

## PAUSANIAS

by GEORGE B. PARKS  
(Queens College)

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### FORTUNA

Pausanias (ca. 143-175 A. D.) describes the greater part of the Greek world in terms of a journey through the ten provinces, recording local history and legend, and noting particularly the temples with their rites and history. His book is characterized as 'für Archäologie, Geschichte, besonders Religionsgeschichte, Paradoxographie und Mythologie einzig wichtig' (Wilhelm von Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, 1924 ed. v. II, 2, p. 755). The article on Pausanias in Pauly-Wissowa is 'Pausanias der Periheget' by O. Regenbogen (Supplement VIII, 1956, 1008-1097).

According to the Teubner ed. (Leipzig, 1903) by Frid. Spiro, the Greek text survives in 24 Mss., none earlier than the XV century. See von Christ, *op. cit.*, p. 761, for the three classes of Mss., and A. Diller, 'Pausanias in the Middle Ages,' *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 87 (1956) 84-97, and 88 (1957) 169-188.

The Greek ed. princ. was prepared by Marcus Musurus (Venice, Aldus, 1516). A second ed. was made by Guil. Xylander, completed by Frid. Sylburg (Frankfurt, Wechel, 1583), with the Amaseo Latin version, revised. An Italian version was published by Alfonso Bonacciuoli (Mantova, 1593).

It is a sign of the humanist interest in Pausanias that the Greek ed. princ. was fol-

lowed in the next year by a kind of exposition of his book in what amounts to a series of popular lectures on its content. Stephanus Niger (Negri) who taught Greek in Milan wrote a 'Dialogus in quem quicquid apud Pausaniam scitu dignum legitur quam diligentissime congescit Stephanus Niger.' It was published (ff. 39-211) in a volume with the title *Dialogus quo quicquid in graecarum literarum penetralibus reconditum, quod ad historiae veritatem, ad fabularum oblectamenta, ad eruditionis famam conferre quoquo modo possit, in communem studiosorum utilitatem summa cum diligentia congestum in lucem propagatur* (Milan, Minutianus, 1517), which also includes Negri's Latin version of the Heroica of Philostratus. The lecturer in the Dialogus, who points out the memorable temples and rites listed by Pausanias, is Demetrius Chalcondyles (died 1511), Negri's teacher, and the auditors are the three brothers Joannes, Hieronymus and Ludovicus Bottus, who were Negri's students. (I am indebted to my colleague Professor Eleanor Withington for notes on the British Museum copy, and to Professor Kristeller for excerpts from a microfilm of the Yale copy).

Negri's book can hardly be called a systematic commentary, but it adds Negri and perhaps Chalcondyles to the list of humanists who were interested in Pausanias, as were Musurus, who edited the original Greek,

and Parrhasius, who, as will be seen, made an index of the first Latin version.

### I. *Descriptio Graeciae*

#### TRANSLATIONS

##### 1. DOMITIUS CALDERINUS

Date. Calderini began the translation in 1477, and completed book I (Attica) and a part of book II (Corinth) before his death in 1478. The evidence is his signed note in the Ms. of a Greek text of the *Periegesis* in the Library of the University of Leiden (Ms. B. P. G. 16. as listed in *Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae Catalogus*, Deel XIV, Leiden, 1932, p. 90). The note is transcribed in an earlier catalogue (J. Geel, *Catalogus Librorum manuscriptorum*. . . Leiden, 1852, pp. 18-19, no. 56, ms. XVIII. 16. L): 'Hunc librum curavi mihi transcribendum eo consilio ut in Latinum vertem, pro quo. . . solvi Duc. decem et octo: coepi transferre fel. . . MCCCCLXXVII quom aetatis meae annum [agere]m [v]isesimum (sic) primum. Domitius τῆ ἐαυτοῦ χειροί. A defect in the Ms. has left the last number uncertain, and Geel conjectured 'vigesimal primum'; but Calderini was not twenty years old but thirty in 1477 (our *Catalogus*, I 221 above, gives his birth-date as 1444-46), and the words intended would seem to be 'tricesimum primum'.

No dedication or preface.

Title-page (of Ms.): Pausanias in Graeciae Descriptionem/'Attica'/Domitius Calderinus Secretarius Apostolicus/In Latinum Vertit/Ad [breaks off]

[*Inc.*]: IN GRAECIA QVAE AD continentem e regione Cycladum insularum et maris Aegaei adiacet Sunium prominet Atticae promontorium. . . [*Expl.*]: Thebani Nyctem laborantem Thebas rettulerunt; hic moriens Lyco fratri Thebanum regnum tradidit.

The translation breaks off at book II, ch. vi, 2, of the present numbering.

#### *Manuscript*:

(micro.) Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, Cod. CCLVII, s. XV, ff. 31-93<sup>v</sup>. I owe this reference to Professor P. O. Kristeller; it is now described in his *Iter*, II 297.

The MS of the Pausanias translation seems to be carefully written, with many proper names in the margin. The title of Book II, Corinthiaca (fol. 86<sup>v</sup>), adds: 'Domitius Calderinus Veronen. in Latinum vertit'.

#### *Editions*:

[c. 1500, Venice: Otinus de Luna Papiensis]: XLVIII numbered folios. HC 12526; BMC V 270; Goff P 238; Klebs 736. 1.

The title-page reads: Pausanias Historicus./Domitius Calderinus/E Graeco traduxit /Atticae descriptio.

The title-page of book II (fol. XLIII) begins: Ex Interpretatione Domitii Cal. V. Clarissimi.

The colophon reads (fol. XLVIII): Pausaniam historicum nobilissimum Domitius Calderinus Veronensis e graeco transferebat.

*Inc.*: In Graecia quae ad continentem e regione Cycladum insularum et maris Aegaei adiacet Sunium prominet Atticae promontorium. . .

*Expl.*: Thebani Nyctem laborantem Thebas reulerunt (sic) currus.

This edition was very carelessly done. One may count a score of errors in the very first two pages: punctuation which breaks up sentences, misspelling of proper names, omission of words. Greek names are unreliable throughout. At the end, the last clause ('hic moriens. . .') is omitted, and the final words include the misspelled 'reulerunt' for 'retulerunt'. The comments of the publisher of the next edition are fully justified.

Allowing for the numerous errors, the text seems to be the same as that of the one known manuscript.

An index of the proper names in this translation, headed 'Pausan. per Domit.', was done by Janus Parrhasius (Parrasio, 1470-1522). It is contained in BN Napoli, Fondo Principale, Ms. XIII. B. 22, ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-36<sup>v</sup> (Kristeller, *Iter* I 431); this manuscript also contains indices done by Parrhasius of two other works of humanistic scholarship. A microfilm of the Pausanias index establishes the fact that the page numbers following the proper names are those of the 1500 edition. (The microfilm is now in the New York Public Library, which owns a copy of the 1500 edition).

Since the names in the Parrhasius index differ appreciably from the names in the index of the next (1541) edition, his index was presumably not used by the later indexer.

HC 12527 indicates an edition of Calderini included in Johannes Annius, *Auctores vetustissimi* (the edition without the commentary: Venice, 1498); but this collection, according to GW 2016, includes no such text.

1541, Basileae: Robertus Winter: (4), 116, (20) pp.: Vat.; BNRoma; BNParis; CSMH; NNC.

The title-page reads: Pausaniae/Historici Praeclarissimi Commentariorum Graeciam describentium, Attica & Corinthiaca, A Domitio Calderino Veronensi quondam latinitate donata, et nunc primum ex collatione ad Graecum exemplar in numeris quibus scatebat hactenus mendis repurgata.

Colophon: Basileae, per Robertum Winter mense Martio, MDXLI. The pages of text are numbered 1-116.

*Ded.* Joannes Oporinus to Joannes Henricus Rhynierus (optimae spei puero). [*Inc.*]: Quod de Hercule ac Theseo veterum literis proditum est, Ioannes Henrice charissime, multum illis negotii exhibuisse varia monstrorum genera. . . [*Expl.*]: . . non inanem vulgi persuasionem ac ridiculam eruditionis speciem. . . consecrari sedulo instituas. Vale Basileae, prid. Calend. Aprilis. MDXXXI.

[The publisher hopes that the book will spur the youth's studies. He promises also an epitome of Plutarch's Lives.]

Text inc.: same as the manuscript. [*Expl.*]: Itaque Thebani Nycteam ex vulnere laborantem Thebas retulerunt. Finis. Hactenus Pausaniam Historicum Nobilissimum Domitius Calderinus Veronensis e Graeco transferebat.

This edition was indeed a careful revision of the earlier one; since it did not replace the omitted last clause, it presumably did not make use of the manuscript. The Greek names have been carefully checked, and often added in Greek letters in the text; moreover, many different names of persons and places have been added in the margin, names not appearing in either the manuscript or the 1500 edition. Best of all, sentences have generally been repunctuated to make sense.

The edition adds an index of proper names which runs to 18 pages. As has been said above, it was compiled independently of the Parrhasius index to the 1500 edition.

*Biogr.*:

In addition to Professor Sanford's note (this *Catalogus*, I 221 above), we may now add Roberto Weiss, 'In Memoriam Domitii Calderini', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, III (1960) 309-321. This article edits from the Ms. Verona 257 the 29 poems commemorating Calderini, written by Politian and by 27 Veronese humanists. The article also recounts the story of the *cippo* or memorial stone to Calderini (who died and was buried in Rome) erected by Antonio Calderini, his father, on the shore of Lake Garda; though shattered in two wars (the French Revolution and the second World War), the stone has twice been reassembled. Professor Weiss gives a photograph of it, and publishes the inscription.

## 2. ABRAHAMUS LOESCHERUS

*Date.* The translation was done in Basel 1549-50 (dedication).

*Title-page:* Pausanias De Tota Graecia Libri decem. . . hactenus a nemine in linguam latinam conversi, nuncque primum in lucem editi Abrahamo Loeschero interprete. (A Latin poem follows on title-page:) Ad Lectorem. [*Inc.*]: Magna fuit quondam florentibus incluta regnis. . . [*Expl.*]: Perlege Pausaniam: quod petis, inde feres.

*Dedication* Domino Ioanni Iacobo Fuggero. [*Inc.*]: Sicut in civili rerum administratione, Ioannes Iacobe Fuggere, vir ornatissime, magni subinde viri excitantur. . . Ego cum superiori anno me in ea loca recepissem, ubi et vivere possem honeste et ocii nonnihil nactus essem, coepi me referre ad excolenda et paulo diligentius consideranda ea studia, quibus puer olim discendi causa multum temporis tribueram, . . . (he began Pausanias translation) et eo etiam nomine futurum omnibus chariorem, quod a nemine prius latinitate fuit donatus. . . [*Expl.*]: Vale, vir praestantissime, et me in clientum tuorum numero habe.

*Preface:* Abrahami Loescheri Praefatio ad Lectorem. Qui lucubrationes suas in

publicum emittunt praefari solent. . . (This work is the fruit of his studies, and is an exercise in accuracy. He praises Pausanias :) Omnia enim, quae memoratu digna per universam Graeciam fuerunt, ab interitu et vetustatis iniuria liberavit: civitates, regiones, resp(ublicas) sempiterna laude atque gloria exornavit, et quicquid praeclari homines charum habent, quicquid sanctum, id velut in lepidissima tabella expressum posteritati conservavit. . . Romulum Amasaem audio Pausaniae περιήγησιν ante annos aliquot convertisse. Qui vir quantum et ingenio valeat, et in hoc studii genere possit, Xenophontis ἀναβάσεως libri indicant, quos tanta perspicuitate et elegantia in latinum convertit. . . Nec dubito, quin idem magna cum laude in Pausania praestiterit, quod in publicum prodire si pateretur, interpretatione alia opus non haberemus. . . [Expl.]: De bonorum autem iudicio et uoluntate bene sperare nunquam desinam.

*Text. [Inc.]*: (p. 1) Sunium promontorium terrae Atticae situm est ante continentem Graecam contra Cycladas insulas et Aegaeum pelagus.

[Expl.]: Sed quia benigna quippiam sibi de Aesculapio pollicebatur, signum abstulit ceraque inspecta et convaluit, et in tabella, qui erant perscripti, auri bis mille stateras Anytae persolvit. Pausaniae Libri Decimi et Ultimi Finis.

*Edition*:

1550, Basileae: Jo. Oporinus. BM; BN; Vat.; BN Roma; CtY.

*Biography*:

Abraham Loescher (1520-1575) was of a Saxon family, born in Zwickau in the Voigtland, but nothing is reported of his early life. In 1549 he appeared in Basel, publishing several volumes of Latin verse, and in 1550 the translation of Pausanias. Taking his M.A. at the University of Basel, he was appointed in 1551 Professor of Greek at the University of Ingolstadt, and in 1554 Professor of Rhetoric there; he also published further verse. In 1558 he obtained a law degree at Ingolstadt, where he pronounced an oration 'In commendationem legum'. In 1559 he was appointed a Judge (Beisitzer) of the Imperial High Court (Reichskammergericht) at Speyer. In 1565 he was legal

adviser (Rechtskonsulent) to the City Council (Rath) of Nürnberg, where he died in 1575. He is called an accomplished Latin poet.

*Works*: *Epithalamium* (1549); *Monomachia* (1551, on the conflict of David and Goliath); verse versions of the Books of Kings and of Jeremiah (s. a.); *Elegia* (1556).

*Bibl.*: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XIX (Leipzig, 1884), 208-209, by Eisenhart.

### 3. ROMULUS AMASAEUS

*Date*. The dedication is dated Romae, Id. Mart. MDXLVII, but gives no history of the translation. It has generally been supposed that the translation was published in 1547, as e.g. by Domenico Moreni (*Annali della tipografia fiorentina di Lorenzo Torrentino*: 2d. ed., Firenze, 1819, p. 151): 'Fu quest' opera già impressa in Roma nel 1547 in 4., e servì di norma alla fiorentina.,' i.e., of the 1551 ed. This statement may have been carried forward from the *Vita Romuli Amasaei* (Bologna, 1769), by Flaminio Scarselli, which dates the Pausanias ed. 'Romae 1547 in 4' (p. 44); but his evidence is only a quotation from the letter of Pompilio Amaseo, son of Romolo, noting that two senators of Bologna, Camillo Paleotti and Francesco Bolognetti, had the book published ('imprimendum curarunt'). No copy of a 1547 edition has been discovered; the work does not appear in the publications of three important Roman printers, Blado, the Torresani, the Ragazzoni (Domenico Bernoni, *Dei Torresani, Blado e Ragazzoni*, Milano, 1890); and Loescher, as quoted above, though he had seen the Xenophon and knew of the Pausanias, believed it unpublished in 1550. The two Vatican copies of the Pausanias, which are dated 1547 in the card catalogue because of the dedication, are not of 1547: one has a torn title-page which still shows the printer's name 'L. Torrentinus' and the letters 'Flor---', clearly the 1551 ed., as is the other, which lacks the title-page.

*Title-page* (1551): Pausaniae Veteris Graeciae Descriptio. Romulus Amasaeus vertit.

*Dedication*: Romulus Amasaeus Alexandro Farnesio Cardinali Pauli III Pont. Max. Nepoti S.P.D.

[*Inc.*]: Cum saepe animadverterim, Alexander Farnesi, solere te ab assiduis curis atque occupationibus quasi respirantem vel in literatorum hominum sermone. . . (Since the Cardinal took pleasure in reading the best writers as well as Amaseo's 'lucubrationes', he has translated Pausanias, because the princes of Rome though reading Greek find Latin more harmonious and serious ['sonum aptiorem et graviorem']). The work offers a review of history in connecting great men with their home cities, and it lists and explains 'elegantem et intelligenter' all the important Greek works of art. Greece had its golden age, but is now wretched, and Italy has taken on its greatness, thanks to God and to a great pope).

[*Expl.*]: Conatum tamen hunc meum referendi tibi gratiam cum pro tuis erga me meritis, tum vero maxime pro mirifico quodam et maxime perspicuo de me quam optime merendi studio, a te non improbatum omnino iri et spero et maiorem in modum cupio. Vale. Romae. Id. Mart. MDXLVII.

*Text.* [*Inc.*]: Attica. In ea continentis Graeciae parte, quae Cycladas insulas et Aegaeum mare spectat, Sunium prominet Atticae promontorium. . .

[*Expl.*]: Et Anytae quidem, quae ei in illis tabulis scripta fuerat, pecuniam expendit, bis mille nummum aureorum.

*Editions:*

1551, Florentiae: L. Torrentinus. BM; BN; Vat; MH; CtY. D. Moreni, p. 151 (see above).

1557, Basileae: Michael Isingrin. Vat; BNRome; BM; NN.

1558, Lugduni: Heirs of Jacobus Junta. 2v. BNRome; BM.

1558, Lugduni: Sebastian de Honoratis. BN; MH (v. 1 only); NjP (v. 2 only).

1559, Lugduni: the same. BN; NjP (v. 1 only).

1577, Lugduni: Alexander Marsilius Lucensis. BN (v. 2 only)

1583, Francofurti: Heirs of Andreas Wechel. Vat.; BM; BN; CtY; MH (companion volume to an ed. of the Greek text by Guil. Xylander, completed by Frid. Sylburg, editor of the Amaseo version).

Title page reads: A Romulo Amaseo, viro utriusque linguae peritissimo, annis

ab hinc XXXVI summa dexteritate in Latinum sermonem conversi; nunc vero a Frid. Sylburgio denuo cum Graeco textu collati multisque mendis levati et notis insuper illustrati.

Dedication of Frid. Sylburg to Ulrich Fugger, Count Kirchberg, Id. August. 1583, explaining that 'delegendam esse versionem quae unanimi doctorum consensu quam maxime sit approbata'.

(Like all these editions, this includes the Amaseo dedication to Cardinal Farnese, and adds, cols. 303-352, Notae in Romuli Amasei Versionem, both textual and explanatory. The text is cols. 1-302).

(\*) 1613, Hanoviae: Heirs of C. Marnius. Vat.; BM; BN; CtY; MH; MdBJ; NN (the Sylburg revision).

(\*) 1624, Francofurti: Auber and Schleich. Vat.; BN (the Sylburg revision).

1696, Lipsiae: Fritsch. Vat.; BM; BN; CtY; DLC; MH; MdBJ; NNC; NjP (the Sylburg revision).

1796, Lipsiae: Schaefer. BM; BN; DLC; NNC (the Sylburg revision, in J. F. Facius ed. of Greek text, v. 4).

1822-28, Lipsiae: Reimer, 5v. Vat.; BM; BN; DLC; NNC (the Sylburg revision, in parallel with C. G. Siebelis ed. of Greek text, 5v.; he calls it 'interpretationem castigatam' in its turn).

1838-39, Lipsiae et Londini: Hahn: 3v. BM; BN; DLC; NNC (ed. of Greek text by J. H. C. Schubart and C. Walz. 'Versionem latinam adiecimus a Sylburgio et Siebelisio castigatam et recensione nostrae adaptatam').

*Biogr.:*

Romulus Amasaeus (Romolo Quirino Amaseo) of Udine (1489-1552), of a well-known Bologna family, was the leading Italian academic humanist of his time. He was a son of Gregorio, himself an honored humanist, who with his brother had been crowned 'poet and orator' by the emperor in 1489. The son studied at the University of Padova 1507-09, and gave private lessons in Bologna until in 1512 he was named *lettore* of Greek and Latin at the University. He was called to the University of Padova in 1520 for four years, and was recalled to Bologna as *lettore* of rhetoric and

poetry (1525-38), and of humanities (1538-44). Meantime as orator and as secretary of the Senate of Bologna, he came to the attention of Pope Paul III, who appointed him to the Sapienza in Rome (1544-50). From 1550 to 1552 he was secretary for briefs to Pope Julius III.

Amaseo's fame was spread by friends of his father and uncle, by his university appointments, and by his orations: his inaugural address at Bologna in 1513; his oration *De pace* before pope and emperor there in 1530; his two orations *De Latinae linguae usu retinendo* in 1530, against the claims for the *volgare*; and his funeral oration for Paul III in 1549. His two published works of scholarship were a Latin version of the *Anabasis* of Xenophon (Bologna, 1533; Lyon, 1536; Basel, 1545, in the works of Xenophon), which was mentioned by Loescher above; and the Latin version of Pausanias. An unpublished Latin account of Scipio Africanus, drawn from Polybius after Amaseo had done the Pausanias, and dedicated also to Cardinal Farnese, is in Vat. Lat. 6206, ff. 150<sup>r</sup>-163<sup>r</sup>. Kristeller, *Iter* II. 338.

Amaseo's students included Cardinal Farnese and his brother Ottavio, later Duke of Parma; Cardinal Madruzzo; Cosimo Gheri, bishop of Fano; Ortensio Landi, Francesco Robortelli; and among foreigners, Nausea, Reginald Pole (who recommended him to Cardinal Wolsey for the latter's new college at Oxford), Goropius, and Hungarian and

Polish students. The Farnese patronage brought him into the cardinal's circle with Molza, Caro, Tolomei, and Giovio. He was quite evidently a compelling speaker and writer; we have seen above that Sylburg called him 'peritissimus' in Greek and Latin; and the elegance of his Latin kept his Pausanias translation in circulation for nearly three centuries. It was however to be called more elegant than faithful (P. D. Huet, *De interpretatione*: 2d ed., Stade, 1680, p. 271), and his eighteen orations, published after his death by his son in 1564, and re-edited in 1580, are now called masterly in form, empty of content and remote from life (Bindo Chiurlo, in *Encicl. Ital.*, II 760 [1929]). These newer judgments do not detract from his eminence in his own time, when Bembo called him Italy's leading lecturer on the humanities, and the historian Varchi called him 'dottissimo et eloquentissimo'.

*Bibl.*: Rino Avesani in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* II (1960) 660-666 supplies most of the material for the preceding biographical note and also gives full references: noting especially the documented *Vita* by Flaminio Scarselli (Bologna, 1769), and the *Notizie delle vite et opere scritte de' letterati del Friuli*, by G. G. Liruti (II, 349-385, [1762]). In addition to the *Orationes* and the Xenophon and Pausanias translations, many letters to and from Amaseo are listed by Avesani in various manuscript collections.