

PINDARUS

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FORTUNA

Five biographies of mediocre quality dating from the late imperial and Byzantine periods transmit information about the life of Pindar. Two are in hexameters; one of them, probably the older, was utilized by Eustathius. A manuscript from the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, designated Ambrosianus A, contains the so-called *Vita Ambrosiana*. There is also a *Vita* by Thomas Magister; and there is an entry on Pindar in the Suda lexicon. To these longer sources may be added scattered, often highly relevant, items of information supplied by authors of various periods, and internal evidence from the text of the poems themselves. By the early sixteenth century, erudites and scholars had assembled all this material (notably in the Roman edition of Pindar published in 1515 by Zacharias Callierges) and begun to mine it for biographies of the poet, which culminate in the impressive twenty-six-page account of his life by W. Schmid in his *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (Munich, 1929), 548–74, a richly detailed portrait in which every nugget of information is discussed and assigned full value. The publication of Mary R. Lefkowitz's *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London, 1981), however, marked a turning point.¹ This work subjected the tradition to stringent critical review: many items of information that had been considered fundamental and unquestionable were now attributed to the improvisational ethos of Greek biographical writing, and to the substantially rhetorical character of the ode as a genre and its first-person speaker. This important change in critical perspective reduced the biography of Pindar to the following certain data: he was born in Cynocephale, a town near Thebes, probably during the Pythiad of 518 B.C. (fr. 193 Sn.-M.:² perhaps in August). His first certainly datable work is *Pythian* 10, from 498; he was in his prime at around the time the Second Persian War ended in 480; and his last datable composition is *Pythian* 8, from 446. Pindar died at Argos at around eighty years of age, hence ca. 438. His great poetic talent is beyond question, and his style remains basically unchanged over the whole arc of his career: metrical and stylistic differences between *Pythian* 10, composed at age twenty, and the poems that followed, are detectable to an alert ear, but are outweighed by identical themes and motifs, and analogous compositional techniques.³

But the new critical perspective stemming from the work of Lefkowitz had the effect of undermining the most traditional features of Pindar's authorial personality, for it is one thing to express one's own intimate convictions and another to express those of a patron. Less faith is now automatically placed in Pindar's

1 Mary R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London, 1981).

2 The fragments of the *Epinicia* are numbered according to the system used in the edition of B. Snell, 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1964), revised by H. Maehler (Leipzig, 1971), abbreviated "Sn.-M."

3 U. von Wilamowitz Moellendorff, *Pindaros* (Berlin, 1922), 128.

image as a proud and disdainful bard, a strenuous competitor of Simonides and Bacchylides, and an aristocratic upholder of inherited religious values; nor is it any longer taken for granted that he must have been present at all the festivals celebrated in his odes. He was certainly at Sicily, Athens, Argos, and Aegina, as well as at Delphi and Olympia and other important sites where games were held, but it is harder to accept that he also visited Cyrene (*Pythian* 4 and 5), Rhodes (*Olympian* 10), and Tenedos (*Nemean* 11).

Yet the assessment of the odes as rhetorical exercises in praise of patrons and as a means of earning a livelihood ought not to overshadow the assessment of their value as poetry, or their power to instruct and eternalize. Nor should the sincerity of the value system they embody, grounded in the order established by Zeus, the paradigm of sporting victory, and the exemplarity of heroic ideals, be seriously doubted.

The lives, the *Suda*, and P.Oxy. 2438, 35–39 attribute seventeen books of poems to Pindar, and although they differ in detail about the exact subdivision, it may reasonably be reconstructed as follows: one book of hymns, one book of paeans, two books of dithyrambs, two books of *Prosodia* (“processionals”), three books of *Parthenia* (“songs for maidens”), two books of *Hyporchemata* (“songs for light dances”), one book of encomia, one book of *Threnoi* (“laments”), and four books of *Epinicia* (“victory odes”)—the *Olympians*, the *Pythians*, the *Isthmians*, and the *Nemeans*. During the imperial age, likely under the Antonines, the four books of *Epinicia* became the standard edition for use in schools. From then on, and certainly during the age of Renaissance humanism, Pindar was the poet of the victory odes. A good deal of material from the other books survives in fragments preserved indirectly or on papyrus; these number more than 300, not counting dubious or definitely spurious ones. The victory odes number forty-six (fourteen *Olympians*, twelve *Pythians*, eleven *Nemeans*, and eight *Isthmians*, plus *Isthmian* 9, preserved in a single codex and normally placed among the fragments). The authenticity of *Olympian* 5 has been doubted since Antiquity, and the last three odes classed among the *Nemeans* are in fact two compositions celebrating a victory in a lesser competition and the entry into office of a magistrate, a *prytanis*. Within each festival category, the odes are placed in descending order by athletic specialty: first equestrianism (chariot races, horse races, mule races), then pankration, boxing, wrestling, hoplite racing, dolichos (“long race”), pentathlon, diaulos (“double-stadion race”), stadion, and finally musical contests.

CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC GREEK LITERATURE

The fortune of Pindar in the Classical and Hellenistic periods may be traced from three types of testimony: direct quotation of the victory odes, or more often fragments of other odes, by literary authors; imitation, whether by the

comic poets in a parodic vein or by the great Alexandrian poets at a more refined level; and the corpus of Pindaric scholia from this period (the *scholia vetera* or ancient scholia), which testify indirectly to the philological labor lavished on the text of Pindar by erudites.

The oldest reference to Pindar occurs in the history of Herodotus (484–425 B.C.), who mentions fragment 169a Sn.-M.: “Well, then, that is how people think, and so it seems to me that Pindar was right when he said in his poetry that custom is king of all.”⁴ Other possible references to Pindar have been adduced (e.g. Herodotus IX 52 and Pind. *P.* IV 317) but remain dubious. A few Pindaric echos have also been detected in the tragic poets, but literary elaboration is so pervasive there that it is almost impossible to decide one way or the other.⁵ The author most influenced by Pindar was probably Sophocles, as shown thematically by comparison of the motif of the vanity of human life (cf. *Aj.* 125–26 and *Ph.* 946–47 with *P.* VIII 136), and at the lexical level by the possible citation of the famous dithyramb in which Athens is called “bulwark of Greece” (fr. 76.3 Sn.-M.) in *OC* 58.⁶

In contrast to this paucity, the comic poets of fifth-century Athens, particularly Aristophanes, supply illuminating testimony to the fortune of Pindar. We are told by Athenaeus (second and third centuries A.D.) that for Eupolis (ca. 446–411 B.C.) “Pindar’s poetry had been forgotten, on account of the neglect of the good” (I 3 = Eup. fr. 366 Kock). Several celebrated lines from *Nubes* (1357–58) would seem to confirm this, in which the young Pheidippides, challenging his father, maintains that Simonides (meaning, by metonymy, choral lyric in general) is an unimpressive and completely outdated poet. That Pindaric poetry was indeed perceived as antiquated and out of fashion is confirmed by several parodies in Aristophanes, who in *Acharnenses* (lines 637 and 639) and in *Equites* (line 1329) appears to make fun of Pindar’s dithyramb in praise of Athens (fr. 76.1 Sn.-M.), and who even imitates his manner elsewhere, whether referring explicitly to the model of a famous *Prosodion* (e.g. *Eq.* 1264–66 with fr. 89a Sn.-M.), or displaying his virtuosity in a highly comic pastiche (*Av.* 917–45). While such parodic displays by Aristophanes do confirm that Pindaric diction was regarded as antiquated and irredeemably outmoded, they also confirm that Pindar was a poet well known at Athens, and indeed would seem to validate the hypothesis

4 Herodotus 3.38, quoted from *The Landmark Herodotus*, ed. Robert B. Strassler, trans. Andrea L. Purvis (New York, 2007).

5 A. Bagordo suggests a direct imitation of Pindar by Aeschylus in “L’omaggio letterario di un Ateniese a un Tebano (Aesch. *Sept.* 774; Pind. Fr. [dith.] 75.3 ss. Sn.-M.),” in: R. Nicolai, ed., *ΠΥΣΜΟΣ. Studi di poesia, metrica e musica greca offerti dagli allievi a Luigi Enrico Rossi per i suoi settant’anni* (Rome, 2003), 205–9.

6 See also T.K. Hubbard, “Pindar and Sophocles: Ajax as Epinician Hero,” *Échos du monde classique* 19 (2000) 315–32.

that his poems were actually studied in schools there. *Aves*, staged in 414 B.C., is the last Aristophanic comedy known to us to contain literal borrowings from, or comic allusions to, the poetry of Pindar, an indication that after that date there was very little interest in Pindaric poetry at Athens. From then on Aristophanes directed his parody at the style of the new dithyrambic poets, or the style of those tragedians who adopted the new Euripidean fashion, or even the archaic, highly wrought and scarcely comprehensible manner of Aeschylus.

Pindar appears rarely in Greek authors of the fourth century B.C. The only author who cites him repeatedly and sometimes even discusses a few sayings is Plato (ca. 428–348 B.C.). The most discussed passage is fr. 169a Sn.-M.: in *Gorgias* (484b) Callicles takes up Pindar's assertion that *nomos* governs all and adapts it to his anti-democratic and pro-aristocratic position. In *Protagoras* (337d) the Pindaric saying is cited for similar purposes by Hippias. In *Laws* (III 690 bc; IV 714e–715a; X 890 a) the speaker who discusses the saying is the Athenian Stranger: he interprets the Pindaric *nomos* to mean “law of nature,” to which all men must bow, and which warrants the dominion of stronger and wiser beings over those less so, both in nature and among mankind. In various other places, Plato preserves traces of Pindaric odes that are known to us only fragmentarily. For example, in *Meno* (81a–c) he quotes an ample extract from a Pindaric *threnos* in connection with the doctrine of metempsychosis (fr. 133 Sn.-M. = fr. 65 Cannatà Fera); and *The Republic* (I 330d–331a) is ornamented with a fervent eulogy of Hope (fr. 214 Sn.-M. = fr. 64 Cannatà Fera). The victory odes are drawn upon frequently: the *incipit* of the first *Olympian* turns up in *Euthydemus* (304 bc); line 2 of the first *Isthmian* is quoted in *Phaedrus*, an elegant literary reminiscence that embellishes the discourse; and in *The Republic* again (III 408b) there is a reference to the myth of Asclepius, who agreed to violate the laws of nature by undertaking to cure a dying man in exchange for gold (cf. *P.* III 96 ff.). In other fourth-century authors the citations of Pindar are few: in *Antidosis* (15, 166), Isocrates (436–338 B.C.) poses as Pindar's rival, claiming that if the poet was considered worthy of proxeny and a reward of a thousand drachmas simply for having called Athens the bulwark of Hellas, then he himself ought to enjoy much higher regard from his fellow citizens (fr. 76.3 Sn.-M.). Aristotle mentions Pindar twice in the *Rhetoric*, repeating the *incipit* of the first *Olympian* (I.7, 1364a) and citing him expressly in relation to Pan (2.2.4.2, 1401a = fr. 96*, 2 Sn.-M.).

In the Hellenistic period, the work of Pindar aroused fresh interest, both literary and textual-philological. Callimachus (ca. 305–240 B.C.) was thoroughly acquainted with it: we learn from the ancient scholia that in his *Pinakes* he established a list of Pindar's works, helping to constitute the corpus that was subsequently studied, and attempting to distinguish among the victory odes.⁷

7 See F. Schmidt, *Die Pinakes des Kalimachos* (Berlin, 1922), 24–25 and 75–78.

As for the literary perspective, we find significant echos of Pindar. Callimachus confined himself exclusively to the elegiac distich in composing victory odes, although he possessed the technical capacity to compose lyric verse in the full Pindaric manner, probably because such verse would have amounted to no more than a sterile display of proficiency in the absence of music and dance. Pindaric reminiscences are however to be found in *Victoria Berenices*, the victory ode that opens book three of the *Aitia* (*Supplementum Hellenisticum* 254–286C), and in the victory ode for Sosibius (= fr. 384 Pf.). While both texts are composed in elegiac distichs and survive only in fragments, they reveal profound knowledge of the style, imagery, and language of Pindar.⁸ A probable imitation on the part of Theocritus of a place in the seventh *Nemean* has recently been identified, but we still lack a comprehensive and thorough recension of all the Pindaric reminiscences in that poet.⁹ Another author for whom Pindar is ever-present is Lycophron (second century B.C.?), who in *Alessandra* (lines 554–62) not only echoes his stylistic obscurity, but closely imitates the episode of the duel between the Dioscuri and the sons of Aphareus from Pindar's *Nemean* 10 (lines 49–72).

But the Hellenistic age is important primarily because it was then that the text of Pindar first received scrupulous philological attention. Thanks to the corpus of ancient scholia edited by Drachmann, and the researches of Irigoien, we are able to form a clear idea of the work done by the great Alexandrian philologists, and the distinct profile of each. The first to work on Pindar was Zenodotus (ca. 325–260 B.C.), the director of the Library of Alexandria; he had the texts transcribed and saw to the uniformization of their orthography, for the manuscripts that transmitted the text had been copied in different regions of Greece. Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca. 230–180 B.C.), successor of Eratosthenes as director of the Library and Museum and a distinguished editor of the classical poets, was responsible for the subdivision of the works of Pindar, classifying them into seventeen books in obedience to criteria that have been followed with few exceptions by all editors of the text of Pindar down to very recent times. The other great merit of Aristophanes of Byzantium is to have established the metrical scheme of every ode, what would later be called the *colometry* of Pindar. The following may be considered the fundamentals of the colometry of Aristophanes of Byzantium: every *colon* contains from one to three rhythmic elements; the end of the colon frequently coincides with a word ending. His edition of Pindar included the text and brief indications to the reader (diacritic signs, colometric markers, a few variant readings), but no commentary, and laid a solid foundation for subsequent Pindar scholarship. Aristarchus of Samothrace (ca. 216–144 B.C.),

8 See G.B. D'Alessio, *Callimaco. Aitia, Giambi e altri frammenti* (Milan, 1996), 446–50 and 680–90.

9 L. Sbardella, “Teocrito pindarico. Il κέρδος, la fama e la poesia omerica in Nemea 7.17–31 e nell’Idillio XVI,” *Seminari Romani di cultura classica* 7 (2004) 65–83.

the great Homeric textual scholar, wrote an ample commentary on Pindar that must have had wide influence, since his name appears in the scholia more than seventy times. It is likely that the commentary of Aristarchus covered the entire output of Pindar; a few bits of it survive for the *Dithyrambs* and *Paeans*, and there are many fragments deriving from the *Epinicia*. The goal of Aristarchus was to clarify the meaning of the text, which he explained by adducing other passages from the same poet. But though this approach may have worked with Homer, it was less well suited to Pindar, an adequate account of whose mythological, historical, and geographical references would have required wider research drawing upon external sources. Notwithstanding these defects, the importance of the commentary of Aristarchus was recognized by his contemporaries and by posterity, and it constituted the foundation of the Pindar commentary of Didymus a century and a half later.

LATIN LITERATURE

In light of the objective greatness of the poet and the fame he achieved in the Alexandrian age, Pindar's fortune in the Roman world may be qualified as disappointing. Reliable evidence of direct acquaintance with his work is scant, his lines are seldom cited, and direct mention of either his name or his works is meager. Nonetheless, a few of these testimonials had decisive importance for Pindar's fortune in the age of humanism and the Renaissance, laying the basis for the judgment of posterity. The first Latin author to cite Pindar expressly is Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.): in *Orator* 4 Pindar is included in a short list of major Greek poets, along with Homer, Archilochus, and Sophocles. In *De finibus* 2.115 he again appears on a list, again accompanied by Homer and Archilochus, here for the purpose of contrasting poetry and the figurative arts, exemplified by Phidias, Polyclitus, and Zeuxis. The only direct citation appears, however, in a letter to Atticus (13.38.2), in which Cicero quotes what is now fr. 213 Sn.-M. At a later point in *Orator* (183) Cicero delivers an assessment of the enjoyment of Greek lyric poetry as a whole that will resonate in the later European fortune of Pindar: stripped of their musical accompaniment, the songs of the Greek lyric poets take on an appearance much like that of prose.

In the Augustan age fame did not desert Pindar entirely, and if we can believe the testimony we have, he was even the object of an attempt at imitation. In the *Epistulae ex Ponto* (4.16.27–28), Ovid (43 B.C.–17 A.D.) mentions a certain Rufus, whom he calls the only one to have sounded the lyre of Pindar (“et una / Pindaricae fidicen tu quoque, Rufe, lyrae”). Horace (65–8 B.C.) for his part recalls the poet Titius in *Epistulae* 1.3.9–14 as one who drank at the fountain of Pindar, attempting to render Pindaric meters into Latin (“fidibusne Latinis / Thebanos aptare modos studet auspice Musa”). That these attempts were unsuccessful we

may deduce from the failure to survive not only of any portion of the works of these authors, but even of any biographical information concerning them.

To Horace we owe the most famous assessment of Pindar's inimitability, a judgment so celebrated that it is worth quoting in full, in prose translation: "Whoever strives, Iulus, to rival Pindar, relies on wings fastened with wax by Daedalean craft, and is doomed to give his name to some crystal sea. Like a river from the mountain rushing down, which the rains have swollen above its customary banks, so does Pindar seethe and, brooking no restraint, rush on with deep-toned voice, worthy to be honored with Apollo's bays, whether he rolls new words through daring dithyrambs and is borne along in measures freed from rule, or sings of gods and kings, the progeny of gods, at whose hands the Centaurs fell in death deserved, and by whom was quenched the fire of dread Chimaera; or when he sings of those whom the Elean palm leads home exalted to the skies, of boxer, or of steed, and endows them with a tribute more glorious than a hundred statues; or laments the young hero snatched from his tearful bride, and to the stars extols his prowess, his courage, and his golden virtue, begrudging them to gloomy Orcus. A mighty breeze uplifts the Dircaean swan, Antonius, as often as he essays a flight to the lofty regions of the clouds."¹⁰

Although these lines are often cited to show that Pindar is beyond imitation (those who rashly make the attempt will meet the fate of Icarus), they supply other important observations too: Pindar's style has the impetuosity of a river overflowing its banks (lines 5–8: "monte decurrens velut amnis . . . fervet immensusque ruit profundo / Pindarus ore"). It is audacious by reason of his innovations in vocabulary and rhythm, to the point that his poetry appears almost unregulated by meter (lines 10–12: "seu per audaces nova dithyrambos / verba devolvit numerisque fertur / lege solutis"). Moreover, the themes addressed by Pindar are not limited to the *Epinicia*, but extend to the deeds of the gods and heroes; his poems are even capable of rescuing those they laud from the darkness of death. Horace mentions Pindar again, in *Ode* 4.9 to Lollius, as an example of the immortality of poetic song (lines 5–6).¹¹ The only other poet of the Augustan age to mention Pindar is Propertius (47–14 B.C.): in *Elegies* 3.17.36–37 he compares his own poetic afflatus in the celebration of Bacchus to that of Pindar: "Haec ego non humili referam memoranda cothurno / qualis Pindarico spiritus ore tonat."

The other renowned appreciation of Pindar, destined for a fortune equal if not superior to that of Horace, comes from Quintilian (ca. 35–40?–96 A.D.). Again it is worth quoting in its entirety (*Inst. Or.* 10.1.61): "Of the nine lyric poets,

10 The translation is slightly adapted from the Loeb Classical Library edition of the *Odes and Epodes*, trans. C.E. Bennett (Cambridge, Mass., 1978; first publ. 1914).

11 See A. Barchiesi, "Simonide e Pindaro in Orazio Carm. 4,6" in P.V. Cova, ed., *Doctus Horatius* (Milan, 1996), 41–62.

Pindar is by far the greatest, for inspiration, magnificence, *sententiae*, figures, a rich stock of ideas and words, and a real flood of eloquence; Horace rightly thinks him inimitable for these reasons.”¹² This assessment took on a life of its own, the initial expression *lyricorum longe . . . princeps* appearing with slight variations on the titlepages of many sixteenth-century editions of Pindar. The other silver-age poet who appears to have been struck, if not awe-struck, by the Pindaric style is Statius (40–96), who mentions him three times in the *Silvae*. In 1.3.101 Pindar’s lyric is a generic example of poetic excellence. In 4.7.5–8 Pindar is invoked immediately after the Muse Erato as an inspiring model in stirring and solemn tones: “And thou, Pindar, ruler of the lyric choir, grant me awhile the privilege of unwonted song, if I have hallowed thy own Thebes in Latin strains.”¹³ In *Silvae* 5.3.146 ff. Pindar is mentioned among the authors taught to Statius by his father, as an example of the difficulty of his metrical style.

Pindar turns up in a few famous anecdotes from Antiquity: his death in the lap of a beloved youth in Valerius Maximus (9.12.7), and the equally celebrated episode of Alexander the Great sparing the poet’s dwelling, alone among the houses of Thebes, during the destruction of the city, in Pliny the Elder (*NH* 7.109.2). A literary *querelle* proposed by the philosopher Favorinus is not without interest: reported by Aulus Gellius (125–66) and picked up by Macrobius (sixth century), it sets Pindar against Vergil in describing the eruption of a volcano. Both Gellius (*NA* 17.10) and Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.17) supply rich detail in expounding the question and reporting the opinions of Favorinus, who awards poetic victory to Pindar’s lines from *Pythian* 1.21 ff. over Vergil’s description in the third book of the *Aeneid* (lines 570 ff.).

The only Christian Latin author drawn to Pindar as a possible literary model was Prudentius (348–413), who was labelled the “Latin Pindar” because he employed many different meters in his poetic works, and because of his insistence on the “athletic” aspect of the Christian faith, the saints and martyrs of which are frequently compared to winning athletes.¹⁴ Pindar is also memorialized elsewhere for his disapproval of the *auri sacra fames* of Asclepius, who had supposedly brought a mortal back to life when bribed with money to do so. This moralizing motif, which appears in two works of Tertullian (155–230), the *Apologeticum* (14) and *Ad nationes* (2.14), and in the *Ad nationes* (4.24) of Arnobius (255–327), provided fodder for many prefaces to commentaries on, and editions of, Pindar in the Renaissance. But the author who did most to define the literary stature of Pindar in relation to Hebrew and Christian models was Jerome

12 The translation is from the Loeb Classical Library edition of Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, ed. and trans. Donald A. Russell, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).

13 The translation is from the Loeb Classical Library edition of Statius, vol. 1, trans. J.H. Mozley (Cambridge, Mass., 1961; first publ. 1928).

14 See M. Brozek, “De Prudentio – Pindaro Latino,” *Eos* 47 (1954) 107–41.

(347–420). In a noble attempt to find classical influence, or at any rate classical correlatives, for several Hebrew literary forms in the Bible, he hazarded a comparison between Pindar and the psalmist David (*Epist.* 53.8), and between the Psalms and the Pindaric Odes (*Praefatio in Eusebii Caesarensis chronicon*, 3; *Prologus in libro Iob de Hebraeo translato*). This comparison roused wide debate among Renaissance men of letters and theologians: the linkage was adduced by Zwingli without mentioning Jerome, and harshly censured by Melancthon, who attributed it, with some alteration, to the blameless Poliziano or the Venetian humanist Lazzaro Bonamico, on no apparent grounds (see below I.12).

GREEK LITERATURE OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE EMPIRES

During the imperial and Byzantine age, Pindar was a much-read and widely cited author, but apart from a few sporadic echoes, one sparsely imitated. Even fewer poets claimed to have taken direct inspiration from him, the sole exception being Nonnos of Panopolis. The most interesting aspect of this period, as we shall see, is the notable quantity of editions and commentaries on Pindar: enough detail from them survived, embedded in the corpus of scholia, to make it possible to reconstruct Pindaric exegesis from the imperial age right down to the end of the Byzantine period.

In defense of his assumption that in poetry, greatness marred by some defect is preferable to sterile perfection, the anonymous author (“Longinus”) of *On the Sublime* (first–second centuries A.D.?) adduces comparisons among a number of poets, counterpointing Bacchylides to Pindar. Of Pindar, the writer says that “On the other hand, Pindar and Sophocles sometimes seem to fire the whole landscape as they sweep across it, while often their fire is unaccountably quenched, and they fall miserably flat.”¹⁵ The same writer’s brief description of the eruption of Etna (35.4–5) has been interpreted as an habile echo of Pindar’s lines in *Pythian* 1. Plutarch may certainly be counted among the Greek authors of the imperial age who read, loved, and quoted Pindar. The presence of Pindaric echoes in his works, which range from direct citation to a more refined assimilation of content, are especially precious since they allow us to recuperate fragments of works not otherwise transmitted, and in some cases to restore their exact context.¹⁶ Pindaric echoes and reminiscences have also been detected

15 “Longinus”, *On the Sublime* 33.5, trans. W. Hamilton Fyfe, publ. with Aristotle, *Poetics*, and Demetrius, *On Style*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1982; first publ. 1927).

16 Among recent contributions the following may be noted: L. Castagna, “Pindaro in Plutarco,” in *Strutture formali dei Moralia di Plutarco. Atti del III convegno plutarcheo, Palermo, 3–5 maggio 1989* (Naples, 1991), 163–85; M. Cannatà Fera, *Il Pindaro di Plutarco* (Messina, 1992); M. Cannatà Fera, “Il Pindaro di Plutarco. Nuove tessere,” in I. Gallo, ed.,

by scholars in Lucian (120–80), who is said to have derived the inspiration for his own literary aesthetic from Pindar; in Aelius Aristides (117–80), who may have reprised several lines in the hymn to Serapis (*Or.* XLV); and in the poet Tryphiodorus (fourth century). A recent study has drawn attention to Pindaric borrowings in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* by Lucius Flavius Philostratus (172–247); although not of help in reconstructing the lacunose text of Pindar’s eighth *Paean*, they do show imitation of a wide and varied kind, carried out with verve and a certain creativity.¹⁷

As mentioned, the poet upon whom Pindar makes his influence felt most strongly, in terms both of poetics and identifiable borrowings, is Nonnos of Panopolis, in whose *Dionysiaca* Pindar is invoked right in the proem as the tutelary numen of his poetry, defined *more pindarico* as ποικίλος ὕμνος (*d.* 1.15). The Bacchic epic appears to derive an authorization of sorts from the model of the great lyric author, who is explicitly referred to in the second proem of the *Dionysiaca*, at the beginning of canto 25, lines 11–21.¹⁸

The imperial and Byzantine age is also, or primarily, the period of the great philological and exegetical studies of the text of Pindar, transmitted to us in the *scholia recentia* (as opposed to the *scholia vetera* of the Alexandrian period). Thanks to the studies of Jean Irigoin, and subsequent contributions, it is possible to have a sufficiently precise idea of these labors, and to recover, if only in outline, their physiognomy. To the Augustan age belongs the commentary which Didymus (first century B.C.–first century A.D.) devoted to the four books of *Epinicia*: from what the scholia transmit, it appears to have been a solid work characterized by great erudition. Before giving his own explanation of the text, Didymus cites and discusses those of his predecessors; often his own explanation is original. The characteristic that most clearly sets his commentary apart from those of his predecessors, in particular those of the Alexandrian age, is his constant recourse to historical sources. The commentary of Didymus, whether in unabridged form, or in the form of summaries and brief epitomes, remained the standard for much of the late-antique and Byzantine epoch.

The three leading Byzantine scholars who undertook editions or commentaries on Pindar belong to the period from the second half of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the fourteenth: Thomas Magister (ca. 1265–1325), Manuel Moschopoulos (ca. 1265–1316), and Demetrius Triclinius (ca. 1280–1340).

La biblioteca di Plutarco. Atti IX Convegno plutarco, Pavia, 13–15 giugno 2002 (Naples, 2004), 55–69.

17 See M.W. Dickie, “Philostratus and Pindar’s Eighth Paean,” *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 34 (1997) 11–20.

18 See F. Tissoni, *Nonno di Panopoli. I canti di Penteo (Dionisiache 44–46). Commento*, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell’Università degli Studi di Milano 177, Sezione di Filologia Classica 7 (Florence, 1998), 17 and 24.

Thomas Magister, active at Thessalonica and an exponent of that school, prepared an edition of Pindar with commentary that certainly extended to *Pythian* 4, after which his notes, probably on account of an accident of transmission, break off. His exegetical and critical labors were based on a fairly simple criterion: the use of a master manuscript, from the text of which he departed only reluctantly, when problems of sense made it imperative to do so. Thomas Magister's notes are of three kinds: stylistic and grammatical, in which he dwells on the exegesis of particularly complex terms and on the *ordo verborum*; a running paraphrase that sticks closely to the text, giving a synonym right after Pindar's word, often preceded by a *kai*, and adding a freer paraphrase to the literal paraphrase in particularly difficult cases that elucidates the sense; and an apparatus of mythological, historical, and geographical notes in which he sought to reconstruct the myths to which Pindar often alludes. His edition, reproduced in twenty or so manuscripts, represents a solid, albeit unoriginal, piece of erudition, but the metrical aspect, to which several exegetical notes are devoted, is never utilized to emend the text or suggest improvements.

Manuel Moschopoulos, a student of Maximus Planudes (1260–1330), undertook an edition with commentary of the *Olympian* odes exclusively, regarding them as sufficiently representative of Pindar's style. His edition bears no introduction, and is characterized by a systematically applied knowledge of metrics to the constitution of the text, without excessive concern for idiosyncrasy of dialect. The commentary that accompanied the Moschopoulos edition was of a particular kind: instead of a sequence of single explanations, it offered an integral and continuous paraphrase, with brief, linguistic, historical, and mythological explications inserted at intervals. While the Moschopoulos edition may appear, to a reader accustomed to modern commentaries, quite inadequate to understanding and elucidating most aspects of the Pindaric text, in the Byzantine age it had great success and was copied in over sixty manuscripts. The reasons for this diffusion are evident: the work is brief, being limited to the *Olympians*, and the paraphrase is clear and helpful for the immediate comprehension of the odes. As well, the short exegetical and grammatical notes, which could be memorized *inter legendum*, were particularly well executed. Even Theodorus Gaza, the first to translate into Latin and explain the *Olympians*, used a Moschopolean manuscript as his direct model.

A student of Thomas Magister, and probably his successor in the school of Thessalonica, Demetrius Triclinius prepared two different Pindar editions. The first contained the *Epinicia* and was not widely diffused, while the second, narrowed to the *Olympians* only, is reproduced in around twenty manuscripts. Close study of the *scholia recentia* shows that Demetrius Triclinius did not simply recycle his edition of the *Olympians* from the earlier one. The second Triclinius edition opens with the life of Pindar composed by Thomas Magister and

another life in verse, and contains other supplementary material to give readers an idea of Pindar and the nine lyric poets. Each book bore a title, and each ode bore a titular formula indicating the name of the victor, his city, and the sport in which he had achieved victory. From the philological point of view, the text established by Triclinius is notable for two fundamental innovations: the use of a number of manuscripts (in this respect he was a pioneer), and a colometry based on the meters. For his commentary Triclinius draws heavily on the preceding scholiographic tradition, but he often makes original contributions, and frequently adduces parallel passages from other authors, Homer in particular. These features give the philological labor of Demetrius Triclinius a very modern aspect: he is the first to utilize a range of witnesses in establishing the text, and the first to propose emendations *metri causa* convincingly and systematically. On this account, the work of Triclinius has been seen as the *trait d'union* linking the principles inherited from the Alexandrian philologists to the philology that would arise in the West beginning in the fifteenth century.

THE LATIN WEST

The Western Middle Ages were unacquainted with the *Epinicia*, though a different Pindarus Thebanus was known, and the *Ilias latina* attributed to him was read.¹⁹ But on the basis of the Latin sources Western Europeans did know of a Pindar numbered among the Greek lyric poets. Dante does not mention him, but in *Buc. carm.* 10.98–100 Petrarca refers to his death *pueri in gremio*, information relayed by Valerius Maximus, a well-known author (see Latin Literature above). Petrarca also mentions Pindar among the love poets in *Triumphus Cupidinis* 4.17 (“Alceo conobbi, a dir d’Amor sì scorto, / Pindaro, Anacreonte. . .”), though Horace at *Carm.* 4.9.5–13, cites these three as lyric poets rather than love poets. Finally, a reference to Pindar and Horace has been detected in *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (or *Canzoniere*) 247, line 11: “et l’una et l’altra lira.”²⁰

As with many other Greek authors, Europe’s acquaintance with Pindar commenced in the early decades of the fifteenth century, when a handful of Italian humanists travelled to Byzantium for the purpose of gaining adequate instruction in Greek. At the same time, masters from Byzantium were making the journey to Italy. As early as 1417–18, Guarino of Verona requested the aid of Georgius Trapezuntius in deciphering Pindar’s meters.²¹ Two Pindar manuscripts figure in

19 This epitome is in fact the work of a certain Publius Baebius Italicus: see M. Scaffai, *Baebii Italici Ilias Latina* (Bologna, 1982).

20 See V. Fera, “La prima traduzione umanistica delle *Olimpiche* di Pindaro,” in V. Fera-G. Ferraiù, ed., *Filologia umanistica. Per Gianvito Resta*, vol. 1 (Padua, 1997), 693–765, 694.

21 See J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond* (Leiden, 1976), 10; and Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana* (Binghamton, 1984), 398.

the inventories of Giovanni Aurispa.²² Francesco Filelfo possessed at least one Pindar codex before the 1430s, and two Pindar manuscripts (today Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 94 and Conv. Soppr. 8) were held in the library of Antonio Corbinelli, a student of Manuel Chrysoloras;²³ nor were these the only Pindar manuscripts present in the Medici libraries. But the presence of copies, in the case of an author not easily approachable, will not always have entailed comprehension of the text.

Pindar really only returned to the West with the lectures given by Theodorus Gaza on the *Olympians*, delivered at Ferrara between 1446 and 1449, of which we possess the *recollectae* (see I.1 and I.a). Despite their historical and cultural importance, Gaza's Ferrarese lectures appear not to have had significant influence on contemporary men of letters: the Quattrocento was not destined to be an *aetas Pindarica*.

Pier Candido Decembrio (1392–1477), probably basing himself on an indirect tradition, was able to insert two very short translations from Pindar in his collection *Epigrammata et epistole metricae . . . ad illustrem Inichum Davalum magnum camerarium* (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. 793, probably to be dated to his Neapolitan period, 1456–59). The first does not correspond to any of the fragments now attributed to Pindar,²⁴ while the second (designated fr. 213 Sn.-M.) may derive from a combination of Plato's *Republic* 2.8, 365 B with Cicero's *Ad Att.* 13.38).²⁵ Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) cites lines 5–13 of *Ol.* 12, translating them into Sapphic hendecasyllables, in his oration for Iacopo Antonio Marcello, dated 1461.²⁶

As the decades advanced, Pindar was read more frequently: Andronicus Callistus delivered a course on Pindar at Bologna between 1463 and 1466, and at Florence in the early 1470s, where his students included Angelo Poliziano and Bartolomeo Fonzio. Manuscript Magl. VII. 1025 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence preserves the version of *Ol.* 1 written by Fonzio, probably on the basis of a translation by Andronicus Callistus (see I.2).

But the authority of Horace and Quintilian was enough to ensure the spread of Pindar's fame even among humanists who were not Graecists. In the proem to

22 See A. Franceschini, *Giovanni Aurispa e la sua biblioteca. Notizie e documenti* (Padua, 1976), 110 and 165.

23 For relevant bibliography, see F. Tissoni, *Le Olimpiche di Pindaro nella scuola di Gaza a Ferrara* (Messina, 2009), 23–24.

24 Fol. 4r: "Ex Pindaro monosticon / Et bona custodit deus in nos et mala semper."

25 Here is Decembrio's text on fol. 5v: "Ex Pindaro tristicon / Ardua iusticiae transcendam moenia pravae / Nequiciaeve prius superem undique vitam / Fortibus insidiis statuum sepe latendo?"

26 *Orationes Philephi cum aliis opusculis* (Venice, 1492), 29r–44v; see G. Resta, "Francesco Filelfo tra Bisanzio e Roma," in *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte* (Padua, 1986), 1–60, at 31–32.

his commentary on the *Divine Comedy*, Cristoforo Landino asserted the inimitability of Pindar on Horace's authority, and with Quintilian declared him the prince of lyric poets, emphasizing as well his skill in forming compound words.²⁷

Poliziano did not devote a specific study to Pindar, but he did insert a long digression about the life, works, and fortune of the Theban poet in his commentary on Statius, *Sylv.* 4.7, assembling and citing for the first time many of the sources known to us.²⁸ In his *Nutricia* (lines 558–84) Poliziano evokes Pindar as the immortal poet, able to soar above the clouds and endow men of virtue with glory, and recalls the highlights of his biography.

Manuscript 5303 of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek of Vienna (fols. 423v–424r) preserves the Latin translation by Jacopo Sannazaro of *Ol.* 1.1–23. Carlo Vecce dates it to the period 1495–1501.²⁹ Sannazaro first translates literally, respecting the cola of the original; there follows a version in *scriptio continua*, with oblique strokes that isolate portions of the text of varying length. According to Vecce, this must be an attempt to make a verse translation, or at any rate to render Pindar's text in *prosa numerosa*. Sannazaro would have been able to read Pindar in a codex of the Aragonese royal library, formerly in the possession of Antonello de Petrucii, the modern Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 2465. That Pindar was a classroom text at Naples in the last years of the Quattrocento emerges from the dialogue *Antonius* (Naples, 1491) by Giovanni Pontano, which contains an ironic reference to a young student declaiming the opening lines of *Ol.* 1.

It is well known that the earliest printed editions of Pindar were the *Aldina* of Aldus Manutius, appearing at Venice in 1513, and the *Romana* (Rome, 1515); both texts were widely read and used throughout the sixteenth century and were an essential resource for all subsequent editors, translators, and commentators. The *Romana* not only presented a very different Greek text, it was the first to publish the Greek scholia in their entirety. Those participating in this scholarly publishing enterprise were Zacharias Callierges, a philologist and printer from Crete, and Benedetto Lampridio (Benedictus Lampridius), a refined connoisseur of Greek meters and a Neo-Latin poet.³⁰ This first flowering of scholarship led to the rise, in Italy, of a precocious and ephemeral literary Pindarism in Latin, with

27 C. Landino, *Scritti critici e teorici*, ed. R. Cardini, vol. 1 (Rome, 1974), 137.

28 A. Poliziano, *Commento inedito alle "Selve" di Stazio*, ed. L. Cesarini Martinelli (Florence, 1978), 679–89.

29 See C. Vecce, "Esercizi di traduzione nella Napoli del Rinascimento," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale. Sezione romanza* 31 (1989) 309–29.

30 See F. Tissoni, "Zaccaria Calliergi e la vulgata di Pindaro," *Sileno* 18 (1992) 161–81; S. Fogelmark, "The 1515 Kallierges Pindar. A First Report," in S. Eklund, ed., *Συγγράμματα: Studies in Honour of Jan Fredrik Kindstrand* (Uppsala, 2006), 37–48.

the “metropindaric” *Odes* of Benedetto Lampridio, published posthumously in 1550.³¹

The importance for the study and imitation of Greek tragedy of the Florentine literary circle that met in the Orti Oricellari in the early decades of the sixteenth century is well known. While a similar interest in Pindar is not on record, one of the participants, Luigi Alamanni, was the first to imitate the Pindaric odes in Italian: his *Inni* were published at Lyons in 1533 with a dedication to the king, François I.

Turning to the study of the *Epinicia* in the universities, we may note that at Milan, where Chalcondyles had taught Greek, Stefano Negri (Stephanus Niger) delivered a course on Pindar (probably on the *Olympians* only) from 1516 to 1520, from which there remains an erudite inaugural oration and the initial gloss (Milan 1521; see I.b). At Padua the audience for the courses on Pindar given by Marco Musuro (Marcus Musurus) and then Lazzaro Buonamico and Lampridio included foreign students (like Johannes Cuno, on whom see I.3, Michel de L'Hospital, and others), who helped to spread knowledge of Pindar in Europe.

During the 1520s the reading of Pindar's *Epinicia* in the original Greek, most likely in a copy of the Aldine edition, made a deep impression on the Swiss religious reformer Huldreich Zwingli, who appears to have taken part personally in the preparation of the third printed edition of the Greek text of the *Epinicia*, which appeared from the presses of Andreas Cratander at Basel in 1526, the scholar-editor in charge being Jacobus Ceperinus (see I.c). While the Greek text of the Basel edition does not stand out for any special qualities (reproducing the Aldine text with occasional corrections by Ceperinus), the fortune and the cultural importance of this publication were guaranteed by two pieces of front and back matter signed by Zwingli: a preface in which, after sketching a very flattering portrait of the person of Pindar, Zwingli heartily recommends the reading of the *Epinicia* for the useful moral teachings they contain, and for their profound erudition; and a postface in which the reformer, without mentioning Jerome (see “Latin Literature”), likens Pindar's *Epinicia* expressly to the Psalms, giving examples of how obscure passages from the Bible text could be clarified by comparing them to Pindar's *Odes*.³²

Therefore, given the commitment demonstrated by Zwingli, it may safely be assumed that in the newly founded *Collegium Trilingue*, where a select group of young men, future exegetes of Holy Scripture, were taught Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the reading of Pindar occupied an important place. Zwingli's comparison was called into question a few years later by another celebrated reformer and translator of Pindar, Philip Melancthon (see I.12), but that did not prevent it

31 See F. Tissoni, “Lecture pindariche: Schede sulla fortuna europea di Pindaro nel primo Cinquecento,” *Studi medievali e umanistici* 1 (2003) 153–97, at 169–97.

32 See *ibid.*, at 153–69.

from influencing, for better or worse, the fortune and the misfortune of Pindar throughout the first half of the sixteenth century.

Just one year after the Zwingli edition, Menradus Moltherus inaugurated the high season of Latin translations of Pindar (Hagenau, 1527; see I.4) with his version of the first two *Olympians* (the first literal, respecting the cola, the second in the form of Sapphics). The year after that, Johannes Soter added to the second edition of his *Epigrammata Graeca veterum elegantissima* (Cologne, 1528) a Latin translation with facing Greek text of *Ol.* 1, based on the Zwingli edition (see I.5).

The year 1528 also witnessed the first complete Latin version, in prose, of Pindar's *Epinicia* by Joannes Lonicerus (Basel, 1528; see I.6a). Motivated, we may assume, by Zwingli's stance, aware of the market potential of the student population, and certainly not deaf to the urgings of the printer Andreas Cratander, Johannes Lonicerus succeeded in completing the work in the space of just two years. Though the translation no doubt received a warm welcome, Lonicerus remained unsatisfied with his initial result, both because the translation still fell short of his standards, and because he soon saw the need to supplement the Latin version with a commentary to explain the many obscurities of the text and guide the reader. In 1535, again from Cratander's press, there appeared the second edition of his translation (see I.6b): the bulk of the volume had more than tripled. The translation was now arranged in brief pericopes, each a complete unit of sense, followed immediately by the explanatory notes. But the novelty of the volume lies in more than just the additional material: the translation has been radically modified, to the point that the earlier version is scarcely recognizable: this is virtually a *retractatio*. This new edition with commentary enjoyed great success, and despite the absence of a facing text in Greek, it remained the text of reference until the edition of Henricus Stephanus (1560). That this was a successful publishing venture is confirmed by reprints of the 1535 edition, and by the wide circulation of this Latin translation and commentary in Catholic countries—though in some cases Lonicerus went uncredited, for it was the practice to remove the names of Protestant heretics from as many books as possible.

Pindar became a school text in Protestant countries, as evidenced by the anthology with Latin translation by Michael Neander (Basel, 1556; see I.10), a pupil of Melancthon. Vestiges of Melancthon's own Pindar courses survive in notes preserved in Cod. philol. 166 from Hamburg, Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek taken during a course delivered in 1553 (see I.12a), and the edition published by his son-in-law Caspar Peucerus (Basel, 1558; see I.12b), who states that he is publishing the text of Melancthon's lectures. Melancthon's prose translation is not literal, but it does render the meaning of the text with elegance. In various writings, Melancthon and his students refuted the comparison of *Odes* to the *Psalms*, though without mentioning either Zwingli or Jerome; instead they

attributed the linkage to Poliziano or Lazzaro Buonamico, adding that these Italian scholars had had the temerity to prefer Pindar. In any case the prefaces to all these editions stress the morality of the *Epinicia*, with their constant exaltation of virtue and thus their formative value in the education of youth.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the approach gradually becomes less moralizing while retaining the didactic emphasis, and more attentive to the literary aspect: commentaries with some textual and metrical discussion become more common. The highly successful translation of Henricus Stephanus (Geneva, 1560, with eight further editions down to 1626, as well as one by his son Paulus in 1599; see I.14) was dedicated to Melancthon and explicitly aimed at schoolboys learning Greek, hence its literal character. In contrast, the translation of Sudorius (single editions and a final complete one, all published at Paris in the period 1575–82) is exceptional in many respects: remote from the schoolroom, it is aimed at cultivated members of the royal administration, and even the king himself, Henri III. It foregrounds the literary aspect of the poems, rendering them in Horatian styles, and is the first complete translation published in a non-Protestant country (see I.16). Yet there is evidence that Pindar had been read in France for many decades: Michel de L'Hospital had attended Lazzaro Buonamico's and Benedetto Lampridio's lectures in Padua, while Jean Salmon Macrin testified in 1528 to the excellence of the courses on Pindar given by Jacques Tousan, and was himself the leading imitator of Pindar by then. The edition of the Greek text of the *Olympians* and the *Pythians* by Chrestien Wechel (Paris, 1535) is further proof of the presence of Pindar in the schools. The lectures given by René Guillon (1553) are preserved in the notes made by students in two annotated copies of this Parisian edition.³³

The most significant episodes for the reception of Pindar in the 1580s are the commentary by Franciscus Portus ([Geneva], 1583, see I.g), and above all the *Commentarius absolutissimus* of Benedictus Aretius ([Geneva], 1587; posthumous), with its erudite and monumental *accessus* (see I.h).

The century closes with the translation of Aemilius Portus (Heidelberg, 1598; see I.17), and the edition of Paulus Stephanus ([Geneva], 1599), who had an eminent collaborator in the person of Isaac Casaubon. They reprint the translation of Henricus Stephanus, the *scholia vetera* (revised on the basis of the edition of Frankfurt, 1542), and the scholia of Triclinius on the *Olympians* (see I.14b).

Another important aspect of the fortune of Pindar throughout the sixteenth century is his utilization on the part of compilers of *sententiae* and proverbial maxims, from Erasmus to Selneccerus (1568; see I.15) and Chytraeus (1596; see I.i); while in Neander's *Aristologia pindarica* the maxims are often isolated

33 On the reception of Pindar in France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see J.-E. Girot, *Pindare avant Ronsard. De l'émergence du grec à la publication des Quatre Premiers livres des Odes de Ronsard* (Geneva, 2002).

from their context and treated independently. The importance of the moral *sententiae* in Pindar has for that matter been emphasized by many of his readers both ancient and modern; indeed, in sixteenth-century editions and translations attention is often drawn to the *sententiae* by quotation marks or other typographical signs in the margin, both in Greek and in Latin.

Thanks to the work of Zwingli and Melancthon, Pindar became the Greek author most cherished by Protestants—which might be the reason that in Italy the Greek text of Pindar was never printed in the sixteenth century after 1515. The only exception is the reprinting of the less dangerous Sudorius edition of 1582, though even it was given false typographical indications (see I.16). But the presence of substantial numbers of transalpine editions in all the libraries of Italy tells us that they must have circulated in the peninsula. In only two cases do we find single odes published in other works: *Pythian* 3, translated into hexameters by Jacobus Laureus, is printed at the end of his Latin translation of Aelian's *De vera historia* (Venice, 1550; see I.8), and *Olympian* 1 appears in the treatise *De poeta* of Minturno (Venice, 1559; see I.13). This does not prove, however, that in sixteenth-century Italy Pindar was not read and translated; but the translations remained in manuscript and are frequently anonymous: see the entries dedicated tentatively to Faustus Sabaeus (*Ol.* 1–4 and 6; see I.7), to Petrus Angelius Bargaeus (all the *Epinicia*; see I.11) and the translation of the *Olympians*, this one signed, by Johannes Alexander Rondinelli (see I.9).

Postillati (Annotated copies)

Pindar's fortune is attested as well by numerous print copies with handwritten, often anonymous, annotations. No blanket research has been carried out on this; for one thing, traditional catalogues and bibliographies often do not mention this feature of the copies they describe. Some examples may nevertheless be given: two copies of Chrestien Wechel's edition (Paris, 1535), held in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Amiens, BL 1076 A, and in the Bodleian Library of Oxford, Antiq. f F 1535/2, contain notes from the course given by René Guillon in 1553.³⁴ A copy of the Lonicerus edition (1535) at the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid (R-642) contains notes by Quevedo; at the Universitätsbibliothek of Bern (formerly the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek), a copy of the Brubach edition (Frankfurt, 1542) contains notes by Petrus Saurinus (Kristeller, *Iter* 5.97b); a copy of the Morelius edition (Paris, 1558) now held at London, British Library, 834 G. 29 (1–2), was annotated by Isaac Casaubon (Kristeller, *Iter* 4.205a); and Kristeller, *Iter* 4.378a, records the presence of a Pindar with notes by Joseph Scaliger at the Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit of Leiden.

34 See J.-E. Girot, *Pindare avant Ronsard*, 168–70.

Editions in Greek

In the wake of the first two Italian editions—the *Aldina* of Venice, 1513 and the *Romana* of 1515, complete with scholia—and the third from Ceporinus-Zwingli (Basel, 1526), the first half of the Cinquecento also yielded Chrestien Wechel's imprint of the *Olympians* and *Pythians* (Paris, 1535), and the important imprint by Petrus Brubacchius of all the odes and the Greek scholia (Frankfurt, 1542). Complete editions of the Greek text alone in the second half of the century, following the second Zwingli edition (Basel, 1556), are mostly from France: Paris, apud Guilieum Morelium, 1558; Paris, apud Ioannem Benenatum, 1567; Paris, e Typographia Steph. Prevosteau, 1586. There is also the only non-French imprint (of the text of Henricus Stephanus) from Leiden, ex officina Plantiniana, 1590. But as the individual entries above show, there are many editions in which the Greek text is presented with a facing translation.

The first complete translation into a modern European language is the French rendering by François Marin (Paris, 1617), followed nine years later, still in France, by that of the Sieur de Lagausie (Paris, 1626), in verse and prose. The first complete Italian translation of Pindar was also printed in the first half of the seventeenth century: in 1631 Alessandro Adimari translated all of Pindar into Italian, both in a paraphrase that aimed to give the sense of the original, and in "rima Toscana." They were contained in a volume of considerable size, executed with care at the press of Francesco Tanagli, a Pisan printer; the apparatus included a list of the maxims and aphorisms, and an interesting rhetorical analysis of the *Epinicia* borrowed from that of Erasmus Schmid (1616).

AFTER 1600

The beginning of the seventeenth century marks a significant turning point in the history of the Pindaric text. In 1616, at Wittenberg, the German mathematician and philologist Erasmus Schmid (1570–1637) brought out his second edition of the complete Pindar (the first dates from 1611). It may be regarded as the first truly modern edition: the Greek text, enhanced with over 600 emendations and established on the basis of a range of manuscripts, of which a classification is attempted, rivals that of the Roman edition of Callierges in importance, and earned admiration from Wilamowitz. The commentary, based on the ancient scholia, shows critical acumen and notable experience. Every ode is supplied with a schematic partition of the arguments, employing the rules and instruments of the art of rhetoric, almost as though they were epideictic speeches. A further important aspect of this edition is that it presents the first organized assemblage of the fragments of Pindar, surpassing and replacing the one prepared by Henricus Stephanus for the edition of 1560, and reprinted subsequently

in various editions. Schmid's preface *ad lectorem* expresses thanks to David Hoeschel (1566–1617) for having sifted through the ancient authors in order to extract fragments of Pindar one by one, and checking for eventual discrepancies from the collection of fragments published by Paulus Stephanus.³⁵ In 1620, at Saumur in France, the Pindar edition of Johannes Benedictus emerged from the press of Pierre Pié de Dieu. The text is Schmid's, but the Latin paraphrase and the quality of the commentary made this oft-republished edition an important instrument for the study and diffusion of Pindar in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The period spanning the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries saw the appearance of the three editions of Pindar by Christian Gottlob Heyne (Göttingen, 1773, 1798, 1817, published posthumously by Gh. Schafer), attended by that of Beck (Leipzig, 1792–95).

A new epoch for the text of Pindar was inaugurated by the great edition of August Boeckh (Leipzig, 1811–21), the first to interpret the Pindaric ode as a historical document. The edition was divided into three parts: the first (1811) contained the text, the metrical appendices and the critical notes; the second (1819) contained the scholia; part three (1821) consisted of the Latin translation, the exegetical notes, and an annotated edition of the fragments. Ludolf Dissen, who had written the commentary on the *Nemeans* and the *Isthmians* for the Boeckh edition, reprinted the Boeckh text accompanied by a complete and imposing commentary (Gotha, 1830). We may also signal the editions of Theodor Bergk (*Poetae lyrici Graeci*, Leipzig, 1843, 1853, 1866, 1878), which is distinguished by the quality of the emendations; that of Johann Adam Hartung, with a verse translation in German (Leipzig, 1855–56); and that of Tycho Mommsen, who assembled and made available in his phenomenal critical apparatus all the obtainable material on Pindar (Berlin, 1864): an effort that makes this edition extremely useful to scholars even today. The last years of the nineteenth century were notable for the amount of exegetical labor expended on Pindar. In Germany the Teubner edition of Wilhelm Christ was published at Leipzig (1869; reprinted 1896), as was the commentary of Friedrich Mezger (1880). In the English-speaking world, Charles Augustus Maude Fennell published the Greek text with English translation in two volumes (vol. 1, Cambridge, 1879, 2nd ed., 1893; vol. 2, Cambridge, 1883, 2nd ed., 1899), while Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, an American and the first professor of Greek at Johns Hopkins University, also published an edition (New York and London, 1885).

The twentieth century was inaugurated with the edition of Otto Schröder (Leipzig, 1900), which radically revised the edition of Bergk, and in reprints of

35 Schmid refers to the edition prepared by Paulus Stephanus in 1600 (see below, *Fragmenta*), which in fact reproduces unaltered the collection of fragments made by his father forty years earlier.

1908 and 1914 added the new fragments of Pindar published by Grenfell and Hunt in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vols. 2–5 (1899–1908). Other important editions: J. Sandys (2nd ed., London and Cambridge, Mass., Loeb Classical Library, 1919, with facing English translation); A. Puech, 4 vols. (Paris, Coll. Budé, 1922–23); C.M. Bowra (2nd ed., Oxford, 1947); A. Turyn (2nd ed., Oxford, 1952). The new analysis of the manuscript tradition proposed by Alexander Turyn (1932) spurred an intervention from Paul Maas (1933), to whom are owed the *stemma codicum* and the metrical theory that undergird the Teubner edition of Bruno Snell, vol. 1 (4th ed., Leipzig, 1964, repr. by H. Maehler in 1971), which is still the critical text of reference today. For the scholia, the editions of reference are those of A.B. Drachmann, *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1903–27) for the ancient scholia; E. Abel, *Scholia recentia in Pindari Epicinia* (Budapest and Berlin, 1891) for the modern scholia; and A. Tessier, *Scholia metrica vetera in Pindari carmina* (Leipzig, 1889) for the ancient metrical scholia.

The translation of Pindar has always been a virtually impossible undertaking. Over the long history of Pindar translations, which at times blend seamlessly into the literary history of “Pindarism,” different and irreconcilable exigencies have prevailed in turn, depending on the goals the translators set for themselves. If the aim was to translate Pindar faithfully, rendering into another tongue the metaphors and the density of a poetic language often compressed and obscure, the result risked incomprehensibility. If the aim was a readable version that succeeded in smoothing the linguistic, syntactic, and conceptual asperities of Pindar into simpler language, it risked banalizing him and causing the poetry to evaporate. Finally, if the aim was to realize an elegant and literary translation, attuned to the poetic tradition and metrical structures of the target language, the risk was that of creating an independent literary production so remote from the original that it scarcely qualified as a translation.

In what follows I list a few important translations, subdivided by the nationality (and language) of the translator, naturally omitting the Latin translations of which an account has already been given. The first complete translation of Pindar in Italian is the one already noted by Alessandro Adimari (Pisa, 1631), comprising a literal paraphrase and a more elegant version in “rima toscana.” The following translations are also important: G. Borghi (Milan, 1825), G. Fraccaroli (Milan, 1914: includes a translation of the fragments); L. Traverso (Florence, 1956); L. Lehnus (Milan, 1981: the *Olympians* alone); B. Gentili (Milan, 1994: the *Pythians* alone); G.A. Privitera (Milan, 1982: the *Isthmians* alone). For France, we may note the seventeenth-century translations of F. Marini (Paris, 1607, repr. 1617, 1677) and P. de la Gausie (Paris, 1626). To these the following may be selected for mention out of the many published: F. Colin (Strasbourg, 1841, with the fragments); J.F. Boissonnade (Grenoble and Paris, 1867); C. Poyard (2nd ed., Paris, 1881); and the widely used prose translation by A. Puech for the

Collection Budé (Paris, 1922–23, often reprinted). More recent is J.P. Savignac (Paris, 2004).

The most famous and most studied German translation is that of the poet Friedrich Hölderlin. His Pindar translation was discovered and published by Norbert von Hellingrath, *Pindarübertragungen von Hölderlin* (Jena, 1910), and from that time on was the object of close attention both on the part of classicists and that of students of German literature.³⁶ The translation is in unbroken poetic prose, and is characterized by its extreme literality and adherence to the original, to the point of retaining the Pindaric word order. Beginning with C.T. Damm (Berlin and Leipzig, 1770–71), which marks the modern rediscovery of Pindar in German, there were numerous German translators of Pindar, albeit ones less well-known than Hölderlin: F. Tiersch (Leipzig, 1820), which did enjoy a certain renown; G. Faehse (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1824, in verse); F. Ganter (Donaueschingen, 1844); J.J.C. Donner (Leipzig, 1860). For the twentieth century, we note the classic translations of F. Dornseiff (Leipzig, 1921) and U. Holscher (Frankfurt a.M., 1962); and K.A. Pfeiff (Tübingen, 1997).

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who was influenced by Pindar as a literary model, also essayed a partial translation of Pindar (some lines from *Olympian* 2). This “specimen” translation, dating from 1815 and constituting an experiment in extreme literary fidelity, has recently received close study.³⁷ Among other translations into English may be noted those of R. West (Oxford, 1697); P.E. Laurent (Oxford, 1824); F.A. Paley (London, 1868); T.C. Baring (London, 1875: in rhyme, even the fragments); C.J. Billson (Oxford, 1828–30: in verse). The Loeb translation by J. Sandys (London, 1915) was widely used; its place is now taken by W.H. Race’s new Loeb version (Cambridge, Mass., 1997). Most recently in English: A. Verity and S. Instone (Oxford and New York, 2007).

The first complete Spanish translation (following the experiments of Fray Luis de León and Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola in the *Siglo de oro*, or seventeenth century)³⁸ is that of Patricio de Berguizas (Madrid, 1798), followed by the verse translation of I. Montes de Oca (Madrid, 1833), and I. Acaico, who printed his version in Mexico in 1882. The verse translation of A. Mencarini appeared at Barcelona in 1888. Among recent translations may be noted E. Suárez de la Torre (Madrid, 1988) and R. Bonifaz Nuño (Mexico, 2005).

36 See M.B. Benn, *Hölderlin und Pindar* (The Hague, 1962).

37 See J.J.C. Mays, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Poetical Works I. Poems (Reading Text)*, (Princeton, 2011), 926, n. 520: Specimen Translation of Pindar “Word for Word.”

38 Compare as well the metrical imitations by Quevedo; see R. Herrera Montero, “Sobre la fortuna de Pindaro en el Siglo de oro,” *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica, Estudios griegos y indoeuropeos* 6 (1996) 183–213.

Translations in other languages: A.J. de Castro Caeiro (Camarate, 2006) translates the *Pythians* into Portuguese. I. Björkeson (Stockholm, 2008), translates the *Olympians* and *Pythians* into Swedish; S.D. Baldes (Athens, 1904) offers the complete works in modern Greek and J. Csengery (Budapest, 1929) the same in Hungarian. Other, more recent modern translations are listed in the Bibliography below.

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Tissoni, “Lecture pindariche: schede sulla fortuna europea di Pindaro nel primo Cinquecento,” *Studi medievali e umanistici* 1 (2003) 153–97; Tissoni, “Pindaro nello Studio ferrarese,” in L. Gargan and M.P. Mussini Sacchi, eds., *I classici e l’università umanistica* (Messina, 2007), 487–505; Tissoni, *Le Olimpiche di Pindaro nella scuola di Gaza a Ferrara* (Messina, 2009); *Traduire les scholies de Pindare. 1. De la traduction au commentaire: problèmes de méthode*, S. David, C. Daude, and E. Geny, eds. (Besançon, 2009); A. Turyn, *De codicibus Pindaricis* (Cracoviae [Kraków], 1932); L. Vannini, “Un commentario a Pindaro: PSI XIV 1391 con nuovi frammenti,” *Comunicazioni dell’Istituto papirologico G. Vitelli* 7 (2007) 29–73; E. Vassilaki, “Réminiscences de Pindare dans l’‘Hymne à Sarapis’ d’Aelius Aristide (Or. XLV),” *Euphrosyne*, n.s., 33 (2005) 325–39; M. Vöhler, *Pindarrezeption: Sechs Studien zum Wandel des Pindarverständnisses von Erasmus bis Herder* (Heidelberg, 2006); P. Wilson, “Pindar and his Reputation in Antiquity,” *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 26 (1980) 97–114; F. Zucker, “Die Bedeutung Pindars für Goethes Leben und Dichtung,” *Das Altertum* 1 (1955) 171–86.

I. EPINICIA

TRANSLATIONS

1. Theodorus Gaza – Theodore Gazis

Manuscript 692 of the library of the Seminario Vescovile of Padua contains, among other texts, notes deriving from a cycle of lectures on the *Olympians* delivered by Theodorus Gaza at Ferrara from 1446 to 1449. Arriving in Italy in 1440, Gaza taught at the school of Vittorino da Feltre until 1446, the year of Vittorino’s death. The same year he transferred to the Studio of Ferrara, with the support of Giovanni Aurispa, and certainly with the approval of Guarino of Verona. Scholars have known for some time of the *recollectae* of his Ferrara lectures on the *De corona* of Demosthenes and the *Gorgias* of Plato. From Basinio da Parma, his pupil, we know that at Ferrara, Gaza also lectured on Aristophanes, Sophocles, and the *Anabasis* of Xenophon.

The hand that transcribed the Pindaric *recollectae* in the Padua manuscript around thirty years after Gaza gave his course is recognizable as that of Ludovico Carbone (1430–85), one of the best-known of Guarino’s pupils, and, as he himself attests, a pupil of Theodorus Gaza as well. Carbone later taught at Bologna and Ferrara. On the first leaf of the manuscript there appears the name of Carbone, followed by that of Ludovico Casella (a well-known Ferrarese man of letters and political figure, the patron of Carbone); further down the name *Theodorus* can be read. Under black light the following inscription can also be read on the upper portion of the leaf: KATA ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΝ ΓΑΖΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΑ ΚΑΙ.

The *recollectae* of the lectures on the *Olympians* present a high degree of elaboration and complexity. They include a complete translation of the text, lemma by lemma, with an ample commentary (see I.a below) in which there are frequent references to Gaza by the name *Dominus Theodorus*, or by various abbreviations (often the sigla *Theo*). Although the topics treated in the classroom rarely go beyond grammatical exegesis, the auditors whom Gaza was addressing do not appear to have been beginners, and must have been in a position to understand a text of undeniable difficulty. It is certainly possible that Ludovico Carbone has compressed or modified to some degree the exposition of Gaza, for he knew Greek well and had mastered Greek and Latin grammatical terminology, but it is safe to assume that the notes are substantially reliable, and that they faithfully reflect the *expositio* of the master.

The Greek text is taken from a codex containing the edition of Manuel Moschopoulos, contaminated with occasional variants from other sources that are never clearly indicated, but are more likely to be the scholia than another manuscript. In some cases these variants may be a record of emendations proposed by Gaza himself.

The Latin translation of the *Olympians* relayed by these *recollectae* can be completely reconstructed, and is the oldest one of which we know. It performs an exegetical task of primary importance, and is distinguished by extreme literality and an apparent lack of interest in linguistic or stylistic elegance. These characteristics are evident both at the syntactic level, where scrupulous fidelity to the *Wortstellung* of the original sometimes yields results scarcely comprehensible in Latin, and at the lexical level, which covers a wide spectrum, ranging from post-classical and biblical words to calques of the Greek, often daring neologisms, and sometimes even rather odd compounds, which are nonetheless capable of conveying with vivid exactness the semantic complexity of the original text.

Translation (Padua, Bibl. del Seminario Vescovile, 692); F. Tissoni, *Le Olimpiche di Pindaro nella scuola di Gaza a Ferrara* (Messina, 2009), with the reconstituted translation at 229–74. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 2r) Aqua quidem optimum, / aurum vero veluti ardens ignis / excellit no-/cti divitiis quae viros magnificos efficiunt; / quod si certamina canere / cupis, carissimum pectus, / ne sole consydera / aliud calidius / in die lucidum astrum / per desertum aethera, / nec Olympiae certamen / melius cantabimus; / unde famosus / hymnus circumiacitur / sapientum consiliis, cantando / Saturni filium ad locupletem profecti / beatam Hieronis domum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 23r) Venusta Aglaia et amatrix canticorum / Euphrosyna, deorum optimi filiae / adiutrices nunc, Thaliaque / amatrix modulorum, videns hunc / cantum cum benigna fortuna / leviter pergentem. Lydio / enim Aesopichum in modo / in meditationibusque cantans / veni, quia victrix Olympiae Minya / tui gratia. Nigros muros habentem nunc domum / Proserpinae vade, Echo, / patri inclytum ferens nun-/cium, Cleodemum quatenus videns

fili- /um dicas quod ei nuper / sinus apud gloriosae Pisae / coronavit nobilium certaminum / pennis comam.

Manuscript:

Padua, Bibl. del Seminario Vescovile, 692, s. XV, fols. 2r–23r (Kristeller, *Iter* 1.10b; *I manoscritti della Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile di Padova*, ed. A. Donello et al. [Florence, 1998], 98–100).

Biography:

See CTC 1.130.

Bibliography:

See CTC 1.130. Add: C. Bevegni, “Teodoro Gaza traduttore del ‘Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum’ di Plutarco: primi appunti di un’edizione critica con particolare riguardo alla lettera dedicatoria ad Andrea Bussi,” in S. Feraboli, ed., *Mosaico. Studi in onore di Umberto Albini* (Genoa, 1993), 33–42; DBI 52.737–46 (C. Bianca); D. Gionta, “Il codice di dedica del Teofrasto latino di Teodoro Gaza,” *Studi medievali e umanistici* 2 (2004) 167–214; J. Monfasani, “L’insegnamento di Teodoro Gaza a Ferrara,” in M. Bertozzi, ed., *Alla corte degli Estensi* (Ferrara, 1994), 5–17; S. Perfetti, “Cultius atque integrius. Teodoro Gaza traduttore umanistico del ‘De partibus animalium,’” *Rinascimento* 35 (1995) 253–86; G. Salanitro, “Teodoro Gaza traduttore di testi classici,” in M. Cortesi and E.V. Maltese, eds., *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell’Italia del secolo XV* (Naples, 1990), 220–25; R. Santoro, “La prima traduzione latina di Teodoro Gaza,” *Studi umanistici* 3 (1992) 165–84; F. Tissoni, *Le ‘Olimpiche’ di Pindaro nella scuola di Gaza a Ferrara* (Messina, 2009).

2. Andronicus Callistus and Bartolomeo Fonizio

Manuscript VII.1025 of the Fondo Magliabechiano in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence, composed of fascicles of varied origin and date, includes three *sesterni* (gatherings composed of six leaves folded in half to yield twelve folios and twenty-four pages) datable to the second half of the fifteenth century that contain a Latin translation, anonymous and untitled, of the *Olympians*. The translation is incomplete: there must originally have been four *sesterni*, but the third has been lost, leaving a lacuna that comprises *Ol.* 7.69–10.22. Vincenzo Fera has recognized the hand as that of Bartolomeo Fonizio, and observed that the frequent marginal notes often refer to Andronicus Callistus. We have no document explicitly acknowledging Fonizio as the author of this Pindar translation, though he was learned in Greek and the author of other translations.

That Andronicus Callistus had delivered a course on Pindar at the Studium of Bologna, where he taught from 1463 to 1466, is on record, but there is no corresponding record of him delivering lectures on Pindar at Florence, where he

arrived in 1471 and remained for some time (by 1475 he was in Cremona). It is certain, however, that no matter how brief, his teaching had great importance for the future of Greek studies in Florence, where his students included Angelo Poliziano. Hence the strong likelihood that Fonzio had access to oral lectures on the *Olympians* by Andronicus, or a written version, and that the manuscript in the Fondo Magliabechiano represents his reworking of it. The situation is analogous in the case of Fonzio's translation of Apollonius of Rhodes, preserved in an autograph and untitled manuscript, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Riccardiano 539, that originated in the same way.

The translation is very faithful, and may be envisioned as an interlinear version for classroom use. The positioning of the words and the paragraph breaks attempts to reproduce the cola of the Greek text. This fidelity often entails anomalous syntactic and lexical usage, foreign to classical Latin, and frequent attempts to render the composite Greek words with neologisms. Numerous interlinear and marginal corrections prove that Fonzio continued over time to work at improving the translation, although he did not publish it: the Magliabechiano manuscript remains the sole witness.

Translation (Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centrale, Magl. VII 1025; V. Fera, "La prima traduzione umanistica delle *Olimpiche* di Pindaro," in V. Fera and G. Ferrà, eds., *Filologia umanistica per Gianvito Resta*, 3 vols. [Padua, 1997], 1.693–765, with an edition of the full text). Pindari Olympicae victoriae. I. Hieroni Syracusio equiti. [Inc.]: (fol. 1r) Optima quidem aqua, sed / aurum ardens ignis / ceu excellit no- / cte superba admodum divitias; / si vero certamina canere / cupis, amica anima, / minime sole considera / aliud lucidius . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 44r) Ad nigram domum / Proserpinae vade, Fama, / patri inclytum portans nun- / tium, Cleodemum ut cum vidisses fili- / um dicas quod sibi nuper / planitiebus in glo- riosae Pisae / coronavit inclytorum certaminum / coronis iubam.

Manuscript:

Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centrale, Magl. VII 1025, a composite manuscript; the Pindar section is s. XV. A. Perosa, *Mostra del Poliziano. Catalogo* (Florence, 1954), 178; Kristeller, *Iter* 1.129b–130a.

Biography:

See CTC 1.228 and 3.267.

Bibliography:

Add: V. Fera, "La prima traduzione umanistica delle *Olimpiche* di Pindaro," in V. Fera and G. Ferrà, eds., *Filologia umanistica per Gianvito Resta*, vol. 1 (Padua, 1997), 693–765; Bartholomaei Fontii, *Epistolarum libri I*, ed. A. Daneloni (Messina, 2008); J. Irigoin, *Histoire du texte de Pindare* (Paris, 1952), 423; I.E. Powell, "Two Letters of Andronicos Callistus to Demetrio Chalcondyles,"

Byzantinische-Neugriechische Jahrbuch 15 (1939) 19–20; G. Resta, “Andronico Calisto, Bartolomeo Fonzio e la prima traduzione umanistica di Apollonio Rodio,” in E. Livrea and G.A. Previtera, eds., *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardizzoni*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1978), 1055–1113.

3. Marcus Musurus, Johannes Cuno, and Beatus Rhenanus

Sélestat (département du Bas-Rhin, Alsace region, France), Bibliothèque Humaniste, 102 contains a transcript of notes taken at Padua in 1509 during lectures by Marcus Musurus (fols. 163r–173r). The concluding words are “Ex lectione M. Musuri Cretensis. Patavii MDIX” (fol. 173r).

The hand has been identified by M. Sicherl as that of Beatus Rhenanus; the leaves belong to a codex written in large part by Johannes Cuno, whom we know to have followed the courses of Musurus at Padua in those years, and Beatus Rhenanus was Cuno’s pupil.

Given the complex transmission of these notes, it is very difficult to quantify the contributions of the three protagonists—how much may actually have been uttered by Musurus in the classroom, how much Johannes Cuno may have taken in and transcribed, or deliberately skipped, and how much Beatus Rhenanus may have polished these notes in copying them into his master’s codex. Jean Irigoien points out that the scattered notes transcribed by Johannes Cuno in London, British Library, Arundel 550 pertaining to the beginning of *Ol.* 1 (fol. 52v), and the fourth and fifth triads of *Ol.* 2 farther on (fol. 173r), lack any reference to Musurus and are unrelated to the notes in the Sélestat manuscript.

In the latter, fols. 167r to 172v contain a translation of *Ol.* 1–5, while fol. 173r has transcripts of a few Greek texts, among them a passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De imitatione* 2.5 pertaining to Pindar (Irigoien). Below the subscription referring to the lectures of Musurus (fol. 173r), there are further notes concerning the life and works of Pindar, and the Olympiads (fols. 173v–174r).

The translation is in prose, in irregular lines; capital letters at the start of each line mark the correspondence with the cola in the original Greek. Alternative translations are often written after individual words, almost always preceded by “idest,” while other readings or explanatory glosses appear between the lines or in the margin.

The literal translation has allowed Irigoien to identify with high confidence the Greek text used by Musurus as a copy of the second Triclinius edition.

Translation (Sélestat, Bibl. Humaniste, 102, fols. 167r–172v). Pindari Thebani lyrici Poetae Olympia. Hieroni [*m.d.* filii Dionis] Siracusano uno equo. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 167r) Praestantissima quidem aqua, aurum ut ardens ignis / Quemadmodum dilucet [*interl.* uret inter alia] nocte magnificarum precipue divitiarum [*m.d.* idest est praestantissimum]; / Si autem certamen dicere [*interl.* laudare]

desideras, o chare anime [*m.d.* aliter cor] / Ne sole illustrius considerato aliud [*m.d.* scilicet ad ignem] / In die splendidum astrum vacuo aere desolato ethere [*m.d.* quoad aerem] / Neque Olympicum certamen praestantius canimus / Unde (decantatus) [*interl.* celeberrimus] hymnus [*interl.* laus] annectitur adiungitur amplectitur / Sapientum ingenia ad [*interl.* idest ut] canendum Saturni filium ad opulentum pervenientes [*interl.* idest euntes] / Beatum Hieronis larem. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 172v) Et sic opto te, o Olympionice, idest victor olympici certaminis Neptunicis equis, quod delectaris sene, idest ut tolleres [sanitatem *cass.*] senectutem lenem ad extremum, idest finem, filiis, o Psami, circumstantibus. Sanas autem si quis divitias, idest amice quesitas, sanitate irriget, idest augeat, acquiescens [*interl.* sufficiens] opibus suis partis, addens benedictionem laudem, ne querat fieri deus.

Manuscript:

Sélestat, Bibl. Humaniste, 102, fols. 167r–174r (Kristeller, *Iter* 3.346a; M. Sicherl, *Johannes Cuno* [Heidelberg, 1978], 152).

Biography:

The date of birth of Johannes Cuno (Cono, Conon, Kuno) may be placed in the years 1462/3, given that he was fifty years old when he died on 21 February 1513. He was probably born at Nuremberg, where he attended primary school. Cuno joined the Dominican order and was a student of J. Reuchlin and W. Pirkheimer. He resided in Italy, at Venice, Padua, and Rome, for a number of years from 1499 on, frequenting Aldus Manutius and his circle and perfecting his knowledge of Greek at Padua with Marcus Musurus, where he also knew Lazzaro Buonamico. From 1511 to 1513 he lived at Basel, where he taught Greek; Beatus Rhenanus was his pupil. Cuno translated works by Gregorius Nazianzenus, Gregorius Nyssenus, and Johannes Chrysostomus.

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4. Menradus Moltherus – Menrad Molther

To Menradus Moltherus (Menrad Molther) we owe the first printed, albeit partial, Latin translation of Pindar (Haguenau, 1527). He translated the first two *Olympians*, apparently from the Greek text of the Zwingli edition that had appeared the year before at Basel. The two odes are each preceded by a dedicatory letter and followed by a paraphrase.

Moltherus, as the first letter of dedication to Chonradus Peutingerus (Konrad Peutingger) reveals, was impelled to translate Pindar by the joy he derived from the beauty and variety of the poetry; he does not lay claim to any pedagogical utility or moral edification in his work. He asserts that he has aimed to translate word for word and line for line (*ferme uerbum uerbo, et uersum uersui reddens*), and that his work may be fully understood only by those who have addressed themselves to the same task, given the difficulty of conveying the greatness of Pindar's poetry in Latin. Moltherus ends with an exculpatory formula: *In magnis autem voluisse sat est*. The version of the first ode is literal; Moltherus attempts to respect the position of the words, to the detriment of Latin elegance and often to the point of sheer incomprehensibility.

The second ode, in Sapphic meter, is preceded by another dedicatory epistle to Johannes Pinicianus, in which the difficulty of rendering Pindar into Latin is illustrated once again. The version is freer and more elegant than the first. An ample paraphrase follows both translations.

Dedication 1. Clarissimo et praestantissimo viro Chvonrado Peutingero I. V. Doctori, Menradus Moltherus S. D. [*Inc.*]: (sig. A2r) Pisae, eius quae est in Helide, summa laude olympia celebrata, clarissime Peutingere, non modo Ciceronis testimonio, videlicet apud Graecos olympionicen iudicari prope maius et esse gloriosius, quam Romae triumphasse, verumetiam quod hinc saecula ceperint numerari, manifestum est. . . . Victores, quos videt olympicis ludis, ita celebrat ut victoriarum obiter meminerit, laudes autem virtutum amplissimas, nunc a patria, nunc a familia, nunc ab ingenio, nunc a studiis, nunc a rebus gestis mira aeque ac iucunda breuitate concinnavit. . . . (sig. A2v) Sententiae, quae frequenter inducuntur, selectissimae sunt, sive verborum proprietatem spectes, sive elegantiam. Omnia tersa, omnia gravia, omnia pressa et mira quadam varietate composita. Ego itaque huiusce varietatis voluptate delectatus, primam Graecam Olympici ludi cantionem latinitate donavi. Id quam feliciter fecerim, ferme verbum verbo, et versum versui reddens, is demum qui similem navare operam studuerit intellecturus est. . . . [*Expl.*]: (sig. A2v) Vix nanque vestigium apparet quo cognosci queat Pindarus, ubi latine loquitur, tanta illius est maiestas, tanta dignitas. Sane magno studio meo mihi haudquaquam satis factum est. In magnis autem voluisse (ut aiunt) sat est. Unde tibi, vir optime, et salutis patriae studiosissime, hunc ipsum laborem meum inscripsi ut otii mei, cuius Cato, teste

Cicerone, reddendam rationem putat, apud te opera constaret. Bene vale, clarissime φιλοπολίτης. Heydelbergae, Cal. Martii. Anno Sal. 1527.

Translation 1. Pindari Olympiorum victores. Hieroni Regi Syracusano equo victori abeunti primus hymnus cantatus Menrado Molthero interprete. στροφή α, membrorum xvii. [*Inc.*]: (sig. A3r) Nihil praestat aquae quidem / Ignis utque coruscat / In tenebris micans, sic / Super eximias opes aurum est, / Sive clara olympica / Inde scribere speras, / Quaerites ne lucidam, / In polo rutilo / Die micante, sole stellam / Magis, pectus intimum / Nec trophaea clariora / Quam celebrantur Pisae, / Canere statuimus. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (sig. [A7r]) Nil altius optes, / Hac oro dignitate tem-/pus ut peragas, et mihi / Per omnem inclyto pangere Graeciam / Nunc liceat trophaeum.

Paraphrasis in primum hymnum Pindari Hieroni victori cantatum in Olympicis, per Menradum Moltherum Augustanum. [*Inc.*]: (sig. [A7r]) Si rerum natura spectetur, nil aqua poterit esse iucundius, porro mortalium superbas opes, aurum, velut atra nocte flammivoma scintilla coruscans, superat. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (sig. B2v) Precor interim, ut hac tibi celsitudine frui, mihi vero inter Graecos optimarum artium inventionem, Eruditionem, sapientiam, eloquentiam claros, non infimum locum tenenti, hunc in modum victorem posteritati liceat commendare. Finis primae odae.

Dedication 2. Ioanni Piniciano suo Menradus Moltherus S. D. [*Inc.*]: (sig. B3) Ut a gravibus studiis ad mansuetiores musas, perinde quasi a Dorio ad Phrygium me converterem, optime Piniciane, non ii dies modo, in quibus bacchanalia celebrantur, verumetiam gravissimorum virorum dispensandum esse tempus pro studio et animi remissione praecipientium, commovit autoritas. . . . Alterum non eodem (ut aiunt) cubito, sed sapphico carmine tralatum, tibi musarum quoque candido fautori, ut negotium meum agnosceres, nuncupavi. Verum Graeca, quae aemulari nequivi, haudquaquam passus sum facetiis et luminibus obsolescere, id quod vitio dat Gellius sui temporis poetas, comoedias graecas / Menandri, Posidii, Apollodori, Alexidis in latinum vertentibus, sed eorum sententiam ea qua maxime fieri in tam brevi diecularum curriculo diligentia potui, retuli. Equidem tanta est amoenitas, tanta ubertas in Pindaro, ut illam latina facundia vix indipisci possit, mei ingenioli exiguitas nequaquam. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (sig. B3v) Habes itaque, optime Piniciane, quae res me hisce diebus oblectarint. Sane si voluptas illa, quam mundus suspicit, mihi esset oblectationi, ex Anthistenis Socratici / voluptatem diffinientis verbis μανείην μάλλον, ἢ ἡσθείην. Bene vale, Heydelbergae pridie No. Martii, Anno a Iesu nato M.D.XXVII.

Translation 2. Pindari Olympiorum hymnus secundus in laudem Theronis, latinus factus, Manrado Molthero interprete. [*Inc.*]: (sig. [B4]) Quem virum aut Heroa lyra vel acri / Tibia sumis celebrare Clio? / Quem deum? sedes propria est dicata / Pisa Tonanti. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (sig. C3v) Quam tamen Theron

fuerit benignus, / Nescit ut certos numeros arena, / Sic nec hymnorum moduli sonori / Promere possunt.

Paraphrasis in Olympiorum secundum hymnum per Menradum Moltherum Augustanum. [*Inc.*]: (sig. C4r) Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri tibia sumis celebrare Clío? Quem nam Deum? Nempē Pisa Iovis sedes est maximi. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (sig. [C7r]) Dicit autem haud quaquam potest, quanta Theron innocentia, liberalitate, continentiaque enituerit, cuius in alios tam facile est recensere collata beneficia, quam arenas maris dinumerare.

Editions:

1527, Haganoe (Hagenau): apud Henricum Gran. BL; Rome, BNC.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB (incomplete; only *Ol.* 1).

1596, Rostochii (Rostock): excudebat Stephanus Myliander (only the translation of *Ol.* 1, published in the work of David Chytraeus, *Ex Pindari Odis, excerptae genealogiae*. . ., sig. A6v–A8v; see I.i below. BAV; Göttingen; Rostock, Universitätsbibl.

Biography:

Menrad Molther was born at Augsburg in 1500 (other sources say ca. 1505); he frequented the school of Johannes Pinicianus and studied at the University of Heidelberg from 1526. In 1529 he began the study of theology and in 1539 became a Lutheran pastor at Heilbronn. In 1551 he was a delegate to the Council of Trent. Molther corresponded with many contemporary men of letters, among them S. Grynaeus and J. Sinapius. He died on 8 April 1558 at Heilbronn. He wrote: *Lucta christiana. Psalmi quinquagesimi deprecatoria* (Hagenau, 1527); *Romanorum Pontificum omnium vitae et mores* (Hagenau, 1527); and translated from the Greek *De boni principis officiis* by Agapetus the deacon (Hagenau, 1527). Molther was the editor of many rare works, mostly religious in nature, all printed at Hagenau (or in German, Hagenau; now in the département du Bas-Rhin, Alsace region, France) by J. Secerus (Setzer), such as *Wilrami Abbatis in Cantica Salomonis mystica Explanatio* (1528); *Iusti Episcopi Orgelitanus in Cantica Cantico-rum explanatio* (1529); *Liber historiarum partium Orientis, sive passagium Terrae Sanctae, Haythono Ordinis Praemonstratensis auctore* (1529); Flaccus Alcuinus, *In Genesim quaestiones* (1529); Flaccus Alcuinus, *De rethorica et virtutibus disputatio* (1529; also printed at Paris by S. Colinaeus in the same year); *Christiani Druthemari theologi vetustissimi in Evangelium Mattaei expositio* (1530).

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ADB 52.446–47 (G. Bossert); J. Benzing, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle. Hagenau. Tome III* (Baden-Baden, 1993);

J.L. Flood and D.J. Shaw, *Johannes Sinapius (1505–1560): Hellenist and Physician in Germany and Italy* (Geneva, 1997), 19–21 and *passim*; J.-E. Girot, *Pindare avant Ronsard. De l'émergence du grec à la publication des "Quatres Premiers livres des Odes" de Ronsard* (Geneva, 2002), 117–19; 201–2.

5. Johannes Soter – Johann Heyl or Heil

In 1528 Johannes Soter augmented the second edition of his *Epigrammata Graeca veterum elegantissima* (ed. pr. Cologne, 1525) with a translation and facing Greek text of the first *Olympian*. The Greek text is taken from the Zwingli edition of 1526, the appearance of which probably inspired Soter to try his hand at translating Pindar's ode.

In the epistle to the reader, Soter declares that he has opted to expand his first collection with around two hundred epigrams that he has translated, and in some cases learned about for the first time since, and also that he has added texts falling outside the genre of the epigram, but worthwhile *vel argumenti amoenitate, vel alioqui singulari eruditione*, one of them being the first *Olympian* (πρῶτον τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν τοῦ Πινδάρου εἶδος).

This is not a verse translation. Soter aims merely to reproduce the number of cola of the facing Pindaric ode. The translation is not *ad verbum*, and is distinguished by neither elegance nor correctness. The Greek text is divided into Strophe A', kolon 17; Antistrophe, kolon 17; Epodos, kolon 13; Strophe B', Antistrophe, Epodos; Strophe Γ', Antistrophe, Epodos; Strophe Δ', Antistrophe, Epodos (the indication of the cola appears only in the first tripartition). The Latin translation reproduces the first tripartition (*Strophe I, Membrorum XVII; Antistrophe, Membrorum XVII; Epodos, Membrorum XIII*) and subsequently indicates only the *membra*.

Dedication. Io. Soter Lectori S. [*Inc.*]: (sig. A2) Anno abhinc tertio, Lector candide, farraginem quandam tumultuariam Epigrammatum cum Graecorum tum Latinorum, non in hoc principio quidem a nobis, sed in privatum congestam usum, divulgavimus . . . / . . . iterum Epigrammatum illam συναθροισμὸν sub incudem revocavi, consarcinatis illis prius exhibitis plus minus ducentis, vel versis interim, vel quae antea nos latuissent. Adiecta sunt et alia pleraque, fateor, quae ad Epigrammata quidem pertineant minime, sed quae vel argumenti amoenitate, vel alioqui singulari eruditione pellekti, quodque iuventuti non passim essent obviae, sumpta utcunque occasione, huic nostro Enchiridio inculcavimus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (ibid.): Siquidem in hunc unicum, non unius modo aut alterius, sed multi multorum congesti sunt flosculi. Boni igitur consule hanc nostram impudentiam, atque Vale.

Translation. Hieroni Regi Syracusano, equo victori abeunti primus hymnus cantatus Strophe I, Membrorum XVII. [*Inc.*] (p. 70) Nihil praestat aquae

quidem / Ignis utque coruscat / In tenebris micans, sic / Super eximias opes
 aurum est, / Sive clara olympica / Inde scribere speras, / Quaerites ne lucidam, /
 In polo rutilo / Die micante, sole stellam / Magis pectus intimum / Nec trophaea
 clariora / Quam celebrantur Pisae, / Canere statuimus / Iudicantibus sophis /
 Eius laus modica neque erit / Iovem qui colunt beata / Domo nunc Hieronis
 inclyti. . . / . . . [Expl.] (p. 77) Micent clari alii, subinde / rebus or- / natis alii,
 at ipse rex / Fastigium tenet. / Nil altius optes, / Hac oro dignitate tem- / pus
 ut peragas, et mihi / Per omnem inclyto pangere / Graeciam / Nunc liceat
 trophaeum.

Editions:

1528, Colonia (Cologne): [Johannes Soter]. BL; BNF.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

(*) 1544, Friburgi Brisgoviae (Freiburg im Breisgau): Stephanus Melechus
 Grauius excudebat. A reprint of the edition of 1528. Florence, BNC; BNF; Bern,
 Universitätsbibl.

Biography:

The biographical data on Johannes Soter (the humanist name of Johann Heyl or Heil) are very uncertain. We know that in 1517 he was enrolled in the faculty of medicine at the University of Cologne, but soon moved to the arts faculty, where he broadened his studies to include the oriental languages. In 1518 he began an important and varied career as editor-printer at Cologne, and at Solingen from 1537, which he pursued until 1543. In 1518 he published a polyglot edition of the *Psalms*, signing a preface in Coptic. He took scholarly responsibility for several editions of classical authors: as well as the anthology of Greek epigrams, Vegetius, Frontinus, and Aelian (1524); the *De materia medica* of Dioscorides (1529–30), and the *In Dioscoridem corollarium* of Ermolao Barbaro (1530); *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca* by Nicander with a Latin translation (1530); and the *Astronomicum* of Hyginus (1534). His range extended further, to many works of Erasmus, including *Moriae encomium* (1534); *De Bohemiorum origine* by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; *Vandalia* and *Saxonia* by Albert Kranz (ed. pr.); *Vita et gesta Karoli Magni* by Einhard, and many writings by sixteenth-century Protestants. Soter died at Cologne in around 1543.

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P. Heitz, *Die Kölner Büchermarken bis Anfang des 17. Jahrhundert* (Strassburg, 1898); A.J. Johnson, "Some Cologne and Basle Types, 1525–1552," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1939) 197–201; *NDB* 9.84 (H. Lüfting).

6. Joannes Lonicerus – Johannes Lonicer

a. *The edition of 1528*

Very likely spurred by the Ceporinus-Zwingli edition of Pindar in Greek (Basel, 1525), certainly not indifferent to persuasion from the printer, Andreas Cratander, and alert to the needs of a large public of students, Johannes Lonicer undertook the burden of translating all of Pindar into Latin, and completed the work in just two years, as he himself affirms in the dedicatory epistle. His translation came out in 1528. This, the first complete translation of Pindar, adopted the medium of prose, a choice the translator justified with the parallel of the prose translations of Homer by Lorenzo Valla and Raffaele Maffei. As the choice of prose suggests, the guiding purpose was pedagogical, and the influence of Zwingli's views is evident. In the dedicatory epistle, Pindar is presented as a poet *puḍicus, religiosus, pietatis amantissimus*, a poet whom it will not harm youth to read, indeed one worthy to be read *vel a summo theologo*, such as the dedicatee, M. Adamus. The Pindaric odes are also of great use in the schoolroom as examples of rhetorical eloquence, since they closely match the speech-of-praise variant of the epideictic genre, but they are so hard to understand that explanatory help is needed, which Lonicer promises to supply in the near future (*scholiis . . . adornaturum polliceor*). Lonicer's outlook appears extremely pragmatic: he reasons not as a man of letters, but as an instructor with the primary objective of offering his students a translation within their grasp, a translation that may forsake elegance but that renders the sense and the letter of the text. For that matter, the absence of a facing Greek text (the translation having been conceived as a complement to the Basel edition of 1526) allowed the translator to take occasional liberties, and we do from time to time observe Lonicer putting the sense ahead of fidelity to the letter.

Dedication (ed. of Basel, 1528). Eruditione ac morum integritate praestanti M. Adamo, Illustrissimi Hessorum principis, etc. a sacris concionibus, Ioannes Lonicerus εὖ πράττειν. [*Inc.*]: (sig. A₂r) Ubi superiore anno, charissime Adame, Pindarum Lyricorum principem succisivis horis vertissem, neque temerarium, neque εὐηθεῖς me ratus sum quicumquam admittere, si qualescumque labores illos meos in lucem publicarem. . . . Neque veritus sum theologo poetam offerre, potissimum talem, qui vel a summo Theologo / (sig. A₂v) legi mereatur. . . . Ut enim semper de diis, heroibus, principibus, victoribus canit, ita gravibus verbis, antiquisque sententiis undique abundat, ut plane grandiloquentiae exemplum nobis in propatulo per ipsum exhibeatur. . . ./ . . . [*Expl.*]: (ibid.) Porro si studiosis haec non ingrata esse perspexero, Pindarum nostrum, propitio Christo, ita scholiis (citra quae fieri non potest ut penitius intelligatur) adornaturum polliceor, uti sperem nulli non apertissimum fore. Optime in Domino vale, meque redama, Francofordiae, An. M.D.XXVII.

Translation. Pindari Olympia Hieroni Syracusio Celeti Ode prima. Strophe I. colon XVII. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1r) Prima sane res est aqua, aurum vero ut lucidus ignis noctu, ita praevallet eximie superbis divitiis . . . / . . . [*Exp.*]: (fol. 24r) I nunc, fama, teque ad tenebrosas aedes Proserpinae recipias, patrique Cleodamo laetum nuncium afferas, recitando ei ut nam filius sibi suam coronarit caesariem ex preciosorum munerum alis in augustae Pisae finibus. Pindari Olympiorum finis.

Pindari Pythia Hieroni Aethnaeo Syracusio curru. Strophe I. col. XII. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 24v) O aurea cithara, Apollinis Musarumque violacea caesarie praestantium consona possessio, te quidem basis et principium laetitiae audit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 53r) Fa[t]um enim nemo unquam effugere potest. Atqui tempus aderit illud, quo et is qui extra spem situs erat, ad spem reiiciat fatum, alterum quidem donans, alterum vero denegans. Pythiorum Pindari finis.

Pindari Nemea Chromio Aethnaeo Ode I. Strophe I. col. X. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 53v) O veneranda Alphei respiratio, inclytarum Syracusarum germen, Dianae cubile, Deli soror Ortygia, a te dulciloquus hymnus commovetur magnam celerrimorum equorum laudem texere, Iovis Aethnaei gratia . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 73v) Prudentiaque et praemeditati consilii fluxus a nobis remoti sunt. Ergo lucri modum venari opportunum ac decorum est. Amorum nanque quos consequi nequeas, vehementiores insaniae fuerint. Undecimae et ultimae Nemorum [*sic*] odae finis.

Pindari Isthmia Herodoto Thebano Ode I Strophe I col. VII. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 74r) Mater mea viris martiis abundans, Thebe, opus tuum omni negotio praestantius iudicabo. Ne mihi obsecro irascatur aspera Delos, in qua nunc composui quiddam bonis inclytisque parentibus amabilissimum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 85r) Cui qui teneram e myrtho coronam Cleandro nempe pancratii, cuius victor extitit, causa nocuerit, non redarguit optimi patruelis coetaneorum generationem: posteaquam ipsum certamen cum fortuna Alcathoi inque Epidaurio iuventus susceperat quem bonorum Encomiis adhibet, pubertatem enim suam minime ignavam sub lustro virtutum domuit. Octavae et ultimae Isthmiorum odae finis.

Edition:

1528, Basileae (Basel): apud Andream Cratandrum. BAV; BL; Basel Universitätsbibl.; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

b. The edition of 1535

In 1535, again from the press of Cratander, there appeared a second, thoroughly revised edition, enriched with various liminary matter, a commentary, and indices. Following the prefatory letter, directed this time to Jacobus de Tubenheyem, the new counselor to the Prince of Hessen, Lonicer inserted a short essay entitled *Encomium Pindari*. Next comes the translation of the

odes; for obvious didactic reasons, it is subdivided into brief pericopes, each a complete unit of sense (comprising approximately fifteen to twenty cola), with callouts in the form of superscript letters of the alphabet to guide the reader to the corresponding explanatory notes, which are placed right after the pericope. All the odes are still translated into prose, as in the first edition, but *Ol.* 14 is now also translated into elegiac distichs. To round the volume off, Lonicer added two indices, one for the most significant words and topics, the other for the *sententiae*.

The *Epistola nuncupatoria* bears the date 1532, three years earlier than the printing of the volume, and is intended to give brief notices of a general kind about the method followed. Lonicer begins by stating his conviction that the new edition is indubitably an advance on the earlier one, not just because the translation is *correctior* and *lucidior*, but also because of the accompanying glosses and citations from other authors. He then returns to the question, already raised in his prefatory epistle to the first edition, of the suitability of translating Pindar into prose rather than verse. After confessing his own incapacity to render the *Epinicia* in verse, he adduces the authority of Cicero (*Orat.* 183): when stripped of their musical accompaniment, the songs of the Greek lyric poets appear not unlike prose, so given the impossibility of recreating the poetico-musical dimension of the *Epinicia*, they may as well receive a prose translation in order to make them fully comprehensible to an audience made up of readers of Latin.

The *Encomium Pindari* that follows is an important statement, because it allows us to understand the approach taken by Lonicer to the problem of presenting Pindar to the greatest advantage and acquainting a select public of students, and a wider one of interested readers, with his work. Internal evidence, as well as the choice of the word *Encomium* for the title, reveal that it originated as the text of a prologue to a course on Pindar in the University of Marburg. After asserting that Pindar is still an author largely unknown in the West, Lonicer clarifies the purpose of his encomiastic discourse: to present to the public an author of the highest value, the prince of the Greek lyric poets (*Lyricorum omnium facile principem*, in the oft-repeated formula of Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.61, already used by Zwingli and destined to reappear on the titlepages of many subsequent editions), celebrated for his antiquity and his religious piety; and to make the students as desirous as possible to read him and study him in depth. The next point, upon which Lonicer lays great stress, is that Pindar was greatly esteemed by such authors as Horace and Quintilian, who had preferred him to all the rest at a time when the texts of the other lyric poets could still be read. There follows the central part of the *Encomium*, a biography of Pindar extracted from the ancient sources. The interesting aspect of this biography is not so much what Lonicer has to say about Pindar as what he chooses to pass over in silence, for the portrait of Pindar set forth here binds into a whole, and corrects, the ancient sources (the

lives available for consultation in the front matter of the Roman edition of 1515). In Lonicer's view, not only was Pindar an estimable person, he was even able to overcome the defects of his environment, especially with regard to chastity, for he chose matrimony over the untrammled and dissolute lifestyle normal at that time in Greece. This statement has no foundation in any ancient biographical source. To round off his panegyric, Lonicer offers an allegorical interpretation of the portrait showing Pindar being nourished by bees described in the *Imagines* of Philostratus: the bees and the honey allude to the *mellitum eloquentiae flumen* that pours forth from the *Epinicia*. But there is more. Just as bees are useful animals that produce nothing harmful to humans, the poetry of Pindar likewise proves universally beneficial, especially to young men, on account of the *castitas* of the poet, his avoidance of scabrous subjects like the amorous escapades of Jove, the loftiness and dignity of his style, and lastly his admiring stance toward the virtuous, and his reproof of the cowardly and the unjust. Lonicer then moves on to another, and perhaps his most challenging, topic: the obscurity of Pindar. Pindar's style is admittedly arduous and the meaning sometimes hard to grasp; but this arises not out of any incapacity on the part of the poet, but rather out of a well-defined stylistic choice. His selection of themes shows that Pindar did not wish to be easily understood by everyone, only by an elect group of those who have undergone the struggle to comprehend him and who have a natural moral affinity with him. Pindar is thus not really an obscure poet; he only seems so to the unlearned, the lazy, and persons of doubtful morality.

In the two epistles he added to the Basel edition, Zwingli may have proposed an explicit comparison between Pindar and David, and portrayed the *Epinicia* as a useful exegetical resource for understanding the *Psalms*; Lonicer goes further, asserting that the spiritual benefit deriving from the reading of the Pindaric odes will be immense for all who have chosen to follow the example of Christ. There remains one last theme to be addressed by the orator: the utility of Pindar. He is a difficult author, requiring a commentary and a great deal of study: but the advantages accruing to those willing to make this effort will be commensurate, both from the moral and from the practical and professional points of view. From the viewpoint of morality, young men will learn from Pindar, a true *praeco virtutis*, the significance that he attributed to virtue in its various species: *pietas, iustitia, castitas, fortitudo*. In following the examples set forth, they will be able to forge their characters through direct emulation. From the professional point of view, the closely-supervised reading of the *Epinicia* will allow the students to strengthen their grasp of the art of rhetoric, especially the epideictic genre with its evident similarity to the poetic encomia sung in the *Epinicia*. Before taking leave of his listeners (and readers), Lonicer repeats his exhortation to youth to apply themselves with commitment and enthusiasm to the reading and study of Pindar.

The independence of the 1535 edition does not derive solely from the addition of these preliminary texts and the commentary. The translation itself has been so radically modified as to be scarcely recognizable, and amounts virtually to a *retractatio*. Comparison of the *incipit* and *explicit* of the two editions, given below, would suffice to demonstrate this, but we may supply a further example: the variation between the first lines of *Ol.* 14, which is also given a translation in distichs in 1535. In the 1528 edition we read: *Celebres reginae Charites, quae Cephisias naturae aquas equestrem habitatis sedem praeclarae Orchomeni, o veterum Minyorum episcopi, audite me postquam precor*. In the prose of 1535: *Celebres reginae Charites, Cephisias sortitae aquas, equestrem habitantes sedem praeclarae Orchomeni, o veterum Minyorum Episcopi, hoc a vobis precor, nempe ut me audiatis*. The translation in distichs gives a very different interpretation of the Greek (ed. of Basel, 1535, p. 154):

Insignes agite huc Charites, Cephesidis undae
 Praeclarum nactae conspicuumque thronum,
 Reginae Orchomeni celebres, e pectore quarum
 Sollicito nunquam gens Minyda cadit,
 Illius at priscam sane noctesque diesque
 Curatis stirpem, conspicitisque probe.
 Vestra pia nunc depono mihi numina mente,
 Illicet ad nostras currite quaeso preces.

This new edition with commentary enjoyed great success, and despite the absence of a facing Greek text (though one does encounter copies that have been bound together with the Zwingli-Ceporinus Greek text), it constituted the text of reference (see I.10. Neander below) until the edition of Henricus Stephanus ([Geneva], 1560).

Dedication (ed. of Basel, 1535). *Imaginibus, virtutibus et literis claro D. Iacobo a Tubenheym Illustrissimi Hessorum Principi a consiliis, domino suo, Ioannes Lonicerus εὖ πράττειν*. [*Inc.*]: (sig. a2r) Callimachus minime vulgaris poeta, Eximie vir, gnomen cedro dignam inter alias plerasque, hanc memoriae prodidit: Divitiae sine virtutibus haudquaquam aliquem felicem constituunt. Verissima profecto sententia: qua quid quaeso rectius ab elegantissimo Musarum sacerdote dici potuit? .../. . . [*Expl.*]: (sig. a2v) Vertimus autem eam ob causam prosa oratione Pindarum, quod immensi propemodum laboris sit Pindaricas odarum leges, simili versu exprimere: neque facile Pindaricae lyrae maiestatem et sublimitatem assequi aliquis posse videatur. Deinde, quod lyrica carmina non multum a soluta loquendi formula discedant. Si enim, ut Cicero [*Orat.* 183] inquit, optimorum quorumque poetarum, qui λυρικοί a Graecis appellantur, versus cantu spoliaveris, nuda remanebit oratio: et nisi tibicen accesserit, orationi sunt solutae simillimi. Curavi, quantum in me est, uti Thebanus vates, ni mihi nimium

blandiar, a Latinis etiam intelligi possit. Superest iam, uti praestantia tua, eximie vir, et Poetam hunc, et laborem nostrum exporrecta et hilari fronte suscipiat: quod si factum esse percepero, satis praemii pro sudoribus hisce meis reportasse arbitrabor. Sin quibusdam hae vigiliae meae displicuerint, nihil mirum, quandoquidem Somni et Noctis filius Momus, ne superos quidem inculpatos relinquere queat. ἔρρωσο. Marpurgi. M. D. XXXII.

Pindari Encomium. Pindari Encomium a Ioanne Lonicero Marpurgi pronunciatum, et vitam et insignia vatis decora complectens. [*Inc.*]: (sig. a3r) Quia Latinis auribus autorem, quod equidem sciam, fere incognitum, iamnunc enarrandum, ut vires meae tulerint, recepi, Pindarum nimirum, ut Lyricorum omnium facile principem, sic vetustate ac pietate iuxta, apprime conspicuum: non indignum fuerit, Magnifice domine Rector, viri et adolescentes iocundissimi, tanti vatis et laudum, et virtutum catalogum quendam texere, ut inde vel ad sempiternum, neque ullis seculis interiturum eius poema inflammentur, alacrioresque ad coelestem Pindaricae lyrae, sive citharae sonitum audiendum (quo aquila in sceptro Iovis residens, prae nimia dulcedine in soporem collocatur) studiosi reddantur. Quod ut rectiori ordine perficiamus, de Lyricis poetis nonnihil primum dicendum: Pindari nostri encomion, hac via, apertius illustriusque in medium prolaturi. . . . (sig. a5r) Quemadmodum autem apes non obsunt mortalium generi, sed maxime prosunt, excellentissimo admirandae industriae opere: cum fucis duntaxat et furibus acre illis bellum: sic Pindari poemata nullius mentem sive nefaria libidine, sive aliis id genus vitiis, sceleribus, criminibus, inficiunt. Non Lalages, non Lydiae, non Galateae, non Pasiphaes, non vana Iovis adulteria discas: verum ex pudico lyrico, pudicam etiam lyram, vel si mavis, citharam audies. Quin etiam et in Deum et homines pietissimus, virtutes unice praedicat. Et quum in hocce quatuor certaminum, sive ludorum circuitu, reges, principes, aliosque insignes victores semper celebret, ubi ut praeclarissima quaeque docet, ac in summis versatur rebus, ita summo etiam dicendi characterem utitur: propter quem et Horatius nemini imitabilem existimavit. Pertinet quidem Fabii iudicium, non ad solam hanc spectaculorum Graeciae periodon, sed ad alia eius pariter opera. Attamen in his ludis phraseos eius σεμνότης, gravitas et sublimitas satis sese ostendunt: augusta honestorum argumentorum tractatio ubertim etiam, pro lyricis norma, enitescit. Strenuos mehercule, et fortes, aequos et iustos laudibus adusque sydera evehit: ignavos, effoeminatos, iniquos et iniustos ad Tartara usque protrudens. / Interim de industria quaedam occultat, adeo ut et ipse non cuius sese planum fore putet, dum inquit [*Ol.* 2.83–86] . . . Id est multae sunt mihi sub cubito in pharetra sagittae, quae intelligentibus tantummodo sonant, et omnino interpretatione egent. Atque hanc voluntariam Pindari nostri nebulam et absconsionem, difficultatem quis appellare possit, eamque ob rem, me una cum Pindaro in discrimen vocare, tali vel consimili apud iudicem obiurgatione invadens. Ecquae est ista melliflua vatis eloquentia, quaenam et qualis

illa Poetae gravitas, quod ex composito Heracliti τὸν σκοτεινόν, / (sig. α5ν) ad quem Delio, ut aiunt, natatore opus sit, adamarit? Et Graeci et Latini dicendi praeceptores τὴν σαφήνειαν καὶ ἐνάργειαν, hoc est, perspicuitatem ipsam, summum dictionis lumen, maximam orationis virtutem, pulcherrimum ornamentum, uno ore, eademque sententia praedicant. Ab hac ergo amussi, ab hac Venere deflectens Pindarus, eloquentiae flumine manare, cum a Philostrato adumbrabitur, tum a Quintiliano praedicabitur? τὴν σαφήνειαν requiro, τὴν ἐνάργειαν efflagito: valeat cum umbris et numeris Platoniceis. Hic bona verba, inquam, consideratius loquere. Si luce et perspicuitate Poetam nostrum vacare demonstraveris, tum sesquipedalibus obiectionibus submittemur. Atqui ni summis orationis luminibus exuberasset, haudquaquam inter Lyricos concordi seculorum iudicio palmam esset adeptus, nec hymni eius tantopere ab ipsis Graecis, tot, tantis, tamque variis laudibus cumulati forent. Enimvero quum et terram et pelagus eius lyrae sonitus pertransierit, uti in Isthmiis planum sit, frustra quispiam huiusmodi causabitur. Nec se obscuritatem quaerere Pindarus gloriatur, verum intelligentibus loqui. Si quisquam inscitiae suae causa, multa in Cicerone non adsequatur, propterea eloquentiae laudibus non orbabitur ipse Cicero. Idem de Pindaro iudicandum. Sapiens, virtutibus clarus et eruditione, facile, ut alia, sic etiam Pindarica obtinebit: quae nulla prudentia redimitus, sed nullis non vitiis inquinatus, inertiaeque deformatus, nunquam sane deprehendet. Et sapientem, et eruditam mentem Pindarus exigit, a qua intelligatur, et puram etiam. . . . (sig. [6] r) Quis et quantus sit Pindarus, qualis item certaminum eius quatuor periodus, exposuimus. De usu porro, et commoditate paulum modo dicendum restat: de virtutibus etiam, quarum praeconiis passim exuberat. Quid ergo emolumenti ei, qui Pindaro navat operam, expectandum? Quid ex eo requirendum? Hoc sane, ut mentem ille suam praeclaris virtutibus et sententiis ornet atque instituat, utque vel ex prophano, sed praeceptionum sanctitate claro, morum integritatem discat, ne morum et puritatis, quum tamen Christo nomen dederit, expers esse videatur. Tum ut Epidictici generis rationem inde colligat. Et quamvis ex Rhetoribus, qui ex professo ἐπιδείξεις tractarunt, discendum considerandumque sit hoc encomiasticum genus, nec ex lyrico orationis (quae copia et dilatione rerum, et fluxu materierum gaudet) formula adeo absolute sumi possit, quum Lyricorum argumenta semper brevitate subsidant: nam et ipse de brevitate et ornatu suo pronunciat, dum inquit: Breviter ornateque dicta intelligere sapientum est: pulchre tamen et scite, quoad lyra permisit, ad Epidictici filium omnes odas suas tractavit, una et altera generis suasorii demptis. Hac hymnorum oeconomia observata, facile est videre cum schemata, tum tropos, ubi prae caeteris saepius occurrent, comparationes, allegoriae, metaphorae, ut in quibus praecipue regnet, quamquam omnis generis figuris et coloribus luxuriet belle, iam tamen connumerata triade est frequentior. . . ./. . . [Expl.]: (sig. [7]r-v) Omnium virtutum et eximiarum rerum genera si percensere debeam, dies me citius defecerit,

tantum abest, ut unius horae spacio perficiam. Quare satis fue/rit has paucas denumerasse: reliquas enim suis posthac locis in ipso autore sumus observaturi. Summam auctoritatem et lyrici huius Poetae virtutes, quibus ubique praefulget, hactenus pro virili nostra in propatulo conspiciendas collocavimus, non ut dignum, neque ut tanti auctoris gravitas meruisset, verum ut mea tenuitas potuit. Reliquum est, studiosissimi adolescentes, dum virtutes perpetuo ab hoc lyrico commendari audimus, eoque ipso ethnico, ut et nos minime desides ad earum amorem accendamus, earum desiderio exardescamus, mentem nostram illarum formationi submittamus, ne inferiores in bono gentibus deprehendamus olim, quando cunctarum gentium conditor et gubernator cum omnibus et singulis rationem gestae vitae est initurus. Mores etiam et studia nostra ita instituamus, ut largitor omnis pretiosae rei Deus Opt. Max. inde nunquam non praedicetur, futurae semper vitae memores. Sic fiet, ut longe praestantioribus bonis, quam virtutes sunt Pindaricae, exornemur. Pindari Encomii Finis.

Translation. Pindari Olympia. Hieroni Syracusio, qui celete victoriam obtinuit, ode prima, Strophe I. colon xvii. [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Optima^a sane res est aqua: aurum vero ut lucidus ignis noctu, sic praevallet eximie^b superbis divitiis^c. Sin certamina proloqui desideras, mi anime, ne porro sole contempleris aliud ferventius interdiu^d fulgidum astrum^e, per desertum aethera^f. Neque Olympico agone, praestantior, alium feremus: unde^g celeberrimus hymnus passim decantatur^h; prudentium decretis, quo evehunt Saturnium, ad praedivitem qui se recipiunt, felicemque Hieronisⁱ larem. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 155) Convexum volucres pennae vel ad aethera tollunt, / Victorem stadii gloria summa vehit. Olympiorum finis.

Pindari Pythia. Hieroni Aetnaeo Syracusio, curru. Strophe I. colon XVII. [*Inc.*]: (p. 155) O^a Aurea cithara, Apollinis Musarumque violacea caesarie praestantium consona et conscia possessio, te quidem^b basis et^c laetitiae principium audit. Siquidem^d cantores vel^e signis persuadentur, quando^f percussa reddis ambages choro admirandorum^g praeludiorum: ac^h dirum fortissimumqueⁱ aeterni ignis fulmen extinguis. Indormiscit et aquila in^k sceptro Iovis residens, veloci utrinque^l demissa ala . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 302) Atque ea lex^m tenue pertransit aes et calamosⁿ, qui prope insignem Gratiarum choris urbem in Cephe-sidis delubro crescunt^o, fideles saltatorum testes^p. Quod si qua felicitas absque labore non apparet, ipse tamen Deus, vel hodie vel paulo post consummabit. Fatum enim nemo unquam effugere potest. Aderit autem tempus illud, quod et eum, qui a spe exciderat, in spem reponat, alterum quidem donans, alterum vero denegans.

Pindari Nemea. Chromio Aetnaeo, Ode I. Strophe I. colon X. [*Inc.*]: (p. 305) O^a veneranda Alpei respiratio, celebrium Syracusarum germen, Dianae cubile, Deli soror, Ortygia^b, a te dulciloquus hymnus commovetur magnam celerrimorum equorum laudem texere^c, Iovis Aetnaei gratia^d: currus itidem^e Chromii victricibus Nemeae operibus^f laudatorium et triumphale iugare melos excitat.

.../... [Expl.]: (p. 402) Fatum^g. At ex Iove homines finis manet: illum non praenoscimus, non ob oculos ponimus, sed fastuosi incedimus, multas res in animo nostro versantes. Sed membra nostra^h impudenti spei alligata sunt. Prudentiaque et remoti consilii fluxus a nobis remoti sunt^k. Ergo lucri modum venari opportunum ac decorum est. Amorum nanque, quos consequui nequeas, vehementiores insaniae fuerint.

Pindari Isthmia. Herodoto Thebano, Ode I. Strophe I. colon VII. [Inc.]: (p. 404) Mater^a mea^b, aureo scuto insignis Thebe^c, opus tuum omni negotio praestantius iudicabo^d, ne mihi obsecro irascatur aspera Delos^e, in qua nunc composui quiddam bonis inclytisque parentibus amabilissimum^f. Cede Apollonias paululum^g: utrarunq[ue] enim gratiarum, fortunantibus diis, copulabo summam. .../... [Expl.]: (pp. 457–58): Proinde^a etiamnum rationem fert, pronusque est ac promptus^b Musarum currus, ut memoriam + pugilis victoria celebris [vel pugilis Nicoclis, *in marg.*] praedicet, ipsumque honoret, qui^c a Doricis selinis^d Isthmiam coronam nactus est, postquam et ille iam Periclyonias vicit, manu sua viros repellens turbansque, quem boni patruelis generatio, non afficit ignominia^e. Sertum praeterea coetaneorum quispiam Cleandro, pancratii cuius victor evasit, nomine ex myrto nectat^f: quoniam et Alcathoi certamen feliciter, ac^g iuventus antehac eum in Epidauro suscepit, hinc bonorum virorum encomiis eum adhibet. Pubertatem enim suam minime ignavam, in palaestra honestatis rite formavit.

The superscript letters are keyed to the commentary (see I.d below).

Editions:

1535, Basileae (Basel): apud And. Cratandrum. BAV; BL; BNF; Cambridge, Univ. Lib.; Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

1543, Zurich: (an edition itemized by Graesse V, 296 and by C. Gottlob Heyne, *Pindari carmina et fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1798), 1.39). Not located.

1560, Tiguri (Zurich): [Hans Jakob Gessner]. A reprint of the 1535 edition: fuller indices with some misprints corrected. BAV; BL; BNF; Genoa, Bibl. Univ.; Milan, Bibl. Ambr. and Bibl. Naz. Braidense.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

Biography:

See CTC 4.76.

Bibliography:

See CTC 4.76. Add: J.-E. Girot, *Pindare avant Ronsard. De l'émergence du grec à la publication des "Quatre Premiers livres des Odes" de Ronsard* (Geneva, 2002), 119–67; M. Heat, "The Origins of Modern Pindaric Criticism," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106 (1986), 85–98; F. Tisconi, "Lettura pindariche: schede sulla

fortuna europea di Pindaro nel primo Cinquecento,” *Studi medievali e umanistici* 1 (2003), 153–97.

7. Faustus Sabaeus (?)

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 162, a miscellany comprising different fascicles of diverse origin and format, includes an anonymous Latin translation of *Olympians* 1–4 and 6.

A fairly homogeneous section of the manuscript, from fol. 99r to fol. 184r, written in quite similar hands certainly belonging to the sixteenth century, contains: at fols. 99r–154v a Latin poem entitled *Fuga Virginis Mariae*, attributed in the initial table of contents (of later date) to Faustus Sabeus; after blank leaves 155–57, at fols. 158r–173v, the Pindar translation in fair copy, unattributed; and at fols. 174r–184r, the *Vita Juliae virginis*, with the concluding subscription: “Faustus Sabeus Brixianus, custos Bibliothecae Vaticanae, vitam huius Virginis edidit propria manu hic descriptam.” The standard repertories attribute both *Vitae* to him. As Kristeller observes at *Iter* 1.189, it is impossible to state with certainty that the three works are by the same hand; but even if that could be established, it would not constitute adequate grounds to attribute the Pindar translation firmly to Sabaeus.

The odes are numbered and are given shortened titles; at the beginning of each there appears the first word of the Greek original. There is no division into strophes; after *Ol.* 4 there is a blank page (fol. 169v); *Ol.* 5 is missing (the ancient scholia, it should be noted, regarded the attribution of it to Pindar as uncertain); *Ol.* 6 ends in the middle of fol. 173v and a few following leaves have been cut out. The copy is fair, without corrections or interlinear glosses.

The translation aims to be literal and respects the layout of the cola; it is certainly not elegant. The Latin is not always classical (in the portion reproduced here, note *calefactorium*, *depurati*, etc.), which might appear odd given that Sabaeus habitually wrote elegant Latin verse and translated Greek epigrams with delicacy. But this might be a youthful school exercise.

Translation (Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, 162, fols. 158r–173v). Pindari Olympia. Ieroni Syracusio oda prima. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 158r) Ἀριστον. Optimum quidem aqua et / Aurum accensus ignis / Persplendet noct- / tem maxime egregie diviciarum. / Si certamina decantare / Affectas, dilecta anima, / Non amplius sole animadvertite / Aliud magis calefactorium / In die splendidum astrum / Depurati aetheris. / Neque Olympiaco certamen / Prestantius dicemus / Quam valde celebratus / Hymnus circumponitur / Sapientum consilii resonare / Saturni Filium ad divitem accedentes / Beatam Ieronis domum. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 173v) O Domine ponti Princeps / Habundantem navigationem laborum /

Extra euntem da, aurei / Coli coniunx Amphi-/ trites, meorumque hymnorum
 auge delectabilem Florem.

Manuscript:

Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, 162 (Kristeller, *Iter* 1.189).

Biography:

Faustus Sabaeus (or Sabeus) was born at Chiari in the province of Brescia in ca. 1475. Brought to the Vatican Library by Pope Leo X, in 1533 he checked the inventory compiled by Nicolaus de Maiorani. He travelled widely in Europe in search of manuscripts and books, and edited the first editions of Arnobius, *Adversus nationes* and Minucius Felix. Sabaeus was the author of five books of *Epigrammi* (Rome, 1556), and died at Rome in 1559.

Bibliography:

L. Cozzando, *Libreria Bresciana* (Brescia, 1694), 80; C. Frati, *Dizionario biobibliografico dei bibliotecari* (Florence, 1983), 507; G. Ghilini, *Teatro d'huomini letterati*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1647), 50; G. Gussago, *Biblioteca Clarense ovvero notizie storico-critiche intorno agli scrittori e letterati di Chiari*, vol. 2 (Chiari, 1820–24), 97; G. Mercati, “Francesco Calvo e Fausto Sabeo alla cerca di codici nell’Europa settentrionale,” *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 13 (1937) 155–85; C. Occhipinti, “Primiticcio e l’antico. Sugli epigrammi di Fausto Sabeo da Brescia,” *Franco-Italica* 19–20 (2000) 31–63; G. Maurach, C. Echingger-Maurach, and U. Töns, *Faustus Sabaeus, Epigrammata. Studien zu Faustus Sabaeus, Epigrammatum Fausti Sabaei Brixiani Custodis Bibliothecae Vaticanae Libri Quinque, Rom 1556, mit Auszügen aus dem Text* (Heidelberg, 2009), online:

http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2009/706/pdf/Maurach_Fontes31.pdf; V. Peroni, *Biblioteca Bresciana* (Brescia, 1816–23), 3.176.

8. Jacobus Laureus

Jacobus Laureus published a translation of Aelian’s *De varia historia* at Venice in 1550, adding a Latin hexameter version of Pindar’s *Pythian* 3 at the end, with no preface or dedication. There is not a particularly strong link between the work of Aelian and *Pythian* 3, though *De varia historia* does contain a few anecdotes pertaining to the Olympic games, others about Hiero of Syracuse, and perhaps most relevant, the first anecdote in book 9, which states that Simonides and Pindar were the house-guests of the tyrant of Syracuse.

The publication of a text by Pindar in sixteenth-century Italy is, however, an extremely rare event; after the two editions of the Greek text at Venice and Rome in 1513 and 1515, we find no imprint in either Greek or Latin dedicated exclusively to the *Epinicia* throughout the whole century, unless we count the

“pirated” reproduction, with false typographical details, of the complete Sudorius translation (Paris, 1582; see I.16). In just two cases—this one and that of Minturno (see I.13)—does a single ode, translated into Latin, turn up in a work of another author.

In the dedicatory letter of his Aelian translation to Marco Antonio Iustiano, Laureus writes that he was urged to undertake it by Franciscus Robortellus, the famous humanist from Udine, but makes no reference to the Pindar translation he chose to add.

The title of the ode, *In Hieronem celete*, derives from printed editions: the Aldina runs τῷ αὐτῷ, κέλεται (p. 79), while the Zwingli-Ceporinus edition gives the more explicit title ΤΩΙ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΙΕΡΟΝΙ, ΚΕΛΕΤΙ (p. 109).

Since the translation is in hexameters, unlike previous translations, it cannot be literal; it does, though, appear faithful and not without elegance.

Accessus (ed. of Aelianus, *De varia historia*, Venetia [Venice], 1550). Pindari Pythiorum ode tertia, quae inscribitur in Hieronem Celete ab eodem Iacobo Lauro Veneto Heroico carmine donata. Argumentum. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 96v) Scribitur haec ode in laudem Hieronis Syracusanorum Regis, quem victorem Celete poeta praedicat. Cum autem Hieron calculari morbo laboraret, captat benevolentiam poeta a persona ipsius Regis cum statim in ipso odes initio precetur Chironem Centaurum, medicorum omnium praestantissimum, reviviscere . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (ibid.) Nihil enim ait ex omni parte beatum esse, idque et exemplis et sententiarum gravitate comprobatur.

Translation. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 97r) In Hieronem Celete. / Quam vellem, (si fata sinant effundere tales / Ore preces) iterum ad superos Chirona reverti / Saturno, et nympha genitum, summumque tenere / Pelion, umbrosis ubi quondam valibus errans / Horrendum visu monstrum mortalibus esse / Auxilio herbarum succis, et caule solebat. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 99v) Aspice, ut intrepidus bello, functosque periculis / Nestora, et Argivum quem olim timuere Phalanges / Ductorem lyciae classis Sarpedona, vatum / Lingua beat, notosque duces, et fortia facta / Cernimus, insigni quia virtus carmine nixa / Post hominum aspectus coelesti considet arce. / Sed tamen hoc paucos donarunt munere fata. / Finis.

Edition:

1550, in Venetia (Venice): appresso Gabriel Giolito di Ferrari. *Aeliani de varia Historia libros XIII Iacobus Laureus Venetus e Graeco in Latinum vertebat. Adiuncta est et ode Pindari, quae inscribitur in Hieronem Celete, ab eodem Heroico carmine donata. Cum indice copiosissimo rerum notabilium quae in eis leguntur.* Genoa, Bibl. Berio; Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense; Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB. Another digital copy, in color and of higher quality, may be found in Google Books.

Biography:

About Jacobus Laureus (Lorio, Jacopo: Thesaurus CERL: cnp01221496), a native of Udine, we have little information other than the fact that he labored on Aelian's *De varia historia*, which he also published in an Italian translation (1550, Venice, per Bartolomeo Cesano). He was presumably born in the 1520s or 1530s. Francesco di Soldo Strozzi, in the preface to his Italian translation of Thucydides (Venice, 1564), thanks "Jacopo Laurio da Udine" for his advice, qualifying him as "giovane gentilissimo, nutrito e allevato del continuo negli esercizi della lingua Greca." He may have been a pupil, or perhaps only a friend, of Robortello, and was on good terms as well with Giovanni Battista Ramusio and Paolo Manuzio and in correspondence with Pier Vettori.

Bibliography:

G. Fontanini, *Della eloquenza italiana* (Venice, 1737), 610; G.G. Liruti, *Notizie delle vite ed opere scritte da' letterati del Friuli*, vol. 4 (Venice, 1760–1830), 401.

9. Ioannes Alexander Rondinelli – Giovanni Alessandro Rondinelli

Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, 2550 (a miscellany comprising fascicles of varying format and provenance, numbered individually, with a continuous modern numeration at the foot of the page) contains a Latin translation of the *Olympians* with this subscription: "A Ioanne Alexandri Rondinelli traducta fuerunt 1555."

The miscellany also contains the following works in Italian by the same author: a partial translation into blank verse of the first book of the *Iliad*, a sketch for a tragedy, and a signed and dated tragedy, *Favola d'Ulisse*.

The Pindar translation (fols. 36r–76v in the older numeration) begins with line 26 of the first *Olympian*, but there is no sign that any leaves have been lost; fols. 77r–83r of the fascicle are blank. There are running headers at the top of the pages, *Pindari* on the left and *Olimpia* on the right. The translation of the *Olympians*, and that of the *Iliad* that precedes it, appear to be private exercises by the young Rondinelli.

The translation, in prose and faithful to the layout of the cola, is meant to be *ad verbum*, but tends to stray into paraphrase. There is no division into strophes, although the translator was aware of their existence, for at the head of *Ol.* 14 a note reads: "qui habet unam strophem." Attention is drawn to the sententious lines by quotation marks in the margin. Variants, or glosses introduced by *idest*, are frequently inserted between the lines, or in the text. The odes are unnumbered, but are preceded by the traditional titular formulas, modified in a few cases, for example *Ol.* 8 "Alcimedonti Palesti et Thimosteni Palesti et Melisio"; *Ol.* 9 "Agesidamo Locrensi Epizefrio, qui vergunt ad occasum, Puero pugili."

The document is of interest as evidence that, although censorship may have prevented Pindar from seeing print in Italy, he did have a circulation there, probably as a school text.

Translation (Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, 2550, fols. 44r–84v in the modern numeration). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 44r) [*Ol.* 1.26] Postquam ipsum a puro lebete vase sustulit / Cloto, parca ebore insigne / Humerum ornatum. / Profecto admirationis digna sunt multa / Et quomodo sane aliqua in re mortalium mentes / Supra verum sermonem / Ornatae variis mendaciis / Decipiunt fabulae. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 84v) . . . Nigra menia domus / Proserpinae accedas Ecco idest fama / Patri inclito apportans / Nuncium, Cleodamum ut conspicata filium / Dicas, quod in sua gratia iuvenile / In sinu gloriosae Pisae / Coronatus est [*interl.* –vit] maximorum certaminum / Alis idest honoris caput. // A Ioanne Alexandri Rondinelli traducta fuerunt 1555. Olympiorum Pindari Finis.

Manuscript:

Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, 2550 (Kristeller, *Iter* 1.220).

Biography:

Giovanni (or Giovanni Alessandro) Rondinelli (1535–92: Thesaurus CERL: cnp01273773), a Florentine man of letters and political figure of a certain prominence in the later sixteenth century, was a member of the Accademia della Crusca and a friend of Pier Vettori and the other Tuscan *letterati* of the time. We have no information about his cultural formation. He held many public offices and was made governor of Arezzo by Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici. Government service did not keep him from the cultivation of letters; his unpublished tragedies in Tuscan verse were praised by Leonardo Salviati. Numerous *Orazioni* did reach print (funeral orations for the death of Charles IX of France; for the death of Catherine de' Medici, etc.). His *Relazione sopra lo stato antico e moderno della città di Arezzo* was reprinted at Arezzo in 1755.

Bibliography:

G. Cinelli Calvoli, *Biblioteca volante*, vol. 4 (Venice, 1734–43), 169; F. Inghirami, *Storia della Toscana*, vol. 3 (Fiesole, 1843–44), 200; G. Negri, *Notizie letterarie ed istoriche intorno agli uomini illustri della Accademia Fiorentina* (Florence, 1700), 211; S. Salvini, *Fasti consolari dell'Accademia Fiorentina* (Florence, 1717), 212–15.

10. Michael Neander

a. *Aristologia Pindarica*

Michael Neander defines his *Aristologia Pindarica* (Basel, 1556) as a school text meant to facilitate the reading of Pindar, even by beginners. On this account, Neander selected the parts of each ode which he judged most important and reproduced them in Greek with a facing literal translation in Latin and an apparatus of commentary in which, in line with the precepts of Erasmus (*De ratione studii*), parallel passages from other ancient authors are adduced for comparison.

There is a batch of introductory matter: a dedicatory letter *Consulibus et Senatoribus* of Neander's city; Greek verses *ad scholae Othonianae Iuuentutem* by Charles Utenhove; a text in Greek verse by Neander, *De Hymnis Pindaricis*, addressed to the head of the school, Valentinus Trozendorfius; *Ode* 4.2 by Horace and a poem in Sapphics by Melancthon (a curious paraphrase of the Horatian ode); and finally two lives of Pindar, the first taken, according to the marginal note, from the ninth dialogue of Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's *Historia poetarum* (Basel, 1545), along with the usual accounts of the Olympic games and the sites where they were held.

In his dedicatory letter, Neander highlights the conduct of the ancients and their moral advantage over modernity: lofty examples of virtue and honesty were set before youth and relayed by poets, Pindar above all. The poet extols the virtue, the strength, the religiosity, and the honesty of the winners of the contests, who were rewarded only with olive crowns, for victory brought neither riches nor power, but an honored name and eternal fame for the winners and their families. Neander insists that young Greeks, unlike moderns, were educated in accordance with these ideals, and preferred eternal glory won through virtue to wealth. Hence the Pindaric odes transmit a magnificent moral lesson to young students. Neander then speaks of the literary qualities of the *suavissimus et sapientissimus* poet, praising his abundant and felicitous wordhoard, the gravity of his *sententiae*, the splendor of his rhetorical figures, all joined to a profusion of historical and mythological references. His obscurity is willed, according to Neander, to arouse the curiosity of readers, entice them, and thus instruct them. In his texts, Pindar also prepares humans for the vicissitudes of life, and treats of God, of providence, of the rewards of the blessed and the pains of the damned, urging them to imitate antique virtue. While mentioning the familiar parallel between the psalmist David and Pindar, he does not endorse it, adhering basically to the view of his master Melancthon as well as Peucerus and for that matter Erasmus, in stressing the divine inspiration of the Psalms on one hand, and the beauty and educational utility of Pindar's odes on the other.

Neander ends with a profession of gratitude to Erasmus and especially to his master Melancthon, whose precious aid he has often received; his debt to Johannes Lonicer is also recorded. And the translation of Neander does indeed often stick closely to that of Lonicer, sometimes merely altering the word order.

Dedication (ed. of Basel, 1556). Amplissimis atque sapientissimis viris D.D. Consulibus et Senatoribus in inlyta Lignitia suis Dominis atque patronis colendissimis S.D. [*Inc.*]: (fol. a2r) Pindarum Lyricum poetam, vatem castissimum et sapientissimum, vetustissimum quoque, clarissimi Domini, intelligere volenti in primis opus est ut prius diligenter cognita habeat, quae apud bonos autores de veterum Graecorum seu certaminibus, seu ludis, literarum

monumentis ad posteritatem prodita sunt. . . (fol. α3r) Voluerunt itaque veteres, nobis longe sapientiores magisque dediti honeste ac fortiter factis, hac ratione suam iuventutem ab iis quae minus recte et laudabiliter solent fieri in vita, abducere: et viam qua perveniri solet ad virtutis aeternum decus, eidem ostendere. In qua re honestissime posteritati consulere conati sunt. Ei enim viros tradere voluerunt, quorum cum virtutibus, sapientia ac consilio respublicae laudabiliter constituerentur; tum etiam iuventuti exemplum proponerent, in quod inspiceret, vitam quoque suam, mores et studia ad idem instituere posset. . . (fol. α3v) Non enim certamen tunc erat de potentia, non de opibus, non de mundi regnis, sed de gloria, sed de nominis honesta aeternaque laude et memoria. . . (fol. α6r) Eos nunc viros, qui in his quatuor Graeciae ludis victores, coronam et victoriam adepti essent, celebrat Pindarus, poeta Lyricus ut suavissimus et sapientissimus, ita quoque caeterorum Lyricorum facile princeps optimus, seu spiritus magnificentiam, seu sententiarum gravitatem spectes, seu etiam figuras, seu eloquentiam beatissima rerum verborumque opt[ima] ubertate exultantem consideres, seu etiam antiquissimas et memoratu dignas Graecorum historias attendas: in quas, dum studio quodam singulari ab ipsis victorum rebus in singulis prope hymnis digreditur, volens eos potius a progenitoribus, commendatos efficere omnibus, quam non sine nota adulationis turpissima proprias ipsorum virtutes laudibus vehere: quod tamen foecundissima brevitate super haec omnia facere solet fidelissime, multas historias antiquas a nemine similiter proditas recitat. Eas dum plerumque tegit et ornat fabulis, vel quia veterum reges et principes noluerunt perferri ad populum sua quaedam arcana: vel etiam quia ex veteri quadam consuetudine omnium poetarum, dulci figmento, sub quo veritatem aliquam abscondit, lectorem attrahere, / et attractum deinde retinere et docere voluit, ut in verso dicitur: *Et prodesse volunt, et delectare poetae*. Singulos et omnes diligenter instituit de rebus omnibus, de quibus doceri homines debent, et quae in hominum communi vita evenire possunt, de Deo, de providentia, de pietate, poenis impiorum apud inferos, et gaudio piorum in campo Elysio, seu beatorum insulis: in quibus vivere et laetari canit Achillem, Cadmum, et alios heroes, viros praestantes, qui virtute et vitae integritate gavisus sunt. . . . Concionatur ubique hominum conatus sine Deo, eiusque auxilio, omnes esse irritos. Eam doctrinam crebro repetit, et inculcare (fol. α7r) nunquam desinit: non ignarus scilicet, quam soleant sibi placere homines in rebus secundioribus, admiratione propriae suae virtutis, pietatis, fortitudinis, eruditionis et sapientiae. . . . (fol. β2r) Eum authorem etiam ex nostris quidam tanti fecerunt, et adhuc faciunt, ut fateri non dubitarint, se eius lectione plus teneri et affici quam nulla quamtumvis docta lyra Davidica, in qua Christum personat, et in psalterio decachordo ab inferis excitat resurgentem. Id argumentum de Christo, quamvis nemo Lyricorum, seu Simonides, seu Bachylides, seu Alcaeus, seu Serenus, cum lyrista Davide commune unquam habuerit, quod rationi sine patefactione divina id mysterium (quod

solus filius qui est in sinu aeterni patris, hominibus revelavit) plane sit absconditum: tamen aiunt, quod quae psalmi concionantur de providentia, de praesentia Dei in genere humano, de poenis improborum, et liberatione aeterna iustorum, quae item habent praecepta omnium virtutum, eadem legantur similiter / in carmine Pindarico, sed longe dulciora et gratiora omnia: quod ea vestita sint, et oblecta fabulis, luminibus quoque et splendore figurarum et sententiarum iucundissime sint exornata: quae omnia non possunt non lectorem et excitare fortiter, semelque attractum retinere perpetuo: quemadmodum scimus haec sic solere accidere plerisque in Ethnicorum lectione versantibus. Caeterum de eo ego nunc nihil pronuncio: habent Ethnici suos limites, intra quos positi consistunt: habet et ipsorum lectio suas quasdam utilitates, neutiquam contemnendas: in quanta vero mala coniciant Ecclesiam, cum eos septa, intra quae se continent, ipsi quidem transcendere nolentes etiam cogimus, documento et exemplo potest esse superiorum temporum calamitas, e qua vix tandem divina gratia eluctati sumus. Pindarus in scholis suum habet usum, non aspernandum penitus: quemadmodum caeteri eius generis authores adolescentes praeparant, et idoneos efficiunt, ad res cum in Ecclesia tum republica commode tractandas, quae sunt longe maximae. Quod si quis diversum defendere voluerit, ille sciat sibi prius ostendendum etiam (fol. β3r) insipientes fecisse veteres, qui scholas honesto fine instituerunt: nostros quoque Principes, qui eas omni studio, diligentia atque labore hactenus conservatas voluerunt, et collapsa passim honesta bonorum authorum studia, propositis liberaliter praemiis, quasi ex inferis ad vitam denuo revocarunt: stultos denique omnes illos, qui infinitis laboribus, sudore et molestia maiore, quam ut ea verbis ullis satis explicari possit, iuventuti in scholis authores Ethnicos discendos praelegunt, et proponunt. Sed haec extra oleas forte. Tot nunc, viri sapientissimi, rationibus, tot laudibus Pindari adductus, tot quoque utilitatibus, quibus abundat in verbis et versibus singulis, motus, coepi cogitare, quo modo eum authorem omnibus familiarem et parabilem etiam redderem: cum alias sine tali aliquo adminiculo parum inde ad adolescentes fructus redire posse, mihi exploratum esset. Observavi ergo primo diligentissime, longo tempore, multo labore et studio, cuncta quae in Pindaro essent illustria, insignia, notatu quoque digna, et in scholis, communi denique hominum vita ad varias res, eventus atque casus accommodabilia. Ea postea excerpti diligenter omnia / adiecta semper e regione versione Latina: adscripta quoque ad marginem causa et occasione singularum seu historiarum, seu fabularum, seu etiam gravissimarum sententiarum, quae singulae instar Delphici cuiusdam oraculi haberi possunt: accommodatione quoque singulorum ad certos usus in vita, cum additione sententiarum aliarum lectissimarum similium, quae vel sententias Pindari singulas illustrent, vel eundem usum, quem Pindarica, apud adolescentes habere possunt. Ostendi quoque scholasticis fideliter, ubi, et a quibus authoribus plerorumque quae ex Pindaro secundum hymnorum seriem

annotavimus, uberior vel melior explicatio petenda esset. Ut eum namque laborem recte et utiliter absolveremus, consulimus veteres scriptores, Graecos pariter et Latinos, longe optimos et rarissimos, unde deprompsimus cuncta quae et viderentur optima, et cum iucunda aliqua utilitate coniuncta. Multum vero in primis nobis profuit opera incomparabilis viri, Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, Germaniae unici decoris, et splendoris summi, et de tota Republica literaria praeclarissime meriti, qui in Chiliadibus (fol. β4r) suis, Opere nunquam satis laudato, et utriusque linguae tum Graecae tum Latinae thesauro preciosissimo, pleraque quae Pindarus habet memorabilia, felicissime exposuit: quemadmodum ut proverbialia singula, in quibus Pindarica et citat et explicat, diligenter ad marginem adscripsimus. Reverendi quoque praeceptoris nostri D. Philippi Melanthonis studio adiuti sumus in locis aliquot felicissime. Multum quoque nos debere fatemur doctissimo viro Ioanni Lonicero, qui cum in aliis authoribus, tum etiam Pindaro, praeclaram operam, iuventuti praestitit, quemadmodum et id porro facere adsidue pergit. Id autem ubique dedimus operam sedulo, ut quae essent in Pindaro praecipua, ad eam facilitatem deduceremus, ut et pueri in scholis prima saltem Graecae linguae elementa edocti, sine negotio intelligere, et ad varios ea usus in vita cum voluptate, sine praeceptoris alicuius opera accommodare possent; seu argumentum scribendi, seu lectissimos flosculos, suavissimas sententias quibus oratio exornatur, et splendida redditur, commodissime inde petere vellent: seu etiam vivendi praecepta, quae occasionem saepe cogitandi suppeditant / diligentibus, de rebus maximis, inde depromere cuperent. Ea vero cuncta nos sedulo studuisse, facile puto persuadebimus viris doctis et bonis omnibus. Quod cum obtinuerimus, non poenitebit nos laboris longe maximi et molestissimi: optimi quoque temporis, quod ab aliis studiis auferentes, huic labori soli impendimus.../... [*Expl.*]: (fol. β6v) Valete, amplissimi Domini, et Neandrum vobis commendatum esse sinite. In ipso die gloriosissimae resurrectionis filii Dei Iesu Christi salvatoris nostri ὡσπερ μονωτάτου οὔτω καὶ βιαρκεσάτου Anni 1556. V. Praestant. addictiss. Michael Neander Soraviensis.

Translation. Olympiorum Hymni primi argumentum. (p. 25) In hoc hymno Pindarus praedicat Hieronem . . . [*Inc.*]: (p. 27) [*Ol.* 1.28–36] Mirum profecto (videri potest) / Quod saepe hominum mentem / Magis quam verus sermo / Variis variegatae mendaciis / Fabulae decipiant.../... [*Expl.*]: (p. 135) Dei honorant cantores / Quis autem rursus audiat alium poetam / (omnibus Homerus sufficit / Hic cantorum optimus) ex me tamen portabit nihil.

Pythiorum Hymni primi Argumentum. (p. 136) Hieronem Syracusanum, quem et prima Olympiorum celebravit, hac rursus . . . [*Inc.*]: (p. 137) Aurea cithara Apollinis / Et violacea caesarie praestantium / Consona Musarum possessio, / Te quidem audit basis, laetitiae / principium. . . /... [*Expl.*]: (p. 271) Sed veniet tempus / Illud, quod et illi qui a spe exciderat / Contra eius sententiam alterum quidem / (Non speratum) dabit, alterum vero (speratum) negabit.

Nemeorum Hymni primi Argumentum. (p. 270) Laudat Pindarus in primo hoc hymno Chromium Aetnaeum . . . [Inc.]: (p. 271) Est sane infelicitate / gloriae et existimationis summa. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 327) Lucri modum venari, decorum est. / Amorum quos consequi nequeas vehemen/tiores insaniae sunt.

Isthmiorum Hymni primi Argumentum. (p. 326) Herodotum Thebanum ab Isthmia victoria a comparatione laudat. [Inc.]: (p. 329) [Isth. 1.5] Nihil est amabilius et charius / Inclytis parentibus bonis. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 375) [Isth. 8.57–61] Iuxta pyram tumulumque / Heliconiae virgines / Astiterunt, lamentumque / Multae famae superfuderunt. / Visum est itaque superis, / Bonum virum et defunctum iam / Hymnis dearum (Musarum) commendare.

Edition:

1556, Basileae (Basel): per Ludovicum Lucium, Anno Salutis humanae M.D.L.VI. Mense Augusto BAV; BL; BNF.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

b. Pyth. 4

At the end of the Greek-Latin edition of the *Idylls* of Theocritus prepared by Neander ([Leipzig], 1596), there appears the Greek text of the fourth *Pythian* with his Latin translation and commentary. The ode is labelled *Argonautica* in the title, and is followed by the specification that the commentary is a transcription of Neander's orally delivered lessons: *Cum expositione Grammatica de ore Michaelis Neandri excerpta*. From the dedicatory epistle to the volume to Guilielmus Budaeus we learn that Neander's lectures on this ode had been greatly appreciated by Budé and his fellow students, who had taken the master's words down on paper; this circumstance, together with the urging of other friends, had finally convinced Neander to publish the text.

The ode is preceded by *Prolegomena in Pindarum* (a compressed reprise of the information supplied in the front matter of the *Aristologia*) and followed by the commentary, entitled *Annotationes Neandrinae*. The Greek text is printed on the verso of the leaves, with brief linguistic notes in the margin, while the Latin translation appears on the recto, with the commentary following at the end.

The translation is literal, but more elegant than the one in the *Aristologia*. Neander maintains the same number of lines in every strophe, but not always the same position of the words; often a brief gloss is given in parentheses.

Dedication (ed. of [Leipzig], 1596). Praestantissimo iuveni pietate, doctrina et summo ingenio Guilielmo Budaeo in Academia Basiliensi modo literas eruditus et medicinam discenti suo Φιλτάτω S.D. [Inc.] (fol. 2r) Cum enarrarem aliquando, Wilhaelme suavissime γενναία κεφαλή, tibi et commilitonibus aliquot tuis, eruditis et praestantibus iuuenibus, Argonautica Lyricorum principis Pindari, memini adeo tibi probari quae tum de ore meo excepisses, ut omnia digna

existimares, quae cum multis communia fierent. Etsi vero tum inter occupationes minus cogitate et elaborate dicta nullo loco haberem, tamen cum nuper Basiliae tuas ad me suavissime scriptas acciperem, quibus videbaris poscere signum et testimonium aliquod mei in te veteris studii, amoris quoque et benevolentiae prioris, et tum forte se offerrent quae tum converteras, digesseras et exposueras. Accederent etiam aliorum hortationes qui existimarent pagellas Pindaricas, tametsi a me iam pridem abiectas, utiles nihilominus futuras discentibus putavi esse producendas. Cum illis adiunxi etiam expositionem Grammaticam Idylliorum / Theocriti exceptam [*sic*] itidem aliquando de nostris praelectionibus ab adolescente nostro alumno, tui ubique similimo [*sic*], quod est nostri amantissimo et studiosissimo, sedulo in omni officio ingenioso et erudito . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 3r) 17 Ianuarii Anni 1592. Τ. χρήσει καὶ κτήσει non amplius Neander sed nunc etiam Dei indebita misericordia Gerander.

Prolegomena in Pindarum Neandri. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 154r) Pindarus, patre Scopelino tibicine natus, Thebanus fuit, popularis Herculis et Bachi, duorum celebratissimorum principum, unde et Dircaeus cygnus vel olor a poetis nuncupatur. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 157r) Illis ludis praefecti fuerunt Amphictiones sive iudices delecti ad illam rem ex praecipuis urbibus Graeciae qui et de certatoribus pronunciabant aliquos victores declarabant et praemia pro meritis cuiusque distribuebant.

Argumentum quarti hymni Pythiorum. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 157r) Supplicat Pindarus in hoc hymno Arcesilao Cyrenaeorum regi, ut transfugae Demophilo, qui ex urbe Cyrene Libiae seditione quadam orta profugerat, ignoscat. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 158r) Ac est hic hymnus omnium Pindaricorum Epiniciorum longissimus et praestantissimus, cum fere alias certe et docta confertaque brevitate Lyrica carmina gaudeant. Ac quae Orpheus poetarum vetustissimus et sapientissimus qui et eius profectionis comes et socius fuerat, et pleraque quae Argonautis acciderant coram oculis spectaverat, et Apollonius Rhodius in Argonauticis suis tradiderunt, Pindarus veluti brevi fasce singula et universa in hoc suo quarto Pythiorum hymno studuit complecti.

Translation. Arcesilao Cyrenaeo curru vincenti Hymnus Pythiorum Pindaricorum quartus. Strophe I. vers. 14. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 159r) Hodie quidem oportet te apud amicum virum / Regem stare equestris Cyre- / nes ut choros – ducente cum Arcesilao, / O Musa, Apollini debitum / Pythonique augeas flatum (secundum) hymnorum / Ubi quondam aurearum / Iovis aquilarum adsestrix / Non absente Apolline, / Existente, sacerdos (Pythiae) / vaticinata est, habitorem Battum / (futurum) faecundae Libyae sacram / Insulam (Theram) ut relinquens / Condat equestrem / Civitatem (Cyrenem) in candida mamma. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fols. 181r–183r) Neque alicui damnum dans, illaesus / Vero ipse (quoque ut sit) a civibus et ut / Narret qualem o Arcesilae / Invenerit fontem divinatorum carminum / recens (in) Thebis hospitio exceptus (a Pindaro). Finis.

Edition:

1596, [Lipsia (Leipzig)]: impensis Iacobi Appellii Bibliop. Θεοκρίτου εἰδύλλια . . . *Theocriti Eidillia, hoc est parva Poemata xxxvi. . . Pindari Lyricorum principis Argonautica. Cum expositione Grammatica de ore Michaelis Neandri excepta*, fols. 154r–196r. BAV; Göttingen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek; Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek.

Digital copy: Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg.

Biography:

See CTC 7.175.

Bibliography:

See CTC 7.175. Add: J.-E. Girot, *Pindare avant Ronsard. De l'émergence du grec à la publication des "Quatre Premiers livres des Odes" de Ronsard* (Geneva, 2002), 170–83.

11. Petrus Angelius Bargaeus (?) – Pietro Angéli or Degli Angéli

Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, lat. 1077 (α J 5.16), a voluminous untitled codex from the second half of the sixteenth century copied by the same hand throughout, contains a Latin translation of Theocritus (comprising the texts now regarded as apocryphal), the tragedies of Sophocles, and the odes of Pindar. Kristeller (*Iter* 1.383) tentatively proposes the authorship of Petrus Angelius Bargaeus.

The old manuscript catalogue of the holdings of the Biblioteca Estense identifies him as “Angéli, Petrus” and gives the codex the title *Opera omnia*, evidently on the basis of the name that appears in the initial leaves. For to the beginning of the codex has been added an unnumbered bifolium (a gathering of two leaves) in which is preserved a text in Italian with this title and incipit: *Canzone al crucifixo di Pietro Angelio Bargeo* (fols. [2v–3r]), [*Inc.*] “Supremo sol, che con tua santa luce.” No work of this title is listed among the printed books. Two different hands appear on these leaves: the first, identical to the one that copied the rest of the codex, wrote only the word “*Canzone*,” and the text down to line 15. The second has completed the wording of the title and the authorial identification, and written the remainder of the text. In the last leaves of the manuscript, fols. 429v–432r, there appears another text in Italian, in blank hendecasyllables, with the title *Vide pagina septima*: it proves to be an Italian translation of the third Idyll of Theocritus, the Latin translation of which does indeed appear at fol. 7v. At fol. 70r there appears another Theocritan text translated into Latin distichs, “*Furtivus fugeret nuper cum mella Cupido*,” and also followed by an Italian version, “*Amore l’altro giorno se n’andava*.” These materials are all copied by the same hand that wrote the rest of the manuscript.

Bargaesus was a man well-versed in the ancient languages, who taught at Regio Emilia and Pisa, composed several translations from the Greek, and wrote verse in Latin and Italian. Among his *Poemata omnia* (Florence, 1568) may be found versions in Latin of Greek epigrams and poems of Theocritus (*In Adonis obitum, ex Theocrito*), and a long elegy composed in Greek. His Latin translation of the *Stratagemata* of Polyenus, found in Pisa, Biblioteca Universitaria, 245, is unpublished. He stated that he was the author of a translation of *De elocutione* by Demetrius Phalereus, but did not publish it because of the publication of Pier Vettori's edition with commentary. His rendering of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles into Italian was printed repeatedly (from 1588 to 1748).

The manuscripts of the works of Bargaesus are found in Pisa, Biblioteca Universitaria, manuscripts 244 and 245; traditionally described as autograph copies, they have in my view been copied by more than one very similar hand. Some portions might however be autograph, for example the leaves in manuscript 245 that contain books 7–12 of the *Syrias*, which present many corrections and interlinear variants. Other pages, too, contain notes or corrections attributable to this hand. The writing of the Modena manuscript is certainly contemporaneous and highly similar, as is the material aspect of the three manuscripts located in Modena and Pisa: they would appear to have issued from the same source.

The canzone that appears in the initial leaves of the Modena manuscript might also be adduced in favor of Bargaesus' authorship. The first hand continues through the whole manuscript: it commenced to copy the canzone without giving the author's name (as an author himself obviously might), the name being added later by the second hand. Yet all these circumstances are insufficient to guarantee that the translations in this codex were made by Bargaesus.

Moreover, comparison of the Latin translation of the poem on the death of Adonis, then considered the work of Theocritus, which appears at fol. 54r–v of the Modena manuscript, with the one printed among the Latin poems of Bargaesus (Florentiae [Florence], 1568, 292–93) offers no corroboration. The version in the manuscript is *ad verbum* and maintains the customary correspondence between the stichs, while the one in print, in elegant hendecasyllables, is much freer. Equally uncorroborative is a close comparison between the Italian translation of *Edipo Tiranno* in print and the Latin translation present in the Modena manuscript. It remains the case that Theocritus and Sophocles were authors well known to, and frequented by, Bargaesus. Pindar, in contrast, is absent from his Latin and Italian poetry in print; but we know how much suspicion an interest in Pindar might attract in Italy at that time. So overall, the attribution of the Pindar translation in the Modena manuscript to Bargaesus remains probable, but unproved.

It is independent of any of the translations published anywhere in the sixteenth century. All the texts in the manuscript are in fair copy, and sometimes

corrected or completed by interlinear and marginal readings, and scattered explanatory notes, all in the same hand.

This version does not aim at literary elegance; it is literal and seeks to respect the position of the words in the Greek text, which obviously deranges the Latin syntax to the point of making the meaning impossible to grasp in places without recourse to the Greek. Thus it would seem to be work done for instructional purposes. Surprisingly, the odes bear no sign of division into triads (at the beginning of *Pyth.* 1 only, we read *Conversio*, but no division follows). *Ol.* 1 and 2 are written without a break, but from *Ol.* 3 on brief titular formulas appear.

Translation (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, lat. 1077, fols. 301r–429r). Olymp. Pindari. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 301r) Optima quidem aqua at [*m.d.* et] / Aurum, ardens ignis / Quemadmodum splendet [*m.d.* coruscat excellit] / Nocte, praeclaras supra divitias. / Si vero certamina celebrare / Desideras, charum cor, / Non amplius sole specta / Aliam splendidiorem / In die lucidam stellam / Vacuum per aërem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 336r) Patri inclytum afferens nuntium / Cleodamum, ut intuita filium [*m.d.* filium dicas quod vicerit, attica locutio accusativum pro recto] / Dicas, quod illi iuvenilem / Sinus apud illustris Pisa [*m.d.* idest Olympia, significat quod victoria parta in Olympiis aligera et corona gloriosa illustrium certaminum Olympicorum, idest reddidit illum alatum, idest clarum] / Coronavit illustrium certaminum / Alis comam.

Pindari Pythiorum victores. Hieroni Syracusano curru carmen. *Conversio*. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 336r) Aurea cithara Apollinis / Et violaceas comas habentium [*interl.* idest crinitarum] / Familiaris Musarum possessio / Quam audit quidem gressus [*interl.* idest tripudium], laetitiae principium / Parent autem cantores signis / Indignantium [*sic*] [*interl.* idest imperantium choreis] choreas quando proemiorum / Praeludia ferraris [*interl.* praepares] percussa . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 381v) Si vero aliquis felix inter / Homines sine labore / Non aparet [*m.d.* ducet] in finem / Ipsum vel hodie / Dans illud viro fatale non effugiendum / Sed erit tempus / Hoc quod et aliqua insperata iniiciens / E contrario sententia aliud quidem dedit, aliud autem nondum.

Pindari Nemea. Chromio Aethnaeo [*Inc.*]: (fol. 382r) Expiratio veneranda Alpei, / Inclytarum Siracusarum germen, Ortygia, / Sedes [*interl.* idest lectus] Dianae / Delii soror, ex te suaviloquus / Hymnus excitatur ponere / Laudem velocium magnorum equorum / Iovis Aetnaei gratiam . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 409r) Autem [*interl.* spei membra providentia] remoti sunt fluxus. / Lucrorum vero oportet modum captare [*m.d.* vires nostras lucrorum nos sit supra nos] / Ineficium [*interl.* inarestabilium] autem amorum acutiores furores.

Pindari Isthmia. Herodoto Thebano carmen primum. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 409v) Mater mea, tuum, bellicosa Thebe, / Negotium [*interl.* idest victoriam] in occupatione superius / Ponam, ne mihi aspera succenseat / Delos . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fols. 428v–429r) Aequalium ideo aliquis delicatam / De pancratii Cleandro

[*m.d. causa pancratii*] / Intexit myrti [*interl. nectar intexat*] / Coronam: quoniam ipsum / Alcatioque certamina cum fortuna / In Epidaurouque iuventus / Prius exceptit, quem laudare / Bono exhibet / Iuventutem nam non expertem sub / latibulo pulchriora [*interl. praeclariorum operum*] domuit. Finis huiusce liber.

Manuscript:

Modena, Bibl. Estense Universitaria, lat. 1077 (α J 5.16), s. XVI second half, fols. 301r–429r (Kristeller, *Iter* 1.383).

Biography:

Petrus Angelius Bargaeus (Pietro Angéli or Degli Angéli, from Barga) was born in the Tuscan town of Barga on 22 April 1517. He began the study of the classical languages with his uncle Cristoforo, then with Romolo Amaseo at Bologna. He was a military man in his youth, and travelled widely; in 1546 he began teaching, first at Reggio Emilia (1546–49), then at Pisa until 1586. The numerous editions of his works, which were also printed abroad (in some cases prior to appearing in Italy) attest to his reputation among his contemporaries. He had numerous international contacts: one text, printed at p. 309 of his *Poemata omnia* (Florence, 1568), shows that despite the troubles and the barriers thrown up by the age, he was able to have books sent to him from Switzerland. Bargaeus was a member of the commission charged with revising Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*; in 1588 he became Consul general of the Accademia Fiorentina. He was a friend of Benedetto Varchi, Pier Vettori, and Giovanni Della Casa. Bargaeus died at Pisa on 29 February 1596.

Works:

Bargaeus published verse in Latin (*Cynegetica, Carminum libri II, Eglogae III, Lugduni* [Lyons], 1561; *Poemata omnia*, Florence, 1568; Rome, 1585) and Italian (*Poesie toscane*, Florence, 1589). The first two books of his long Latin poem *Syrias* came out in 1582 (Paris) and 1585 (Rome), with the complete work appearing at Florence in 1591. In prose he wrote many orations and works of erudition, like the treatise *Quo ordine scriptorum Historiae Romanae monumenta sint legenda*, included in the multi-author work *De philologia, studiis liberalis doctrinae* (Leiden, 1696).

Bibliography:

DBI 3.201–4 (A. Asor-Rosa); G. Manacorda, “Petrus Angelius Bargaeus: Pietro Angeli,” *Annali della Scuola Regia Normale Superiore di Pisa* 18 (1905) 1–131; G. Pascoli, *Il Bargeo (Pietro Angeli)* (Rome, 1897 and Bologna, 1994); W. Rudiger, *Petrus Angelius Bargaeus* (Leipzig, 1878); S. Salvini, *Fasti consolari dell'Accademia Fiorentina* (Florence, 1717), 282–316 (including an autobiography at 289–309).

12. Philippus Melanchthon

a. Hamburg, Cod. philol. 166

At the start of the second part of this miscellaneous codex in Hamburg, there is this indication: “Anno 1553 30. octobris. Ex praelectione matutina Domini Philippi collectanea ὑπομνημάτων in Pindari odas.” The notes, running from pp. 373 to 379, contain the first lectures from a morning course on Pindar delivered by Philip Melanchthon, in parallel with a course on Thucydides.

A brief *accessus* opens by attributing a preference for Pindar’s odes, when set against the Psalms, to the Italian humanist Lazzaro Bonamico (1477–1552), an anecdote subsequently recycled by Melanchthon with Poliziano as the protagonist (see below). The customary information about Pindar and the Olympic games follows, with the rubrics in a Latin that sometimes wobbles: “Quid proprie discendum est ex Pindaro”; “Qui sint Homeri coectaneis”; “Explicatio ode Horatio lib. 4 Carminum.” At pp. 377–79 there appears a Latin translation of *Ol.* 1.1–36, with scattered marginal notes. There are many cancellations, rewritings, and interlinear or marginal additions in smaller writing, with callouts in the text. The notes break off shortly below the middle of p. 379 and the following page is blank.

The translation is the one published in 1558, with a few variants, mostly errors (e.g.: *videas* per *videris*; *celebravimus* per *celebrabimus*; *Libii* per *Lydii*) and many lacunae, even empty spaces, in the antistrophe and in the few lines of epode that appear. These point to the difficulties encountered by the taker of the notes. As with Melanchthon’s prose translation printed in 1558, no reference is made to the tripartition of the text.

Accessus (Cod. Philol. 166, pp. 373–77). Anno 1553, 30 Octobris. Ex praelectione matutina Domini Philippi collectanea ὑπομνημάτων in Pindari Odas. [*Inc.*]: (p. 373) Non volo uti alia [commemoratione in *cass.*] praefactione nisi illa <*interl.* usitata> commemoratione <*marg. sin.* quam soleo vobis recitare de> Lazaro Bonamico profess. in Italia, qui ante annum est mortuus. Cum in comparatione de Psalterio Davidis quomodo sibi placeret, respondit bene sibi placere graves illas sententias de providentia, de iustitia . . . Sed enim magis sibi placere Pindarum qui eadem tractat, de providentia, de iustitia, de vera honestate, et carminibus luculentissimis, et ornatus involuta fabulis, et pulchris hymnis. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 377) Dixi de commonefacto argumento, quod sit de condonata iustitia, de providentia, de vita honesta, de modestia.

Translation. [*Inc.*]: (p. 377) Primae odae versio. Optima res est aqua, Aurum excellit in superbis divitiis sicut excellit fulvus ignis nocte, sed si certamina narrare cupis, o anime, non aliud sole videas ardentius astrum in die per desertum aethera, neque olympico agone praestantiorem alium celebravimus. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Decet autem homines de diis honesta dicere. [*blank space*] Fili Tantalii, ego te laudabo aliter quam priores.

Manuscript:

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibl., Cod. philol. 166 (misc.), s. XVI (date of translation 1553), 373–79. (See Kristeller, *Iter* 3.563a; CTC 8.164–66).

b. Edition of 1558

As the notes from Melancthon's Pindar lectures in Hamburg reveal, he taught Pindar to his students in 1553, and it will presumably not have been the only occasion on which he did so, given the educational importance attached to the study of Pindar at that time in Protestant schools.

His translation of the odes was published at Basel in 1558. In the titular formula of the *Olympians* we read that the printed text is *ex praelectione*, meaning it was taken from Melancthon's lectures, although whether it was transcribed by a pupil or reworked by the author himself we do not know. It is highly likely that his son-in-law Caspar Peucerus took care of both the text and the printing, since he signs the dedicatory letter. The decision to delegate these cares to another would attract veiled disapproval from Henricus Stephanus (see I.14 below).

In the dedicatory letter, Peucerus goes straight to the point: sacred writings, divinely inspired, must be distinguished from all other writings. He then launches a polemic against those who—and here he names Poliziano, but adds that the view is widely shared—put literary texts and sacred texts on the same plane. Poliziano, it is claimed, while acknowledging the importance of the moral precepts, the erudition, and the elegance of the Psalms, concluded that in Pindar all of that was present too, but set forth with greater elegance and splendid examples. Peucerus concurs about the morality and elegance of Pindar's poetry, but emphasizes that the wisdom of the Psalms is of a different, and incomparable, order, since they guide man toward God.

Let us read Pindar, writes Peucerus, for the abundance of historical information unrecorded elsewhere that he supplies; for the exotic *fabulae* of the mythology with which he adumbrates moral teachings; for the golden *sententiae* he elegantly inserts: for this was how the ancients transmitted their sagacity, through historical narratives and moral precepts. The examples of virtue and the moral lessons spur the souls of readers to good behavior, the more so if these lessons are expressed with sweetness and splendor, as in the poetry of Pindar, which, as Horace says, soars above mundane circumstances. Young men must therefore read these charming texts, the wisdom of which has been recognized in every age, even by Alexander the Great who, when ordering his men to raze the city of Thebes to the ground, famously spared just one house—the one in which Pindar had been born. Peucerus concludes that the youth of his time must also be made acquainted with Pindar, and that this Latin interpretation, which perfectly renders the sense while avoiding all that might generate obscurity, is offered to them to ease their access to the Greek.

The juxtaposition of the Psalms and Pindar, originating with Jerome in his *praefatio* to the book of Job and in other works (see *Fortuna*, Latin Literature), had been adduced for the first time by Zwingli in the dedicatory epistle to the Basel edition of 1526 (see I.c below). Erasmus had taken a firmly opposed stance in the *Dialogus Ciceronianus* of 1528 (“confer psalmos nihil humani spirantes cum Pindaricis adulationibus,” *Opera omnia*, 1.2, 644). The converse preference for Pindar over the Psalms attributed here and elsewhere to Poliziano is not to be found anywhere in the writings of the Florentine humanist, but it does turn up often in those of Melancthon and his students. In a letter to Adam Crato (Crafft or Krafft) of 1553, Melancthon states that the anecdote was told him by Poliziano’s student Dionysius Capnio (Dionysius Reuchlin, nephew of the great humanist Johannes Reuchlin and a member of a family related to Melancthon): “Dionysius Capnio, qui adolescens audivit Angelum Politianum, narrabat eum interrogatum aliquando quid de Psalmis sentiret et quid prodesse eorum lectionem iudicaret, respondisse sibi vero placere illa antiqua carmina et continere ea partim honesta praecepta partim gravissima conciones de providentia et de sceleratorum poenis, partim querelas de infirmitate hominum utiles ad frenandos immoderatos impetus, partim historias eius gentis. Sed addidit Politianus hanc collationem: res easdem dulcius et splendidius narrari in odis Pindaricis. . . . Haec Politiani oratio, etsi speciosa est, tamen est hominis ignorantis discrimen inter genera doctinarum, inter legem et Evangelium, quod est proprium Ecclesiae Dei. Etsi enim dulce et splendidum est carmen Pindaricum, tamen alia est propria vox Ecclesiae. . .” (*Corpus Ref.*, vol. 8, 146–48).

The same anecdote featuring Poliziano, accompanied by the same considerations, is reported by Paulus Dolscius (a pupil of Melancthon) in the *Epistola nuncupatoria* to his translation of the Psalms into Greek elegiac distichs (Basel, 1555), and is printed in the same volume of the *Corpus Reformatorum* (vol. 8, 341–43). The editors, though, maintain that the author of this epistle is not Dolscius but Melancthon himself.³⁹ That the letter of Dolscius, or the one by Peucerus in the Pindar, are the work of Melancthon, is an unproved claim; but it is certain at any rate, as the notes in the Hamburg manuscript indicate, that they do convey the ideological ground of his reading of Pindar. The adversarial alignments of the age (and not just in literature), make it probable that those who exaggerated the juxtaposition of Pindar and the Psalms, and scandalously suggested that illustrious Graecists like Buonamico or Poliziano had actually ranked Pindar first, did so for a purpose: to rob the juxtaposition of its force (without mentioning Zwingli) and insist on the radical aloofness of the sacred writings from pagan

39 See *Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. 8, 341: “Melancthonem esse auctorem huius Dolscii epistolae testatur Mylius in chronolog. Libror. Melancthon. ad ann. 1555, neque est quod dubitemus, quum idem Melancthonem aliis fecisse sciamus, ut Hofmanno, Vito Theodoro, Dolscius vero eius discipulus fuerit.”

literature. This was the stance of Erasmus, Melancthon and his disciples Peuce-
rus and Dolscius, and also Neander (see I.10 above and I.e below).

As Peuce-
rus states, the prose translation offered here, with no marks dis-
tinguishing the strophes, is focused on rendering the meaning. Abandoning the
impossible aspiration to translate while retaining the position of the words or at
least the number of cola, which often made the literal translations incomprehen-
sible if unattended by an adequate paraphrase, Melancthon manages to render
the sense of the text elegantly without straying too far from the Greek. But this
option will be subjected to veiled criticism from Henricus Stephanus in the pref-
ace to his bilingual edition of 1560 (see I.14 below).

At the end, following the translation of Pindar, there appears a brief biogra-
phy *ex Suida et Volaterrano*,⁴⁰ rounded off with the opinions of Quintilian (*Inst.*
Or. 10.1.61) and Horace's ode 4.2.

Dedication (ed. of Basel, 1558). Magnifico viro, nobilitate generis, sapientia
et virtute praestanti, Domino Christophoro a Carolowitz, Consiliario incltyti
Regis Ro. Hungariae et Boemiae, etc., patrono suo colendo, Caspar Peuce-
rus Budissinus S. D. [*Inc.*]: (p. 3) Necessè est discernere genera doctrinarum: sapi-
entiae politicae, quae ex lege, id est noticiis quae divinitus insitae sunt universo
generi humano, oritur: et sapientiae quae est Evangelii propria, et Ecclesiam
Dei a caeteris gentibus distinguit. De hoc discrimine, ut iuventus commone-
fiat, saepe et libenter recito Angeli Politiani sermonem de Pindaro et Davide,
prophanum quidem, sed communem valde multis, omnibus temporibus, qui
Ecclesiam Dei non norunt. Cum enim interrogaretur Politianus, quid de Davidis
psalmis iudicaret? Ego vero, inquit, illa antiqua poemata plena sapientiae esse
video. Sunt ibi omnium virtutum praecepta, sunt commonefactiones de provi-
dentia, comminationes de sceleratorum poenis et promissiones de iustorum
praemiis et protectione. Insertae sunt et veteres historiae illius gentis, et ut tra-
deretur memoria vetustatis posteris, et simul poenarum et defensionis exempla
in conspectu essent. Hanc sapientiam magnifacio, inquit, utilem vitae et mori-
bus: et figuras in sua lingua concinnas esse existimo. Et olim harmoniae additae
sunt, ad ciendos animorum motus accommodatae. Sed in Pindaro, inquit, res
eadem dulcius narrantur et exemplis splendidius illustrantur. Haec Politianus.
Etsi autem in Pindaro, ut postea dicam, sententiae sunt de moribus et de poenis
sceleratorum cum lege divina congruentes, quia legis noticia nobiscum nascitur:
et similes quaedam sunt / in Psalmis: tamen longe alia est Psalmorum sapientia.
In hac deducimur ad verum Deum, non ad commenticia numina: et repetitur

40 Volaterranus is Raffaele Maffei (1451–1522): see P.G. Bietenholtz, *Contemporaries of Eras-
mus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 2 (Toronto, 1986),
366–67. In his *Commentarii urbani*, a species of encyclopedia, he refers often to Pindar,
and makes the well-known assessment (XVIII, s.v. Pindarus), reprised here by Melanc-
thon, that Pindar was like Thucydides in deliberately striving for obscurity.

promissio de Filio Dei, Domino nostro Iesu Christo, et de reconciliatione. Hoc discrimen Psalmorum et Pindari initio considerandum est. Postea cogitetur, ad quid prosit Pindari lectio. . . . Legatur ergo Pindarus propter veterem / historiam: praesertim cum multa narret, quae nusquam alibi extant. . . . / Historiis vero intexit ubique gravissima praecepta: ac praecipue de iusticia et de modestia, de poenis iniuste rapientium aliena, et eorum qui stulta ambitione moti, non necessaria bella movent. . . . Talis fuit vetus sapientia, narrationi historiarum addere praecepta, ut vitae regulas cum illustribus exemplis coniungerent: et homines perterrefactos mirandis ruinis potentium Regum et Principum, ad iusticiam et modestiam flecterent. . . . / Et magis penetrant in animos talia scripta, in quibus dulcissime mixta sunt historiis praecepta: quod cum in Pindaricis carminibus splendidissime et suavissime fiat, nihil dubium est, eorum lectionem bonis naturis valde prodesse. . . . / Saepe igitur iuventus hunc cygnum audiat. Saepe legat eius dulcissima carmina, quae omnibus temporibus gratissima sapientibus fuerunt. . . . Nota sint igitur et nostrae iuventuti. Ac ut a pluribus legi et intelligi graeca possint, Latinam interpretationem edidi, quae utcunque sententias reddit: omissis interdum epithetis, quae obscuritatem in Latina lectione allatura erant. . . . / [Expl.]: (p. 10) Teque oro, ut hanc significationem mei erga te studii, boni consulas. Id si non merentur hae pagellae, tamen Pindari nomini tribuito: quem iuniores avidius legent, cogitantes hunc veterem scriptorem a te quoque magnifieri. Bene vale.

Translation. Pindari Olympia, ex praelectione Philippi Melanchthonis. Hieroni Syracusano κέλῃτι. Ode I. [Inc.]: (p. 11) Optima res est aqua. Aurum excellit in superbis divitiis, sicut excellit fulvus ignis nocte. Sed si certamina narrare cupis, o anime, non aliud sole videris ardentius astrum in die per desertum aethera: neque Olympico agone praestantiorum alium celebrabimus. . . . / [Expl.]: (p. 41) Accessi enim, ut Lydio cantu laudem Asopichum, eo quod Minyaea urbs propter vos Gratias est victrix in Olympiis. I nunc Fama ad atram Persephones domum: et ubi videris patrem Cleodamum, dicas ei quod filius ad Pisam coronatus est.

Pindari Pythia. Ode I. Hieroni Aetnaeo Syracusio ἄρματι. [Inc.]: (p. 42) O aurea cithara, Apollinis et Musarum consona possessio, quam audit rhythmus in chorea, qui est principium laetitiae. Cantores autem obtemperant tuis signis, quando percussa facis initia proemiorum, . . . / [Expl.]: (p. 82) Si qua felicitas est hominum, non est sine molestia. Deus autem perficiet aut hodie, aut postea. Fatum vero non est evitabile. Sed erit tempus illud, quod et desperantem rursus in spem erigit: et aliud quidem dabit, aliud quidem denegabit.

Pindari Nemea. Ode I. Chromio Aetnaeo. [Inc.]: (p. 82) Ortygia, in quam effunditur Alpheus, Syracusarum decus, et cubile Dianae, Deli soror, a te hymnus incipit dicere laudem velocium equorum, in gratiam Iovis Aetnaei, qui currum agitat Chromii, et iungit encomium victoriae in Nemeis. . . . / [Expl.]:

(p. 108) Nec eventus a Iove ordinati nobis noti sunt, sed tamen superbe multa magna opera tentamus. Membra enim nostra alligata sunt impudenti spe, et providentia remota est. Oportet igitur mensuram negociorum venari. Maior enim est insania, concupiscere impossibilia.

Isthmia Pindari. Ode I. Herodoto Thebano. [*Inc.*]: (p. 109) Mater mea Thebe, tenens aureum clypeum, tuum opus anteponam aliis negociis: ne mihi aspera Delos succenseat, in qua fudi aliquid gratum bonis parentibus. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 124) Aliquis etiam iuvenum ex myrto nectat coronam Cleandro: quia et nunc in Alcathoi agone felix fuit, et cum prius in Epidauro iuventus exceperit, et praebet eum laudandum bonis. Adolescentiam enim non ignavam in palaestra honestorum iuvenum exercuit. Finis Pindari.

Edition:

1558, Basileae (Basel): per Ioannem Oporinum. BL; Cambridge University Library; Munich, BSB.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

*1563, Wittenbergae (Wittenberg): excudebat Iohannes Crato. Reproduces without alteration the edition of 1558. BL; Cambridge, Univ. Lib.

Biography:

See CTC 2.150; 4.373; 6.150; 7.146; 8.136 and 253.

Bibliography:

Add: J.-É. Girot, *Pindare avant Ronsard. De l'émergence du grec à la publication des "Quatre Premiers Livres des Odes" de Ronsard* (Geneva, 2002), 81–84; 183–87; 201–24; L. Philippson, "Pindar und David," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 46 (1882) 201–5; 217–21; 237–42; 269–71; F. Tissoni, "Lecture pindariche: schede sulla fortuna europea di Pindaro nel primo Cinquecento," *Studi medievali e umanistici* 1 (2003) 153–97.

13. Antonio Sebastiani (Antonio Minturno)

Antonio Sebastiani, known as il Minturno, inserted a translation of the first *Olympian* into his treatise *De poeta* (Venice, 1559). In book 5, on the lyric genre, he reviews various subgenres and indicates the best models for imitation. The primary one, for Minturno, is Pindar.

The version is presented as a juvenile exercise: *verti enim adolescens per ludum*. Executed in Latin verse, it succeeds in creating a perfect metrical calque of the original: the text, in 188 lines subdivided into four regular triads consisting of *Conversio*, *Reversio*, and *Epodus*, not only yields the same number of lines as the original, it scrupulously respects the metrical structure as well. A few techniques associated especially with Pindar, like synaphy and hyperbaton, also appear. The numerous constraints notwithstanding, the Latin is flowing and

elegant. The text of Pindar is that of the Roman edition of 1515, and the metrical interpretation is based on the ancient metrical scholia included in the *Romana*, with very few departures.

Minturno introduces his translation as follows (pp. 394–95): *Ac tametsi neminem esse putat Horatius, qui non frustra conetur illum aemulari, si quis tamen in animum induxerit, ut velit eundem scribendi modum imitari, quod hac aetate audio non deesse, qui moliatur, ne desit quo quidem ille utatur tanquam exemplo, in medium afferam primum illud ex Olympiis carmen. In quo vertendo (verti enim adolescens per ludum) qua caeteri saepe utuntur libertate, si mihi id quoque licere sum arbitratus, praesertim cum in versu trochaico semel pro trochaeo spondeum (quod ipse Pindarus non fecit) secundo posuerim loco, obsecro ne vitio vertatis. Nam quod syllabae inter se divisae, aut potius a verbis abscisae videantur, quarum priores finem versus expleant superioris, subsequentis initium caeterae faciant, nihil profecto mirum. Cum Horatius non semel in hoc idem incidit, ut “Ocium bello furiosa Thrace, / Ocium Medi pharetra decori / Grophe, non gemmis, neque purpura ve- / Nale nec auro.” Nec mirandum sit, quod conversiones plerunque clausulas habeant ita imperfectas, ut quae pars orationis, sive membrum, sive circuitus, sive incisio, non est antegredientis fine conversionis absoluta, absolvatur initio consequentis, cum vel Epodo non usquequaque sententia claudatur.*

Translation (A. Sebastiani Minturnus, *De poeta*, [Venice, 1559], 394–97). [Inc.]: (p. 395) *Conversio*. Aqua est optima rerum, uti / Nocte cum flagrat ignis, / Emicat ante opum omne / Decus egregium nitor auri. / Eloqui certamina / Si lubet numeris, an / Sole sidus aureum / Quod magis niteat / Silenti in aethere, et serena / Die conspicaberis? / Quid nam Olympico canatur / Pulvere praestantius? / Ita celebre melos / Unde funditur bene / Peritis, ut inde resonent / Iovem, splendoros beati adierint / Lares ubi Hieronis, optima . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 397) *Epodus* Canam, ac faciliore cursu / Numeris reperto, / Cito quidem actus ad nobile curru / Cronium. Etenim ipsa mi Musa carminum / Alit validum fulmen; atque rebus / Potentes aliis alii supremaque / Reges capita efferunt boni. / Ne quid supra petas / Ipse, at sit, ut alto / Hanc vitam ita exigas loco, / Tot autem ego victoribus / Reponam, inclytus qui sophia ferar / Graiugenas per omnes.

Edition:

1559, Venetiis (Venice): apud Franciscum Rampazetum. BAV; BNF; Rome, BNC; Milan, Bibl Naz. Braidense. Digital copy available in Google Books.

Biography:

Antonio Sebastiani, known as il Minturno, was born at Minturno (in the province of Naples) in 1500. He studied there and then at Naples with Agostino Nifo; elected to the Accademia Pontaniana in 1526, he was a tutor to members of the Pignatelli family until 1544. In 1551 he went to the University of Pisa, and

subsequently to Rome, summoned by Pope Julius III who made him bishop of Ugenta in Calabria (1559) and then of Crotona, where he remained until his death in 1574. His treatises *De poeta* (Venice, 1559) and *L'arte poetica* (Venice, 1563) are significant contributions to the sixteenth-century debate on Aristotle's *Poetics*. He also wrote poetic works in Latin and Italian.

Bibliography:

C. Bobes, "Teoria de la comedia en la Poetica toscana de Sebastiano Minturno," *Rivista de Letteratura* 70 (2008) 371–404; R. Calderisi, *Antonio Sebastiani Minturno, vita e opere* (Aversa, 1921); B. Croce, "Antonio Minturno," *Poeti e scrittori del pieno e del tardo Rinascimento*, vol. 2 (Bari, 1945), 85–102; A. De Sanctis, "S. A. Minturno umanista del Cinquecento," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 50 (1927–28) 211–14; S. Ussia, "Note sul lessico critico in Antonio Sebastiano Minturno," *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Napoli* 17 (1974–75) 157–71; B. Weinberg, "The Poetic Theories of Minturno," in *Studies in Honor of Frederick W. Shipley* (St. Louis, 1942), 101–30; Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1961, and 1974), *ad indicem*.

14. Henricus Stephanus – Henri Estienne

In 1560 the most successful sixteenth-century translation of Pindar, that of Henricus Stephanus, was published at Geneva. Four further editions followed before 1600, and four more in the early decades after 1600. There were also editions by his son Paulus that utilized the same translation (see *b.* below).

The work is dedicated with great deference to Melancthon, in acknowledgment of a letter from him exhorting Stephanus benevolently to promote the study and publication of Greek texts. Stephanus thanks Melancthon and notes that he has already edited Diodorus Siculus [Geneva, 1559] and will soon publish Xenophon [Geneva, 1561], in addition to the bilingual Pindar he now offers him. Pindar is a poet he has always loved, even more so when he read him in the Melancthon translation. While lauding the Melancthon translation, Stephanus adverts to a difference: whereas his translation, planned for classroom use, will be literal, Melancthon's does not render the text word for word, although it does convey the sense. Regret is expressed that Melancthon had not been able to supervise the work of the printshop personally because of his numerous commitments, and had not even submitted an autograph manuscript to the typesetter.

Stephanus adds that he has always regarded *ad verbum* translation, especially of poetry, as a tree without leaves, but has opted for it in this case in order to help learners, especially beginners, since they will be able to compare the Latin with the Greek original word for word. In the companion volume, Stephanus declares,

he has published and translated all the texts he could find of the eight other lyric poets, and expresses the hope that the gift will not be displeasing to Melancthon, even though he (Stephanus) would have wished to offer him something more worthy, as testimony of his esteem and friendship; but he who gives all he possesses merits gratitude in any case. (See *Fragmenta* below for the Pindar fragments.) Stephanus ends with the wish that God may permit Melancthon, now very old, to enrich the republic of letters with his work for many years to come.

To the dedication are appended a few texts: Horace, ode 4.2, lines 1–27; and three Greek epigrams (*AP* VII, 34 e 35; XVI 305).

The Latin translation is in prose, and corresponds to the author's profession of strict literality; the Greek text is printed *en regard*, so that young students may move from one to the other with ease; even the impagination attempts, as far as possible, to respect the correspondence between Greek text and Latin translation.

A few diacritics are employed in the translation: incomplete square brackets indicate that which the translator has added with respect to the original Greek; the asterisk marks textual variants or at any rate cruxes in the text; and, following a custom inaugurated by the Zwingly edition of Pindar, the *sententiae* are set off by double quotation marks in the outside margin, on both right and left.

At the end a few texts of use for teaching purposes appear: two lives of Pindar, the first *Scholiis Graecis praefixa*, the second *ex Suida*; two texts dealing with Pindar's meters, *De strophis, antistrophis et epodis, ex prolegomenis scholiorum in Pindarum* and *Aliter de iisdem*. The appendix concludes with the life of Pindar by Lilius Gregorius Giralduus (Lilio Gregorio Giralaldi), taken from the ninth dialogue of his *Historiae poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum dialogi decem* (Basel, 1545).

a. *The original version*

Dedication (ed. of [Geneva], 1560). Henricus Stephanus Philippo Melancthoni S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: (p. 3) Redditae mihi nuper tuae literae fuerunt, Philippe, (literarum et literatorum decus) non solum humanitatis plenae, sed insigne etiam tuae erga me propemodum paternae benevolentiae indicium praebentes. Quibus quod me ad promovendum Graecae linguae thesaurum vehementer hortatus es, currenti (ut aiunt) calcar addidisti: quod autem et tu et Ioachimus Camerarius vestrum mihi de opere illo consilium aperuistis, hoc sane pacto longe planiorem facilioremque meo cursui viam patefecistis. Sed eum (ne quis tarditatem pedum aut segnitiem in causa esse putet) crebra remorata sunt hactenus remoranturque etiam nunc diverticula. Sic autem appello ea praesertim quae Graecorum scriptorum editio mihi affert avocamenta. Ea autem qualia quantaque esse soleant, nuper declaravit editus a me Diodorus Siculus, declarabit propediem (Deo favente) Xenophon, / declarat iam nunc lyricorum princeps

Pindarus. Quem certe poetam ego semper quidem magni (pro eo ac debui) feci: sed tum demum maximi faciendum putavi quum te, inter tot tantasque occupationes, interpretatione tua dignatum esse illius carmina cognovi. Commodum autem in manus meas illa venit, quum de apponenda Graecis Latina translatione (ut in hac lingua tyronibus et rudibus gratificarer) cogitare coepissem. Quavis enim illum ita interpretatus sis ut singulis verbis te minime adstrinxeris, nec verborum numerum sed pondus examinaveris, ad hanc tamen verbis alligatam, et (ut vulgus appellat) ad verbum interpretationem, maximum adiumentum illo tuo labore attulisti. Utinam tamen tantum tibi a gravioribus tuis magisque seriis occupationibus otii fuisset, ut ex tuo autographo translationem tuam dare excudendam tibi vacare potuisset. Caeterum ego, qui omnes Graecos scriptores (praesertimque poetas) ad verbum translatos, arboribus quibus autumnus suum foliorum honorem decussit, comparare soleo, in nullo magis quam in Pindaro comparationem hanc locum habere existimo. Cur ergo talem eius interpretationem edidi? Nimirum ut ab iis qui sunt in hac lingua tyrones, ut dixi, gratiam inirem, Graeca cum Latinis (quod in libera minimeque adstricta interpretatione nequeunt) conferre cupientibus, et rudem quandam in animo habere sententiae informationem contentis. Exhibet autem velut appendicem hic libellus, reliquorum octo lyricorum carmina quaecunque sparsa per authores invenire potui. Quo certe nomine hoc munusculum gratius tibi fore confido. Utinam tamen maiore teque digniore aliqua in re tibi gratificando, mei erga te mutui amoris, et tantae, quanta coli mereris, observantiae testimonium dare possem. Sed (ut ait ille) qui quam potuit dat maxima, gratus abunde est. Deus Opt. Max. te canitie tuae fructibus Rempub. literariam diu locupletare sinat. Vale Musaeae parens patriae. Ex tipographeio nostro. Cal. April.

Translation. Pindari Olympia. Ex nova interpretatione, eaque ad verbum. Hieroni Syracusano, equo celete victoriam adepto. Ode I. [*Inc.*]: (p. 9) Optima quidem [est] aqua, et aurum (velut ardens ignis noctu) excellit eximie inter superbificas divitias: at si certamina narrare cupis, anime mi, ne iam sole contempleris aliud splendidius astrum, lucens interdiu per desertum aetherem: neque Olympico certamen / (p. 11) praestantius dicemus, unde celeberrimus hymnus contexitur doctorum ingeniis, ut decantent Saturni filium, venientes opulentam [et] beatam Hieronis domum: *iustum qui regit sceptrum in divite pecoris Sicilia, decerpens quidem summitates ex singulis virtutibus: resplendet autem et musices in flore, qualiter ludimus frequenter [nos] viri circa mensam iucundam. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (pp. 157–59) Nigros muros [habentem] domum Persephoneae vade Echo, patri nobile ferens nuntium, Cleodamum ut intuita filium, dicas quod ei iuvenilem / (p. 159) in finibus illustris Pisae coronavit inclytorum certaminum pennis caesariem.

Pindari Pythia. Hieroni Aetnaeo Syracusano, curru victoriam adepto. Ode I. [*Inc.*]: (p. 159) Aurea cithara Apollinis, et nigrum capillitium [habentium]

Musarum consona possessio, quam audit quidem rhythmus, laetitiae initium / (p. 161) et parent cantores signis [tuis] quum choris praeuentium prooemiorum praeludia facis, et cuspidatum fulmen extinguis aeterni ignis, dormitque sub sceptro Iovis aquila, velocem alam utrinque laxans, *dux avium nigramque nubem (palpebrarum suave claustrum) super aduncum eius rostrum infundis. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 345) Quod si qua felicitas inter homines [est] non sine labore existit: sed eam ad exitum perducet aut hodie [aut postea] deus. Certe fatale decretum non evitabile: sed erit id tempus quod alicui quum desperationem immiserit, contra opinionem hoc quidem dabit, illud autem nondum.

Pindari Nemea. Chromio Aetnaeo. Ode I. [Inc.]: (p. 347) Respiramen magnificum Alpei, inclytarum Syracusarum germen, Ortygia, cubile Artemidis, Deli soror: a te suaviloquus hymnus aggreditur exponere laudem procelipedum magnam equorum, Iovis Aetnaei in gratiam. Currus etiam Chromii incitat Nemeaque ad contexendum laudatorium melos factis victorialibus. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (pp. 473–75) Antiquae autem virtutes, *recuperant robur quae permutantur hominum seculis. Sed enim nec nigra arva fructum dant continua serie, nec arbores volunt omnibus annorum recursibus florem odoratum ferre, divitiis parem: sed alternis. Eodem pacto et mortale robur *regit fatum. A Iove autem homines / (p. 475) certus non sequitur exitus, sed tamen in superbias ingredimur, opera multa molientes vincta sunt enim impudenti spe membra, providentiaeque longe remoti sunt fluxus. Lucrorum autem oportet certum modulum venari. Desideria enim [rerum] ad quas perveniri non potest, [habent] acriorem insaniam.

Pindari Isthmia. Herodoto Thebano. Ode I. [Inc.]: (p. 477) Mater mea aureo clypeo [insignis] Theba, existimabo tuum negotium etiam potius occupatione [mea], ne mihi aspera succenseat Delus, in quam sum effusus [toto animo]. Quid est charius bonis [viris] quam venerandi parentes? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 549) Eum profecto non dedecorat eximii genus patru, ideoque coetaneorum aliquis nectat coronam myrti splendidam Cleandro ob [victoriam] pancrati. Siquidem eum Alcathoi certamen cum felici sorte et in Epidauro iuventus antea exceptit: quem laudandum [cuilibet viro] strenuo praebet, pubertatem enim non expertem praeclarorum [facinorum] sub latibulo consumpsit.

Editions:

1560, [Geneva]: excudebat Henr. Stephanus, illustris viri Huldrichi Fuggeri typographus. BAV; BL; Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense. Digital copy in Google Books.

1566, [Geneva]: excudebat Henr. Stephanus, illustris viri Huldrichi Fuggeri typographus. BL; BNF; Genoa, Bibl. Univ.; Milan, Bibl. Trivulziana and Bibl. Naz. Braidense; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib. Digital copy in Google Books.

1567, Antverpiae [Antwerp]: ex officina Christophori Plantini. A reprint of the 1560 edition. In the dedicatory letter, “Philippo Melanchthoni” is abbreviated

to “P. M.” The Greek text and that of the Latin translation are laid out in two columns on the same page, but apart from this (elegant) change of impagination, the rest is identical. BAV; BL; BNF; Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib. Digital copy in Google Books.

1586, [Geneva]: apud Henricum Stephanum. Editio III Graecolatina H. Steph. recognitione quorundam interpretationis locorum, et accessione lyricorum carminum locupletata, 2 vols. The Pindaric part conforms to the preceding editions. In vol. 1, pp. 411–14 “Ex observationibus Isaaci Casaubon.” BAV; BL; BNF; Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense; Toronto, Victoria Univ., CRRS Lib. Digital copy in Google Books.

1598, Lugduni (Lyons): apud Ioan. Pillehotte. Ex typographia Ioannis Hanard, alias Iamet. Editio postrema, multis versibus ad calcem adiectis locupletata. The Pindaric part reproduces the preceding editions. BAV; BL; BNF. Digital copy in Google Books.

1600, [Geneva]: Oliva Pauli Stephani. Editio IIII Graecolatina H. Steph. recognitione quorundam interpretationis locorum et accessione lyricorum carminum locupletata. There are no variations. BAV; BL; BNF; Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense. Digital copy in Google Books.

*1612, [Geneva]: Oliva Pauli Stephani. Editio V Graecolatina H. Steph. recognitione quorundam interpretationis locorum, et accessione lyricorum carminum locupletata.

*1624, Ebroduni (Yverdon CH): ex societas Helvet. Caldoriana. Editio VI Graecolatina H. Steph. recognitione quorundam interpretationis locorum, et accessione lyricorum carminum locupletata.

*1626, [Geneva]: Oliva Pauli Stephani. Nonnulla etiam aliorum ed. V Graecolatina H. Steph. recognitione quorundam interpretationis locorum et accessione lyricorum carminum locupletata. (The copy in the Bibl. Nat. Suisse bears the date “1526”; Toronto, PIMS Lib. also bears the date “1526”).

b. *The edition of Paulus Stephanus and Isaac Casaubon (1599)*

Paulus Stephanus, while continuing to supervise reprints of his father’s translation alone, also prepared a new edition of Pindar in 1599 with input from the great Graecist Isaac Casaubon. While retaining the same translation he added an edition of the *scholia vetera* as a commentary on all the odes, and the *scholia recentia* on the *Olympians*, attributed to Demetrius Triclinius. This is the third edition of the scholia, following the *Romana* of 1515 and the *Francofurtina* of 1542. The latter is the base text for this edition by Paulus Stephanus.

In the dedication to Iacobus Bongarsius (Jacques Bongars, CERL: cnp01162784), Paulus Stephanus stresses that the texts have been revised, observing that in prior editions there were cases where text and corresponding scholium might present variant readings, and often enough gross errors. He adds

that he left the whole task of revision to his brother-in-law, Isaac Casaubon. But the biographical literature states that Casaubon had left Geneva for Montpellier in 1596, so the task may have been interrupted by his departure and published later. Casaubon had already collaborated on the third Pindar edition of Henricus Stephanus ([Geneva], 1586) with some *observationes* that deal with difficult passages (pp. 411–14).

The apparatus from the editions of Henricus Stephanus appear at the beginning, combined with that from the edition of Frankfurt 1542. Following the *Olympians* (at pp. 129–82), the scholia recentia are printed in Greek, again in a text derived from the 1542 edition. A detailed metrical analysis (in Greek) precedes every ode. As mentioned, the translation is that of H. Stephanus, so it is not reproduced here.

Dedication (ed. of [Genève], 1599). Nobilissimo viro Iacobo Bongarsio P. Stephanus. [*Inc.*]: (sig. ¶ii) Ἀριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, inquit hic noster Pindarus, vir clarissime, nempe quod sit elementorum praecipuum; deinde metallis omnibus aurum ubi praetulit, solis etiam inter astra splendorem praecellere contendit . . . / (sig. ¶iiv) Quot autem mendis scateat vetus quae extat editio, nosti, opinor, optime, quae saepe aliter in textu, aliter in scholiis scriptum habet; circa nomina propria raro sibi constans, circa distinctiones depravatissima, et quae versus hinc inde citat corruptissime. Nonnulla certe menda quum in margine annotata haberem, de quibus olim collatum a me fuerat cum affini coniunctissimo Isaaco Casaubono, re nuper ipsi ac recens communicata, quia mihi spem suarum observationum fecit, sub ipsius incudem omnia remisi: quarum fruitionem lectori, / (sig. ¶ 3) ubi primum dabitur, non invidebo. [*Expl.*]: Tu modo circa scholiasten nostrum, corruptissime inquam a veteri illo exemplari exhibitum, hac nostra editione multis in locis emendatiorem, nobis facilis esto, dulcis amor Musarum; atque huc interdum a tot et tantis negotiis regredere, et quam Olympiada decertare iuvet, delige. Vale. Tui observantissimus P. Stephanus.

Edition:

1599, [Geneva]: Oliva Pauli Stephani. BAV; BNF; Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib. Digital copy in Google Books.

Biography:

For Henricus Stephanus, see CTC 3.48; 7.98 and 8.152.

Bibliography:

Add: B. Boudou, *Mars et les Muses dans l'Apologie pour Herodote d'Henri Estienne* (Geneva, 2000); Boudou, "La place de la mémoire dans la composition chez Henri Estienne," *Nouvelle Revue du XVIIe siècle* 20 (2002) 57–72; Boudou, "Traduttore, traditore: Henri Estienne et la trahison philologique," *Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance* 63 (2006) 39–58; Boudou, "Henri Estienne lecteur des

traductions latines des Psaumes,” *Biblia: Les bibles en latin au temps des Réformes*, dir. Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (Paris, 2008), 129–14; J. Kecskeméti, Boudou, and H. Cazes, *La France des Humanistes. Henri II Estienne, éditeur et écrivain* (Turnhout, 2003).

For Paulus Stephanus: L.-G. Michaud, *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1843–65) and Antoine-Augustin Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne, ou Histoire de la famille des Estienne et de ses éditions* (Paris, 1837; 1843).

15. Nicolaus Selneccerus

Daniel Selneccerus published the treatise on classical meters composed by his father Johannes Selneccerus, *Brevis et utilis libellus prosodiae*, in 1568, at the latter's suggestion. It is dedicated to his fellow student Fridericus Vuidebrandus Jr., and contains the Pindaric *sententiae* collected by another family member, the celebrated theologian Nicolaus Selneccerus, a pupil of Melancthon. Various texts follow the dedicatory letter: poems by Fridericus Vuidebrandus and I. Lauterbachius, and three texts in prose by Melancthon, Ioachim Camerarius, and Iacob Micyllus.

The *sententiae* are printed in Greek. They are not translated literally, but paraphrased, in line with criteria established by Melancthon, who preferred a free rendering of the sense rather than strict adherence to the letter. Some are merely commented on, with frequent citations from Horace; in one case the Latin translation is augmented by a version in German.

Titlepage. *Brevis et utilis libellus prosodiae, olim scriptus in usum discipulorum rationem recte et eleganter scribendi Graecos et Latinos versus. Dicta Pindarica Graeca, olim puerili studio collecta, cum brevi esplicatione et indicatione sententiae cuiuslibet dicti, autore Nicolao Selneccero.*

Dedication (ed. of Leipzig, 1568). Daniel Selneccerus, *Optimae indolis et spei puero Friderico Vuidebrando, Viri claris. D. M. Friderici Vuidebrandi vatis praestantissimi, filio, condiscipulo suo carissimo, S. D. [Inc.]: (p. 2) Cum parens tuus, Friderice carissime, Vir clarissimus, suo quodam iure editionem huius libelli, quem tibi mitto, a patre meo flagitaret, nulla alia de caussa, nisi quod iudicaret, hunc libellum, quem a patre meo ante annos quatuordecim in / gratiam et usum Iohannis Rudingeri, Vratislavensis patricii, piae memoriae, (cuius immaturum obitum, addita insigni cum ingenii, tum virtutum ipsius praedicatione, saepe pater meus deplorat) scriptum esse accepi, tibi, cui ille donaretur, non fore infrugiferum, pater meus qui tuo parenti ratione, seu potius religione amicitiae sanctae, piae, arctae et firmae, denegare nihil potest, me iussit, ut ad te ego hunc qualemcunque Prosodiae libellum dono mitterem. . . . Adiungi autem pater voluit formulam versificationis, ut vocant, iuxta quam et iudicii et memoriae*

causa institueremus nostrae puerilis doctrinae exercitia, adiumento assumpto ex libello versuum sententiosorum edito, diligentia et studio M. Bartolomaei Schonborn, Viri doctiss. et veteri amicitia utriusque nostrum / parentibus coniunctissimi, ad quos nostrum erit addere ex lectionibus nostris plures Poetarum flosculos, conducentes doctrinae et virtutis studio. Dicere profecto non possum, quam delectetur exercitio illo versificandi pater meus, cum suavitate et elegancia illius ipsius exercitii, tum motus auctoritate D. Philippi, sanctiss. praeceptoris, beatae memoriae, cuius recordatione exhilaratur ipse, quoties exercitii huius mentio fit. Sententias etiam ex Pindaro olim Vuitebergae collectas tibi pater donari voluit, quas una recitatas tantum ordine, non servata triernionum, aut carminis Lyrici ratione, de qua alias pater meus disseret, tibi mitto . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 4v) Lipsiae, mense Novembri, durante adhuc συνόδῳ κριτικῇ, cuius catastrophe ut sit laeta et κορυότροφος, totis pectoribus / Deum precari debemus. / Iterum vale. / M. D. LXVIII.

Translation. Sententiae Pindaricae olim collectae studio Nicolai Selneckeri. [*Inc.*]: (p. 143) I Ode Olympiorum. [*Ol.* 1.28–30] Fabulae artificiose narratae, saepe prepollent veritati. [*Ol.* 1.30–32] Poemata sua dulcedine etiam quae fieri non possunt, credibilia faciunt. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 191) [*Ist.* 8.25–29] Praesens bonum futuro, quod ambiguum est, praeferendum est. [*Ist.* 8.29–31] Libertas est summum bonum. [*Ist.* 8.31] Decet bonam spem homini curae esse [*Ist.* 8.130–132] Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori.

Editions:

1568, Lipsiae (Leipzig): Iohannes Rhamba Excudebat. BNF. Digital copy in Google Books.

1573, Lipsiae (Leipzig): Iohanne Rhamba excudebat. Identical to the first edition. BSB.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

Biography:

See CTC 2.104.

Bibliography:

See CTC 2.104. Add: H.J. De Vries, “Nicolaus Selnecker and Visual Portrayal of the Psalmist,” *Daphnis* 26 (1997) 19–27; R. Kolb, “Nikolaus Selnecker,” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* (New York and Oxford, 1996), 43; *Nikolaus Selnecker 1530–1592*, ed. A. Eckert-H. Suss (Hersbruck, 1980).

16. Nicolaus Sudorius – Nicolas Le Sueur

The translation by the Frenchman Nicolaus Sudorius marks a turning point in the sixteenth-century reception of Pindar: it is the first complete Latin translation in verse; it is unconnected with the realm of classroom instruction, and

gives primacy to the purely literary aspect, being directed at cultivated contemporaries; it is published in a country with a linguistic heritage flowing directly from Latin and is not the work of a Protestant; and finally, the author is a servant of the state, not a professional man of letters.

The enterprise took close to a decade to complete, from the first edition of the *Olympians* in 1575 to the comprehensive edition of the odes in 1582; that the author pursued it to the end would seem to verify that it was well received. In his various dedications Sudorius illustrates the aspects that ought to give this new public reason to welcome Pindar, especially the dedicatees, the king and senior members of the state apparatus: poetry confers immortality on the deeds of men, hence the ancient kings and emperors gave hospitality to poets (the dedication to Henri III in the complete edition of 1582); poetry has always been loved by great heads of state, who were often poets themselves (the dedication of the *Olympians* to Christophe de Thou); in Pindar's poetry may be found lessons pertaining to good government and the practice of all the virtues (the dedication of the *Pythians* to Christophe de Thou); the ancients educated youth in both mind and body, and Pindar exalts these values (dedication of the *Nemeans* to Phillippe Hurault de Cheverny); just as the ancient victors were crowned with various tree branches, the dedicatee merits wreathes of olive and laurel for his varied literary activity (dedication of the *Isthmians* to Guy Du Faur de Pibrac).

As Sudorius himself states in his prefaces, he did not aim to translate *ad verbum*, but tried instead to preserve the spirit of Pindar, expressing him in Horatian language and meters; he has labored to make the Latin elegant and proper, dismissing all the previous translations, in which, he writes, Pindar was always made to speak Greek in Latin words, creating a monstrous hybrid. The best definition of the aspirations of Sudorius is found in an epigram of Federicus Morel in the 1582 edition: "Voces, Flacce, tuae; res est tua, Pindare, tota."

The Sudorius translation was warmly greeted by contemporary men of letters, as we see in the verses of Jean Dorat at the end of the *Olympians* and those of Jonathas Petit and Federicus Morel at the end of the edition of 1582. In 1578 Ronsard addressed a laudatory sonnet to him.

a. The edition of the *Olympians*, 1575

This imprint launched the project of Sudorius. The novelty of the work, and the author's unusually high social status, are evidenced by the dedication to Christophe de Thou, *premier président* of the Parlement de Paris, the high court of the realm. Sudorius underlines how the greatest political figures of Antiquity did not disdain to read the poets, and often to write verse themselves. This is the case of De Thou himself, occupied for many years in the administration of the realm, yet a student of ancient poetry, and the author of excellent verse. But if the poets enjoy wide admiration, the men of letters who comment on and translate

them do not enjoy the same prestige; yet we must not forget the extent to which the Romans studied the Greek authors, and also translated them. Many great Greek poets have been turned elegantly in Latin, but Pindar has had a different fate, for his grandeur was such that no Greek or Latin dared to follow him. One characteristic of his excellence is his frequent *excursus*, which Sudorius is at a loss whether to excuse, or praise: they often interrupt the discourse or dilate on secondary themes, for example when praise is directed to the home city of the victor instead of to the victor himself. But such digressions are proper to lyric poetry, and praise of cities has relevance inasmuch as they have shown their capacity to raise strong and virtuous men.

At the end, Sudorius comments on his own translation. It is significant that he uses the term *exprimere*, not *transferre* or a similar word: as he observes, he has not thought it necessary to include a Latin equivalent for every word of the Greek, but has chosen rather to reproduce Pindar's thought in words and verse that conform to Latin elegance.

The translation in print corresponds to the author's stated intention: the meters used are Horace's, and the Horatian ode selected as a model is indicated at the start of each text (often ode 1.9). The style register is also elevated, echoing Horace especially, but other Latin poets as well. More than a translation, what we have is a transposition of Pindar's general sense into the world of Latin poetry, with the consequent loss of many characteristic particulars, and the advantage of an impressive formal brilliance.

The translations are followed by the *Argumenta odarum* (preceded in the case of the fifth and eighth odes). The volume ends with several poetic compositions by Sudorius and others: an epitaph for the death of Charles IX, and a text in hexameters dedicated to Sudorius himself under the name "Nicolaus Suaerus," composed by G. Valens Guellius (probably Germain Vaillant de Guéllis, CERL cnp00982251), a future bishop of Orléans and a refined man of letters. The final piece is an elegy in praise of the translation by Io. Auratus (Jean Dorat), lauding Sudorius for having undertaken a task hitherto unattempted: he did not fear the surge of the Pindaric torrent, nor rely on failing Daedalean wings; his wings were powerful, and with his verses he has lifted the victors above the stars.

Dedication (ed. of Paris, 1575). Ad amplissimum virum Christophorum Thuanum, in intimo Consilio Regis Consiliarium et Parisiensis Curiae Primum Praesidem, N. SVD. P. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1r) Solonem Atheniensem, Vir amplissime, non solum prudentem Legislatorem, sed egregium etiam Poetam fuisse scripta eius abunde testantur: quorum nonnulla, quasi e communi illo bonarum litterarum naufragio servata, ad nostram usque aetatem permansere. . . / (fol. 3v) Quod si alii poetae Graeci, ut Sophocles, Euripides, Homerus, Theocritus, elegantiae, gravitatis, et doctrinae ergo aliquando Latinitate donati sunt, Pindarus certe poeta huiusmodi est, ut in civitatem Romanam summis praemiis

propositis, ultro etiam allici et invitari debeat. Etenim, quemadmodum Quintilianus ait, spiritus magnificentia, sententiis, figuris, rerum ac verborum copia, et veluti quodam flumine eloquentiae perfecit, ne quis eum unum ex omnibus Poetis Graecis et Latinis sequi hactenus aut / imitari auderet. Duo sunt omnino in hoc vate excellenti, quae nescio an excusare, an vero potius profiteri, laudare, et praedicare debeam: Unum, quod saepe instituto sermone abrupto, et plane derelicto, in aliarum rerum magnarum certe, et cognitione dignarum, vacua spatia libere vel potius licenter excurrit; Alterum, quod sumpto sibi et proposito victore aliquo, diutius nonnunquam in patria illius, quam propria et peculiari virtute laudanda immoratur. Verum enimvero longiusculas illas digressiones, quas Graeci ἐκβάσεις appellant, et a Pindaro, et a caeteris Lyricis, Dithyrambicisque poetis usurpatas fuisse existimare debemus: partim ut hoc genere scribendi lectorum fastidium vitarent, partim ut diversarum rerum, sententiarum, historiarum, fabularum coacervatione, furoris et cuiusdam divini afflatus opinionem sibi in vulgus artificiose quaerent. In civitatum vero et populorum encomia et laudes Pindarum propensiolem, et quodammodo effusiolem esse oportuit. Quod veteri Graeciae instituto in certaminibus, ludisque publicis, non solum victores praemiis affici solerent, sed etiam victorum civitates, urbesque coronari, quae viros fortes et egregios, et laude dignos protulissent. Nos vero in hoc Poeta exprimendo non omnia eius verba reddere et referre necessarium nobis esse duximus, sed eius tantummodo sententiam, mentemque complecti his versibus et verbis, quae non a linguae Romanae usu, et Latini sermonis nitore abhorrent. [*Expl.*]: (fol. 4r) Quicquid autem a nobis hac in re praestitum est, quod sentio quam sit exiguum, tibi potissimum dicare et consecrare opportunum visum est, cuius in nos nullo nostro merito egregiam semper humanitatem experti sumus.

Translation. Olympia Pindari Latino carmine reddita, per Nicolaum Sudorium, in suprema Parlamenti Curia Consil. Reg. Ode Pindari prima, Hieroni Syracusano regi, equestri certamine victoriam adepti. Eodem numero quo apud Horat. *Vides ut alta stet nive candidum.* [*Inc.*]: (fol. 5r) Natura pollens utilius nihil / Produxit undis: inter opes nihil / Splendescit aequae sicut auri / Ignea vis, nitidusque fulgor. // Argiva quod si dicere praelia, / Fortesque pugnas, vis, anime impiger, / Ne sole mireris relicto / Noctivagae faciem Dianae . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 32v) Atque illic memora Cleiodamo patri / Victoris pueri, natus uti tener / Flavi caesariem verticis auream / Ramo Palladiae cinxerit arboris, / Ventis vere novo flantibus ocyor. Olympiorum Pindari finis.

Edition:

1575, Lutetiae (Paris): ex officina Federici Morelli Typographi Regii. (*Olympians*). BNF; Cambridge, Univ. Lib. Digital copy in Google Books.

b. *The edition of the Pythians, 1576*

A year after the publication of the translation of the *Olympians*, Sudorius printed his version of the *Pythians*, also in Horatian meters. The preface, addressed as before to Christophorus Thuanus, reprises a theme familiar from previous translations, the morality of Pindar, especially his utility for the correct exercise of civic duties. Sudorius stresses that the ancients invented not just remedies for the ills of the body, but for those of the spirit as well. It was a task for philosophers and poets; Homer in particular offered mankind shining examples of the triumph of virtue over vice. While he may hold the first place, the second belongs to Pindar; in his odes he exalts good government, temperance, and fortitude in bearing pain; they contain all that is needed to train youth in good customs.

But there is more to Pindar than just the obvious moral themes; in his verse there is such splendor, gravity, and magniloquence that Horace properly compares them to an impetuous torrent that carries all before it. Nor should Pindar's ability to describe things so vividly as to set them practically before our eyes, like a painting, be overlooked. An example is the description of Mount Etna in the first *Pythian*. All these qualities have impelled Sudorius to rescue such beautiful poems from the shadows, and bring them back into the light, with a slightly free rendering of the difficult passages.

To the objection that the task has detained him from his high institutional responsibilities, Sudorius responds that the reading and translation of Pindar are not alien to his duties, are indeed most helpful in carrying them out. He reaffirms that he has opted for a free translation, on account of the different nature of the Greek and Latin languages, whereas others have forced the Greek writers to speak Greek in Latin vocables, and in focusing narrowly on each and every syllable, have strayed far from the meaning.

As with the *Olympians*, Horatian meters are used and the Horatian ode imitated is cited at the start, and as before, the *Argumenta odarum* and some Latin verse by Sudorius form an appendix.

Dedication (ed. of Paris, 1576). Ad amplissimum virum Christophorum Thuanum, in intimo Consilio Regis Consiliarium et Parisiensis Curiae primum Praesidem, Praefatio Nicolai Sudorii in Pythia Pindari e Graeco sermone in Latinum conversa. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 2r) Cum antiquis illis et heroicis temporibus (Vir amplissime) humanum genus nullis adhuc libidinum et voluptatum pravis oblectationibus deditum esset, sed frugaliter, sobrie et naturae convenienter viveret, pauci admodum, ut Plato scribit, in civitatibus medici erant: atque ii corporum morbos simpliciter quadam et aperta et minime subtili ratione curabant . . . Sicuti autem statim initio ab hominibus ingenio praestantibus facilis illa et minime curiosa corporum medicina inventa est quam doctissimus vir

Hippocrates ἀρχαίην ἱητρικὴν appellat, sic etiam aegritudinum animi multa olim ab excellentibus viris remedia quaesita et comparata sunt. Quae omnia antiquitas uno Philosophiae nomine comprehendit. Atque haec ipsa philosophia a poetis omnium primis excolta et tractata est. . . / (fol. 3v) Longum esset si recensere vellem ut semper apud Homerum dissimilia vitae morumque instituta dissimiles quoque exitus et praemia poenae consequantur. . . Post illum autem omnis poeticae facultatis et elegantioris doctrinae authorem antiquissimum, facile doctorum omnium iudicio secundum Pindarus locum obtinuit, qui cum in ea tempora incidisset, quibus in Graecia egregia paucorum hominum virtus adversus infinitam Persarum multitudinem enituisse dicitur, immensam illam et infinitam eloquentiam suam totam in magnorum et excellentium viro- rum perpetua commendatione ac laude consumpsit. Quod si singularum eius odarum materiam et argumenta diligenter / excutias, hanc de optimo reipublicae statu, illam de temperantia et continentia, aliam de dolore fortiter tolerando conscriptam invenies: caeterisque omnibus nihil fere nisi grave et serium et iuventutis moribus conformandis valde necessarium contineri. . . . Atque haec quae diximus in rebus ipsis elucet, in verbis autem et numeris Pindari tantus est splendor, tanta gravitas, tanta sublimitas et grandiloquentia ut eum non immerito Horatius violentissimi torrentis more incitatum ruere, omniaque sibi obvia rapere secum et auferre dixerit. Non praetereunda est hoc loco Aristotelis verissima sententia, qui in libro de arte poetica scribit, excellentis poetae summum artificium esse, τὰ πράγματα τίθεσθαι πρὸ ὀμμάτων, hoc est, omnia ita luculente describere, ut quae narrantur non recitari, sed potius fieri coram gerique videantur. Huius tam egregij operis sibi gloriam et palmam suo quodam iure Thebanus vates vindicat: argumento est locus ille primae Pythiorum Odae, in quo montis Aetnae, illa aetate insignis, fumi atque ignes certis temporum vicibus distincti, non tam commemorantur, quam quasi in tabula efficti pictique proponuntur. . . / Quod vero in uno tantummodo ingeniosissimi poetae carmine ostendimus, id per alios omnes hymnos aequaliter sparsum et diffusum reperietur. Quae omnia cum apud me saepissime reputarem et considerarem, operae pretium me facturum existimavi si poema longe pulcherrimum ex obscurissimis antiquitatis tenebris eruerem, et adhibita paulo liberiori ac fusiori difficilium locorum interpretatione in lucem solemque proferrem. Nec vero defuturos arbitror qui me (quoniam in literis aetatem agere decrevi) ad studia quaedam poeticis fabulis severiora revocent, nostramque operam et industriam, si qua est, melius multo in iure civili illustrando quam in poeta dithyrambico imitando collocari potuisse existiment. Verumenimvero, ut personae quam sustinemus nonnulla alia magis convenire et congruere fatemur, et ne illa ipsa aliquando attingere liceat, minime nobis interdictum putamus: sic Pindaricam poesim tot rerum gravium et magnarum cognitione abundantem, ad vitae communis usum spectare in primis et pertinere arbitramur.

. . ./. . . [Expl.]: (fol. 5r) Scio equidem, et ingenue prae me fero, non me singula curiose authoris verba quasi appensa et adnumerata reddidisse. Sed culpam hac in re, si qua nostra est, hi facile excusabunt qui utriusque linguae proprietatem, conditionem, et quasi genium novere. Tanta enim illarum inter se diversitas et differentia est, ut qui singulas Graeci scriptoris voces interpretari velit, ineptissime in Latino sermone Graece loqui cogatur: et dum syllabis adhaeret et affixus est, a sententia sensuque authoris longissime aberret. Atque utinam (Vir amplissime) caeteros omnes tam aequos laboris nostri iudices et aestimatores habeamus, quam te ipsum futurum confidimus, cuius is est candor eaque eruditio et virtute quaesita auctoritas, ut Pindarus Thebanus gratiorem se omnibus et acceptiorem quam antea fore crediderit, si more Graecorum te sibi in Gallia προστάτην, et patronum peregrinus incola delegisset.

Translation. Pythia Pindari Latino carmine reddita, per Nicolaum Sudorium, in suprema Parlamenti Curia Praesidem Inquisitionum. Ode prima Hieroni Aetnaeo, Syracusano regi, curru victoriam adepti, quae incipit Χρυσέα φόρμιγγι Ἀπόλλων-. Eodem numero, quo Horatium, *Vides ut alta stet nive candidum*. [Inc.]: (fol. 6r) Flavi supellex aurea Cynthii, / Grata et suorum dos Aganippidum / Testudo dulcis, quae choraeis / Imperitas agilis iuventae. // Cui cantus et vox paret, ubi sonum / Percussa primum mittit in aera. . ./. . . [Expl.]: (fol. 45r) Nil faustum ambiguis absque periculis / Mortales hilarat: si quem hodie sinu / Amplexuque suo sors bona reppulit, / Cras laetum excipiet libens. // Fati nemo fugit ferrea vincula: / Tempus saepe favens dat bona languidis / Desperata animis, saepe alio rapit / Expectata niger dies. Finis Pythiorum.

Edition:

1576, Lutetiae (Paris): ex officina Federici Morelli Typographi Regii. (*Pythians*). BNF. Digital copy in Google Books (lacking pages 6r, blank, and 6v, containing the beginning of the translation of *Pythian 1*):

c. The edition of 1582

In this year Sudorius brought out his complete verse translation of Pindar, augmented by a commentary on the *Nemeans*. It incorporates the preceding editions of *Olympians* and *Pythians*, with their original titlepages and the original pagination (but with the date altered to 1582). There follow, with a new titlepage and new continuous pagination, the *Nemeans*, the *Isthmians*, and the commentary on the *Nemeans*.

The work opens with a solemn *Praefatio* to the king of France, Henri III, which reworks a Pindaric commonplace frequently employed when addressing those in power: poets, in singing the deeds of great men, consecrate them to immortality. In ancient times there existed writers who conferred eternity on great accomplishments, like Pindar. Orpheus immortalized the voyage of the

Argonauts; Homer, the Trojan War; Herodotus, the wars of the Greeks and Persians; Virgil, Augustus and the birth of Rome. Hence the great emperors loved to surround themselves with poets who would record their deeds, as did Alexander the Great. Ancient Gaul too had its bards, who sung the feats of heroes, and Charlemagne himself is said to have collected and published ancient Gallic poems for the people to sing. The enterprises of François I and Henri II, kings of France, were extolled by poets, but in the vernacular language. Latin is employed somewhat less in France—hence Sudorius may be pardoned for having dared to write in his own mediocre Latin. He has nevertheless given himself over fully to the enterprise, hitherto unattempted, of interpreting Pindar in Latin, both because his odes set forth fundamental moral examples, and in order to make his sublime poetry accessible to all. Thus, having presented individual books to leading personalities of the kingdom, he has seen fit to dedicate the complete work to the king.

As noted, the first part of the volume reprints the *Olympians* of 1575 and the *Pythians* of 1576. The *Nemeans* are introduced by a *Praefatio* addressed to another important figure, the chancellor Philippum Huraltum Chivernium (Philippe Hurault de Cheverny, son-in-law of Christophe de Thou, who had died that year). It takes education for its theme, with numerous examples drawn from Greek and Latin writers. Education in ancient Greece was superior to modern education because it conjoined body and mind, and Pindar made himself the herald of these values. At the end there is a digression on the origin of the Nemean games.

The *Isthmians*, which are preceded by a brief dedication in elegiac verse to Guy Du Faur de Pibrac, a president of the Parlement de Paris and man of letters, which recalls the wreaths, made of various tree branches, that consecrated the winners at the Olympic games, and likens them to the leaves of olive and laurel deserved by the dedicatee for his oratorical and poetical activity. The commentary on the *Nemeans* (see I.f below) follows, and the book concludes with a few poems in praise of Sudorius by Jonathas Petit and Federicus Morel.

Praefatio in opera Pindari (ed. of Paris, 1582). In opera Pindari Praefatio ad Invictissimum et potentissimum Principem Henricum, Christianissimum Galliarum et Poloniae Regem. [*Inc.*]: (fol. *II^r) Quantum momenti antiquitas esse existimaverit, Rex Christianissime et invictissime, ad hominum vitam regendam, moresque conformandos in gravi quadam et severa scelerum flagitiorumque vituperatione: recte autem et sapienter et fortiter factorum commendatione lucculenta, satis indicant funebres illae orationes olim in clarorum et illustrium virorum exequiis haberi solitae, quae antiquissimis Graecorum legibus institutae sunt et Romanorum moribus / ita solemniter usurpatae, ut saepe ipsi imperatores Romani gentium omnium terrarumque domini, minime augusto illo maiestatis suae fastigio indignum esse duxerint: quibus in imperio successerant, eorum

vitam resque praeclare et feliciter gestas principali facundia exornare: sed Encormiorum omnium sive ea mortuis fatoque defunctis, seu viventibus, tribuenda sint, duo quodammodo genera constitui possunt: quaedam enim pedestri et soluta oratione explicantur, quaedam vero carminibus et modis, numerosisque vocibus, quasi invecta et incitata violentius et vehementius ad hominum aures sensusque perferuntur. Prioris generis Panegyricas orationes multas, et graeca lingua et latina sane pereleganter scriptas legimus: sub posteriori continentur Homerici omnes, Pindaricique hymni, quibus in theatris Graeciae, et celeberrimis quatuor conventibus, saepissime decantatis, nihil quondam erudita illa natio nec attentius ne libentius audivisse dicitur. . . . / Ac nescio quo fato id accidisse dicam, Rex Christianissime et invictissime, ut quibus saeculis famosissima bella a potentissimis Regibus aut populis terra marique gesta sunt, iisdem etiam Poetae excellentes paene divinitus excitati, et omnibus ingenii dotibus a natura subornati extiterint ad eas res quae tum gerebantur versibus decorandas et in aeternam posteritatis memoriam propagandas. . . . / (fol. *III^v) Pindarus ipse, quem non immerito Horatius vatem ab Homero secundum constituit, lyricis numeris et carminibus suis fertur per universas nationes et gentes incredibilem quandam atque inauditam nominis celebritatem et claritatem consecutus. . . . / (fol. *6^v) . . . Carolus Magnus graeca latinaque lingua eruditus, nec Hebraicarum litterarum ignarus, duo in orbe terrarum maxime insignia Gymnasia, Bononiense scilicet et Lutetianum, instituit, eaque undique accersitus et / liberalissime invitatis ingenuarum artium literarumque omnium magistris et doctoribus instruxit et exornavit. Nec desunt etiam qui scribant illum ipsum tot imperii regni que negotiis maximis implicatum et occupatum, antiquissima quaedam Gallorum carmina, quibus priscorum Regum Ducumque res illustrissimae celebrabantur, emendasse et publice cantanda postea in vulgus edidisse. . . . sed latino sermone / qui hodie omnium latissime diffusus, nullis regionum aut gentium finibus et terminis circumscribitur, multi ex Italis, pauci ex hominibus nostris vates egregii excellentesque floruerunt: quo facilius opinor mihi illi veniam daturi sunt qui in caeteris quidem artibus et scientiis mediocritatem tolerabilem esse credunt, in versibus vero quidquid paululum a summo gradu decesserit, continuo ad imum vergere et delabi existimant. . . . / Quidquid tamen ex illis quasi altissimo cinere abditum a nobis erui aegreque et laboriose exsuscitari potuit, id omne in hanc Pindaricam interpretationem nulli nec veterum nec recentium scriptorum tentatam libentissime contuli: partim quod in his libris veterum Heroum insignia cuncta facinora virtutesque ad imitandum propositas et utilia pleraque vitae praecepta contineri videbam: partim quod huius authoris gravissimi styli sententiarum sublimitate rerumque antiquitate inobscuratum, atque / ideo ab illius cognitione iucundissima plures abalienatos intelligebam. Nec vero mihi absurdum visum est perpetuam quandam fortitudinis laudem Pindaricis hymnis

expressam tibi, Rex Christianissime et invictissime, uni omnium nostrae aetatis principum longe fortissimo, et in vario bellorum, praeliorum, victoriarumque genere exercitissimo, dedicare et consecrare. A quo quidem proposito ne me id quidem deterruit, quod iam universi operis singulos libros primarii regni tui viris devoveram: cum enim illi ipsi togatorum Galliae principes maxime et natura et fortuna et voluntate tui sint, aequum mihi visum est Carmina iam illis donata et dedicata in augustae quoque Maiestatis tuae dominio censi. [*Expl.*]: (fol. *8r) Sed iam tempus est me ad institutum, susceptumque munus accedere, si prius tamen Deum optimum maximum sancte oravero, obtestatusque fuero, ut te diutissime regno Francorum salvum, incolumem, florentemque conservet, utque prudentissima consilia et magnanimos conatus tuos semper exoptatus, et felix, et vere Christianus exitus consequatur.

(For the *Olympians* and the *Pythians*, see *a.* and *b.* above)

Dedication of the Nemeans. Nicolai Sudorii praefatio in Nemea Pindari, ad amplissimum virum Philippum Huraltum Chivernium Galliarum Procancellarium. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 2r) Quum Plinius in libris naturalis historiae conqueritur, Vir amplissime, proventum agrorum suo tempore minime ubertati superiorum aetatum respondere: tantam tamque insignem mutationem non exhaustae et quasi effoetae soli naturae, sed cultorum socordiae et negligentiae imputat. Sic etiam, si quis diligentius inquirat, cur nostri temporis homines ab illa decantata et celebrata veterum virorum excellentia longissime absint, intelliget tandem non vim ingeniorum vetustate et quodam temporum senio defecisse aut elanguisse: sed disciplinam et institutionem iuventutis, quam Graeci παιδείαν / appellant, claritudinis et perfectionis omnis originem fontemque esse: quo praeciso vel averso virtutem ipsam in hominibus paulatim exarescere et aboleri necesse sit. . . . / (fol. 6v) victores victorumque urbes publicis coronis exornabantur . . . Quoniam tamen antiqui coronarum illarum quas diximus, ut folia, sic decus et gloriam brevi fluere et marcessere videbant, statuas autem multis casibus deiici aut deteri et absumi vetustate, ideo prudentes olim victores excellentium Poetarum ingenia sibi conciliabant, ut eorum carminibus hymnisque egregiis sempiternae hominum memoriae commendarentur. Talem olim Pindarus operam, victoribus multis illustribus navavit in Olympiis et Pythiis, quae nos antea Latinitate donavimus. Nemea autem huiusmodi olim originem habuisse dicuntur. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 7v) Sic Nemea primum (ut accepimus) instituta sunt, quorum victores a Pindaro in hoc libro numerosis hymnis et carminibus extolluntur. Nos autem ea ipsa Latinis versibus utcunque explicata tibi potissimum dedicanda censuimus, Vir amplissime, qui quidem multorum errore neglecto, humanitatis studia quasi vana et inutilia deridentium, semper tibi ad excellentem ingenii iudicii que vim adiumenta doctrinae et eruditionis adicienda existimasti: atque hac veluti duplici anchora utens, prudentissimus gubernator, quamvis in

summis temporum nostrorum tempestatibus et fluctibus, navim tamen reipublicae salvam incolumemque praestas, praestabisque in posterum cum incredibili quadam et immortalis tui commendatione et gloria.

Translation. Nemea Pindari latino carmine reddita per Nicolaum Sudorium Inquisitionum Praesidem. Ode prima, Chromio Aetnaeo principi curru victoriam adepti. Quae incipit Ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφεοῦ. Numero quo apud Horatium, *Te maris et terrae, numeroque carentis arenae.* [*Inc.*]: (fol. 8r) Ortygia, Alphei requies, claris Syracusis / Addita pars, soror inclyta Deli, / Artemidis sedes, ex te iam prodeat hymnus / Dulce sonans, qui iactet equorum / Alipedum cursus rapidos similesque procellae / Aetnaei recreans Iovis aures. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 33v) Humanum genus attamen / In Fastum erigitur semper, et ardua / Versat multa ferociter, / Despondere sibi quidlibet impotens: / Nam nostro procul a solo / Praesagae exoritur fons sapientiae. / Porro terrigenas decet / Rerum non cumulum Quaerere, sed modum, / Quamvis noster in omnia / Inconcessa furor fertur acutior. Finis Nemeorum Pindari.

Dedication of Isthmians. Ad Ornatissimum V. Vidum Fabrum, Sanctioris Regis Consilii Consiliarium et Curiae Parisiensis Praesidem, N. S. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 34v) Isthmia iure tibi Praeses damus inclyte, nam qui / Pisaeo quondam pulvere victor erat / Palladium retulit laetus nil praeter olivam . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Non tibi danda modo unius praeconia frondis / Nam crines nunc haec, nunc tegit illa tuos.

Translation. Isthmia Pindari latino carmine reddita per Nicolaum Sudorium, Inquisitionum Praesidem. Herodoto Thebano Ode prima Isthmiorum. Quae incipit, Μᾶτερ ἐμὰ, τὸ τεὸν χρύσασπι Θήβα. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 35r) Armata Thebe, chara parens, tui / Quicquid negoti est colloco res supra / Curas et omnes, idque leni / Mente velim ferat aequa Delos. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 52r) Felicis patriae pluribus accolis / Fusis in stadio fortiter Isthmio / Expertisque manus intolerabiles, / Non huic dissimilis sanguine proximus / Cliander, soboles inclyta, cui pares / (fol. 52v) Annis, o Danaï, texite myrteum / Velamen capitis, sartaque mollia, / Partam ob pancratii nuper adorem / In campis Ephyrae: terra sed hunc prius / Famosa Alcathoi gensque Epidauria / Frangentem iuvenes viderat aemulos, / Quae se cuncta simul vatibus offerunt / Commendanda bonis prae-lia: non enim / Cliander viduus laudibus, aut piger, / Aetatem latebris textit inertibus. Finis Isthmiorum.

d. Paris, BNF, lat. 8450.

The manuscript contains the Latin translation of the *Nemeans* and the texts that accompany it in the imprint. There is also an ode to Henri III. Blank spaces have been left for the Greek letters, which have not been entered. The text otherwise conforms to the edition of 1582.

Editions:

1582, Lutetiae (Paris): ex Officina Federici Morelli Typographi Regii (*Opera Omnia*). BAV; BNF. Digital copy in Google Books.

1697, Oxonii (Oxford): e theatro Sheldoniano. This is a variorum edition that, along with much else, prints the Sudorius translation beside the Greek text, the scholia, and a literal paraphrase. The Sudorius translation is given in full and without alteration. Digital copy in Google Books.

Doubtful edition:

1582, Venetiis (Venice): combeis sumptibus. (Probably a later false imprint: Sebastiano Combi was active in Venice from 1592 until 1608; cf. G. Borsa, *Clavis typographorum librorum Italiae 1495–1600* (Aureliae Aquensis, 1980). BAV; Cambridge, Univ. Lib.

1598, Venice. This edition has not been located; it is reported by Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares*, vol. 5, 296.

Biography:

Nicolaus Sudorius (ca. 1545–94; CERL Thesaurus cnp01236383; Le Sueur, Nicolas), a jurist and student of the classics. Born to a family of the Parisian bourgeoisie, he became *conseiller* of the Chambre des Enquêtes of the Parlement de Paris on 2 March 1564, and later president. He died in May 1594. In addition to the Pindar translation, he was the author of encomiastic Latin verse dedicated to important personages, and the treatise *Disputationum civilium liber* (Paris, 1578).

Bibliography:

A. Du Verdier, *Supplementum Epitomes Bibliothecae Gesnerianae, Les Bibliothèques Françaises. . nouvelle édition. . par M. Rigolet de Juvigny, tome sixième* (Paris, 1773), 182; J.-E. Girot, *Pindare avant Ronsard. De l'émergence du grec à la publication des "Quatre Premiers livres des Odes" de Ronsard* (Geneva, 2002), 189–201; 206–18; Michaud, "Lesueur, Nicolas," in *Bibliographie Universelle, nouvelle édition*, vol. 24 (Paris, 1854), 540.

17. Aemilius Portus – Emilio Porto

After publishing the commentary of his father Francesco ([Geneva], 1583), Aemilius Portus, who had become professor of Greek at Heidelberg, published in 1598 in that city a Latin translation of the *Epinicia* with the Greek text *en regard*.

The dedication takes the form of an epigraph to Ioachimus and Philippus Camerarius; the appendix is an array of texts, almost all of which had appeared already in the edition of Henricus Stephanus (Geneva, 1560 and after), although in Greek, with a facing Latin translation: *Pindari vita scholiis graecis praefixa; Aliter ex Suida; De strophis, antistrophis et epodis; Aliter de iisdem; Pindari Vita ex Lili Gregorii Giraldis; Horatius, ode 4.2 and a few Greek epigrams of Antipater.*

The translation aims to be as close as possible to the original, often retaining the position of the words, to the evident detriment of the Latin syntax and at times to sheer comprehension; whatever was not in the Greek is set in italics. This Latin version certainly appears very similar to the equally literal version of Henricus Stephanus; even the Greek text, apart from isolated interventions, appears the same.

Dedication: (ed. of Heidelberg, 1598). [*Inc.*]: (p. 3) Clariss. Praestantiss. q. viris . . . D. Ioachimo Camerario . . . et D. Philippo Camerario . . . Aemilius Portus, Francisci Porti Cretensis F., in antiquissima et celeberrima Heidelbergensi Academia ordinarius linguae Graecae Professor, hanc Pindari novissimam editionem diligenter a se recognitam et accurata novaque versione passim illustratam . . . [*Expl.*]: animo grato dicat ac offert. Heidelbergae, Calend. Sept. Anno 1597.

Translation. Pindari Olympia. [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Hieroni Syracusano, equo singulari victoriam adepto Ode I. Optima quidem *est* aqua, aurum vero ardens ignis ut elucet noctu, *sic* inter superbas divitias longe *elucet*. Si vero certamina narrare cupis, chare anime, ne amplius sole contempleris aliud splendidius astrum, lucens interdium per desertum aetherem. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 48) Nigros muros habentem *ad* Proserpinae domum vade, Echo, patri nobile ferens nuncium, Cleodamum ut intuita filium dicas quod ei iuvenilem in finibus illustris Pisae coronavit inclytorum certaminum pennis caesariem.

Pindari Pythia. [*Inc.*]: (p. 48) Hieroni Aetnaeo, Syracusano, curru *victoriam adepto* Ode I. Aurea cithara Apollinis et nigrum capillitium habentium Musarum comes possessio: quam audit quidem rhythmus, laetitiae initium, parent vero cantores signis *tuis*, quum choris praeaeuntium hymnorum praeludia facis leviter pulsata . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 108) Certe fatale decretum non *est* evitabile: sed erit id tempus quod quum aliquem in desperationem immiserit, contra opinionem hoc quidem dabit, illud vero nondum.

Pindari Nemea. [*Inc.*]: (p. 109) Chromio Aetnaeo Ode I. Respiramen magnificum Alpei, inclytarum Syracusarum germen, Ortygia, cubile Dianae, Deli soror, *a* te suaviloquus hymnus aggreditur exponere laudem procellipedum magnam equorum, Iovis Aetnaei in gratiam. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 151) A Iove autem homines certus non sequitur exitus, sed tamen in superbiis incedimus *et animos attollimus ac superbe vivimus*, opera multa molientes, vincta sunt enim impudenti spe membra, providentiaeque longe remoti sunt fluxus Lucrorum autem oportet certum modum venari. Desideria enim *rerum* ad quas perveniri non potest, *sunt* acrior insania.

Pindari Isthmia. [*Inc.*]: (p. 152). Herodoto Thebano Ode I. Mater mea aureo clypeo insignis Theba, ponam tuum negotium vel ante occupationem *meam*, ne mihi aspera succenseat Delus, in quam sum effusus *toto animo*. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 176) Eum profecto non dedecorat eximii genus patroi, coaetaneorum ideo aliquis nectat coronam myrti splendidam Cleandro ob *victoriam* pancratiis si-

quidem eum Alcathoi certamen cum felici sorte et in Epidaurō iuventus antea exceptit: quem laudandum *cuilibet viro* strenuo praebet pubertatem enim non expertem praeclarorum *facinorum* sub latibulo consumpsit.

Edition:

1598, Heidelberg: apud Hieronymum Commelinum. BNF; Cambridge, Univ. Lib.; Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

Biography:

Aemilius Portus (Emilio Porto) was born in 1550 at Ferrara, where his father was then teaching. He accompanied his father to Geneva in 1559, and there precociously became a teacher of classical languages in the local gymnasium (1569); he was professor of Greek at the Academy of Lausanne (1581–91); then went to Heidelberg in the same capacity (1593), and to Stadthagen in 1612. Aemilius Portus died in 1614. He published several of his father's works, as well as the commentary on Pindar (see I.g below), and that on Tacitus (1594, see CTC 8.157–60). His interests were primarily linguistic: he published a *Dictionarium Ionicum Graecolatinum* and a *Dictionarium Doricum Graecolatinum* (both Frankfurt, 1603); and a *Pindaricum Lexicum*, the titlepage of which states that he has followed *pulcherrimam optimamque Pauli Stephani editionem anni 1599* (Hannover, 1606).

Bibliography:

F.A. Eckstein, *Nomenclator Philologorum (1871)* (Hamburg, 2005); C.F. Weber, *Vita Aemilii Porti* (Marburg, 1854).

COMMENTARIES

a. Theodorus Gaza

Theodorus Gaza's commentary on the *Olympians*, delivered orally during his lectures at Ferrara in 1446–49, has reached us through the notes that one of his students, Ludovico Carbone, took down and perhaps reworked (to what extent we do not know) about thirty years later in Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, 692 (see I.1 above). From the beginning down to *Ol.* 2.65 the *recollectae* have an ordered structure: a portion of the text of manageable length is selected, the Latin paraphrase is given, and the most significant Greek lemmata are explained. Following *Ol.* 2.65 the Greek lemmata from the text are replaced by the nominative forms, or, in the case of verbs, the first person of the present indicative; then, often, only the direct translation of the lemma into Latin is given. There are frequent interlinear additions and marginal notes in the same hand.

In Carbone's *recollectae* the Pindaric text, the Latin version, and the exegetical notes are often fused into a seamless whole. Still, since the aim of Gaza's

instruction was to teach his pupils Greek through the reading of Pindar's *Olympians*, there are notes of an etymological and grammatical character that stray from the strict exegesis of Pindar. There is no introduction on the life and works of Pindar, only a brief initial statement giving the titles of the four groups of odes *a locis appellatae* and then a rapid account of the *Olympians* and the Olympic games.

The instruments used by Gaza are the scholia, the *Etymologicum Magnum*, and a few grammatical texts; the *recollectae* also show a close relationship to the commentary of Moschopoulos (see *Fortuna* above)—basically the same instruments Gaza might have used in teaching young Greek students at Constantinople. But there are also to be found elements that innovate with respect to the Byzantine exegetical tradition, elements that may perhaps be attributed in part to Ludovico Carbone, or to the cultural climate of Ferrara at mid-Quattrocento. The most striking innovation is the attempt to assess the rhetorical element present in the *Epinicia*: the articulated structure of Pindar's odes, comparable to encomia in prose, deserved careful attention. Gaza's attitude to ancient pagan mythology is also of interest: he confines himself to supplying the data essential for understanding the text, and often states resolutely that Pindar placed no faith in the myths, employing them merely as poetical ornaments. The praise of the novelty of his song which Pindar professes at *Ol.* 9. 73–74, is thus portrayed as an explicit rejection of the pagan *fabulae*: the songs of Pindar are more novel and better because truer, in that they reject mythology, or else openly denounce its falsity.

Commentary (Padua, Bibl. del Seminario Vescovile, 692, fols. 2r–23r). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 2r) Sunt Odae Pindari in quatuor partes divisae pro varietate locorum in quibus certamina fiebant, et a locis illis appellatae . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: et Olimpiades et tunc hodieque appellantur ita ut quinto quoque anno ludi celebrarentur. [*Ol.* I] ἄριστον. Sensus est: *Aqua quidem optimum*, scilicet est inter elementa, *aurum vero veluti ardens ignis excellit nocti*, supple ita: ipsum aurum maxime praestat, *divitiis quae viros magnificos efficiunt*; *quod si certamina canere cupis, carissimum pectus, ne sole consydera*, idest quaere vel crede, *aliud calidius* [*interl.* scilicet esse] *in die lucidum* [*interl.* splendidum] *astrum per desertum aethera*. Quasi dicat quod quemadmodum aqua et ignis optinent principatum inter elementa, et quemadmodum aurum in divitiis reliquis maxime excellit, ita certamen Olympiae omnia alia superat certamina. Causa est altera de igne et aqua, scilicet propter generationem, quoniam ex humido et calido omnia generantur, unde haec duo elementa activa dicuntur, alia vero passiva propter proprias qualitates, altera vero propter usum frequentiore. Laudat autem tria quamquam ordine vario: res ipsas, idest certamen; locum, idest Olympiam, et personam, scilicet Hieronem. αἰθόμενον: ardens; αἶθω ardeo, inde ὁ αἰθῆρ -έρος. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 23r) *in meditationibusque* [*interl.* idest meditando] *cantans veni* [*interl.* μὀλω, venio] *quia victrix* [*interl.* scilicet effecta est] *Olympiae Minya*, idest Orchomenos civitas. *tui gratia*

[*interl. causa*]: idest propter te. *Nigros muros habentem nunc domum Proserpinae vade*, *Echo*, idest fama et rumor, ἡ ἀχὼ ὡς Λητώ. *patri* [*interl. scilicet mortuo ipsius Asopithi*] *inclytum ferens nuncium*, *Cleodemum* [*interl. patrem Asopithi*] *quatenus videns filium* [*interl. scilicet Asopithum*] *dicas quod ei nuper sinus apud gloriosae Pisae coronavit nobilium certaminum pennis* [*interl. coronis*] *comam*.

Manuscript:

See I.1 above.

Biography:

See I.1 above.

b. Stephanus Niger – Stefano Negri

Stephanus Niger, a pupil of Demetrius Calcondyles, became professor of Greek at Milan in turn, and delivered lectures on Pindar there from 1516 to 1520. Witness to this is borne by his *Praefatio in Pindarum* (Milan, 1521), which ends with his commentary on the first lines of *Ol. I*. The remainder of the commentary has not been transmitted, but we may assume that the course dealt exclusively with the *Olympians*.

This inaugural oration begins with a preamble, derived from Plato, on poetry understood as *furor* (fury) and *divinus afflatus* (divine inspiration). Niger goes on to praise its civilizing function, and stresses that the works of poets who have sung of the virtues and magnanimous deeds of the ancients, as Pindar has, ought to be read and studied by boys, so that, spurred to emulation, they too may perform similar deeds. Niger then defines the six parts of his *accessus*: the life of the poet, the title of the work, the quality of the poetry, the *intentio*, a description of the structure of the work, and finally the exegesis.

This oration contains the first life of Pindar in Latin, and had a certain influence on later scholars, especially through the second edition of Basel, 1532. Niger makes use of material that had appeared in Greek in the Roman edition of 1515, clearly identifying sources that are less clearly identified there: Pausanias, Plutarch, and Philostratus, authors he knew well from having read and translated them himself. Moving on to discussion of the work, Niger illustrates the titles of the four collections with relevant antiquarian and mythographical references; he dwells on Pindar's meter, observing that the tripartition is consequent upon the movements of the chorus, and that the cola consist of widely varied meters. He then lists the feet used by the lyric poets, on the basis of Hephaestion, and adds brief biographies of the eight other lyric poets. Niger stipulates that the intention of Pindar's poetry is to confer immortality on the poet and on those whom he praises, and to exhort all to virtue; he emphasizes as well the importance of the union of poetry and music, both in Greek and Christian literature. Finally he sets forth a brief *argumentum* of the first ode, and in his commentary on the

expression *optima est aqua*, which occurs in the first lines, launches an excursus in which he reviews the opinions of the Greek philosophers on the importance of the various elements: an exegesis already present *in nuce* in the scholia, but which he amplifies and deepens. The pedagogical objective of this procedure likely lies in the desire to display Greek culture as an organic and coherent whole: the reading of a poem of Pindar is not an end in itself, but might suggest links to music, mythology, ethics, and natural philosophy.

Title page (ed. of Milan, 1521). Stephani Nigri elegantissime e graeco Authorum subditorum Translationes. Videlicet. Philostrati Icones. Pythagorae Carmen aureum. Athenaei collectanea. Musonii philosophi Tyrri de principe optimo. Isocratis de rege muneribus oratio et alia multa scitu dignissima & rara inventu, quae versa pagina lector bone lubens, & gaudens invenies. Cum gratia et privilegio. Mediolani Impressum per Io. De Castelliono impensis Andreae Calvi Anno Domini M. D. XXI. Mensis Augusti.

Praefatio. Praefatio in Pindarum Poetam Eminentissimum a Stephano Nigro in Publico Gymnasio Mediolani habita. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 79r) Quanto quamque assiduo semper cultu celebrata fuerit Poetica, candidissimi auditores, cum ex aliis quam plurimis argumentis, tum vel maxime ex hoc colligere unicuique facillime licet quod veteres (ut inquit Strabo) poeticam primam quandam esse Philosophiam perhibuerint quippe quae a teneris nos unguiculis ad vivendi rationem perducatur, mores atque affectus edoceat, quaeque gerenda declinandave sint quadam cantus suavitate praecipiat. Hinc factum est ut a posterioribus soli poetae sapientes fuerint existimati nec mehercle immerito. . . . Omnes itaque insignes poetae non arte, sed divino afflatu praeclara ista poemata canunt, et ut Corybantes non sana mente saltant, ita neque egregii Carminum modulatores sana mente hos cantus effingunt: verum ubi in harmoniam rhythmumque insurgunt furoreque correpti bacchantur . . . (fol. 79v) Quo circa minime mirari oportet quotiens Orpheus vetustissimae religionis conditor saxa ac silvas materna arte ad se traxisse rapidosque fluminum lapsus moratus dicitur: cum homines bestiarum more passim in agris vagantes sibique ferino vitam propagantes, nihil animi ratione omnia viribus administrantes non modo pietatis ac Iusticiae, verum coeterarum quoque virtutum penitus ignaros meliflua orationis suavitate victricique facundia eo compulerit: ut in unis habitare moenibus pulchrum, ius aequabile ac leges servare honestum. Pietatem in deos ac parentes colere sanctum arbitrentur, ad diversasque vitae rationes subito mutata vivendi consuetudine traduci aequo animo patarentur. . . . (fol. 80r) Sunt igitur observandi poetae ac colendi: eorumque poemata legenda in primis pueris atque ediscenda qui priscorum virorum ac virtute praestantium res gestas carmine prosequuti sunt, ut puer virtutis aemulatione accensus praeclara maiorum facinora imitetur; inter quos Pindarus ὁ μεγαλοφώνωτάτος maxime recensendus est . . . In sacris graecorum certaminibus versatus est: quorum victores eo prosecutus est

carmine ut ubique aureus, ubique divinus appareat nusquam non supra humanam conditionem sese extollat et usque quaque eximius ac mirabilis existat . . . Sed quid ego in Pindaro laudando diutius immoror, ad quem pro dignitate ac meritis exornandum altero mehercule opus esset Pindaro. Itaque me ad grammaticorum praecepta convertam a quibus librorum interpretes admonentur sex iis esse in primis animadvertenda qui aliquem sibi authorem sumunt interpretandum: poetae vitam; operis titulum; carminis qualitatem; scribentis intentionem; librorum numerum et omnium postremum explanationem. Quare cum Pindarum nobis sumpserimus interpretandum ab eius vita exordium summamus necesse est. (fol. 80v) Natus est Pindarus (ut Suidas ait) Thebis Boeotiiis patre Scopelino vel ut aliis placet Daiphante sive Pagonide, matre Myrto, Sexagesima sexta olympiade. Myrtidos mulieris discipulus fuit, Simonidi quoque operam dedisse fertur; quo autem tempore Xerxes in Graeciam expeditionem fecit quadragesimum agebat aetatis annum. Habuit fratrem Erontionem et filium Diophantem filiasque Protomachen et Eumetim. Extremum autem obiit diem in Theatro cum Theoxenia se dilecti genibus inhaerens petiisset ut quod homini optimum esset sibi daretur. Fama est (inquit Plutarchus) iis qui a Boeotiiis ad Apollinem missi fuerant, ex Pindari mandato quid homini optimum esse sciscitantibus, Promantin, hoc est Pythiam, respondisse quod et ipse minime ignorat: si eorum quae de Trophonio et Agamede litterarum monumentis mandata sunt, ipse author est, quod si periculum facere concupiscit, haud multo post id exploratum fore. Quae cum audivisset Pindarus ad obitum spectantia exemplo coepit consyderare, nec multo post decessit. Paus. libro. ix. Pindarus, inquit, divino poeta ingenio, cum adulescentulus adhuc Thebis aestivo tempore Thespias proficisceretur meridiano caloris aestu usque adeo afflictus oppressusque est, ut lassitudine ac somno obrutus paululum extra viam prostratus quieverit, ad cuius dormientis labra advolantes apes melificaverunt: quod certissimum suavissimi cantus praesagium Pindaro fuisse perhibetur. Unde minime mirari oportet quod in Philostrati imaginibus legitur Pana, μουσικότατον θεόν, Pindari cantibus usque adeo oblectatum fuisse, ut cum primum Pindarus ad scribendum animum appulit, choreas sibi carissimas neglexisse et quicquid a Pindaro componeretur cecinisse dicatur. Coeterum cum eius nomen per universam Graeciam celeberrimum haberetur ad summum gloriae culmen Pythia (fol. 81r) evexit. Praedixit enim Delphis ut omnium quae Apollini offerebantur primitiarum aequa Pindari portu [*sic*] impenderetur. Aiunt praeterea Pindaro iam senescenti Proserpina per quietem obversatam fuisse constamque [*sic*], quod omnes praeter ipsam deos hymnis celebrasset, id tamen facturum cum ad se venisset. Quare cum ante decimum a visione diem decessisset Pindarus, aniculae cuidam affinitatis vinculo sibi coniunctae cantusque quam plurimos canere assuetae, dormienti adstitit hymnumque in Proserpinam cecinit: quem ipsa expecta statim conscripsit, in quo sunt et alia Plutonis cognomina et χρυσήνιος.

Stadium est Thebanis ante Praetidas portas, ut idem Paus. author est, transeuntibus autem stadium occurrit hippodromus in quo Pindari extat monumentum, cuius vestigia domus ultra directe visuntur. Scripsit autem multa dorica lingua. Alexander cum Thebas deleteret Pindari stirpem ac penates incolumes servavit, ut testatus Plut. . . . (fol. 85r) Tanta enim est odarum facultas et robur ad incitandos comprimendosque ac sedandos animos, ut Pythagoras nos admoneat ne ullum mane negotium prius aggrediamur quam asperitatem quandam ex recenti adhuc e somno excitatione mentibus nostris atque animis insidentem, rythmicis atque harmoniacisque cantibus excusserimus, quo sinceriores ac placidiores ad diuturnas actiones praeparentur. Euclides quoque in musicis ait deos etiam nostras facilius exaudire preces si hymnis harmoniacisque cantibus eorum opem imploremus. Quo factum est: ut sacrae Christicolarum litterae per pientissimos ac sapientissimos viros compositis affluant, qui singulis diebus in suppliciis deorum pientissime ac suavissime canantur: quos musices Flores ipse Pindarus appellat. . . . (fol. 87r) Reliqua nunc est sola explanatio: quam non prius aggrediemur quam huiusce primae odes argumentum a nobis fuerit enarratum. Hiero, Syracusarum rex . . . Ἀριστον μὲν ὕδωρ. Varias sunt philosophorum de rerum origine opiniones. Thales Milesius . . . (fol. 87v) omnia ex aqua oriri atque in aquam resolvi dicit, quod genitale omnium semen liquidum sit . . ./. . . [Expl.]: (fol. 88r) frigidissimi etiam fontis meminit Homerus, quem ait aestivo tempore grandini ac nivi similem fluere.

Editions:

1521, Mediolani (Milan): impressum per Io. de Castellione, impensis Andreae Calvi. BAV; BNF; Milan, Bibl. Trivulziana and Bibl. Ambr.; Rome, BNC.

Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

1532, Basileae (Basel): excudebat Henricus Petrus. The contents are the same as in the prior edition. The *Praefatio in Pindarum* is at pp. 203–26. BNF; Basel, Universitätsbibl.

Digital copy: Universitätsbibliothek Basel e-rara.

Biography:

Stephanus Niger (Stefano Negri) was born at Casalmaggiore (province of Cremona) in 1475 and died at Milan in 1540. He studied with Demetrius Chalcondyles and followed him in the post of professor of Greek in the Milanese gymnasium. He was also a friend of Andrea Alciato, who praises him in his work. In *De litteratorum infelicitate*, Pierio Valeriano depicts his unhappy life of poverty after losing his teaching post following the arrival of the Spanish in Milan in 1525. He collaborated on the first edition of the Suda, edited by Chalcondyles, writing a prefatory dialogue in Greek (Milan, 1499). A number of his translations from Greek were printed, among them the *Icones* of Philostratus (the first Latin

translation) and the *Aurea carmina* of Pythagoras (Milan, 1521). Niger also translated Isocrates, the *Moralia* of Plutarch, and Athenaeus.

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F. Arisi, *Cremona literata* (Parma, 1702), 396–97; Cosenza, 3.2471; F.A. Eckstein, *Nomenclator philologorum* (1871) (Hamburg, 2005), 333; J.-E. Girot, *Pindare avant Ronsard. De l'émergence du grec à la publication des "Quatre Premiers livres des Odes" de Ronsard* (Geneva, 2002), 105–8.

c. Huldricus Zwinglius –

Huldricus (Huldrych, Huldreich, Ulrich) Zwingli

On 24 February 1526 Andreas Cratander published the third edition of Pindar at Basel, the first from outside Italy and the one that laid the basis for the poet's fortune throughout Europe. The Greek text was edited by Iacobus Ceperinus (Jakob Wisendanger), a good Graecist and Hebraist who was robbed of the chance to see it in print by an early death the previous December at the age of just twenty-six.

While the Greek text is not distinguished by outstanding merits, borrowing the Aldine text of 1513 with occasional corrections by Ceperinus, the fortune and the cultural impact of this edition were assured by two texts of Zwingli included in it: a prefatory epistle to the students of the *Collegium Trilingue* of Basel and another at the end addressed to the *candidus lector*.

The prefatory epistle has great importance, because it supplies the theoretical justification for Zwingli's decision to promote the status of Pindar: a recuperation that will spill over from the realm of pure erudition onto the terrain of Europe's confessional conflict. It begins with a paraphrase of the first part of Horace's ode 4.2, the verb *aemulari* replaced by the verb *commendare*. Zwingli acknowledges that even to praise Pindar and recommend that he be read, let alone to emulate him, is a challenge. The task is to follow the Theban poet wherever the voice of his lyre takes us, whether to the heights of heaven or to the depths of the underworld; waxen wings like those made by Daedalus will certainly not serve the purpose. To Zwingli it seems immodest even to have to urge the reading of a poet "lyricorum omnium, dicerem libentius poetarum, facile principem" (from Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* 10.1.61); he is writing only at the friendly insistence of Ceperinus.

The life of Pindar "ex Suida" that follows is very summary; erudite details are bypassed and space is given to moral considerations; Zwingli's interest in Pindar is not dictated by historical or literary motives. In his eulogy of the poet, the strengths illustrated are those that impose themselves on others: "Fuit Pindarus non minus dextero ac sancto, quam erudito amoenoque ingenio."

The erudition and pleasingness of the poet are demonstrated through an acute rhetorico-stylistic analysis. Such is his erudition that he himself declares that he cannot be understood without adequate guidance. His wordhoard is not vulgar, but taken from the sublime part of the style register; and when he does use common terms, Pindar is capable of rendering them sublime. The pleasure offered by reading Pindar arises out of his ability to renew the antique without any loss of its natural majesty. Pindar always employs choice and noble expressions, a sign of great poetic technique and above all, a lofty moral sensibility. In his poetry there is nothing that jars, and in precisely this lies his celebrated *dexteritas*: Pindar is a paladin of virtue, dexterous enough to bend poetic discourse to a higher morality that borders at more than one point on that of Christianity.

The rest of the epistle is devoted to bringing out how much that is “Christian” may be found in Pindar. His polytheism is only apparent, for such is his natural religiosity that he himself does not really seem convinced of the existence of the gods (an observation present in Gaza as well, see I.1 above), and indeed at times he even attains to the representation in his verse of “unicam istam divinam coelestemque vim.” The giving of various names to the sole God may be imputed to rhetoric and the poetic style.

With the *sanctitas* of Pindar illustrated, Zwingli sets out to prove the specific utility of reading the Theban poet. The argumentation is forceful: no other Greek author is of help in the exegesis of the sacred texts, especially if one wishes to penetrate to the depths of the “abstrusissimas Hebraeorum cantilenas ac hymnos,” such as the Psalms and similar texts that, for erudition, gravity, and pleasurable do not appear inferior to Pindar or other pagan authors. The Psalms are poetic texts and are not to be explicated by arbitrarily utilizing other scriptural passages that bear no relation to them; they can, however, be adequately understood if read in relation to other poetic texts, like the Pindaric odes. Welcome, then, to the reading of Pindar, and let the protests of those unspecified critics who accuse him of spreading the plague of paganism come to nothing; of the poet who stands closer than any other to the holy scripture Zwingli will have more to say in his postface. The absence of any mention of the name or the writings of Saint Jerome (see *Fortuna*, Latin Literature) in this prefatory text is remarkable, for it was he who first and most famously compared Pindar to David and the *Epinicia* to the Psalms.

The concluding epistle or postface opens with a moving funeral elegy for the young Ceperinus, laid low by overwork. After urging young people not to overdo the effort of study so as not to damage their health, as Ceperinus had done, Zwingli addresses the theme he had set for himself: that of the utility of Pindar for the comprehension of the sacred texts. He begins by complaining of the inadequacy of the Septuagint, the standard Greek version of the Bible, which he demonstrates by citing a number of passages, then proceeds to consider the

Latin translation of several Pauline terms from the New Testament which can be understood better with the aid of Pindar. He states that the range of examples would be infinite if he could remember all that had come to his notice during the lectures of Ceporinus, then adduces two cases: in *Ephesians* 4, 28 κλέπτειν should not be translated *furari* but rather *fraudare*, the meaning it bears in Pindar; in the same letter, 5, 4 εὐτραπέλιαν signifies not *urbanitatem*, but *scurrilitatem*, as it does “apud hunc nostrum.” Zwingli proceeds to apply the same method to several further locutions. After these textual analyses he brusquely terminates the comparison (*Quid pluribus opus est?*), asserting that everything in the Theban poet “plurimum prodest ad veri honestique usum.” Finally, Zwingli exhorts the reader to continual study of Pindar, for there is no one as useful to mankind as a good poet.

Dedication: (ed. of Basel, 1526). Linguarum Candidatis Huldrichus Zwinglius Sal. [*Inc.*]: (sig. *2r) Pindarum quisquis studet, ut ab Horatiano carmine ordiar, commendare, ceratis Daedali pennis nititur, optime lector. Quum enim laudem eius a coeli plaga inferorumque abyssis, quo lyrae ipsius vox penetravit, colligere necessarium sit, non feret alarum mitis cerae glutino concinnatarum opus, nec superum ardores, nec inferorum faces. Unde qui tam immanem gloriam complecti tentabit, vitreo daturus est nomina ponto. Equidem ingenue fateor Lyricorum omnium, dicerem libentius poetarum, facile principem, indignum esse ut alterius, quam summi alicuius, eloquentissimique viri praeconio laudetur, nedum nostro, cui vix tantulum suppetit, ut altissime positum poema suspicere queam. Quum vero Iacobus Ceporinus, homo ad nihilum aliud natus quam ad eruendos illustrandosque tum vetustissimos, tum eruditissimos autores, tanta iniustitia urgeret, ut suo nomine in Pindari Olympica, Pythia, Nemea et Isthmia, quae Cratander, homo vigilantissimus, excuderat, praefarer, non debui optimo viro negare quod tantopere orabat, etiamsi non ignorarem cui me ludibrii aleae committerem. . . . / (sig. *2v) redigemus et nos Pindari nostri vitam in compendium ex Suida. . . . / (sig. *3r) . . . aliorum operum eius nomina, si placet nosse, e Suida petenda sunt. Fuit Pindarus non minus dextero ac sancto quam erudito amoenoque ingenio. Eruditio autem tanta fuit hominis, ut hac in re nemo videatur ei antefendus esse, quod istae victoriae probant, in quibus alicubi subindicat sua non temere citra interpretem intellectum iri. Utitur ille aut non vulgaribus verbis, sed de sublimi petitis: aut si utitur, sublimia reddit. Quod magnifice de illo praedicat Horatius, quum canit Dircaeum olorem multa aura vehi. Horum autem verborum tam docta est apud illum compositio, tam tersa contrectatio ac mundities, ut quicquid illis aut addas aut adimas, pecces in eruditionem ipsam: semper cadit illi feliciter Iovis tessera. Amoenitatem vero quis digne laudabit? Exoleta novat, reficit, ac oculis velut praesentia subicit; priscis honorem ac maiestatem induit, praesentia non supra modum extollit, neque invidiosius deprimat. Quis cultus similium ac dissimilium? quanta

eorum ubertas? quanta translationum vis? quam proprius earum usus? quam in loco semper adsunt? Sententiarum vero quam anxia cura ne uspiam desint? quae harum est cum autoritate coniuncta familiaritas, καὶ τὸ ἐπιεικές? Dexteritas ea est ut parem haud / (sig. *3v) invenias: nullos enim sic laudat aut si quid illis vitii haereat, non civilissime taxet. . . . Sanctitas ea ut nusquam petulantia, nusquam procacitas linguae adpareat: nihil salax aut lascivum excidit quo pectoris aliquid ὑπουλον deprehendere queas. Ut de Pindaro, si de quoquam dicere liceat, pectus habuisse veri, sancti, honestique studiosissimum ac incoctissimum: his limpидissimis gurgitibus volvitur Pindarici carminis flumen. Nihil est in omni opere quod non sit doctum, amoenum, sanctum, dextrum, antiquum, prudens, grave, iucundum, circumspectum et undique absolutum. Loquatur licet de diis magnifice, at non sentit de vulgo multitudineque eorum magnifice, sed saepe numero unicam istam divinam coelestemque vim inducit. . . . / (sig. *4r) Quantum autem hoc putas allaturum esse, optime lector, quod mea quidem sententia nullus Graecorum autorum sic videtur prodesse ad sacrarum literarum intellectum atque hic noster, praesertim si abstrusissimas Hebraeorum cantilenas ac hymnos, quales Psalmi sunt, Iobi carmina, ac aliorum hinc inde numeris ligatae laudes, cupias penitus habere perspectas? Sunt enim apud istos coelestes cantilena, quae ut pietate ac spiritu omnes antecellunt, sic sunt eruditione, gravitate, amoenitate nullis, ne nostri quidem huius carminibus inferiores. Quales ferme omnes Davidicae, praesertim tamen CIII psalmus et XLIII filiorum Core, quae tales cantilena sunt ut satis admirari nequeas. Quamvis ipsi nostros thesauros interim strenue ignorantes, ubicunque ad tam excelsam eruditionem non (sig. *4v) / attingimus, mysterium aliquod fingendo, nobis non aliter placemus quam Sophista quidam olim . . . id quod exponimus, ipsi non intelligimus, fingimus quod exponamus, ac piissimis, eruditissimisque ποιήματα obrudimus ut autoritatis nonnihil nostra ab istis indipiscantur. Et si moneas ne extra oleam, aut ne sutor supra crepidam, protinus illorum πρόμαχοι exiliunt: Attamen pia sunt. Quibus inquam, quid tum? et Pauli ad Romanos epistola pia est, at non exponit psalmum istum “Deus repulisti nos”. . . . Hoc enim / (sig. *5r) de Hebraeorum poematis adfirmare ausim: tantum esse illis tum eruditionis, tum gratiae quantum est sive apud Pindarum, sive Horatium; quod autem a vetustatis scientia tantum absumus, quodque malumus nostra legi quam aliena discere, fit ut triduani graculi (graeculi volebam dicere) sanctissimis Hebraeorum poetis sensus extorqueamus ab eorum mente alienissimos. . . . Nihil moveor criticis istis, quibus ipsa mundities immunda est, quique arbitrantur flagitium summum esse si gentilem poetam legas: nam ego non quemvis legendum propono, sed eum in quo periculi nihil, frugis autem multo plurimum indipisci queas, quique unus plus ad Hebraeorum scripta investiganda prodest quam reliquorum poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum omnium omnia monumenta. . . . Quum autem hic noster non loquutiones, sed inge-/ (sig. *5v) nium habere videatur

sanctissimae aetati simile, de quibus post libri calcem paucula dicturi sumus . . . [*Expl.*]: Tu interim Coeporini nostri diligentia, Cratandrique sudoribus frui: multo enim emendatior prodit quam hactenus; offendes fortasse mendula, quae una litera aut altera constant: id vero te nihil moveat, connivent ad ista nonnunquam oculi sua sponte, dum mens sententiam percepit. Vale candide lector, detque Deus Opt. Max. ut gentili poeta magistro discas veritatem, cum apud Hebraeos intelligere, tum apud omnes gentes amoenissime exponere. Ex Tiguro. XXIII. die Febr. M.D.XXVI.

Epistola Candido Lectori. Huld. Zving. candido lect. [*Inc.*]: (sig. φr) Nolui, candide lector, funestam reddere orationem quam Pindari victoriis praefixi, quo tibi laeta manerent omnia; nunc autem quod dicturus sum usui futurum esse spero. Jacobus Coeporinus, homo monstrose laboriosus, qui dum viveret hoc extorserat ut me pollicerer in Pindarum praefaturum, antequam id praestarem, spiritum effudit, mense Decemb. anni M.D.XXV. . . / (sig. φv) Debent ergo huius exemplo boni studiosique tum iuvenes tum adolescentes valetudinem curare. . . Attigeramus autem in epistola praelequatoria nonnihil de vetustate, quod illa quiddam peculiare habuerit, quod hic noster commodum prae se ferat. Offendimus innumera in sacris literis apud septuaginta, ut nunc habent Graecae literae, nonnihil diversum in sensum, ut videtur, translata quum / (sig. φ2r) tamen diversitas alicubi non sit, sed verborum mutata, vel exoleta significatio. Exempla quaerendi non fuit locus; unum et alterum tamen dicam. . . . Adducemus nunc quaedam quae apud hunc nostrum discas aliam aliquando habuisse significationem; vel certe latius patuisse infinita habituri si licuisset per ocium repetere quae observaveramus dum Coeporinus praelegerat. . . / (sig. φ3r) Quid pluribus opus est? nullus Pindaro apex inconsulto excidit, nullus non plurimum prodest ad veri honestique usum. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (sig. φ[4]) Innocens hominum genus est bonus poeta, ac mortalibus nihil aeque utile. Malignos istos maledicos et non tantum malos, sed etiam pessimos poetas, qui scurrarum more omnia proscindunt, omnia infestant, bene nata ingenia dehonestant, non commendo, sed veluti pestem humanae vitae fugiendam esse censeo. Vale, lector mi, Pindarumque versato nocturna, diurnaue manu, et ubi haec nostra boni consuleris, honestissimis tuis deliciis laetus fruior. Ex Tiguro Calendis Martiis. M.D.XXVI. Finis.

Edition:

1526, Basileae [Basel]: per Andream Cratandrum. BAV; BNF; Milan, Bibl. Trivulziana. Digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ), BSB.

Biography:

Huldricus (Huldrych, Huldreich, Ulrich) Zwingli, the famous Swiss Reformer born 1 January 1484 at Wildhaus, had a good humanist education, studying at Basel, at Bern with Heinrich Wölflin, and at Vienna. He was greatly

influenced by Erasmus and the writings of Pico della Mirandola. All his works are in the field of theology and had great importance for Protestantism in Switzerland. There is no record of his involvement in any other classical edition except the 1526 Pindar. He took an active part in the religious struggles of the age and died in the battle of Kappel on 11 October 1531.

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E. Egli, *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1515–1533*, vol. 2 (Zurich, 1879), 145–60; J.-E. Girot, *Pindare avant Ronsard. De l'émergence du grec à la publication des "Quatre Premiers Livres des Odes" de Ronsard* (Geneva, 2002), 42–49, 102–17; R. Häfner, "Synoptik und Stilenwicklung. Die Pindar-Editionen von Zwingli/Ceporin, Erasmus Schmid und Alessandro Adimari," in H. Zedelmaier and M. Mulsow, eds., *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 2001), 97–121; P. Opitz, "Zwingli, Huldrych," in *Lexikon der Religionspädagogik* (Neukirchen, 2000), 2272–75; W.O. Schmitt, "Pindar und Zwingli: Bemerkungen zur Pindar-Rezeption im frühen 16. Jahrhundert," in *Aischylos und Pindar: Studien zu Werk und Nachwirkung* (Berlin, 1981), 303–22; F. Tissoni, "Lecture pindariche: Schede sulla fortuna europea di Pindaro nel primo Cinquecento. I. Huldrych Zwingli e l'edizione di Basilea," *Studi medievali e umanistici* 1 (2003) 153–69.

d. Joannes Lonicerus – Johannes Lonicer

The commentary of Lonicer first appeared alongside the second edition of his translation (Basel, 1535; see I.6b above). The notes to each ode are preceded by a statement of the argument of the ode; in the case of the first ode, readers are referred to the *Pindari Encomium* for information on the poet's life and works. There follows a discussion *Quid sint Olympia et unde*. There is a brief notice of metrics, *ut posthac non sit opus de eis quicquam porro dicere*, which basically dwells only on the reasons for the tripartition (linked to the singing and the movement of the chorus) and nothing else; the reason given is the impossibility of analyzing lines that vary continually, without any regulation ("lege solutis": Hor. *od.* 4.2, 11–12). Lonicer concludes that if a strophe has, say, seventeen lines, these are composed in seventeen different ways.

The commentary, printed in blocks following brief blocks of text with callouts in the form of superscript letters, is very rich. The lemmata cited, or the relevant paraphrases, are enclosed in parentheses.

The Greek text, which does not appear in the volume (it is that of the Zwingli edition; Basel, 1526) is never discussed. The scholia are cited often from the Roman edition of 1515, which Lonicer evidently consulted as he worked. He dwells on lexical explanations and etymologies, but gives much space to erudite information of a historical, geographical, and mythological kind (in the last

case the notices are long enough to form genuine *excursus*). He adduces parallel passages, sometimes quite lengthy ones, from Greek authors, often with a Latin translation, and from Latin authors; Homer is cited frequently. Rhetorical figures are identified and glossed. A curious feature is the listing of the epithets attached to the most important gods. Some of Pindar's *sententiae* are interpreted in a "Christian" sense, for example the note to the final part of the last *Pythian* included below.

Commentary (ed. of Basel, 1535). Pindari Olympia. Hieroni Syracusio, qui celete victoriam obtinuit, ode prima . . . Enarratio [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Pindari Lyricorum principis vita, patria, genus, monimenta, in encomio eius principio sunt explicata, quare nihil opus est pluribus de iisdem verba facere . . . (p. 3) Quid sint Olympia et unde. Olympia, multitudinis numero, solemnium apud Graecos ludorum nomen est . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 4) Verum haec de origine Olympiorum, de quinquennali eorundem spatio et praemio victoriae (quae fuit ex olea corona, ut posthac in Pindaro audiemus) sufficiant. (p. 4) Argumentum primae Olympiacorum odae [*Inc.*]: Generis est epidictici prima Olympiorum Ode, in laudem Hieronis Syracusanorum regis conscripta . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 6) Quia vero alios quosdam peculiariter hymnos aediderit, ut in encomio Pindari annotatum, magis Odarum nomenclatura mihi arridet. (p. 6) De ternario sectionum Pindari. [*Inc.*]: De Strophe, Antistrophe et Epodo nonnihil dicendum, ut posthac non sit opus de eis quicquam porro dicere. . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 7) Ideo Aristophanicae sectiones recte κῶλα vocantur, quandoquidem tot generibus carminum constant, quot versus habent, utpote Strophe 17 colon, versus habet 17, legibus 17 compositos. Verum de Pindaricis metrorum generibus alias θεοῦ διδόντος agetur.

[*Inc.*] *a* (Optima sane res est aqua). A praestantia Olympiorum certaminum orditur, quorum victorem Hieronem commendat hac Ode, a re ipsa benevolentiam concilians: clarissimam summorum Graeciae certaminum victoriam, clarissimo regi etiam Hieroni maximo ornamento esse innuens. Ducitque principium a tribus summis ac iuxta pulcherrimis comparationibus, hac ratione. . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 153) *l.* (Utnam filius sibi suam coronarit). Periphrasis est victoriae. *m.* (πτεροῖσι). Alis multorum certaminum, id est coronis victoriae, quae alarum instar victorem extollunt, et in sublime ferunt. Sed hic libet subiungere hanc ipsam oden, perinde ac heroelegeio vertere tentabam.

Pindari Pithia Hieroni Aetnaeo Syracusio curru. . . Enarratio [*Inc.*]: (p. 155) Pythia, ludi vel spectacula, nomen habent a Pythone serpente, ab Apolline interempto, ut Graecorum quidam adferunt . . . (p. 156) *a.* (O aurea cithara). Ab aurea cithara ideo orditur, Artemone historico autore, quod Hieron ei promiserit auream citharam: cuius promissi ut eum admoneat a cithara hic initium ducit. *b.* (Basis). βάσις a βαίνω, pedem statuae vel signi valet: qua significatione et Plinius, lib. 3 Epistola ad Severum, utitur. Hic incessum chori, vel primum

chorum ducentis saltum intelligit per basin poeta. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 304) *p.* (Quod si qua felicitas). Infortunium quod Midae inter canendum accidit, hic diluit. Si quis, inquit, non statim fortunatus fiat, propterea non despondeat animum: potest enim Deus quando voluerit, perfundere vel nihil tale opinantem felicitate. Pulcherrima certe sententia quam ideo producit, quod praeter spem fracto calamo, victoriam Midas obtinuerit, ut Scholia adseverant. Porro haec sententia bene Christiana, ac in totum theologica est, qua humanas actiones et opera fato et divinae providentiae subdita omnino docet. Hac veluti gemma et clarissima stella hanc ultimam oden finit σὺν θεῷ. Enarrationum Io. Loniceri in Pindari Pythia finis οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ.

Pindari Nemea Chromio Aetnaeo Ode I . . . Enarratio [Inc.]: (p. 305) Nemea Argivorum regionis pars est, a Luna et Iove sortita nomen. . . (p. 306) Argumentum primae Nemeorum Ode. Quum Hieron Syracusanus non tyrannus, non rex, sed veluti conditor esse vellet. . . [Inc.] *a.* (O veneranda). Ab Ortygia, diis indigenis Diana et Apolline clara, insula illa nobili orditur, eo quod Chromius Siculus fuerit; facitque ad eam apostrophen, quatuor illi insignia attribuendo, rhetorico συναθροισμῶ . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 403) *h.* (Impudenti spei). Hoc est, nos plura semper nobis pollicemur, quam possimus consequi. *i.* (Ergo lucri modum venari). παραίνεσις est, qua commonefacit administratorem Aristagoram. Ne quaeras, inquit, plura vel maiora, qui in ea felicitate et dignitatis fastigio constitutus es, propter sedecim coronas, quas lucta et pancratico passim in Graeciae certaminibus (licet non periodicis, hoc est, sacris et quatuor illis generalibus) adeptus es: iam beatus es, opulentus es, reipublicae habenis moderaris: ne ampliora desideres, sed his contentus acquiesce, et effice ut virtutes tuae per poetas et Lyricos decantentur, tum plus gloriae nancisceris quam opum accumulatione: clanculum, ut in argumento monui, ad liberalitatem eum invitans. Enarrationum Io. Loniceri in Pindari Nemea finis.

Pindari Isthmia. . . [Inc.]: (p. 404) Isthmia ludi sunt, ad circumulum quatuor Graeciae celeberrimorum spectaculorum pertinentes, nomen habentes ab Isthmo. . . (p. 406) *a* <Mater mea> A patria victoris orditur. Et quia Pindarus ipse etiam Thebanus est, ideo Thebas matrem suam appellat, ut in qua sit et genitus et educatus. *b.* (χρυσάσπον). Aureo scuto insignem Thebas nominat, παρὰ τὸ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀσπίδα, per metonymiam et synecdochen: hoc est bellicosam. Scholia arbitrantur haec Pindarum ad ipsam heroidem Theben urbis tutelarem deam referre, a qua sit urbi nomen inditum. Hanc vero filiam Asopi fluminis et Meropes gnatae Ladonis putant. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 458) *G.* (Iuventus eum antehac). De Epidaurio et ludis Asclepieis, quae illic aguntur, in 4. Pythiorum nonnihil commemoratum. De hac Stephanus ita scribit: Epidaurus, inquit, civitas est prope Argos, quam alii λειμήρην dicunt, eo quod λειμῶσι, hoc est pratis, abundet. Vocabatur etiam Melissa et Haemera. Αἴμηρα, παρὰ τὸ αἰμάσθουσαι,

quod Aesculapii ara illic assiduo sacrorum et victimarum sanguine maderet.
Enarrationum Io. Loniceri in Pindari Isthmia finis.

Biography and Bibliography:

See I.6 above.

e. Michael Neander

a. *Aristologia*

In his *Aristologia Pindarica* (Basel, 1556), Neander not only includes the Latin translation of the chosen passages, he publishes marginal comments keyed to the text by letters of the alphabet. The notes to the Greek text are linguistic or grammatical in kind, while those to the Latin text often include a further paraphrase, occasionally in German, cite analogous proverbs in the case of *sententiae*, and supply references to parallel places in other authors, though the places themselves are seldom cited. In the dedicatory letter (discussed in I.10a above) Neander emphasizes the usefulness of these comparisons with analogous passages in ancient authors for the better understanding of Pindar, recalling what Erasmus had had to say about this procedure in his *De ratione studii*.

The notes are very brief, and only have interpretative weight in a few cases; for example, at p. 57, in connection with Pindar's affirmation *Multae mihi sub cubito acutae sagittae*, we read "Non cuiuis sua patere dicit Pindarus, sed intelligentibus duntaxat. Est autem Pindarus obscurus et difficilis in multis locis, propter varias historias, in quibus creber, sed brevis est. Plerunque enim in victorum genealogiis recensendis eas vix per nubeculam saepe ostendit. Saepe quoque allegoriis multa involvit, saepe multa vix per transennam indicat. Hoc tamen ita facit, ut a decoro nunquam recedat. In lucem autem ideo omnia non profert, ne quando progenitores victorum magnis calamitatibus saepe immersi fuerunt, plus perturbet hymnis suis quam exhilaret, quorum encomia canit, victores." For Neander, unlike Lonicer, no special moral integrity is evidently required in order to penetrate Pindar's obscurity, but a wide historical and erudite culture is.

The commentary includes ample historical *excursus*, more frequently in the early portion of the work: at pp. 41–57, in relation to the description of the next world in the second *Olympian*, there is a long discussion with quotations from Plato, Plutarch, and Lucian; at pp. 71–76 (*Ol. 6*) long selections from Plutarch's life of Romulus are transcribed; at pp. 113–29 (*Ol. 12*) likewise from *Historia Croesi* by Herodotus; at pp. 173–77 (*Pyth. 4*) *Aurei velleris historiae argumentum*, with the lists of the argonauts according to Orpheus and Apollonius of Rhodes; at pp. 213–27 (*Pyth. 5*) an *excursus De Polycrate Samio tyranno*; at pp. 251–55 (*Pyth. 9*) the story of Cleisthenes, from Herodotus; and so on. Unlike the commentary of Lonicer, which was his model, as we have seen, for the translation,

Neander shows no interest in mythology, preferring the gnomic or historical aspects of the odes.

Commentary (ed. of Basel, 1556). Olympiorum Hymni primi Argumentum. [Inc.]: (p. 26) *a.* Fabulae artificiose scriptae et narratae saepe praepollent veritati. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 135) *c.* Alludit ad duo scrinia Simonidis poetae Lyrici. Vide proverb. Sera in fundo parsimonia. Item, Simonidis cantilenae.

Pythiorum Hymni primi Argumentum. [Inc.]: (p. 136) *a.* Musica potest, musica expugnat, placat, capit atque demulcet omnia. *b.* βᾶσις ἀ βαίνω, pedem statuae vel signi valet; hic incesum chori significat: rhythmum in chorea, der tridt im tantzen. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (pp. 269–71) *f.* Fatum nemo effugere potest. *a.* Spes [sper ed.] servat afflictos.

Nemeorum Hymni primi Argumentum. [Inc.]: (p. 270) *b.* Ad summum sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives, liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum. Horatius. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 326) *a.* Vide proverbium, Dimidium plus toto. *b.* Quod licet ingratum est: quod non licet, acrius urit.

Isthmiorum Hymni primi Argumentum. [Inc.]: (p. 328) *a.* Boni nihil habent preciosius charis parentibus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 375) *a.* Musas intelligit, quae poetarum, maxime Homeri, carminibus mortem eius deplorarunt, et fortia eius facta posteris nota esse voluerunt.

Edition:

See I.10a above.

b. Pyth. 4

At the end of his edition of the *Idylls* of Theocritus with translation and commentary ([Leipzig], 1596), Neander adds the Greek text of the fourth *Pythian* with a facing Latin translation and commentary (see I.10b above). In the left margin of the Greek text there appear brief linguistic notes, with the full commentary following under the title *Annotationes Neandrinae*. Notes of a geographical and historico-mythological kind are numerous, and the figures of rhetoric are pointed out. Brief summaries of the text, introduced by “sensus est,” also appear. At the start of strophe 4 there is a summary of the adventures of the Argonauts. Citation of other ancient authors is very rare. The Greek lemmata are followed by a parenthesis in roman typeface. Neander had given much space to this ode in his *Aristologia*, inserting a long excursus on the voyage of the argonauts into his commentary there. As noted above concerning the translation, the commentary too is different and more complete.

Commentary (ed. of Leipzig, 1596). In quantum Pythiorum Pindaricorum hymnorum Annotationes Neandrinae. [Inc.]: (fol. 182v) Σάμερον) Exorditur hymnum ab Apostrophe ad Musam, quam iubet suum hymnum Arcesilao

offerre, praedicare et commendare et magni apud eundem facere, αὔξῆς inquit. Κωμάζοντι) laetanti propter victoriam. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 196r) Ξενωθείς) cum ad me e Libya profectus, inquit Pindarus, peteret a me hanc commendationem, quam tamen ut clementer legas obnixe peto. Finis.

Edition:

See I.10b above.

Biography and Bibliography:

See I.10 above.

f. Nicolaus Sudorius – Nicolas Le Sueur

Sudorius' commentary on the *Nemeans* accompanies his translation of Paris, 1582, discussed in I.16c above.

The decision to comment only on the *Nemeans* has no obvious explanation: he may at an early stage have planned to print the *Nemeans* separately (like the *Olympians* 1575 and the *Pythians* 1576), with these notes attached, then abandoned that project in favor of the complete edition of 1582, where the commentary is subjoined at the end, after the *Isthmians*.

The lemmata, in italics, are taken from the Latin translation; the notes contain a wealth of historical, geographical, and mythological clarification, with relevant sources cited in support. A rationale for the translation is occasionally provided, for the most part based on the ineluctable rules of the Latin language. Linguistic observations and textual discussion are entirely and understandably absent, given that Sudorius had aimed at a free translation.

Commentary (ed. of Paris, 1582). Commentarius in Nemea Pindari, ad amplissimum virum Philippum Huraltum Chivernium, Galliarum Procancellarium, Nicolao Sudorio, Inquisitionum Praeside, auctore. Ad primam oden. [Inc.]: (fol. 57r) *Chromius*, quem hoc carmine Poeta celebrat, princeps Siculus fuit Hieroni Regi ob animi magnitudinem, et rei militaris peritiam ita gratus et acceptus ut eum Hiero Aetnae novae Coloniae a se deductae praefecerit, unde Chromius Aetnaeus praeconis voce denominatus est. *Ortygia Alpei requies*. Syracusarum olim tanta urbs erat, ut eam Cicero, oratione sexta in Verrem, ex quatuor maximis urbibus constare dixerit. Strabo vero / Lib. 6. Pentapolin appellat, hoc est civitatem ex quinque urbibus compositam: earum partium, una erat maxime nobilis, Insula, sive Ortygia, nuncupata. In ea visebatur domus Hieronis regis, aedes Dianae, templum Minervae, et praeterea Arethusa fons aquae dulcis piscium plenissimus, qui quoniam in mare Siculum fluvium emittebat, ut ait Strabo, Poetae fabulati sunt Alpheum Elidis amnem meare subter mare, et e Graecia in Siciliam deferri, tandemque post longissimos errores in Arethusae nymphae ulnis et amplexibus conquiescere. Eam ob causam Pindarus Ortygiam

Syracusarum insulam partemque Alpei fluminis sedem et requiem vocat: quem Virgilius imitatus ita scribit, tertio Aeneidos: “Sicanio praetenta sinu iacet insula contra / Plemmyrium undosum, nomen dixere priores / Ortygiam, Alphaeum fama est hunc Elidis amnem, / Occultas egisse vias subter mare, qui nunc / Ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis.” *Quum, Chromi, aetat. tuam.* Distichon hoc loco Poetae adiecimus, quia aliter latinae aures, quarum iudicium sanum est et sagax, Poetam abrupte et praecise loquutum existimassent: quamvis revera sententia auctoris continua est, et cohaeret. Ideo enim Pindarus in pueri Herculis laudes digreditur, ut lector intelligat Chromii principis pueritiam cum prima Herculis aetate comparari posse. Quemadmodum enim Hercules infans mirabiliter geminos angues elisisse dicitur, sic et Chromius princeps pusio adhuc / et imberbis sub Hierone rege multis in praeliis strenue dimicavit, sicut Pindarus ipse ostendit in nona Nemeorum Ode, Chromium eundem alloquens his versibus: “Qualis Dardanidae floruit Hectoris / Virtus, lenis ubi Xanthus humum rigat: / Talem te puerum Marticolam, Chromi, / Lux circumdedit aurea / Etori ad viridem fluminis aggerem.” . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 77v) *Thebanis abavus tempor. ferox.* Hic est Menalippus, qui in bello Thebano a Tydeo, Diomedis patre, occisus est. *Despondere sibi quidlibet impotens.* Hunc locum videtur imitatus Horatius, quum ait: “Nil mortalibus arduum est, / Caelum ipsum petimus stultitia.” Finis.

Edition:

See I.16c above.

Biography and Bibliography:

See I.16 above.

g. Franciscus Portus

a. *The Dresden Manuscript*

Dresden, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Db 95, all in the same sixteenth-century hand with later titulature and numeration, preserves the commentary of Franciscus Portus on *Olympians* 1–4. It is found at fols. 1r–27r, preceded by a later title, “Francisci Portae Cretensis Notae in Pindari Olympiaca.” After a few blank leaves there follow “Notae in Aeschlyli Prometeum Vincutum” at fols. 29r–53r, presumably also by Portus. There are more blank leaves, then scattered notes at fols. 54v–55r.

These are certainly not notes taken during lectures by Portus. The copy is fair, without corrections or revisions, executed by an able hand in a rapid personal cursive, with many abbreviations: it looks like a fair autograph copy.

The commentary on the first six *Olympians* is the same as the one that appeared in print ([Geneva], 1583) after the death of Franciscus Portus, but is not quite identical: some of the notes are longer, and in some cases the manuscript

reading appears preferable to the one in print, or at least equally tenable. This, then, is an important witness deserving attentive consideration from any future editor of the commentary on the *Olympians* by Franciscus Portus.

Translation (Dresden, Staats- und Universitätsbibl., Db 95, fols. 1r–27r). Πινδάρου ὀλύμπια [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1r) Ὀλύμπια, ludi Olymp. dicuntur ab Olympia, agri Pisani parte, in qua templum Iovis Olympii erat, et ante templum lucus oleastro consitus: iuxta lucum, stadium, et circus in quo fiebant ludi, qui genere neutro numero plurali *olympia* dicuntur ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἀγῶνες. Ὀλύμπια autem ut διονύσια, λήναια, ἀνακαλυπτήρια, Δία, etc. id genus nomina festivitatum et certaminum solent Graeci pluraliter neutro genere efferre. Inscriptio autem istorum ludorum sumpta est ab ipsis ludis, ut laudationes eorum qui in ludis olympiacis vicerunt, habeant inscriptionem Olympia, et qui in Pythiis, Pythia, et sic de reliquis.

Ἰέρωνι συρακουσίῳ ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς Ἰέρωνα συρακούσιον.

Κέλλετι, addendum extrinsecus νικήσαντι, i. qui vicit cellete, hoc est, equo singulari nam equestre certamen duplex erat, alterum fiebat synoride, i. bigis. Synoris enim biga e duobus equis non pullis, sed adultis significat, alterum cellete, i. equo singulari. . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 27r) σὺν δὲ φιλοφροσύναις, ὀρτάτ ut Agesiae laudatio grata et cara contingat Hesioni regi. Ἀγαθαὶ δὲ πέλοντ', perinde ac in tempestate bonum est si navis duabus anchoris sit deligata, ita bonum et salutare est si quis ad varios fortunae casus duplice nitatur patria: est autem pro bella defensio Agesiae qui dici poterat incerta esse patria: ποντόμεδον, merito Neptunum praecatur cuius erat nepos Agesias.

Manuscript:

Dresden, Staats- und Universitätsbibl., Db 95 (Kristeller, *Iter* 3.376b).

b. Edition 1583

In 1583, two years after the death of Franciscus Portus, his son Aemilius published his commentary on the odes of Pindar.

The edition commences with a solemn dedication to several senior magistrates of the Republic of Bern, in which Aemilius extols ancient culture, citing Pindar as the worthiest example; he lauds the poet's capacity to represent virtue, and emphasizes the natural religiosity that makes him a pious poet, if not a Christian one. On this account it is fitting that the exposition of such a poet should be offered to men who are lovers of virtue, as are the dedicatees. A brief life of Pindar, and a Greek epigram by Isaac Hortusbonus (Isaac Casaubon) follow.

The commentary on each ode begins with a brief summary, and the following notes often translate or paraphrase the text as well. Rhetorical features and syntactic forms are highlighted through close annotation and discussion.

Parallel passages from Greek and Latin authors are sometimes adduced, some of them little known. The scholia are seldom drawn upon; Lonicer, identified as “*interpres latinus*,” is from time to time made the target of polemical observations. No interest is shown in the moral aspect, or in mythology: the myths are dismissed as “*nugae*” and consequently there are no moralizing or allegorical interpretations.

Dedication (ed. of [Geneva?], 1583). *Illustrissimis, ac benignissimis celeberrimae Bernensis Reip. Dominis, Dominis suis plurimum observandis, Aemilium Francisci Porti Cretensis F. salutem, et foelicitatem perpetuam. [Inc.]: (fol. *2r) Ea vis est virtutis, Illustriss. ac benigniss. Domini, ut illos, in quibus insignes, et eximias animi dotes videmus esse, perpetuo suspiciamus, maximisque laudibus efferamus. . . / (fol. *3v) Hoc igitur alendae sapientiae studium Illustriss. ac benigniss. Domini, quo vos flagrare persuasum habeo, fecit ut istos parentis mei commentariolos in Pindarum, Lyricorum principem, qui varias variorum hominum virtutes carmine suo celebrat, amplitudini vestrae dicare sim ausus. Hic unusquisque tamquam in lucidissimo speculo suas virtutes, quibus divinitus est ornatus, et splendida praemia, quae virtutum studiosis dantur, maxima cum voluptate contemplari potest. Hic nullus suspitioni, nullus assentationi locus: sed praeclara facinora praeclaris ornantur laudibus. Quare dignus est hic / Poeta, quem legant, et voluent omnes: sed ii potissimum qui magnos honores gerunt. Licet enim verum illum Deum, quem nos Christiani veneramus, non cognorit, aliquam tamen divinam naturam, quae cuncta creavit, esse creditit, de qua non solum pie loquendum sed etiam pie sentiendum dixit. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. *4v) Interea vero Deum Opt. Max. suppliciter orabimus, ut vestrae dignitatis excellentiam magis, ac magis augeat, vestraeque Reip. sanctum imperium perpetua foelicitate muniat. Valete Illustriss. ac benigniss. Domini, et me in eorum numero ponite, qui vestri splendoris amplitudini penitus sunt addicti. Datum Lausannae Idibus Februarii 1583.*

Commentary. Francisci Porti Cretensis, *Commentarii in Pindari Olympia.* [Inc.]: (p. 5) ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ, ludi Olympiaci dicuntur ab Olympia, agri Pisani parte, in qua templum Iovis Olympii erat, et ante templum locus oleastro consitus: iuxta lucum, stadium, et Circus in quo fiebant ludi, qui genere neutro numero plurali *olympia* dicuntur ἀντι τοῦ ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἀγῶνες. Ὀλύμπια autem ut διονύσια, λήναια, παναθήναια, ἀνακαλυπτήρια, Δία, et caetera id genus nomina festivitatum et certaminum solent Graeci pluraliter genere neutro efferre. Inscriptio autem istarum laudationum sumpta est ab ipsis ludis, ut laudationes eorum qui in ludis olympiacis vicerunt, habeant inscriptionem Olympia, eorum qui in Pythiis, Pythia, et sic de reliquis. Ἰέρωνι συρακουσίῳ ἀντι τοῦ εἰς Ἰέρωνα συρακούσιον.

Κέλετι, addendum extrinsecus νικήσαντι qui vicit Celete, hoc est, equo singulari nam equestre certamen duplex erat, alterum fiebat Synoride, i. bigis.

Synoris enim bigas e duobus equis non pullis, sed adultis significat alterum celete, i. equo singulari. . ./. . . [Expl.]: (p. 61) Κλῦτ', audite me petentem, ut carminibus his meis faveatis, eaque grata, et Asopicho victori, et aliis efficiatis. Σὺν γὰρ ὑμῖν, vestro enim numine, o gratiae, iucunda ac suavia omnia accidunt mortalibus in terris, diis etiam immortalibus in caelis.

Pythia. Ode I. [Inc.]: (p. 62) Hieronem Syracusanum quem prima Olympiorum Oda laudavit, hac item Pythiorum celebrat, sic 26 et 27 Pythiade, vicit Celete, 29 curru, haec itaque victoria iam laudatur. Primo loco laudat et extollit Poesim ab eius vi et potestate, quam tantam esse dicit, ut valeat restinguere deorum iram, et mulcere ac delectare eorundem animos. Itaque secundo loco hortatur latenter Hieronem ad Poetarum Lyricorum studium; Principes enim qui Poesi delectantur, illustreis fieri, qui minus, eos in tenebris et perpetuo silentio iacere demonstrat. . . Χρυσέα, Citharam alloquitur Poeta, eamque hortatur ut praebeat choro, et carminibus quae in honorem Hieronis est dicturus, id autem ita dictum, propterea quod qui Choream ducebat, pulsabat primum citharam, deinde canebat et saltabat, quem reliquus Chori caecus sequebatur canens et ipse, saltansque. . ./. . . [Expl.]: (p. 109) Αναγκαῖον λέχος, coactum connubium necessarium. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ τούτων, redit ad seriem narrationis. Καρπαλιμᾶν, rapacibus: sed ὑποτύπωσις. Εἰ δὲ τις ἄλβος, inter certandum Midas fractis tibiis desperaverat de victoria: et tamen vicit, hoc igitur innuit Poeta, sed transfert ὑπόθεσιν ad θέσιν.

Nemea. Ode I. [Inc.]: (p. 110) Ludi isti, τὰ Νέμεια, funebres ludi erant: qui ab Argivis instituti fuisse dicuntur in honorem Archemori Lycurgi filii: alii eos institutos fuisse credunt ab Hercule, aut a Melorcho, cuius filius a Leone interfectus fuit, sed qui in Archemori memoriam eos referunt, rei huius originem sic explicant. . . Ἀμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφειοῦ, Chromius erat auriga Hieronis; is erat eius artificii peritissimus, et cum haberet unde, coepit et ipse equos alere: et in ludis Nemeaesis curru vicit. Hanc igitur eius victoriam Poeta celebrat hoc carmine. O Ortygia, abs te duco initium carminis huius, quod feci in Chromium victorem. Θάλος, sic vocat insulam adiacentem Syracusis quae ponte iungebatur, et distinguit eam ab Ortygia Delia, hoc Epitheto. . ./. . . [Expl.]: (p. 144) Ἀλλ' ἔμπαν, et tamen animos attolimus, et multas res affectamus; est obiurgatio. Δέδεται γὰρ ἀναιδεῖ, quia speramus earum eventum temere. Προμαθείας, quamquam abest providentia. Ῥοαί, guttae semina. Κερδέων δὲ χρῆ. παραίνεσις, vero modus tenendus est in rebus: mera enim est insania ea concupiscere, quae assequi non potes.

Isthmia. Ode I. [Inc.]: (p. 145) Hi ludi primum instituti sunt (ut plerique narrant et Archias Poeta confirmat) in honorem Palaemonis filii Athamantis: deinde Neptuno attributi, celebrabantur enim ad Isthmum Corinthiacum: ubi Neptunus religiose colebatur: et ubi templum eius erat magnificentius extructum aemulatione quadam templi Olympici, quasi frater cum fratre contenderet

ambitiosus. Laudat Herodotum a patria, et a gente Dorum, erat enim Thebanus. . . . Μᾶτερ ἐμὰ, quia et ipse erat Thebanus. Θήβα χρύσασπι: ἐπὶ τῆς ἡρωίδος κατὰ τὸν ἔξηγ. ἢ ἄσωποῦ καὶ μετώπης τῆς λάδωνος.

Θήσομαι ὑπέρτερον ἀσχόλιας, anteporam rem tuam meis occupationibus. . . ./. . . [Expl.]: (p. 163) Ἀνέδειξαν, fecerunt innotescere. Σφετέραν: ἀποστροφή ad victorem. Τὸ καὶ νῦν, itaque nunc etiam Musae canunt Aeacidas et Aeginetas. ἐπίλογος.

Edition:

1583, [Geneva]: apud Ioannem Sylvium. BL; BNF; Basel, Universitätsbibl. Digital copy: Universitätsbibliothek Basel e-rara.

Biography:

See CTC 2.198; 7.116.

Bibliography:

Add: M. Firpo, *Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Bari, 1993), 84–85.

h. Benedictus Aretius – Benedikt or Benedicht Marti or Marty

The most complete Pindar commentary of the sixteenth century is undoubtedly the *Commentarius absolutissimus* of Benedictus Aretius, a well-known Calvinist theologian. The sole edition ([Geneva], 1587) is posthumous by thirteen years, and no textual note informs us about the origin of these pages, which might lie in notes taken down by one or more students, or in an authorial autograph. The confused state of the punctuation and the elementary, quasi-oral syntax make it highly probable that the first hypothesis is the correct one.

We do not know who the editor was: the edition commences with a few prefatory lines, “Typographus Lectori,” in which the commentary is described as the one in which all the difficult places are explained and all the mythological tales are narrated, with a continuous analysis of the arguments, the frequent digressions proper to the dithyrambic style, and the golden *sententiae*, such that no requirement for understanding an admittedly difficult author has been left unmet.

This commentary probably goes back to the decade 1553–63, when Aretius was professor of Greek and Hebrew at the Academy of Bern, before starting to teach theology. We have no information of other works by Aretius in the classical field: all his known works are on religious topics.

This is a truly monumental commentary, one that flows very evenly: running headers appear only from the *Pythians* on; the author does not introduce himself, nor make personal remarks of any kind. The front matter consists of a long *accessus* (with no title or internal subdivision), rich in quotations from the numerous sources drawn upon, that opens with a list of all the ancients who

bore the name Pindar; and a very detailed life subdivided by rubrics in the margin: *Patria, Parentes, Studia, Praeceptores, Liberi, Pietas, Synchroni* (meaning the contemporary poets, Aeschylus, Bacchylides, Simonides). On *Pietas*, the author states that although the ancient sources claim that Pindar honored the gods, and he obviously did so in obedience to traditional customs, his writings testify that he acknowledged a single eternal mind governing all things. His death in the lap of the youth Theoxenus (a detail censured by almost all previous scholars) is recorded, with the comment that it was just that such a placid death should befall one who in life had softened souls with his song. The repeated defeats suffered by Pindar at the hands of Corinna are also cited, but are attributed to the inexperience of the judges.

The most novel part with respect to the other sixteenth-century commentaries lies in a detailed list of all the individuals of Antiquity, Greek and Latin, who wrote about Pindar, either for praise or blame. The works are listed following the *Suda*. The writer then quickly moves on to the *qualitas scripti* (that is, what is signified to be *lyrikos*) and the matter of the odes and their main argument: praise of the victors at the games.

Every ode is expounded first in its parts (after the customary acknowledgment of the triads, the cola are said to be *versus variis legibus constantes*). All the available historical information about the dedicatees is given. The notes that follow are often very full and erudite in character, illustrating geographical terms and historical and mythological individuals. Rhetorical figures are identified, and there is frequent discussion of the genuine significance of Greek terms, often taking a stance opposed to that of Lonicer (e. G. *Ol.* 1, epod. 1; p. 29). Where necessary, there are even translations from Greek into German. Some long *excursus* stray far off topic: see for example at p. 79 (the final part of *Ol.* 4) on the causes of white hair.

Letter to the reader: (ed. of [Geneva], 1587). Typographus Lectori. (*Inc.*): (p. 2) Accipe, lector, Commentarios in Pindarum, quos tibi nunc primum offero, quibus loci difficiles explanantur, historiae et fabulae quas Poeta obiter attingit, quibusque non cognitis subinde lectori haerendum esset, fuse et dilucide explicantur, cum perpetua ἀναλύσει argumentorum, et digressionum, quibus hoc poema, nequaquam humi repens, sed dithyrambico more assurgens, refertum est, atque adeo insignium sententiarum, quibus tanquam stellis ornatum et distinctum est, ita ut qui hos Commentarios habuerit, ad gravissimum nec ita perivium auctorem intelligendum, nihil propemodum sit desideraturus. Vale.

Accessus. Commentarii in Pindarum. [*Inc.*]: (p. 3) Honoratus ille Servius, cuius laus praecipua est inter Grammaticos, in explicandis auctoribus, sex observanda esse docet: Auctoris vitam. 2. titulum operis. 3. qualitatem scripti. 4. Scribentis intentionem, seu consilium auctoris. 5. Numerum librorum et 6. Explanationem. Quae nos in suscepta Pindari enarratione etiam observabimus

paululum mutato ordine. Nam priora quinque membra in προλεγόμενοις plerunque explicari solent et quanquam lucem non mediocrem afferant, nihil tamen ad expositionem auctoris faciunt, aut certe parum. Ultimum vero membrum, hoc est, Explanatio, propria est interpretis. Itaque sic iudicare debemus duplicem esse considerationem suscipiendam interpreti: prior generalis est, unde καθολική nominari potest: in hac sunt hi praecipui loci, quis, quid, cui, quomodo scripserit. Posterior cura specialis est, quae continet verborum contextus ἐξήγημα, in quo praecipua interpretis dexteritas et ingenium requiritur. Priorem igitur partem iis debemus locis, de quibus iam admonuimus. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 18) Ex his sumemus Argumentum, Genus, propositionem, partes: et cur primum occupet locum haec ode.

Commentary. [Olympiae] [Inc.]: (p. 18) Hieron. Fuit hic Syracusius Rex seu Tyrannus, Dinomenis filius: Fratres habuit Gelonem Polybulum et Thrasibulum. Filium patris nomen Dinomenem. Virum extitisse et liberalem et fortem, aliisque virtutibus praedium, auctores sunt: maxime Aelianus lib. 9, ca. I, v. h. refert φιλέλληνα fuisse, magnificisse παιδίαν, hoc est eruditionem, item προχειρότατος εἰς τὰς εὐεργεσίας, etc.

Syracusae in Sicilia, quas M. Marcellus [sic] tandem populi Romani imperio adiecit. Vixit tum alius Hieron, et nobilis Archimedes, cui unico, edicto parci iusserat imperator Marcellus. Vid. Plin. Lib. 7, cap. 37 et Plut. in vita Marcelli.

Κέλης equus desultorius, quali victoriam Hieron obtinuit Olymp. 73, annus is fuit ab urbe condita 265. Eustath. Homeri interpres dixit κέλης ἵππος ἄζυξ καὶ κατὰ μόνας ἐλαυνόμενος ὃ νῦν σελλάριος. Dictus est a κέλλειν, quod est τρέχειν, currere, hinc verbum κελητίζειν, τὸ ἀζεύκτοις ἵπποις ἐποχεῖσθαι *ein unge sattlet ross rytten*. Κελιτίζειν [sic] ὦ εἰδής, hoc est ἵππεύειν. Varinus ait κέλης equus est μονάμπυξ καὶ δρομικός, Sellarius dictus, et γυμνός, *unge sattlet*. Plin. lib. 34 cap. 5. Celitas tantum dicebant in sacris victores, ὃ [sic] κέλης, κελητος. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 210) Γιὸν εἴπης.) Instructio Famae, quid apud inferos expedire debeat, per νέαν χαιταν, a parte aetatem describit, iuvenem adhuc vicisse in Olympiis. πετροῖσι, alis; σέμματα intelligit coronas ex ramo oleastri flexas. χαιτα, Latinis hinc seta dicitur, ut equi, leonis a χεῖσθαι nam ἐν τῷ τρέχειν τὸ ζῶον, dum currit illud animal χεῖσθαι et αἰόσσειν dicitur χαιτα. Latini setam apro et sui proprie tribuunt: ad hominem κατὰ μεταφορὰν transfertur, quia coma currenti circa caput fluitat. Finis Olympiorum.

In Pindari Pythia. [Inc.]: (p. 211) Admonet nos inscriptio Pindarica, ut ad ingressum Pythiorum aliquid de ludis, certaminibus, oraculo etiam Pythico dicamus. Nam de persona Pindari initio Olympiorum diffuse disseruimus. Quare alteram ἐπιγραφῆς partem explicabimus. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 366) Ἄλλ' ἔσται χρόνος.) Illatio, bona et mala certo ordine dispensari hominibus, qui spe caret, restituitur: optima spe instructus, alios deiicit: hoc dat, illud negat. Vide supra Pyth. 8 Epod. 4. Finis Pythiorum.

In Pindari Nemea. [*Inc.*]: (p. 367) In Pindarica periodo sequuntur Nemei ludi: de his iam acturi explicabimus διὰ βραχέων, quo authore sint instituti; in cuius gratiam; ubi; quo praemio certarint victores; quando item celebrata sint illa spectacula; qualeque antiquitus institutum fuerit hoc certaminis genus. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 485) Verum per se elegans gnome est et digna observatione sententia: simile est Latinorum, Nitimur in vetitum, cupimusque negata. Rei amor prohibita, aut illicita, vel natura impossibilis, multo vehementior est, quam is amor qui licitus et concessus est; ut re cupita potiri possit, Furoris fit; quod licet ingratum est, ut ait ille quod non licet acrius urit. Recte ergo nominat ὄξυτέρας μανιάς, vehementiores insanias; furores amorum ἀποροσίκτων, quos consequi nescias, quam eorum quos assequi possit. Finis Nemeorum.

In Isthmia Pindari ὑπομήματα. [*Inc.*]: (p. 485) Inter periodica certamina ultimum locum tenent Isthmiaci ludi; de his paucis agemus, antequam ad hymnos Pindari perveniamus: ac pro more nostro explicanda erunt ista, a quo instituti hi ludi; in cuius gratiam; quando celebrati; quis honos victori habitus; ac siquid in his memoratu dignum acciderit, de quibus διὰ βραχέων agemus, si prius de voce et eius origine admonuerimus. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 558) Χεῖα latibulum, φωλέος, ἢ τῶν ὄφρων κατάδυσσις, serpentum lustrum, a verbo χεῖω, quod est χωρῶ capax sum, aut abscondo, quod inertes et laborum impatientes facere solent. Cleander ἐν χεῖᾳ non latuit: ergo fuit φιλόπονος: hinc ad victorias pervenit, ergo laudandus est. Finis commentariorum in Pindarum.

Edition:

1587, [Geneva]: excudebat Ioannes Le Preux. BL; BNF. Digital copy in Google Books.

Biography:

Benedictus Aretius (Benedikt or Benedicht Marti or Marty), a well-known Calvinist theologian, was born in 1522. He studied at Bern, Strassburg, and Marburg; in 1553 he became professor of Greek and Hebrew in the Academy of Bern, and in 1564, professor of theology there. He died in 1574. His best-known works are on religion: *Examen theologicum* (Lausanne, 1572); *Theologiae problemata* (Bern, 1573). No other publications by him on classical literature are known.

Bibliography:

C. Engler, *Bibliothek Benedicht Aretius: (um 1525–1574); eine Berner Gelehrtenbibliothek des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Bern, 2003); NDB, 1.349 (K. Guggisberg); ADB 1.520–21 (J.J. Herzog).

i. David Chytraeus – David Kochhafe

In 1596 the Lutheran historian and theologian David Chytraeus published an unusual Pindaric volume, very probably as an offshoot of his teaching at

Rostock. The title page is the best statement of the content of the work: “Ex Pindari odis, excerptae genealogiae Principum Veteris Graeciae, et Gnomae illustres de Deo, Providentia, Justitia, Modestia, et variis vitae humanae casibus, studio Davidis Chytraei.” Following the argument, the volume does indeed contain the *genealogiae* and the *sententiae* from *Ol.* 1, with the Latin translation of the same ode by Menradus Moltherus (see I.4 above). The arguments, genealogies, and *sententiae* from all the other odes follow, without either text or translation. Several notable *sententiae* are given in Greek and translated into Latin. Particular attention is focused on the genealogies of the most important individuals, which are often reconstructed in minute detail, with full-scale genealogical trees, but the apparatus for some odes amounts to no more than a few lines.

The book opens with a Latin elegy (fol. A2r–v), “Cl. V. Laurentio Rhodomanno Vati, Vates Martinus Braschius S. D.,” in which praise of Pindar and of the now aged but still vigorous Chytraeus is supplemented by praise of the dedicatee. The short *accessus* emphasizes that the purpose of every ode is to extol the virtue of the winner, the importance of his family and its ancestors, and his city of origin. Pindar adorns all this with the gravest moral *sententiae*, illustrated with appropriate historical examples. There follows a brief biography and a description of the Olympic games.

At the end there is a summary of what it contains, ending with the affirmation that Pindaric morality, albeit highly praiseworthy, is the natural morality instilled into every man, for Pindar, like all the wise pagans, knew not the Christian religion. Thus they err who compare the odes of Pindar to the Psalms of David, or even rank them higher (on this see Melancthon, I.12 above).

In the final leaves appears a dedicatory epistle of Chytraeus to Paulus Schedius Melissus (the Rhenish poet Paul Schede Melissus), qualified as Germany’s sole modern Pindar (*verum et unicum Germaniae nostrae Pindarum*), who had published a collection of verse in Paris (1586) and had sent them to him as a gift. The volume closes with a Greek epigram and Latin translation, *In statuum Pindari* (= *AP*, 2.382–87 i.e. Christod. *Ecph.* 382–87; see F. Tissoni, *Cristodoro. Un’introduzione e un commento* [Alessandria, 2000], 243–45).

Accessus (ed. of Rostock, 1596). [*Inc.*]: (fol. A3r) De Pindaro. Quod Basilius de Homero, Poetarum parente, pronunciat: Πᾶσα ἡ ποίησις Ομηρῶ ἀρετῆς ἐστὶ ἔπαινος, Tota Homeri poesis est Virtutis doctrina et laudatio splendida . . ./. . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. A4v) De Olympiis, qui plura cognoscere cupit, legat Pausaniam in Eliacis.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: (fol. A5r) Prima oda celebrat victoriam Hieronis, principis Syracusani, sed huic intexit historiam Pelopis, proavi materni Herculis, in cuius honorem Olympicus Agon primum institutus erat. . . Genealogia Pelopis, qui ad Alphaeum fluvium Pisae, in Elide, habitavit et sepultus est. . . (fol. [A6r]) Gnomae et Noemata praecipua. Εἰ δὲ θεὸν ἀνήρ τις ἔλπεται τι λαθήμεν ἔρδων,

ἀμαρτάνει. Si Deum, homo faciens aliquid (sceleratum) sperat se posse latere, errat. . ./. . . [Expl.]: (fol. G^v) ἰατὰ δ'ἔστι βροτοῖς σύν γ' ἔλευθερία καὶ τά. Χρῆ δ' ἀγαθὰν ἐλπιδ' ἀνδρὶ μέλειν. Sed salva libertate (salva Republica) hominibus sanabilia sunt et haec (mala quae acciderunt et) bona spes retinenda est (oportet virum retinere spem bonam).

Dedication. Illustri aetatis nostrae viro et Poetarum optimo, D. Paulo Schedio Melisso, Comiti Palatino, Equiti et civi Romano, Ill.mi Elect. Palatini Consiliario, Domino colendo. S. D. [Inc.]: (fol. [G3v]) Relegi his diebus Pindarum, cuius Divinis et sublimibus et pene supra communem ingenii et sapientiae humanae captum positis concionibus et Gnomis et interspersis veterum Graeciae principum historiis, semper delectatus sum. . ./. . . [Expl.]: (fol. [G4r]) Bene et feliciter vale. Rhodopoli. In feriis Pentecostes, cum Decalogus legis divina voce promulgatus est. In cuius praecepta Pindari nostri conciones olim distribuimus. Anno 1596.

Edition:

1596, Rostock: excudebat Stephanus Myliander. Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibl.; Rostock, Universitätsbibl.; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl.

Biography and Bibliography:

See CTC 8.168.

II. FRAGMENTA

TRANSLATIONS

1. Henricus Stephanus – Henri Estienne

The edition of Pindar prepared by Henricus Stephanus in 1560 (see I.14 above) comprised two volumes: the first, described above, presented his Latin translation of Pindar with the Greek text *en regard*. Volume two offered a collection of fragments of the lyric poets, again with facing Latin translation.

Although it was volume two of a single edition, it has its own title page, which allowed it an independent circulation to some extent: *Carminum Poetarum novem, lyricae poeseos principum, fragmenta. Alcaei, Anacreontis, Sapphus, Bacchylidis, Stesichori, Simonidis, Ibyci, Alcmanis, Pindari. Nonnulla etiam aliorum. Cum latina interpretatione, partim soluta oratione, partim carmine. Anno M.D.LX. Excudebat Henr. Stephanus, illustris viri Huldrychi Fuggeri Typographus.*

There is however no independent preface, for that need was met in volume one. The volume opens with a poetic composition, an ode in Horatian meters composed by Stephanus in praise of the brothers Marcus and Johannes Fugger. Next, at p. 7, we find the life of Alceus, taken from the compilation of

Lilio Gregorio Giraldi. The section dedicated to the fragments of Pindar is at pp. 344–77. The volume closes with a postface by Stephanus, addressed to “readers attentive to poetry” (*poetices studiosis lectoribus*), pp. 427–30, in which he explains the criteria guiding his collection. He asserts that he is the first to assemble a collection of fragments of the lyric poets, which had previously only been quoted in the works of other authors, and states that he has not dared to make textual emendations, being well aware of the risks of doing so in the case of difficult authors who wrote in very complicated meters. He has merely inserted an asterisk beside readings he regards as erroneous or problematic, in the hope that other scholars may be inspired by his work to advance the task of emending the text. Several of the very few interventions Stephanus does make concern the Greek text of two fragments of Pindar.

Though Stephanus had the work of no predecessor to build on in assembling a collection of Pindar fragments, his pioneering effort is a sturdy one. There are forty-six fragments in total, and in some cases he gives the different versions reported by different authors. For the sake of completeness I supply the complete list, indicating the ancient author in question and the work in which the fragment is cited, the number of the fragment in the edition of Snell-Maehler, and the Pindaric work to which it belonged in the view of modern scholarship.

- D. H. *Comp.* 22 (= fr. 75 Sn.-M.) – Dithyrambi;
 D. H. *Dem.* 7 (= fr. 52k Sn.-M.: verses 1–10; 13–20) – Paeanes;
 Ath. XI 30 (= fr. 70b Sn.-M.: verses 1–3) – Dithyrambi;
 Str. X 3, 13 (= fr. 70b Sn.-M.: verses 8–11) – Dithyrambi;
Scholia Aristophani (*Av.* 927) et *Pindari* (p. II 127) (= fr. 105a Sn.-M.)
 – Hyporchemata;
 Erotian., *Gloss. Hippocr.* pag. 20, 20 Nachm (= fr. 111, verses 1–5 Sn.-M.)
 – Hyporchemata;
 Pl. *Grg* 484 B (= fr. 169a Sn.-M.) – Incertorum librorum;
 Pl. *R.* 331A (= fr. 214 Sn.-M.) – Incertorum librorum;
 Pl. *R.* 365B e Cic. *Ad Att.* XIII 38 (= fr. 213 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;
 Plu. 120C (*Cons. ad apoll.* 35) (= fr. 129 Sn.-M.) – Threni;
 Plu. 116D (*Cons. ad apoll.* 28) (= fr. 35b* Sn.-M.) – Hymni;
 Plu. 1130C (*De lat. viv* 7) (= fr. 129 Sn.-M.) – Threni;
 Ath. XII 7 (= fr. 43 Sn.-M.) – Hymni;
 Plu. 783B (*An seni...* 1) e 975D (*Soll. Anim.* 23) (= fr. 228 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;
 Plu. 704F (*Qu. Conv.* 7, 5, 2) (= fr. 140b, verses 13–15 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;
 Plu. 365A (*Is. Osir.* 35) (= fr. 153 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;
 Plu. 349C (*Glor. Ath.* 7) (= fr. 78 Sn.-M.) – Dithyrambi;
 Plu. 451D (*Virt. Mor.* 12) (= fr. 234 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;

- Plut 602F (*de exil.* 9) (= fr. 52d, 50–53 Sn.-M.) – Paeanes;
 Stob. III 11, 18 (= fr. 205 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;
 Stob. IV 16, 6 (= fr. 109 Sn.-M.) – Hyporchemata;
 Stob. IV 39, 6 (= fr. 134 Sn.-M.) – Threni;
 Stob. IV 45, 1 (= fr. 42 Sn.-M.) – Hymni;
 Aristid. *Or.* XLIX 56 (= fr. 237 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;
 Aristid. *Or.* XLIX 57 (= fr. 194, 1–3 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;
 Aristid. *Or.* XXVIII 58 (= fr. 52f, verses 1–6 Sn.-M.) – Paeanes;
 Ath. XI 15 (476b) (= fr. 166 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;
 Ath. XIV 47 (641b) (= fr. 124a Sn.-M.) – Encomia;
 Ath. XII 5 (512D) (= fr. 126 Sn.-M.) – Encomia;
 Ath. XIII 76 (601C) (= fr. 127 Sn.-M.) – Encomia;
 Ath. XIII 76 (601D) (= fr. 123 Sn.-M.) – Encomia;
 Ath. XIII 32 (573F) (= fr. 122 Sn.-M.) – Encomia;
 Ath. XIV 29 (631C) (= fr. 112 Sn.-M.) – Hyporchemata;
 Ath. XIV 36 (635D) (= fr. 125 Sn.-M.) – Encomia;
 Ath. *Epit.* 1 (28a) (= fr. 106 Sn.-M.) – Hyporchemata;
 Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* 3.72.1 (= fr. 217 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;
 Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.10.49 (= fr. 180 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;
 Clem. Al. *Strom.* I 20,10 (= fr. 124c Sn.-M.) – Encomia;
 Clem. Al. *Strom.* IV 7, 49 (= fr. 227 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;
 Clem. Al. *Strom.* V 14, 129 (= fr. 140d Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;
 Clem. Al. *Strom.* V 14, 129 (= fr. 141 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum;
 Clem. Al. *Strom.* V 14, 129 (= fr. 61 Sn.-M.) – Paeanes;
 Clem. Al. *Strom.* V 14, 101 (= fr. 108b Sn.-M.) – Hyporchemata;
 Clem. Al. *Strom.* V 14, 137 (= fr. *30 Sn.-M.) – Hymni;
 Clem. Al. *Strom.* III 3, 17 (= fr. 137 Sn.-M.) – Threni;
 Clem. Al. *Strom.* V 14, 98 (= fr. 292 Sn.-M.) Incertorum librorum.

The fragments are listed both in the order of the source authors, and in the order of the source works, where Stephanus was able to establish that; the ensemble that results is thus somewhat disorderly. Almost all the fragments are given a facing Latin translation, composed by Stephanus ad hoc. His versions are exclusively in prose and aim to give the letter of the text, without stylistic elaboration, but always comprehensibly. An exception is the modern fr. 129 Sn.-M., transmitted with variants in two different works of Plutarch, the *Consolatio ad Apollonium* and *De latenter vivendo*. For the first, Stephanus gives the translation of Stephanus Niger, for the second that of Erasmus. Another noteworthy exception is the handful of fragments not translated: within this restricted group the modern fr. 122 Sn.-M. stands out. The fragment belongs to an encomium directed to Xenophon of Corinth, who had donated some slave girls for service

as sacral prostitutes in the temple of Aphrodite at Corinth. It is not unlikely that the fragment remained untranslated because of its scabrous nature. In other cases, a few fragments may not have been translated simply because of lack of space on the facing page (see pp. 368–69).

Pindari Carmina. Apud Dionysium Halicarnasense in libro De structura verborum (p. 345). [*Inc.*]: Adeste ad chorum caelestes, et inclytam immittite gratiam Dii, frequentem qui urbis umbilicum thure perfusum in sacris Athenis teritis, elegansque loco aprico situm forum . . . [*Expl.*] (p. 377) per caelum, astronomiae dans operam, et omnium omni ex parte naturam perscrutans.

Editions:

1560, [Geneva]: excudebat Henr. Stephanus, illustris viri Huldrichi Fuggeri typographus. The fragments of Pindar are located at pp. 344–77. BAV; BL; Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense. Digital copy in Google Books.

1566, [Geneva]: excudebat Henr. Stephanus, illustris viri Huldrichi Fuggeri typographus. The fragments of Pindar are again at pp. 344–77, as in the previous edition, and there are no variants. BNF; Genoa, Bibl. Univ.; Milan, Bibl. Naz. Braidense and Bibl. Trivulziana; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib. Digital copy in Google Books.

1567, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Christophori Plantini. A reprint of the edition of 1560. In the dedicatory letter, only the initials P. M., not the full name Philippo Melanctoni. The text of the fragments and that of the Latin translation are laid out in two columns per page, at pp. 159–73. Apart from this (elegant) change to the impagination, the rest is identical. BAV; BL; BNF; Toronto, Thomas Fisher Lib. Digital copy in Google Books.

1586, [Geneva]: apud Henricum Stephanum. Editio III Graecolatina H. Steph. recognitione quorundam interpretationis locorum, et accessione lyricorum carminum locupletata. In 2 vols. The section on Pindar does not vary from previous editions. In vol. 1.411–14 “Ex observationibus Isaaci Casaubon.” The fragments of Pindar are now placed in volume 1, at pp. 388–410; the collection does not vary from previous editions with one exception: at p. 410 two Greek fragments are added, without Latin translation, from the scholia on Aristophanes. BAV; BL; BNF; Toronto, Victoria Univ., CRRS Lib. Digital copy in Google Books.

1598, Lugduni (Lyons): apud Ioan. Pillehotte. Ex typographia Ioannis Hanard, alias Iamet. Editio postrema, multis versibus ad calcem adiectis locupletata. The Pindar section reproduces the previous editions. Although their presence is announced on the titlepage of the second volume, the fragments of Pindar are missing: more precisely, tome 2 of this edition appears to be identical to tome 2 in the edition of 1586, where, as noted above, the fragments of Pindar had been shifted to volume 1. BAV; BL; BNF. Digital copy in Google Books.

*1600, [Geneva]: Oliva Pauli Stephani. Editio IIII Graecolatina H. Steph. recognitione quorundam interpretationis locorum et accessione lyricorum carminum locupletata. The fragments appear, without variation, in tome 2 at pp. 344–77. Digital copy in Google Books.

