de Cerisay, Lord and Baron de la Rivière (1533), which also lists his library, with Latin and French books (cf. *Documents du Minutier central des notaires de Paris. Inventaires après décès (1453–1547)*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1982], 137). The 1514 dedicatory letter is slightly different from the 1511 one. In the 1514 edition and the 1538 Paris reprint, the Latin translation alternates with Jean Vatel's commentary.

Dedication (ed. of [Paris], 1511). Egregio magnifico generosoque domino Nicolao de Cerisay insignis ecclesiae constantiensis cathedralis Archidiacono necnon sancti Germani parisiensis Decano Baronique de riparia G. De Mara Utriusque Iuris doctor ac eiusdem Constantiensis Ecclesiae Thesaurarius Felicitatem. [*Inc.*]: (fol. AI^v) Amoris furore nihil vehementius inveniri Iustiniana sanctio nos admonet [*Corpus iuris civilis*, Nov. 74, 4]. Blandum insuper malum luxuria auctore Valerio: quam facilius est culpae quam vitare [Val. Max. 9.1]. Nec mirum nam non modo iuuenum (quos ferventioris sanguinis natura urget) verumetiam senum atque aridorum (ut ita dicam) stipitum corda hoc plerunque vitio corripiuntur. Ac saepenumero demortuis in corporibus adhuc veneris rediuius vivit igniculus: foelices sunt quos aut innata prudentia aut potius diuina gratia a tam pernicioso protegit incendio. Verum si historiis credimus inter caeteros quos hic tetigit atque adussit ignis Herus atque Leandri usque adeo deflagruit ardor ut hic procellosi maris tempestates parui pendens Hellesponti vada noctu adlucente lucerna transfretare non exhorruerit. Illa vero post plurimas noctes in deliciis peractas, ubi amatorem suum vi aestus atque aequoris importunitate ad turris quam incolebat crepidines submersum aspexit a celsa sese deorsum arce proiectans vita pariter misere functa est. Horum amores antiquissimus Heros atque poeta Musaeus Orphei theologi contemporaneus et eiusdem inter argonautas socius eleganti carmine graece conscripsit. Quem ad te latinum destino, hortans atque obsecrans ut hoc in opusculo non tam falsa ac momentanea cupidinis deliniamenta quam miserabilem amatorum finem spectare cures. Crebroque illud poeticum animo reuoluas. Foelix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum [cf. H. Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen, 1969), no. 6345]. Sed iam ipsum Musaeum his praemonitus tuto secureque legito. Et vale.

Dedication (ed. of [Paris] 1514). Egregio, magnifico, generosoque domino Nicolao de Cerisay et Baroni de Riparia G. de Mara Utriusque iuris doctor et eiusdem Constantiensis ecclesiae Thesaurarius Foelicitatem. [*Inc.*]: (fol. I^r) Amoris furore nihil vehementius inveniri Iustiniana sanctio nos admonet [*Corpus iuris civilis*, Nov. 74, 4]. Blandum insuper malum luxuria, authore Valerio: quam facilius est culpae quam vitare [Val. Max. 9.1]. Nec mirum cum non modo iuuenum (quos ferventioris sanguinis natura fouet) verumetiam senum, atque aridorum (ut ita dicam) stipitum mentes hoc plerumque vitio corripiantur. Ac saepenumero perinde mortuis in corporibus adhuc Veneris rediuius viuunt igniculus. Foelices sunt quos aut innata prudentia aut potius diuina gratia a tam pernicioso protegit incendio. Verum si historiis credimus inter caeteros (quos hic tetigit atque adussit ignis) Herus atque Leandri deflagrauit ardor ut hic procellosi maris tempestates parui pendens, Hellesponti vada noctu adlucente lucerna transfretare non exhorruerit. Illa vero post plurimas noctes in deliciis peractas, ubi amatorem suum vi aestus atque aequoris importunitate ad turris, quam incolebat, crepidines submersum aspexit a celsa sese deorsum arce proiectans, vita pariter misere functa est. Horum amores antiquissimus heros atque poeta Musaeus Orphei theologi contemporaneus et eiusdem inter argonautas socius, eleganti carmine graece conscripsit. Quem ad te latinum destino, hortans atque obsecrans ut hoc in opusculo non tam falsa ac momentanea cupidinis delinamenta quam miserabilem amatorum finem spectare cures. Crebroque illud poeticum animo reuoluas. Foelix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum [cf. Walther, *Initia carminum*, no. 6345]. Sed iam ipsum Musaeum tuto secureque legito. Et vale.

Text (ed. of [Paris] 1514, with significant variants of the 1511 [Paris] edition). Musaei Leander Guilielmo de Mara Paraphraste. [*Inc.*]: (fol. IV^r [1511 ed. fol. AII^r]) Dic dea [1511 ed. Dea] testantem furtiuos lychnon amores: / Atque natatorem vecti [ed. 1511 vetiti] tenebris hymenaei, / Et connubia nigranti caligine caeca, / Splendida quae numquam surgens aurora videbat. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. XXI^r [1511 ed. fol. AVIII^r]) Mox variam pulchro scindens a pectore vestem / Cum sonitu praeceps celsa decidit arce. / Sic Hero periit charo pereunte Leandro [1511 ed. marito]: / Suntque sui pariter suprema in clade potiti.

Editions:

(CD-ROM) 1511, [Paris]: In aedibus Ascensianis. *Musei poete antiquissimi et amoenissimi de insano et ob id deuitando Leandri ac Herus amore poemation Guilielmo de Mara Utriusque Iuris doctore et cathedralis apud Constantien., Ecclesiae thesaurario Paraphraste Luculentissim. De quo est subsequens ad lectores Tetra-stichon Huc Musaei veni stygio rediuius ab orco / Ut latius graio defluat ore lepos, / Arceat ut gallos iuuenes Leandrius ignis / Terreat et gallas sestia flamma nurus.* H.M. Adams, *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501–1600 in*

Cambridge Libraries, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1967), 764, no. 1995; *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1969), 86, no. 172; B. Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*, vol. 2, 1511–1520 (Paris, 1977), 95, no. 171. Cambridge, Univ. Lib.

(CD-ROM) 1514, [Paris]: In aedibus Ascensianis. *Musaei poetae Graeci antiquissimi et amoenissimi de insano, et ob id deuitando Leandri, ac Herus amore Poemation, cum Ioannis Vатели Commentariis Guilielmo de Mara utriusque iuris doctore: et cathedralis apud Constantien. Ecclesiae thesaurario Paraphraste luculentissimo. De quo est subsequens ad Musaeum ipsum Tetrastichon. Huc Musae veni stygio rediuius ab orco: / Ut latius graio defluat ore lepos, / Arceat ut Gallos iuuenes Leandrius ignis: / Terreat et gallas Sestia flamma nurus.* On fol. XXI^r: I(oannes) V(atellus) C(oeniliensis). Ad Lectorem. Haec habui, studiose lector, quae in praesentem huiusce authoris nostri Guilielmi de Mara in Musaeum paraphrasin adiicerem, ad utriusque tam graeci quam latini intelligentiam, mea quidem opinione, apprime conducentia. In quibus si quid est mea ignoratione, dum festinare cupio aberratum, si quid etiam praetermissum, dum breuitati studeo, benigne atque aequanimiter feras. Errataque calcographorum, quae pauca sunt, emendare atque corrigere cures humaniter, legasque in titulo secundae epistolae Carnotensis non Cartonensis, et siquae sunt similia. Followed by the Latin translation of AP 7.615 and 7.666 by Guillaume de la Mare. Ph. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des oeuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius imprimeur et humaniste 1462–1535*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1908), 85; *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1969; repr. New York, 1963), 122–23, no. 253; B. Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*, II. 1511–1520 (Paris, 1977), 267, no. 916. NUC. BL; BNF; ÖNB.

(CD-ROM) 1526, Coloniae (Cologne): apud Ioannem Soterem. *Musaei poetae Graeci antiquissimi et amoenissimi de insano Herus ac Leandri amore, Poë-mation. Idem Latinum, paraphraste Gulielmo de Mara. ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ ΘΕΩΝ ΚΡΗΣΙΣ.* (Gr.-Lat.). On fols. A1v–a2r the two Greek epigrams by Marcus Musurus with the Latin translation by Jean Vatel; fols. A3r–c3r the Latin translation by Guillaume de la Mare, tit. *Musaei Leander Guilielmo de Mara Paraphraste*. It appears to be a reprint of the 1514 Paris edition, without Vatel's dedications and commentary. Graesse 4.633; H.M. Adams, *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501–1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1967), 764, no. 1994; Chr. Lauvergnat-Gagnière, *Lucien de Samosate et le lucianisme en France au XVI^e siècle* (Geneva, 1988), 358, no. 1038; VD16 M 7099. Cambridge, Emmanuel Coll.; Strasbourg, Bibl. Nat. et Universitaire; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl.

1538, Parisijs (Paris): in officina Christiani Wecheli (Chrestien Wechel). *Musaei vetustissimi poetae opusculum de amoribus Leandri et Herus, Guilielmo de Mara paraphraste, eruditio Ioannis Vатели Coeniliensis commentarijs enarratum.*

(Gr.-Lat.). On fols. aI^v–aII^r: Egregio, magnifico, generosoque domino Nicolao de Cerisay, et Baroni de Riparia, G. De Mara Utriusque Iuris doctor, et Constan. Ecclesiae Thesaurarius Foelicitatem; fols. aII^r–aIII^r: Ioannes Vatellus Coeniliensis Ioanni Fabro cantori Regineo, Cartonensisque [i.e. Carnotensisque] ecclesiae canonico benemerito salutem; fol. aIII^r: Eiusdem Vatelii carmen elegum ex Marco Musuro Cretensi graeco latinitate donatum and Eiusdem ex eodem Dodecastichon, et totius operis Argumentum; fols. aIV^v–aIV^v: Ioannis Vatelii Coeniliensis in Musaei Leandrum familiaris Commentarius; fols. aV^r–eIII^r Musaei Leander Guiljelmo de Mara Paraphraste, the translation alternates with Vatel's commentary, which ends on fol. eIV^v. It is based on the 1514 Paris edition. Graesse 4.633; *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*, vol. 5, 1536–1540 (Paris, 2004), 301, no. 993. NUC. BL; BNF; Oxford, Bod. Lib.; Rome, BNC; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

1627, Francofurti (Frankfurt a.M.). See above, Composite Editions.

Biography:

Guillaume de la Mare (De Mara, Delamare, Delamarre) was born in Desert, near Saint-Lo, in Normandy in 1451. He studied in Paris, where he became *magister artium*. In 1493 he entered into the service of Robert Briçonnet, Archbishop of Reims, whom he also accompanied in his various missions on behalf of Charles VIII. He then became secretary to Guy de Rochefort and later to Guillaume Briçonnet, Cardinal of Saint-Malo and Archbishop of Reims. In 1503 (or 1504) he moved to Caen, where he became *doctor utriusque iuris*. In 1506 he was elected University rector at Caen. Later he stayed on as Professor of Law. In 1511 he became canon treasurer of the Cathedral of Coutances (Lower Normandy). There is little information about his life after 1514. He died in Coutances on 11 July 1525.

Works:

De tribus fugiendis, ventre, pluma et venere libelli tres (Paris, 1512); *Tripertitus in Chimaeram conflictus* (Paris, 1513), with Jean Vatel's commentary; *Sylvarum libri quatuor* (Paris, 1513); *Epistolae et orationes* (Paris, 1514).

Bibliography:

DBF 10.670 (“Delamare, Guillaume” [L. Martal]); DBF 19.475 (J.-P. Lobies); Ch. Fierville, “Étude sur la vie et les oeuvres de Guillaume de la Mare 133^e recteur de l'Université de Caen,” *Mémoires de l'Académie nationale des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Caen* (1892), 141–242; E. Frère, *Manuel du bibliographe normand*, vol. 1 (Rouen, 1858), 327; J. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in France and in the Latin writers of the Netherlands to the year 1800* (Ithaca, 1946), 79; Jöcher 3.129; Jöcher, Suppl. 4.629; *L'Europe des humanistes*, 147; NBG 13.408 (“Delamarre, Guillaume”

[M. G.]); N.N. Oursel, “De la Mare” ou “De Mare” ou “De Mara Guillaume,” in *Nouvelle biographie normande*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1886), 241; World Biographical Information System Online = <http://db.saur.de/WBIS>.

3. Benedictus Jovius

The unpublished translation by the humanist from Como, Benedictus Jovius (Benedetto Giovio, 1472–1545), brother of the historian Paolo, is composed in 413 hexameters. Nothing is known about the period in which the translation was undertaken. In the Trivultianus manuscript, the translation of Musaeus lies between *De duodecim fontibus*, composed in 1529, and *De Venetis Gallicum trophaeum*, published in Milan in about 1510. Jovius seems to have modelled the Greek text on the Aldina or Iuntina edition.

Text. (Milan, Archivio Storico Civico Bibl. Trivulziana, 668). Musaei Leander et Hero e graeco in latinum poema conversum a c. Iovio laudato (fol. 22v). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 24r) Carmine secretos iuvenum narramus amores / Et celebrem lychnum tanti monumenta laboris / Fluctivagumque ducem, sulcantibus aequora divis / Nocte sub obscura, queis vincla iugalia curae, / Connubii caecasque vices, quibus aurea claros . . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 34v) Ut vero scopulis illiso corpore nympha / Interiisse videt, tunicam lacerata superbam / turris ab aerae magno delapsa fragore / Moenibus in terras se deiicit, atque marito / Desuper incumbens simul occidit inclyta nympha, / Inque vicem fato tristes egere supremo.

Manuscripts:

(CD-ROM) Milan, Archivio Storico Civico Bibl. Trivulziana, 668, s. XVI, fols. 22v–34v. On fol. 35r follows the Latin translation in six distichs by Antipater of Thessalonica, *AP* 7.666, Ex Antipatro, [*Inc.*] Haccine Leander tranaverat, haec freta ponti, [*Expl.*] Nunc etiam flatum livide vente tuum. G. Porro, *Catalogo dei codici manoscritti della Trivulziana* (Turin, 1884), 195.

(CD-ROM) Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense, AE XI 27, s. XVIII, pp. 25–42: Musaei Leander et Hero e graeco in latinum poema conversum a C. Iovio laudato. [*Inc.*]: (p. 25) Carmine secretos iuvenum narramus amores / Et celebrem lichnum tanti monumenta laboris / Fluctivagumque ducem sulcantibus aequora divis / Nocte sub obscura, quis vincla iugalia curae / Connubii caecasque vices, quibus aurea claros . . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 42) Ut vero scopulis illiso corpore nympha / Interiisse videt, tunicam lacerata superbam / Turris ab aerae magno delapsa fragore / Moenibus in terras se deiicit, atque marito / Desuper incumbens simul occidit inclita nympha / Inque vicem fato tristes egere supremo. On p. 42 follows the Latin translation of Antipater of Thessalonica in six distichs, *AP* 7.666, Epitaphium amborum ex Antipatro, [*Inc.*] Haccine Leander tranaverat, haec freta ponti, [*Expl.*] Nunc etiam flatum livide vente tuum. Kristeller, *Iter* 1.352, 6.77a. Most likely a copy of the Trivultianus.

Biography:

See CTC 4.356–58 (Biography, 357–58) (Plinius). Add to *Bibliography*: “Benedictus Iovius,” in *Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi (500–1500)*, vol. 2.2 (Florence, 2005), 219–21; DBI 56.420–22 (S. Foà); Jöcher 2.1982; *Opere scelte di Benedetto Giovio*, ed. Società Storica Comense (Como, 1887), VII–XXVI (F. Fossati).

Works:

To the works should be added in particular translations from Greek of Homer, *Odyssey* book 11 (Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense, AE XI 27, pp. 81–109), Apollonius Tyanaeus, *Epistulae* (Como, Bibl. comunale, Monti-Riva C 5 I, n. 6; Milan, Bibl. Trivulziana 745, lost), and John Chrysostom, *Parabola de filio prodigo* (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 6211).

4. Ioannes Baptista Montanus

The translation by Ioannes Baptista Montanus (Giovanni Battista Da Monte) cannot be definitively dated, although it appears to be an early work. There is no concrete evidence concerning Francesco Pellegrini’s suggestion that the translation was carried out on the occasion of the death of his teacher Marcus Musurus, hence in 1517. The translation (ca. four hundred hexameters) is not at all close and often tends to be too wordy compared to the Greek text. Moreover, there are several errors, even related to spelling, which in a few cases alter the metrics. The Veronese codex had already been mutilated in the early seventeenth century, according to the testimony of the juriconsult Francesco Pola (1568–1624), author of *Elogium Jo. Baptistae Montani*, cf. A. Chiocco, *De collegii Veronensis illustribus medicis, et philosophis* (Verona, 1623), 46: “Musaeique de Ero, et Leandro fabellam latinis Carminibus apposite donauit, quorum viginti cum casu attrita essent, et perdita ego quamquam plane ineptus, ea verti, et addidi.”

Text. Musaei amores de Herone et Leandro Jo. Bapta Montano (corrected by Montoro) interprete. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 11r) Dic Dea furtivos testatum lumen amores, / Et iuvenem media quondam sub nocte petentem / Virginis amplexum trans mille pericula ponti: / Dic et Abydenas terras, cane littora Sesti. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 20v) Saepe etiam, Neptune, tuos testatus amores / Implorabat opem, Boream quoque ut Arthide nympha / Arsisset, sic haud praecibus foret impius illis. The 377-line translation is mutilated at the end owing to the loss of a folium at line 322.

Manuscript:

Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, CCXLII (206), s. XV and s. XVI, fols. 11r–20v. The manuscript belonged to Scipione Maffei (1675–1755, cf. *Verona illustrata*, vol. 3,

part 2 [Milan, 1825], 320), who also added a note on fol. 11r. Kristeller, *Iter* 2.296; A. Spagnolo, *I manoscritti della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona*, ed. S. Marchi (Verona, 1996), 279–80; J. Hankins, *Repertorium Brunianum. A Critical Guide to the Writings of Leonardo Bruni*, vol. 1, *Handlist of Manuscripts* (Rome, 1997), 215.

Edition:

F. Pellegrini, “L’epillio ‘Ero e Leandro’ di Museo. Versione latina di Gio. Batta Da Monte,” *Atti e memorie dell’Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze e Lettere di Verona* ser. VI, 1 (1949–50) 171–86 (text 176–86), from the Verona codex.

Biography:

Giovanni Battista Da Monte (also De Monte, Del Monte) was born in Verona in 1489, and died in Terrazzo, near Verona, on 6 May 1551. He studied Greek and Latin under Marcus Musurus in Padua, philosophy in Bologna with Pietro Pomponazzi, and in Ferrara he attended lessons on medicine held by Niccolò Leonicensi, as well as striking up a relationship with Giovanni Manardo. He graduated in medicine, and then practised in Brescia. He subsequently visited Palermo and later Naples, where he met Iacopo Sannazaro. By 1533 he had moved to Rome, where Cardinale Ippolito de’ Medici commissioned him to translate Aetius Amidenus into Latin. From 1539 he held the Chair in Medicine *in paritate loci* with Francesco Frigimelica and from 1543 until his death he taught medical theory at Padua University, where he also held lessons at the hospital of San Francesco, practising clinical medicine, of which he is considered the founder. His teaching method, which consisted in combining traditional medicine with humanism and natural philosophy, was quite innovative. He also participated actively in establishing the Botanical Gardens in Padua, together with Francesco Bonafede (1545).

Works:

Montanus’ works are almost exclusively of a medical nature, and were used extensively as handbooks for many generations of students. He also commented on Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna; this often took the form of university lectures and medical reference material gathered by his pupils. All his works except for one were published posthumously, and sometimes this was done inaccurately. *Metaphrasis summaria eorum quae ad medicamentorum doctrinam attinent excerpta ab accuratis auditoribus ex quotidianis praelectionibus in Patauino Gymnasio publice explicatis a Ioan. Baptista Montano physico Veronensi anno salutis 1549 mense nouembri* (Padua, 1550); *Expectatissimae in Aphorismos Hippocratis lectiones* (Venice, 1553–54); *Consultationum medicinalium centuria prima, a Valentino Lublino Polono quam accurate collecta* (Venice, 1554); *In artem paruam Galeni explanationes, a Valentino Lublino editae* (Venice, 1554); *In libros Galeni de arte*

curandi ad Glaucanem explanationes (Venice, 1554); *In nonum librum Rhasis ad Mansorem regem Arabum expositio, a Valentino Lublino Polono, medicis posteritae tique eorum fideliter communicata* (Venice, 1554); *In tertium primi Epidemiorum sectionem explanationes, a Valentino Lublino Polono collectae* (Venice, 1554); *In primam fen libri primi canonis Auicennae explanatio, a Valentino Lublino Polono collecta* (Venice, 1554); *Opuscula. I. De characterismis febrium. II. Quaestio de febre sanguinis. III. De uterinis affectibus. A Valentino Lublino Polono collecta* (Venice, 1554); *In quartam fen primi Canonis Auicennae, lectiones, a Valentino Lublino Polono collectae* (Venice, 1556); *Consultationum medicinalium centuria secunda, nunc primum opera, et studio Io. Cratonis, medici Vuratislaviensis, edita* (Venice, 1558); *Consultationum medicinalium ad varia morborum genera, centuria tertia* (Venice, 1558); *Ioannis Cratonis Ad artem medicam isagoge. Additae sunt in libros Galeni De Elementis, De Natura humana, De Atra bile, Et de temperamentis, et facultatibus naturalibus Periochae* (Venice, 1560); *Medicina universa, ex lectionibus eius, caeterisque opusculis, tum impressis, tum scriptis collecta et in tres tomos nunc primum decenti ordine digesta* (ed. by M. Weinrich; Frankfurt, 1587). He translated Aetius Amidenus into Latin (books 1–7, 14–16, the others by Janus Cornarius; Venice, 1534). The translations of *Argonautica Orphica* and Lucian's *Tragopodagra* appear to have been lost.

Bibliography:

Cosenza 3.2344–45, 5.310; DBI 32.365–67 (M. Muccillo); Jöcher 3.627–28; S. Maffei, *Verona illustrata*, vol. 2 (Verona, 1731), 333–37; Maffei, *Verona illustrata*, vol. 3, part 2 (Milan, 1825), 318–21; P.F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, 2002), 341–42; D. Mugnai Carrara, “Le epistole prefatorie sull’ordine dei libri di Galeno di Giovan Battista Da Monte: Esigenze di metodo e dilemmi editoriali,” in V. Fera, ed., *Vetustatis Indagator. Scritti offerti a Filippo Di Benedetto* (Messina, 1999), 207–34; Mugnai Carrara, “Le strategie didattiche di Giovan Battista Da Monte (1489–1551), e il tentativo di riforma del ‘curriculum’ patavino,” *Medicina nei secoli. Arte e scienza* 16 (2004) 491–502; G. Ongaro, “La medicina nello Studio di Padova e nel Veneto,” in G. Arnaldi and M.P. Stocchi, eds., *Storia della cultura veneta dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, vol. 3.3 (Vicenza, 1981), 74–134, at 119–24; Ongaro, “L’insegnamento clinico di Giovan Battista Da Monte (1489–1551): Una revisione critica,” *Physis* 31 (1994) 357–69; P.A. Saccardo, *La botanica in Italia* (Venice, 1895), 60; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 19 (Venice, 1824), 888–90.

5. Andreas Papius

In 1575 Andreas Papius (Ghent 1542–Liège 1581) published in one volume the Greek text of *Descriptio orbis terrae* by Dionysius Periegetes, together with the Latin translation by Priscianus Caesariensis and his own, as well as his

commentary. To this collection he added the Greek text of Musaeus and his own Latin translation, along with his notes. The volume is addressed to Charles II de Croy (1560–1612), fourth Duke of Aerschot, general and Flemish politician, son of Philippe III of Aerschot. His uncle Laevinus Torrentius (1525–95), Belgian humanist and bishop of Anversa is also mentioned in the dedication. The edition had probably already been available in late 1574. The translation consists of 341 hexameters and is quite literal. From the 67-hexameter dedication, dated 13 September 1574 (lines 36–41), it can be assumed that Papius translated Dionysius when he was eighteen, Musaeus when he was nineteen and a half, hence the former in late Summer–early Autumn 1560, and the latter eighteen months later, in early Spring 1562. However, in the comment on Musaeus at line 105 (ed. p. 180) he writes “Quia ante quadriennium plusminus opusculum hoc verterem. . .,” so that the translation seems rather to have been written in around 1570. It could be suggested that Papius translated Musaeus for the first time in 1562 and then resumed and revised (or wrote anew) his previous translation. The Greek text is not that different from the 1566 Stephanus edition. The Latin translation by Papius was extremely popular and was reprinted in Hamburg in 1617, in Utrecht in 1645 and then reissued by Matthias Röver in his 1737 Leiden edition (pp. 64–76).

Dedication (ed. of Antwerp, 1575). Ad illustrissimum Chimaci principem D. Carolum de Croy, D. Philippi ducis Arschoti, etc. filium unicum. Andreae Papii Gandensis Carmen nuncupativum. [*Inc.*]: (p. 3) Quae tibi, de Graeco geminos sermone libellos / Ausus in Ausoniam nuper convertere linguam, / Prima mei voveo supplex monumenta laboris, / Aspice, sed placido, Princeps clarissime, viltu. / Munera parva quidem: nam quis te prodere possit / Digna satis? Sed quae (nisi me Torrentius autor / Decipit edendi, vates tamen inclytus ille, / Et summus mihi Maecenas et Avunculus idem), / Aequirior haud nimium possit contemnere iudex, / Quam gravia obstiterint nobis incommoda voluens. / (p. 4) Nam nec adhuc coeptis apti mihi grandibus anni / Extiterant: nec, quam multis placuisse videbam, / Libera vertendi ratio atque effusa iuvabat. / Arcrior at quaedam, quamvis magis aspera cultu, / Tentata est: totidem dum singula versibus opto / Expressere; et, linguae ni vis diversa repugnet, / Paene etiam paribus Latio transcribere verbis, / In tenui labor: at tenuis non gloria, si cui / Tam dura sub lege fluant pede carmina leni. / Praeterea, (experto si fas est vera fateri) / Qui, terram pontumque canens populosque, libellus / Paucis ingentem foliis complectitur orbem, / Quamvis Argolico niteat pulcherrimus ore, / Non aequae Ausonias potuit migrare sub urbeis / Nativa perstans specie patrioque lepore: / Infecundae ob materiae intractabile pondus; / Seu Latii sermonis opes spectaveris arctas, / Seu paene et verbis reddendi verba laborem. / Non quod in Hesperias illum transferri oras / Dexterius potuisse negem, si forte Camoenis / Grator hoc aliquis multoque instructus ab usu, / Quem tandem conferre

solet maturior aetas, / Tentavisset onus. Sed nil decedere nostris / Lusibus inde
 velim, tenero quos nuper in aevo / Protulimus, venia dignos si laude carebunt.
 (p. 5) Quippe hunc, expleta vix pubertate, canebam / Versibus indoctis, Libra
 cum instante recedens / Octavum decimumque aetas mihi clauderet annum. /
 Illum qui extinctos deflet miseratus amanteis, / Ter sexto desueta novans post
 ocia mense, / Induerent cum vere novo se floribus arva. / Tu vero divine puer
 (namque auspice tanto / Committent suppressa diu se carmina luci) / Sis felix:
 tenueis neve aspernare poëtae / Primitias alii posthac crescentibus annis, / Si
 non aversae puerum videre sorores, / Provenient fructus, maiusque audere lice-
 bit / Forsan, et extremos vates non inter habebor. / Cresces et simul ipse, simul
 tua vivida virtus / (Quam nunc eximiis impar conatibus aetas / Haud se efferre
 sinit, sed spes non vana relucet) / Incipiet magis atque magis prorumpere, et
 audax / Praeclaris iter ad caelum molirier actis. / Interea, veterum seu res mira-
 ris avorum, / Seu magni in primis spectas exempla parentis, / Quondam etiam
 titulos sperans augere vetustos, / Iam nunc nobilibus veniat quae gloria factis /
 Mente agita: sacrosque libens amplectere vateis, / Queis mansurus honos aeter-
 naque nomina curae. / (p. 6) Sic tibi, caelesti complet qui numine menteis, /
 Aspiret Deus: et firmis ita suscitet annis / Insigni surgentem animo virtutis amo-
 rem, / Ut, post innumeros bellique domique labores / Pro patria et priscis obitos
 feliciter aris, / Cum paria egregiae laudi iam praemia terris / Deficient, magnis
 Divùm te coetibus addat / Sublimem merito transscribens gloria caelo. Idibus
 septembris MDLXXIV Lovanii.

Text (ed. of Antwerp, 1575). Musaei Hero et Leander, interprete Andrea Papio Gandensi (p. <155>). [*Inc.*]: (p. 156) Musa mihi testem taciti cane lychnon amoris: / Nocturnoque virum pelago ad connubia nantem: / Obscurumque torum, dea quem non viderit Eos: / Et Seston latebras Herus, et moenia Abydi. / Iam mihi Leandrum videor spectare natantem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 178) Collidi exanimem, iactatum fluctibus atris, / Continuo pictam rumpens a pectore vestem, / Praecipitem sese turris de vertice iecit. / Sic Hero exanimi super est extincta marito: / Seque illi summa quoque sunt in morte potiti.

Editions:

1575, Antverpiae (Antwerp). See above, Composite Editions.

(*) 1617, Hamburgi (Hamburg). See above, Composite Editions.

1645, Ultrajecti (Utrecht): a Zyl. *Musaei carmen Hero et Leander, cum notis Pet. Voetii*. Reprint of 1575 edition. Hoffmann 2.606.

1737, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden). See above, Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC 3.44–45, 57 (Biography, 45). Add to *Bibliography*: BW, 15.15–16; W. Van der Meer, ed., *Biografische Index van de Benelux*, vol. 3 (Munich, 1997), 1088; F.J. Fétis, ed., *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*,

2nd ed., vol. 6 (Paris, 1864), 447–48; E. De Seyn, *Dictionnaire des écrivains belges. Bio-Bibliographie*, vol. 1 (Bruges, 1930), 562; A. Basso, ed., *Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti; Le biografie*, vol. 5 (Turin, 1988), 569; P. Hofmann Peerlkamp, *Liber de vita doctrina et facultate Nederlandorum qui carmina latina composuerunt*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1843), 131–33; Jöcher 3.1234; *L'Europe des humanistes*, 266; *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 10 (Kassel, Basel, London, and New York, 1962), 732–33 (B. Meier); *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, neubearbeitete Ausgabe, *Personenteil*, vol. 13 (Kassel and London, 2005), 95–96 (p. Mannaerts); S. Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 14 (London, 1980), 169–70 (L.J. Wagner); World Biographical Information System Online = <http://db.saur.de/WBIS>.

6. Fabius Paulinus

Fabius Paulinus (Fabio Paolini, Tricesimo [Udine], ca. 1535–1605) carried out a Latin translation of Musaeus when young, *adolescens*, as he describes himself on the title page of the 1587 edition and in his dedication (p. 162), where he underlines the time lapse by adding *olim*. Hence, the translation may date back to the early 1550s, when Paulinus, in Venice under Bernardino Partenio (d. 1589), polished his Greek and Latin (*dum in assidua me scribendi utraque lingua exercitatione continebam*, he adds in his dedication, p. 162). The edition also comprises the translations of Babrius' *Fabulae*, *Galeomyomachia* by Theodorus Prodromus, the Sybil's Prophecies concerning Jesus (*Oracula Sibyllina* 8.217–50), taken from *Oratio Constantini ad sanctorum coetum* (ch. 18) by Eusebius of Caesarea and of *Batrachomyomachia*. The 338-hexameter translation of Musaeus is dedicated to Giovanni Gritti (1524–89), Venetian politician, when he was ambassador to Pope Sixtus V in Rome from 15 November 1585 to 8 April 1589 (cf. “Gritti, Giovanni,” DBI 59.742–45 [R. Zago]). In the dedicatory letter, dated 15 October (1587) Paulinus speaks at length of the problems that he encountered following his appeal at the Ecclesiastical Court in Venice against the fact that he was not elected rector of Tricesimo (Udine) in 1578. He was jailed in Venice shortly afterwards and was freed in about 1580, thanks only to the intervention of Gritti and Giustiniano Giustinian, a Venetian patrician (1525–96; cf. “Giustinian, Giustiniano,” DBI 57.247–49 [G. Gullino]).

Dedication (ed. of Venice 1587). Ad illustrissimum virum Ioannem Gritum equitem, Ven. R.P. apud Summum Pont. Oratorem, Fabius Paulinus. [*Inc.*]: (p. 161) Musaeus Eumolpi filius antiquissimus Poetarum profectus ex Athenis (plures enim fuere Musaei auctore Suida [cf. Suda M 1294–97 Adler]), cui principatum in Poetica videtur Maro detulisse, cum in sexto dixit illum ante omnes medium a plurima turba humeris extantem suspici in campis Elysiis [cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 6.667–78], inter alia praeclara eius ingenii monumenta Herus (p. 162) et Leandri amores elegantissimis et doctissimis versibus persecutus est, quod unum

ex illius scriptis opusculum tanquam e naufragio tabellam reliquuum habemus, sed id tamen, ut ex eius praestantia velut ex unguibus Leonem Phidiae, possimus praeclari Poetae divinitatem agnoscere, nihil enim fieri potest hoc Poemate elegantius, nihil purius, nihil ornatius, nihil quod ad Romani carminis maiestatem propius accedat. Hoc igitur cum olim adolescens dum in assidua me scribendi utraque lingua exercitatione continebam, latinis versibus explicassem et nunc cum his meis fabellis esset edendum, visum est illud tibi, Illustrissime Gritti, sua, tua et mea postremo causa deberi, neque posse alii quam tibi aptius inscribi, illud enim cum sit elegantissimi praestantissimique Poetae non debuit, nisi praeclaro alicui Poetarum Patrono commendari, sed Tu is es potissimum, qui et pulcherrimis Poetarum scriptis delectere, et Poetis ipsis, omnibusque ingeniis faueas, Tu cum sis omni praeclara laude cumulatus, omni (p. 163) virtutum genere ornatissimus, quarum nunc iudicem habes acerrimum, eundemque prope diuinum Xystum V Pont. Max., cui qui probatur, ut tu maxime, nihil ei de summis virtutibus deesse potest, nullum certe putabis ad te munus deferri potuisse gratius, nihil accomodatius, quam quod esset omnibus numeris suo in genere absolutum, quod esse hoc Poema omnes arbitrantur, cui, licet nunc non ita eleganter latine, ut graece loquatur, nihil tamen de illius dignitate imminutum existimari debet, cum omnibus iam sit exploratum non posse Poematum Veneres ex una in aliam linguam quasi in coloniam deduci, sed ex his, quae si non exprimi saltem adumbrari potuerunt, qui libet, quae sit in graeco fonte divinitas, iudicabit. Ego postremo cum testatum maxime vellem, quantopere tibi debeam non in alia re melius id nunc assequi posse arbitratus sum, quam si tuo nomini Illustrissimo id potissimum dedicarem, quod inter has omnes ludicras exercitationes meas, mihi minus displiceret, ut ex hac quasi (p. 164) publica meae in te obseruantiae testificatione intelligas me tibi illam, quam debeo grati animi memoriam, praestare qui me tibi immortalibus tuis officiis deuinxisti in sempiternum. Tu enim me in Tricesimensi causa, quantum in te fuit, semper adiuvisti, Tu inquam, Tu cum Illustriss. Viro Iustiniano Iustiniano cui hac de causa, ut aliis quoque multis summa omnia debeo, meae salutis autor fuisti, qui cum longi subsellii Praeconsultor esses (sapientem magnum consilii vulgo vocant) tulisti rogationem, ut illi viro praeclariss. quem modo honoris causa appellavi cura demandaretur, ut cum Summi Pontificis Nuncio de re mea transigeret, et ego tandem illius praeclariss. Viri sapientia a tot aerumnis, in quas fortuna suo more me coniecerat, in libertatem sum quasi uendicatus, mihiq; metipsi restitutus. Tu in eadem ferenda Rogatione me ornatum esse voluisti, ut diceres, quacunq; ratione res illa confecta esset, faciendum esse R. P. ut mea damna aliqua ex parte resarciret, quod pluris fecissem minimam quamque Senatus (p. 165) voluntatis significationem, atque nutum, quam mea omnia commoda, atque salutem, quodque tam aequo animo tot aerumnas ea de causa perpessus essem. Tu deinceps quoque in eadem semper bene de me merendi voluntate permansisti, et dum Romae es, ubi apud

Summum Pontificem tuae Reip. agis Oratorem, in quo perfungendo munere eam praestas Patriae fidem, integritatem et prudentiam, quae a sapientissimo suiue amantissimo Ciue vix optare, nedum expectare potuisset, multis me quoque officiis deuinxisti. Tu nuper denique Christophorum Monachum affinem meum tanta benignitate amplexus es mea causa, cum diceres velle te mihi esse perspectam tuam de me voluntatem, ut iam nihil addi amplius posse ad tantorum cumulum meritorum existimem. Hoc igitur breue deuinctissimi animi et obseruantiae singularis testimonium, dum maiora praestandi datur facultas accipe, et me in tuo aere esse non dedigneris. Vale Venetiis Id. Oct.

Text. Musaei opusculum de Leandri et Herus amoribus, Fabius Paulinus vertebat adolescens. [*Inc.*]: (p. 166) Dic Dea furtiuos testantia lumina amores, / Et iuuenem pelago connubia nocte petentem, / Nocturnumque hymen, quem nunquam aurora notauit, / Sestum et Abydon, ubi nocturni Herus hymenaei, / Lychnum inquam, et manibus pellentem salsa Leandrum . . . / [*Expl.*]: (p. 177) Luce utrum aspexit, perfractos cautibus artus, / Purpuream tenero discindens pectore pallam / Cum gemitu aetherea se praeceps misit ab arce, / Et super extincto consumpsit fata marito, / Suntque etiam extremo coniuncti in funere amantes.

Manuscript:

Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Marc. it. XI 128 (= 6935), s. XVIII, fols. 35r–44v; from Jacopo Morelli (no printed catalogue). Copy of the 1587 Venice edition.

Edition:

1587, Venetiis (Venice). See above, Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC 8.179–81 (Biography, 181 [should read Di Manzano, not Di Manzo, in the bibliography]). Add to *Bibliography*: G.G. Capodagli, *Udine illustrata* (Udine, 1665; repr. Bologna, 1977), 204; G. Cinelli Calvoli, *Biblioteca volante*, 2nd ed. D.A. Sancassani, vol. 4 (Venice, 1747), 36–37; G. Costantini, “Uomini ragguardevoli di Tricesimo e Cassaco (esclusi i viventi),” *Ce fastu? Bollettino della Società filologica friulana*, 15 (1939) 214–17, at 216; G. Nazzi, ed., *Dizionario biografico friulano*, 4th ed. (Udine, 2007), 592; Ferrari, 514; G.E. Ferrari, “Lezioni tucididee alla Marciana di 350 anni fa,” *Almanacco dei bibliotecari italiani* (Rome, 1953), 69–72; *L’Europe des humanistes*, 335; Ch.H. Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, vol. 2, *Renaissance Authors*, Corpus philosophorum medii aevi, Subsidia 6 (Florence, 1988), 302; G. Marchetti, *Il Friuli. Uomini e tempi* (Udine, 1959), 998; R. Palmer, *The Studio of Venice and Its Graduates in the Sixteenth Century* (Trieste, 1983), 181; *Storia della civiltà letteraria italiana*, diretta da G. Barberi Squarotti, 2.2, R. Rinaldi, *Umanesimo e Rinascimento* (Turin, 1993), 1291–92; P. Sameda De Marco, *Medici forojuliensi dal sec. XIII al sec. XVIII* (Udine, 1963), 70–71; M.J. Vega Ramos, “La

elocuencia y la fábrica celeste. La recepción de la retórica hermogénica en la obra de Fabius Paulinus,” in C. Codoñer and J.A. González Iglesias, eds., *Antonio de Nebrija: Edad Media y Renacimiento* (Salamanca, 1994), 513–21; D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London, 1958), 126–44; World Biographical Information System Online = <http://db.saur.de/WBIS>.

7. Kaspar Schütz

Kaspar Schütz’s Latin translation of Musaeus is preserved in one codex (Elbląg, Bibl. Elbląska im. C. Norwida, 28), which includes several autographs, partly published between 1561 and 1569. Hence, it may be assumed that the translation also dates to the early 1560s, when Schütz was Professor of Poetry in Königsberg. The 418-hexameter translation is unpublished.

Text. Casparis Schutzi Isleviensis Ero et Leander ex Musaeo Graeco translatum carmen. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 163r) Musa refer tacitum sociati lumen amoris, / Et iuvenem audaci iactantem brachia fluctu, / Gaudia per mare navifragum nocturna petentem / Furtivos thalamos, motis Pallantias aquis / Candida quos nunquam bigis praevertit Eois. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 173v) Diriguit visu in medio, tum pectore vestem / Dilanians, summaque ruens de turre sub aequor / Desiluit, chari moriens in amore mariti. / Non illos mare fluctivorium, non flebile fatum / Divortit, nec mors extrema diremit amantes. Finis de Ero et Leandro carminis.

Manuscript:

(CD-ROM) Elbląg, Bibl. Elbląska im. Cypriana Norwida, 28 (olim F 15), s. XVI, fols. 163r–173v. L. Neubaur, *Katalog der Stadtbibliothek zu Elbing*, vol. 1 (Elbing, 1852), 360, and vol. 2 (Elbing, 1894), 591; Kristeller, *Iter* 4.397a; a more thorough handwritten description by Heinrich Niewöhner is housed at the Handschriftenarchiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. The manuscript was considered lost during World War II, but in actual fact it is in the library together with other manuscripts and books from the library, which have recently been recovered (information received from Library Director, September 2007).

Biography:

Kaspar Schütz was born in Eisleben (Sachsen-Anhalt) probably around 1540. He may have studied in Wittenberg with Philipp Melancthon, and then in 1561 he moved to Königsberg, where on 30 September of the same year he was nominated *magister* by the University and in 1562 was nominated Professor of Poetry (“Professor poëseos”) by Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach, Duke of Prussia (1490–1568). In late 1564 he was called to Danzig as secretary and also held the position of historian in the city. In 1571 he married Anna, daughter of Johannes Placotomus, a doctor (Brettschneider, 1514–77). He died in Danzig on 16 September 1594.

Works:

Schütz wrote various Latin poems for special occasions and was the author of several juridical works, mainly on hereditary law, and above all of historical texts. His most important work is *Historia rerum Prussicarum*, in ten books from the origins to 1525. It was published in Zerbst in 1592, later in Leipzig in 1599, together with the addition made by David Cytraeus of the years 1525–98 and the description by Georg Knoff of the war in Danzig in 1577. Some Latin compositions of note are: *Fuga Absolonis* (Königsberg, 1561), *Disputatio poetica de libello Horatii de arte poetica* (Königsberg, 1562), *Sermonum Job liber heroicus* (Danzig, 1569), *Ecclesiastes Salomonis carmine heroico redditus* (Wittenberg, 1580).

Bibliography:

ADB 33.132–33 (K. Lohmeyer); C. Krollmann, with K. Forstreuter and F. Gause, eds., *Altpreußische Biographie*, vol. 2 (Marburg, 1967), 642 (“Schütz, Caspar” [P.H. Thielen]); DBE 9.176 (ed. of 2005, 9.258); M.Chr. Hanow, *Preußische Sammlung allerley bisher ungedruckten Urkunden, Nachrichten und Abhandlungen*, vol. 1 (Danzig, 1747), 596–620 (“Kurze Nachricht von M. Caspar Schützens Leben und Schriften”); Jöcher 4.371; *Ostdeutsche Gedenktage 1993* (Bonn, 1994), 170 (H. Lingenberg); P. Simson, “Ein Beitrag zur Lebensgeschichte von Caspar Schütz,” *Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins* 41 (1900) 199–201; M. Töppen, *Geschichte der Preussischen Historiographie von P. v. Dusburg bis auf K. Schütz* (Berlin, 1853), 252–62; World Biographical Information System Online = <http://db.saur.de/WBIS> (“Kasper Schuetz”).

8. Eilhardus Lubinus

Eilhardus Lubinus (Eilhard Lubin, Eilert Lübben; Westerstade 1565–Rostock 1621) published the Greek version by Musaeus in 1595 together with his own Latin translation in 339 hexameters. The book is dedicated to Henricus Ranzovius, that is to say Heinrich Rantzau (1526–98/9), from 1556 governor (“Statthalter” in German) in Schleswig-Holstein under King Christian III of Denmark. He was a patron of literature and science, supporting a great number of academics all over the German-speaking area and the Netherlands; he also wrote Latin poetry and astronomical, astrological, and medical works. For further information on Rantzau, see ADB 27.278–79 (G.H. Handelsmann); DBE 8.139 (ed. of 2005, 6.574); G. Oestmann, *Heinrich Rantzau und die Astrologie: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Brunswick, 2004). In his dedicatory letter he again takes up, sometimes to the letter, Julius Caesar Scaliger’s argument (*Poetices libri VII* [Lyons, 1561], book 5, chapter 2) that Musaeus is superior to Homer.

Dedication (ed. of Rostock 1595). (fol. Arv) Ad heroa generosum ac illustrem Henricum Ranzovium Vicarium Regium. Musaeae patriaeque parens et

Cimbrice phoenix, / En tibi Musaei dulce poëmatium, / Quod certatim ipse
dictavit Apollo Poëtae, / Terna trias Musarum, una trias Charitum. / Cuius
qui haud capitur divino nectare versus / Aut nihil, aut Graecis plus sapit, et
Latiis. (fol. A2r) Illustri et Generoso Heroi ac Domino, D. Henrico Ranzovio,
Regis Daniae in ducatibus Vicario, Administratori Segebergensi, Domino in
Bredenberg. Ranzovisholm, Ranzow, Vandesbeck etc. Viro Virtute, Doctrina,
Genere Incomparabili salutem. Quod Horatius de Graecis pronunciat: Graiis
dedit ore rotundo musa loqui [Hor., *Ars poetica* 323–24]; et Martialis de Latinis
conqueritur: Nobis non licet esse tam disertis [Mart. 9.11, 16]: eius ego, gene-
rose et illustris heros, satis illustre ac evidens hisce diebus documentum caepi.
Nunquam enim ego tantam linguarum, vel Graecae ubertatem, vel Latinae ino-
piam; nec vel illius tam locupletem penum, vel huius tam curtam suppellecti-
lem unquam ante animo potui concipere: quam nuper paene oculis vidi, dum
Musaei hoc Musaeum Poëma paribus versibus et verbis Latinum facere conor.
Cuius quidem divinam elegantiam, et Musaeum leporem et gratiosam venusta-
tem frustra ego sim, si integro volumine adumbrare, nedum hac pagella explicare
tentem. Et quae si minus ego adsecutus, facile mihi excusatus, certe meo merito
veniam mereri videbor. Qui enim illud ego in Musaeo, quod ne me quidem lon-
gissime doctiores in aliis Graecis infinito intervallo Musaeo inferioribus prae-
stiterunt? Quotusquisque autem vel in interpretandis tantum Graecis Latinae
linguae inopiam non experitur? Ut ergo facile concedo alios versu Latino heic me
superare, ita se Musaeo (fol. A2v) aequare potuisse pernego. Quis enim nostrum
hac aetate, idque aliena lingua illud possit, quod Vergilio et Homero divinis illis
priscis, idque in sua lingua negatum? Quorum ille inter omnes Poëtas Graecos et
Latinos unam huic palmam defert; neque Homerum aut Orphea, sed Musaeum
principem Elysiacarum cantionum facit: hic vero re et opere se ab illo omnibus
modis superatum demonstrat. Testes omnes heic adpello, quibus auris purgator
et nares paullo sagaciores. Nimirum quicumque Musaei stylum Homericum multo
politiorem, longe comtiorem non animadvertit, illum Midiae similem crassis et
oblongis auribus, at nullis natibus, non solum ratione capere paene dixerim, sed
et sensu. Nec verbis opus est, ubi rerum testimonia adsunt. Inspiciatur totum
corpus Poematis a capite usque ad calcem, quid singulis versibus rotundius, ele-
gantius, ornatius, numerosius? Quid autem omnibus gravius, copiosius, numeris
et sententia plenius? In quibus nullam videas licentiam, omnia examussim casti-
gata. Nam et lectissimis utitur verbis et versus magna ex parte bisyllabis et trisyl-
labis claudit, et in toto opere vix semel atque iterum hiatus admittit. Nimirum
ni Musaeus argumenti magnitudine cederet, et ea, quae Homerus, scripsisset,
cui dubium esse potest, quin cultu et prudentia orationis priorem locum sibi
vendicasset et longe illa melius scripsisset. Nam cum Homerus a Musaeo acce-
pisset illa munda simul et acuta: Κύπρι φίλι μετὰ Κύπριν, Ἀθηναίη μετὰ Αἰθίονην
[scil. Ἀθήνην, line 135], et quae sequuntur, haec multo leviori sono, abiectoribus

et laxatioribus numeris ita reddidit: Γουνοῦμαί σε ἄνασσα, θεὸς νύ τις, ἢ [*scil.* ἦ] βροτός ἐσσι / εἰ μὲν τοι θεὸς ἐσσι, οἱ [*scil.* τοῖ] οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν [Hom., ζ 149–50]. Et compluribus quae sequuntur, in quibus singulis vocalium duros concursus et hiatus deprehendas; nec verba desunt, quae versui et numeris potius, quam sententiae absolvendae inserviant; cum in toto hoc opere contra sane in quo ne syllaba quidem redundat. Idem Homerus cum motum maris describit: [A3r] Ωρσε [*scil.* Ὠρσε] δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα κῦμα Ποσειδάων Ἐνεσίχθων, / δεινὸν τὰ ἀργαλέον τε, κατήφερες [*scil.* κατηφερές] [Hom., ε 366–67]. Frigide sane admendum. At Musaeus quibus Gratiis, quibus Musis! Ἄλλ' ὅτε παχνήεντος ἐπήλυθε χεῖματος ὥρη / φρικαλέας δονέουσα πολυστοποφάλιγγας ἀέλλας [lines 293–94], etc. Ut iam complura alia quibus idem evidentius comprobari poterat, silentio praeteream. Atque utinam reliqua tanti ingenii, quorum Suidas [cf. Suda M 1294–97 Adler] meminit, monumenta extarent; numquam Homerus principis et parentis Poëtarum nomen suo iure et merito adeptus fuisset. Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εὐχαί. Tibi vero, vir vere magne, vere incomparabilis, cur Poëtam hunc (quem non solum primus, ni fallor, versu, quo potui, Latinum feci, sed pluribus etiam locis correxi) inscribere placuerit, una tua singularis clementia ac tanto viro digna humanitas auctor mihi extitit? Qua iam multo tempore me, idque nullo meo merito, et mea, quamvis frivola, et rudia tuo favore ac patrocínio tibi commendata habes: et qua ego iam fretus te inter tot ardua patriae, ludicro, inter tot seria, iocoso aliquo, quin etiam amatorio, sed honestissimo tamen carmine interpellare nihil vereor; idque eo impensius, quod non ignorem G. T. CL. non raro a seriis illis et severis ad amoeniora illa Poëtarum, tanquam in secessum divertere et lassitudinem ac taedium inde contractum, hinc recreare. Ceterum quod iam animo tibi aeternum deuoto et devincto offero, propediem huius illustriora specimina edicturus, tu animo heroico clementer suscipe; idque non tam ut patronus praepotens, quam censor accuratissimus et iudex sapientissimus. Cuius vultus maiestatem si sustinuerit, reliquum profanum vulgus contemne et facessere iubeo. Salve et vale, Musaeae pater patriae, meque inter tuos habere clementer perge. Rostochio. Anno 1595. G. T. Clementiae Aeternum devotus, et devinctus Eilhardus Lubinus.

Text. Musaeus De Ero et Leandro. [*Inc.*]: (fol. A4r) Musa facem memores occultorum indicem amorum, / Vectoremque hymeneorum mare nocte secantum, / Et thalamum, haud vidit quem aeterna aurora latentem, / Et Sestum, atque (Erus nocturnae ubi nuptiae) Abydum. / Iam nantemque Leandrum, atque ipsum adeo audio lychnum.../... [*Expl.*]: (D4r) Fluctibus obtritum videt ad fundamina turris, / Tunc vestes lacerans pictas et pectora, turri / In mare subiectum se praecipitavit ab alta. / Atque ita commoritur sponso, quem perdidit Ero, / Mutuam amicitiamque suprema in morte fruuntur.

Edition:

(Photo.) 1595, Rostochii (Rostock): typis Stephani Myliandri [Stephan Möllemann]. *Musaei poetarum omnium facile principis De Ero et Leandro poema lepidissimum. Latino carmine ita ut versus versui, et verbum verbo paene respondeat, redditum ab Eilhardo Lubino.* (Gr.-Lat.). VD16 ZV17077. Rostock, Universitätsbibl.

Biography:

See CTC 1.236–37 (Biography, 237) (Juvenalis); CTC 3.304–7 (Persius), 439–41 (Juvenalis). Add to *Bibliography*: ADB 20.748 (Krause); ADB 21.796 (von Bülow); M. Tielke, ed., *Biographisches Lexikon für Ostfriesland*, vol. 2 (Aurich, 1997), 233–35 (“Lubinus (Fam.)” [F. Schuh]); DBE 7.488 (ed. of 2005, 6.574); B. Moeller, ed., with Bruno Jahn, *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie der Theologie und der Kirchen (DBETH)*, vol. 1 (Munich, 2005), 870; *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Biographisch-bibliographisches Handbuch*, Ergänzungsband 5, 3rd ed. (Bern and Munich, 1998), 744 (“Lubinus, Eilhardus,” [A. Hees]); *Geschichte der Universität Rostock 1419–1969. Festschrift zur Fünfhundertfünfzig-Jahr-Feier der Universität*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1969), 63; G.A. von Halem, “Eilhardus Lubinus,” *Oldenburgische Zeitschrift* 4 (1807) 277–94; H. Harms, *Künstler des Kartenbildes. Biographien und Porträts* (Oldenburg, 1962), 158–59; Jöcher, Suppl. 4.3–4; T. Kaufmann, *Universität und lutherische Konfessionalisierung. Die Rostocker Theologieprofessoren und ihr Beitrag zur theologischen Bildung und kirchlichen Gestaltung im Herzogtum Mecklenburg zwischen 1550 und 1675* (Gütersloh, 1997), 653–57; *Killy-Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke des deutschsprachigen Kulturraumes*, vol. 7 (Berlin, 2010), 528; *L’Europe des humanistes*, 280; W. Killy, ed., *Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache*, vol. 7 (Munich, 1990), 356–57 (“Lubinus, Eilhardus,” [W. Schmidt-Biggemann]); S. Meier-Oeser, *Die Präsenz des Vergessenen. Zur Rezeption der Philosophie des Nicolaus Cusanus vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Münster, 1989), 151–53; NBG 31.102–03 (E.G.); NDB 15.263–64 (W. Schmidt-Biggemann); E. Schäfer, *Register zur Matrikel der Universität Rostock*, vol. 1 (Schwerin, 1919; repr. Nendeln, 1976), 584; W. Schmidt-Biggemann, “Eilhard Lubins Begriff des Nihil. Etwas zur Geschichte der neuzeitlichen Theodizee vor Leibniz,” *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 17 (1973) 177–205; R. Schmidt, “Die ‘Pomerania’ als Typ territorialer Geschichtsdarstellung und Landesbeschreibung des 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts (Bugenhagen-Kantzow-Lubinus),” in H.-B. Harder, ed., *Landesbeschreibungen Mitteleuropas vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert. Vorträge der 2. internationalen Tagung des ‘Slawenkomitees’ im Herder-Institut Marburg a.d. Lahn 10.–13. November 1980* (Cologne and Vienna, 1983), 49–78, at 68–70; M. Stelmach, *Eilhardus Lubinus i jego wielka mapa Księstwa Pomorskiego* (Szczecin, 2001); M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909; repr. Hildesheim,

1966), 439 (but see E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, and P. Eleuteri, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, vol. 3, *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Rom mit dem Vatikan* [Vienna, 1997], no. 184eb); World Biographical Information System Online = <http://db.saur.de/WBIS>.

9. Florens Christianus

The 350-hexameter Latin translation by Florens Christianus (Florent Chrestien, Orléans 1542–Vendôme 1596), was published posthumously by Robert Estienne III (1608), as an appendix to the Latin translation of 825 epigrams of the *Greek Anthology*. Isaac Casaubon in his work *De satyrica Graecorum poesi et Romanorum satira libri duo* (Paris, 1605) introduces Chrestien's translation of Euripides' *Cyclops* printed at the end (with its own pagination) with a list of unpublished texts by Chrestien belonging to his son Claude, including "Musaei Poematium. Omnia latine versa, cum notis ad Graeca." However, the notes on the Greek text were not printed by Estienne. The translation seems to have been based on Henri Estienne's edition (1566), as was the *Greek Anthology*.

Text (ed. of Paris 1608, fols. 109v–115r). Musaei (ut ferunt) poematium, De amore et morte Leandri et Herûs. Ab eodem Fl. Christiano versibus e Graeco expressum. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 109v) Inseque, Diva, facem, furtivos testis amores / Quae vidit, simul undivagi nocturnum Hymenaei / Inque natatorem, et connubia furva perenni / Invisa Aurorae, Sestonque et Abydon, ubi Herûs / Festinatus Hymen noctu est; audire Leandrum / Iam videor, Venerisque, ipsam, quae nuntia, tedam . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 115r) A scopulis lacerum consortis corpus amici / Aspexit, pictam scindens a pectore vestem, / Praecipiti sonitu de turri proruit alta. / Sic Hero super interiit consorte perempto; / Seque ipsis ambo supremo in fine struuntur. The Latin translation of the epigram by Antipater of Thessalonica *AP* 7.666, follows in six distichs entitled *Ex Antipatro in Hero et Leandrum*.

Editions:

1608, Lutetiae (Paris): Ex Typographia Roberti Stephani. *Epigrammata ex libris Graecae Anthologiae A Q. Septimio Florente Christiano selecta, et latine versa, sive florilegium Latinum ex Graeco Florilegio. Accessit Musaei Poëmatium versibus ab eodem expressum*. A.A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1843), 200. BNF; Padua, Bibl. del Seminario; Rome, BNC. The translation was reprinted in the Matthias Röver edition published in Leiden in 1737 (pp. 77–89), ending with: Seque ipsis ambo supremo in fine fruuntur.

1737, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden). See above, Composite Editions.

Biography:

CTC 2.17–18, 20–22 (Biography, 21–22). Add to *Bibliography*: P. Andrist and A. Lukinovich, "Poesis et mores: Florent Chrestien, Joseph-Juste Scaliger et les Psaumes en vers grecs du *Bernensis* A 69," in A. Kolde, A. Lukinovich, and A.-L.

Rey, eds., *κορυφαίω ἀνδρῶν. Mélanges offerts à André Hurst* (Geneva, 2005), 673–715; B. Jacobsen, *Florent Chrestien. Ein Protestant und Humanist in Frankreich zur Zeit der Religionskriege*, Münchener romanistische Arbeiten 32 (Munich, 1973); *L'Europe des humanistes*, 116; M. Mund-Dopchie, *La survie d'Eschyle à la Renaissance. Éditions, traductions, commentaires et imitations* (Leuven, 1984), 307–29; NBG 9,399–400; F. Vian, “Florent Chrestien lecteur et traducteur d'Apollonios de Rhodes,” *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 34 (1972) 471–82; World Biographical Information System Online = <http://db.saur.de/WBIS>.

10. William Gager

William Gager translated Musaeus “in artibus baccalaurius,” as he annotated himself at the end of the translation in the autograph codex London, British Library, Add. 22583, p. 56. The expression may be interpreted as “after he had obtained his BA,” hence between 4 December 1577 and June 1580, when he started his MA at Oxford. This translation in the London codex follows three other translations from Greek written in his earlier years (*Batrachomyomachia*, *Susanna*, Pseudo-Isocrates’ *Ad Demonium*), probably between 1574 and 1577. The translation is in 452 hexameters.

Musaei insignis poetae de Ero et Leandro carmen elegantissimum latine redditum (London, BL, Add. 22583, p. 41). [*Inc.*]: (p. 41) Dic age secreti testem (Dea) lumen amoris / Magnanimumque refer per iniqui caerulea ponti / Terga natatorem, furtivaque gaudia quondam / Occulti thalami quem non, licet ocios ortu / Sol properaret iter, qui lustrat singula, vidit. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 56) Obtritum nymbis. Tum vero a pectore vestem / Diripuit, pariterque suos laniata capillos / Illico sublimi se praecipitavit ab arce. / Sic heu qui sola potuerunt morte revelli / Haud ipsa miseri potuerunt morte revelli.

Manuscript:

(micro.) London, British Lib., Additional 22583, late s. XVI, pp. 41–56 (*Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1854–1860* [London, 1875; repr. 1965], 679–80; Kristeller, *Iter* 4.77). Autograph commonplace book. The codex comes from the library of Rev. Philip Bliss, principal of St. Mary’s Hall, Oxford (acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1858).

Edition:

William Gager: *The Complete Works*, ed. and trans. with commentary by D.F. Sutton, vol. 4 (New York and London, 1994), 94–114 (with annotated English translation).

Biography:

William Gager was born on 24 July 1555 in Long Melford, Sussex, and studied at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated with a BA (1577), MA (1580), and in 1589 became Bachelor and then Doctor of Civil Law. In 1601 he was

appointed surrogate to the vicar-general of the diocese of Ely and in 1606 was himself appointed chancellor and vicar-general of the same diocese. He married a widow, Mary Tovey, and lived his last years in Chesterton, near Cambridge, where he died in 1622.

Works:

Poet and playwright in Latin, he translated *Batrachomyomachia*, the tale of *Susanna* (Dan. 13), and Pseudo-Isocrates' *Ad Demonicum*.

Bibliography:

J.W. Binns, "Gager, William," ODNB 21.259–60; *The Compact Edition of the Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1975), 797–98; J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500–1714*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1891), 542; H.B. Norland, "Neo-Latin Drama in Britain," in J. Bloemendal and H.B. Norland, eds., *Neo-Latin Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2013), 489–94; *William Gager: The Complete Works*, ed. and trans. D.F. Sutton, 4 vols. (New York and London, 1994).

11. William Croft

It has been impossible to find any reliable information on this English author, who lived between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The translation, in 355 hexameters, conserved in the codex Holkham Hall, 435, is dedicated to Edward Coke (1552–1634), English jurist and politician, who became attorney general in 1594, and subsequently was appointed chief justice. In 1613 he became member of the Privy Council and lord chief justice (the dedication declares that he was "a secretioribus consiliis" to King James I and was called "summus totius Angliae praetor"); in 1616 Coke was dismissed from his positions and later imprisoned. It is reasonable to believe that the dedication and the translation were written between 1613 and 1616. Brief notes and a commentary accompany the translation.

Dedication (Holkham Hall, 435). (fol. 1r) Honoratissimo, prudentissimo, consultissimo domino, domino Eduardo Cooke equiti aurato, summo totius Angliae praetori, augustissimo principi Jacobo a secretioribus consiliis, suoque Mecaenati optimo εὐδαιμονεῖν. Eos quidem (vir honoratissime), quorum singularis et divina virtutum dignitas nequaquam serpit, sed a communi et plebeio captu remotos dominosque iam terrarum ad deos usque evexit, non garrula orationis laude, sed tacita mentis adoratione, non venali lingua aut externo styli praeconio, sed interno quodam et pio animi stupore prosequimur. Diu sane ista diuturno me et alto silentio sepultum obruerunt, linguaeque meae balbutienti, quominus aut eximias virtutum tuarum laudes decantarem aut pias animi mei grates profferrem, ingratos inpiosque fraenos imposuerunt mihi, donec tandem ad meliorem mentem redactus numen etiam divinum quod animi cultu intus

quidem conceptu laetatur, externa tamen corporis veneratione delectari agnoscerem; idcirco ne quis ineptum et improbum ingrati animi σόφισμα et diverticulum in me deprehendat, si nihil officii praestarem, quia satis non possem et numquam illud afferrem, quod semper deberem, novos mihi sumpsi animos, ut qui solvendo non essem, illud saltem solvendo me non esse dicerem; et vel ita saltem gratum me fore existimarem, dum gratum satis me esse non posse profiterer. Illud enim immortalia tua (patrone mihi in aeternum colende) merita fecerunt, ut (quod Furnius Caesaris) unam hanc iniuriam, sed suavem, sed amabilem, a te feram, quod (fol. 1v) necesse habeam et vivere ingratus et mori. Quomodo enim vel ad minimam et macram spem beneficii unquam gratitudine exaequandi accedam, cui, crescentibus in dies animi mei viribus, quibus gratitudinem ostendam, beneficium agnosc[. . .] crescet una, magisque me obruet beneficii tui immensa magnitudo. Tuum enim est quod suavissimo labori incumbam, quod honestissimo in otio delitescam, quod ludo literario, unicae animorum officinae, rudis et inpolitus ego formandus et fingendus tradar. Tuum est quod balbum mihi os et haesitans infantis lingua figuretur, tuum quod pectus bonis artibus imbuatur, tuum quod amplum et magnificum tum corpori tum cordi viaticum abunde paebeatur; quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est, adeo ut, quaecumque grati animi indicia, quascumque grates proferam (proferam autem quas potero maximas) tu non benemeruisse quam dedisse videaris. Etenim adeo totum me tibi subdidisti, ut ne meus quidem sim nec in aliqua re proficiam, cuius tibi fructus non totus debeatur. Quid ergo dubitarem? Longoque itineris mei (et tamen longum futurum) taedio deficerem? Dum te amicissimum studiis Mecaenatem habeo, qui mihi tanquam νηχομένω, liceat enim Musaeum usurpare in Musaeo, Τὸν μὲν ὀπιπτεύων, οὐκ ὄψομαι δυντα Βοώτην, / οὐ θρασὺν Ἰωριῶνα, καὶ ἄβροχον ὀλκὸν Ἀμάξης [lines 213–14]. Musaei verbis ad patrocinium Musaei suscipiendum te compello, cuius rotundum os dum Romana uti lingua et e Graecia in Italiam migrare iubeo gravem nominis et laboris (fol. 2r) iacturam facerem, nisi te unicum sidus et amicum intuerer. Tu ergo (Mecaenas honoratissime) mihi non sine periculo in tumido hoc Musaei oceano plus satis audacter dextram amice porrige et effice, ne dum Leandri fatum enarrem, Leandri etiam fatum sentiam; quod fiet, si inanes meae contentiones in medio provinciae spacio frangantur et corruant, egoque ipse ante in cursu obrutus sim, quam portum mihi aspicere concedatur. Quod si pacato, placido tuoque vultu hoc ineuntis anni (cui omnes retro annos debui, debebo sequentes) munusculum excipere dignaberis (etsi probe te animumque illum beneficum novi dignaris) et vires mihi maiora olim audendi sufficies et omnia quae ausus fuero meritissimo tibi vendicabis. Reipublicae et Ecclesiae Britannicae diu incolumis. Vale. Dignitatis tuae omni officii genere devotissimus Gul. Croft.

Musaei poetae antiquissimi poemation. [Inc.]: (fol. 3r) Dic tacitos ignes testantem diva lucernam, / Nautamque audacem nocturna per aequora vectum, /

Remigium cui corpus erat, cui brachia remi, / Dum repetit dilectam Hero, tectosque hymenaeos, / Quos non puniceo spectavit Lucifer ortu. . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 15r) Avulsosque artus scopulis; mox crinibus ungues / Admovet, et variam scindens per pectora vestem, / Cum strepitu praiceps turri devolvitur alta. / Vivere fida Hero nescit post fata Leandri, / iuncti et morte iacent, qui iuncti in amore iacebant.

Manuscript:

(CD-ROM) Holkham Hall, 435, s. XVII, fols. 3r–15r (Kristeller, *Iter* 4.40). On fol. f: Musaei poetae antiquissimi poemation, De Herus et Leandri amoribus, numeris Latinis donatum; una cum muthologia [*sic*], et interpretationis ratione saepius addita. The verso of each page of the translation is blank. Appears to be a dedication copy.

COMMENTARIES

a. Jean Vatel

In Guillaume de la Mare's 1514 Paris edition the commentary by Jean Vatel has been included, alternating with the Latin text, which was not present in the 1511 edition. The same texts were reprinted in the 1538 Paris edition. The commentary is preceded by a dedicatory letter to a certain Johannes Faber, Queen's cantor and canon of Chartres Cathedral, dated Paris 18 March 1514 from the Collège d'Harcourt. In actual fact, this is Johannes Fabri who died in 1575, who had been a chorister in Chartres Cathedral from an early age and had earned the favour of the Queen of France Anne of Brittany (1477–1514). Concerning this, see the obituary present in the cartulary in Chartres Cathedral: “. . . Johannes Fabri, canonicus presbiter, qui cum fuisset a teneris annis puer chori in hac ecclesia, gratiam serenissime Anne, regine de Britannia, promeruit, largissima munera illius liberalitate consecutus est” (E. De Lépinos and L. Merlet, eds., *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, vol. 3 [Chartres, 1865], 94–95). Following this there is a hexastich dedicated to the presbyter Richard de Soulle, about whom there is little information, although it is interesting to note that Soulle was a Norman estate for generations owned by the Cerisay family (and besides, Guillaume de la Mare's 1511 translation is dedicated to a Nicolas de Cerisay). The commentary provided is predominantly explanatory.

Dedication (ed. of [Paris] 1514). Ioannes Vatelus Coeniliensis Ioanni Fabro cantori Regineo, Cartonensisque [i.e. Carnotensisque] ecclesiae canonico benemerito salutem. [fol. IIr] Accuratissimam illam priscorum solertiam mecum ipse recogitans, qua in inueniendis artibus atque disciplinis usi non sine ingenti sua laude et gloria circumquaque memorantur, nostram non possum non mirari ignauiam, qui in eis tanto labore olim tantaque diligentia comparatis, veluti agris fertilibus excolendis nullum studium adiungimus. Sed inertī torpescentes ocio,

vitam sine ulla liberali cura de illorum more traducimus, qui suorum parentum successione ditati amplissima et sibi infoeliciter et ventri obediunt, nullamque nauant nanciscendis operam. Et quemadmodum interim ruere ipsorum quicquid est et in casum trahi pro rerum mutabili et euanida conditione est necessum, sic et ipsae artes et quae longo labore ac exercitio paratae sunt, scientiae nedum manere in precio et gloria, verumetiam elabi turpiter atque obliterari, nisi assiduo cultu eniteant, inspectantur. Quod si igitur, ut decet, quod nostro et honori in primis et officio incumbit, exigere concupimus, nobis est (si recte inspicio) pro viribus enitendum, ut tam multiplex tamque foelix disciplinarum possessio nobis olim a maioribus veluti testamento et ultima (ut ita loquar) voluntate legata non minuatur modo et decidat, sed si fieri pro conatu et studio potest suum sumat incrementum. Quamquam tamen plerosque esse non ambigam, qui (iurene an iniuria nescio) quaecumque hac aetate fiunt vel augentur adiuuenta tamquam superflua nullique usui ac commoda insimulent. Sed sua est meo quidem arbitrato quae eos fallat veluti intestino quodam liuore subornata opinio. Propter quam (si quid est, quod nostra possit industria; potest autem, si volumus) quod in re est et aliqua ex parte profuturum nequaquam sit declinandum. Qua reuera ego sententia tum demum adductus, ut qui etiam iam antea fecissem eadem in re periculum quendam tumultuarium ac plane familiarem commentarium [fol. II^v] subiunxi ad huiusce vetustissimi authoris Musaei Leandrum, quem Guilielmus de Mara, vir utique doctissimus, superioribus hisce annis, dum per legalia munera suumque a secretis officium liceret, e graeco latinum fecit atque ita traduxit fideliter, ut qui esset aetatem propemodum sterilis, ille idem deliniamentis omnibus quam optime seruatis Aesonis Ouidiani more iuuenis ac aeuo florens effectus nuper esse videatur. Qua in re quantum ipse laborauerit fueritque laudis et gloriae consecutus ipsi quidem soli dignoscere possunt, qui traductionis artem graecaeque ac latinae elocutionis diuersitatem nouerint. Quarum cum alteri magis adhaeserit pro debita in Musaeum fide ac reuerentia se tamen vir modestus non interpretem, qui reuera est, si recte perspexeris, sed paraphrasten et ad sensum locutorem appellauit. Hic igitur ille vetus author atque inclytus herosque graeco pallio circumamictus in hanc diem his nostris cisalpinis partibus fuerat incognitus. Nunc autem lariali toga Romanoque plectro insignitus hylaris insilit ac laetabundus prodit in medium. Proinde hunc tu, si me amas, excolito, tu protege ac tutator. Et si quid id est, quod tibi noncupatum adiecimus, cum venia et aequanimitate relege et pensita. Vale. Parrhisiis, ex academia nostra Haricuriana quindecimo calendas Apriles, anno ab incarnati verbi mysterio sesquimillesimo decimoquarto.

Eiusdem Hexastichon ad dominum et benefactorem suum Ricardum de Soulle Presbyterum. Tu quoque, qui vector fueras sociusque laborum, / Istaec pro meritis quantulacumque refer. / Meque, tibi teneris pietas quem iunxit ab annis, / Permite in cunctis, si libet, esse tuum. / Interea, ut clero simul et

tibi viuere cures, / quo bene coepisti, tramite semper eas. / Vale mei in aeuum memor.

On fol. III^r follows Vatel's Latin translation of the two Greek odes by Marcus Musurus present in the 1495–98 Aldine edition (also present in the 1526 Cologne edition; in the 1538 Paris edition only the Latin translation has been included; see Guillaume de la Mare above).

Preface (ed. of [Paris] 1514) Ioannis Vатели Coeniliensis in Musaei Leandrum familiaris Commentarius. [*Inc.*]: (fol. III^v) Praefationes, ut author est Caius iureconsultus, et libentius nos ad lectionem propositae materiae perducunt et euidentiore praestant intellectum [cf. *Dig.* 1.2.1]. Nos itaque propositum atque institutum munus subeuntes, facturi videmur opere precium, si nonnihil quod in rem est prae loquamur et ab ipsius operis argumento (quod dicendorum forma est et quaedam effigies) enarrandi conspicemur exordium. Erit siquidem explanatum veluti lumen, quo magis sequentia intellectui peruia sint, introductorium. *In Sesto.* Sestus et Abydus urbes, haec Asiae, illa Europae clarissimae fuerunt. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. III^v) *Priuauitque anima.* Vita. *Usu Cypridis.* Commerciis et lusibus Venereis, quos dum sui potirentur exercere consueuerant. Sed iam ad alia. Commentary on Marcus Musurus' second ode.

Text (ed. of [Paris] 1514). [*Inc.*]: (fol. IV^v) Solent plerumque librorum nomina praesertim materia sumi, quae in eis potissime tractanda suscipitur. Sic et Vergilianus Culex, Etna, Aeneis, et id genus alii noncupati sunt, quod eorum descriptio praecipuam huiusmodi poematis suppeditet farraginem. Quemadmodum et hoc opusculum Leandri nomen ac titulum sortitum est, quod in eo Leandri et Herus amor a Museo vetustissimo Graecorum (fol. IV^v) poeta descriptus est, et a Guiljelmo de Mara, viro nostra aetate doctissimo παραφραστικῶς interpretatus. Cuius rei causa potissimum fuit, ut non tam falsa ac momentanea cupidinis deliniamenta, quam miserabilem amantium finem et exitum ostenderet. *Dic dea.* Graecum authorem interpretans, graeco de more est exorsus. Quippe qui (quod ipsi solent) ea quae dicturus est atque descripturus, inuocando proponit. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. XXI^r) *Scindens.* Frangens, more irascentium. *Vestem variam.* Arte varia laboratam. *A pulchro pectore.* Musaeus περί στήθεσσι, id est de pectoribus seu circum pectora. *Praecepta dedit.* Se praecipitem dedit. *Ab alta arce.* Quam incolebat. *Sic.* Infoeliciter. *Pereunte.* Praesens pro praeterito; nec enim qui periret, sed qui iam perierat intellige. Quod et Musaeus ἐπ' ὄλλυμένῳ παρακοίτη, id est ob mortuum maritum. *Suprema in clade.* In morte ipsa, quae rerum est ultima finis.

Editions:

1514, Paris. See above, Guillaume de la Mare.

1538, Paris. See above, Guillaume de la Mare.

Biography:

Born in Notre-Dame-de-Chenilly (Manche), in the second half of the fifteenth century, Vatel was Professor of Greek in Paris and taught at the Collège d'Harcourt. He was also a publisher until at least 1522.

Works:

Guillaume de la Mare, *Tripertitus in Chimaeram conflictus, familiaribus Vatelli commentariis elucidatus* (Paris, 1513); *Excercitationes grammaticae nuper a Vatelto aeditae ad foelices studiorum successus* (Paris, s.d.); Guillaume de la Mare, *Epistolae et orationes, novissime in lucem editae ac marginariis quibusdam veluti epitomatis succinctaque vocabulorum explanatione a M. Joanne Vatelto annotatae ac diligenter recognitae* (Paris, 1514); *Theodori Gazae Grammaticae institutionis libri quatuor, latine e regione ad verbum fere expositi, Joanne Vatelto concinnato* (Paris, 1521); P. Fausto Andrelini, *Hecatodistichon, Joanne Vatelto castigatore et paraphraste* (Paris, 1522).

Bibliography:

Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle, vol. 2 (Paris, 1969), 122–23, no. 253; N.N. Oursel, *Nouvelle biographie normande*, 2nd supplément (Paris and Rouen, 1912), 458–59.

b. Andreas Papius

In the 1575 edition (pp. 180–83) Papius also published his notes on Musaeus. They refer to just 14 lines and are mainly philological and explanatory. Papius often refers to the Stephanus edition (Paris, 1566). There is no mention of the manuscripts used.

Text (ed. of Antwerp, 1575). *Andreae Papii notae in Musaeum*. [*Inc.*]: (p. 180) Vers. 32. locum hunc aliter, quam prima facie vertendum quis putaret transtuli. Video enim fere omnibus placere, ut πύργον ἀπὸ προγόνων turrim a parentibus acceptam seu delatam intelligamus. Quo sensu aliquando transtuleram, . . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 182) Haec sunt quae in Musaeum annotanda iudicavi, partim ut interpretationis (p. 183) meae ratio constaret: partim ut, si quibus in locis a vulgata libelli editione dissentirem, qua id auctoritate fecissem intelligeretur. Plura autem longe dicenda fuissent, si de omnibus plane lectionis diversitatibus agendum mihi putassem. Verum cum interpretationem opusculi tantum, non etiam emendationem pollicear, antiquorum praesertim librorum, quorum in eo negotio praecipuus est usus, auxilio destitutus, nec ob illam paene praeteritam iuste reprehendi potero: et, siquid usquam, ut accidit, minus a me recte praestitum erit, veniam spero sum apud aequos lectores facile consequuturus.

Edition:

1575, Antverpia (Antwerp). See above, Composite Editions.

Biography:

See above, Andreas Papius (Translations 5).

c. William Croft

William Croft also wrote a short commentary to Musaeus and his Latin translation, likewise conserved in codex Holkham Hall, 435, fols. 17r–22v. It is introduced by some information on the poet and a presentation of the *epyllion*. The notes are predominantly explanatory, including comparisons with Greek and Latin authors.

Adversaria in poemation Musaei et Latinam eius interpretationem (Holkham Hall, 435). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 17r) Author est Musaeus, poetarum si non primus, certe facile inter primos tum tempore, tum dignitate. Tempore quippe qui omnium fere criticorum communi suffragio hoc sibi vendicet, ut antiquissimus poetarum audiat, testimonio etiam tum Rhodigini, qui Orphei illum discipulum et quidem amicissimum scribit, tum adeo ipsius Orphei, qui divinum illud divinis nominibus et hymnis opus πρὸς Μουσαῖον inscribit et ab eius nomine auspicatur. ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 22v, note on line 322) Boreas autem dictus est ἀπὸ τοῦ βοᾶν καὶ ῥεῖν. Fuit quidam Strymonis filius, raptor Orithygiae, unde poetae fabulantur eam a Borea venisse raptam Zetimque et Calaim peperuisse.

Manuscript:

Holkham Hall, 435; see above, William Croft (Translations 11).