

## PREFACE

The general aims of the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum* at its inception were outlined by Paul Oskar Kristeller in 1958 in the Preface to Volume 1 that is reprinted below. Over time, however, the original design of the *Catalogus* has evolved in directions reflecting developments in the growing field of reception studies. The period covered by the articles has been extended beyond the original terminus of 1600 to allow contributors to explore the reception history of their authors past that date, even down to the present. Vernacular translations and commentaries have also been included in the purview of the series. In addition, some of the more austere rules outlined by Kristeller have been modified: articles may now include not only lengthy dedications in manuscripts or early printed editions but also other paratextual material pertinent to the understanding of the *Nachleben* of the ancient authors. The CTC Editorial Board believes that these new approaches strengthen and advance Kristeller's original concept, bringing the *Catalogus* into the world of reception studies that his vision helped to create.

At the same time, in order to keep abreast with the demands and expectations of the present digital era, the Editorial Board has created an Open-Access website for the project (<http://catalogustranslationum.org/>), where all previously published articles are presented in PDF format. In addition, four extensive indices have been created for the website in order to facilitate the retrieval of information: an Index of Articles, an Index of Manuscripts, an Index of Translators and Commentators, and an Index of Classical Authors.

As in past volumes, the articles in Volume 11 were not deliberately collected to illustrate a particular area of interest; they simply represent the first contributions completed and submitted to the editors after Volume 10 went to press in the fall of 2014. We are pleased to point out, however, the happy coincidence that the principal articles in Volume 11 deal exclusively with ancient historiography. The volume contains entries on the *fortunae* of the Hellenistic historians Polybius and Diodorus Siculus as well as those of their late-antique colleagues Zosimus, Procopius of Caesarea, and the fictitious Dares Phrygius. The thematic and generic relationship among these writers is seen also in the fact that some of them appear together in early printed volumes: Polybius and Diodorus in a Paris edition from 1634; Diodorus and Dares in three Basel printings from 1548, 1559, and 1578; and Zosimus and Procopius in a Basel edition from 1576. In addition, a noteworthy common feature in the reception of Polybius, Diodorus, and Zosimus is the fact that their works were virtually unknown in the Latin West until the fifteenth century.

Generally, the sections dedicated to Greek and Latin authors vary in size in each volume. Again, coincidentally, the present volume repeats the same distribution of articles on Greek and Latin authors that appeared in Volume 10. Thus, four contributions make up the Greek section (Polybius, Diodorus, Zosimus, and Procopius), while the Latin authors are represented by just one (Dares).



The articles in the Greek section of Volume 11 are arranged chronologically, starting with the Hellenistic historian Polybius (200 B.C.–ca. 118 B.C.), whose main work, the *Historiae*, offers a detailed account of Rome's rise to dominion of the ancient world. Polybius accompanied Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus during the Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.) and was thus in a position to chronicle his personal experiences of the destruction of Carthage. Of the original forty books of the *Historiae* only Books 1–5 have survived intact; from the remaining 35 books only fragments and excerpts are known. Especially celebrated are the passages in Book 6 dealing analytically with the Roman constitution and military system, which attracted much attention during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. In his efforts to present an objective account of the events narrated in his history, Polybius sees himself as an heir of Thucydides, and the most far-reaching influence of the *Historiae* is undoubtedly the fact that Livy used it extensively in his own *De urbe condita*. Never considered a great stylist, Polybius has nevertheless been hailed by posterity as a political thinker and a theorist of historiography. In Byzantium Polybius' work was excerpted in the tenth century, but after that he fell into oblivion. In the Latin West he became known in 1419, when Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444) paraphrased Books 1.7–2.34 in his *Commentaria de primo bello Punico*. The first real translator of Books 1–5 is Niccolò Perotti (1430–80), whose Latin version was commissioned by Pope Nicholas V (1447–55) as part of his program of translating the major Greek historians (for Diodorus, see below). After Perotti, excerpts mostly from Book 6 of the *Historiae* were translated into Latin by Janus Lascaris (1445–1535), Pompilius Amasaenus (1513–85/86), Franciscus Zephyrus (d. 1550), Raphael Cyllenius (d. 1595?), Romulus Amasaenus (1489–1552), Petrus Nannius (d. 1557), Nicasius Ellebodius (ca. 1535–77), and Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). The culmination of Renaissance Polybian scholarship appeared in the 1609 Paris edition of Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), which contained a Latin translation of the five complete books of the *Historiae* together with all extant fragments from the other books. This edition was reprinted repeatedly in the following century and would long remain unsurpassed. Casaubon also produced a commentary on the texts he translated. In addition, three further commentaries are known: by Pompilius Amasaenus, Fulvius Ursinus (1529–1600), and Justus Lipsius. The reception of Polybius in the vernacular was extensive, and the *Historiae* were translated dur-

ing the sixteenth century into all major European languages. Notable translations include the Italian rendering in 1545 of Books 1–5 by Lodovico Domenichi (1515–64); the French translation of both the first five books and the fragments published between 1542 and 1552 by Louis Meigret (1510–58); the German translation of all seventeen extant books of the *Römische Historien* by Wilhelm Holtzman (1532–76), published in 1574; and the translation into English of Book 1 produced by Christopher Watson and published in London in 1568.

The second author in the Greek section of the volume is the Hellenistic historian Diodorus Siculus (*ca.* 90 B.C.–*ca.* 30 B.C.), who wrote his massive universal history, the *Bibliotheca Historica*, in the span of thirty years, as stated in the preface. Of the original forty books only Books 1–5 and 11–20 have survived intact; the remaining twenty-five books are known only from fragments preserved in other sources. In antiquity, Diodorus was quoted copiously by Eusebius of Caesarea (fourth century A.D.) in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* and *Chronicon*, but some fragments are found also in Tertullian (third century A.D.), Lactantius (fourth century A.D.), John Malalas (sixth century A.D.), and Theophylact Simocatta (seventh century A.D.). It is unclear when the missing books were lost, but there is no firm evidence that the *Bibliotheca Historica* survived undamaged after the fall of Constantinople in 1204. The main Byzantine sources for the use of Diodorus are Photius' *Myriobiblion* (ninth century A.D.), which includes 23 excerpts from Books 31–40 of the *Bibliotheca*; the tenth-century *Excerpta Constantiniana*, which contains as many as 949 Diodorean fragments, ranging from Books 1 to 40 of the *Bibliotheca*; and the tenth-century encyclopedia, the *Suda*, whose lemmata include at least sixty-four citations of Diodorus, some identified by name and some not. In addition, John Tzetzes (d. 1180) quoted extensively in his verse miscellany the *Chiliades* from the now lost Books 7–10 as well as 21, 23, 25, 26, and 40, which means that all forty books of the *Bibliotheca* were still available in Byzantium in the second half of the twelfth century. In the Latin West Diodorus was unknown until the fifteenth century, when Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), Giovanni Aurispa (1376–1459), Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481), Gianozzo Manetti (1396–1459), and Antonio Cassarino (fl. 1441–43) all expressed interest in the Diodorean manuscripts and his history, but the catalyst for translating Diodorus was again (as with Polybius, see above) Pope Nicholas V. He assigned the translation of Books 1–5 of the *Bibliotheca Historica* to Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), who completed the task in 1449; Books 11–15 to Iacobus de Sancto Cassiano who died in 1453/54 before finishing Book 14; and Books 16–20 to Petrus Candidus Decembrius (1399–1477), whose work was interrupted in the very beginning by the death of the pope in 1455. The next significant advance in the scholarship on Diodorus is marked by Angelus Cospus' translation of Books 16–17 in Vienna in 1516, after which the *fortuna* of Diodorus would be dominated by northern scholars and publishers. In 1548 the translations of Poggio, Iacobus (labeled *Incertus*), and Cospus were combined in a sin-

gle edition printed in Basel and accompanied by a preface by Marcus Hopper. The next important year for Diodorean studies is 1559, when two editions appeared: the first in Geneva that made accessible for the first time the full Greek text of the extant books of the *Bibliotheca Historica* in addition to a collection of fragments from Photius and the *Excerpta Constantiniana*; and the second in Basel, in which Sebastianus Castellio (1515–63) offered the first complete Latin translation of the extant fifteen books of the *Bibliotheca* as well as of the collection of the fragments of the twenty-five lost ones. Finally, the 1604 edition of Laurentius Rhodomanus needs to be mentioned. It contains the Greek text of the extant books accompanied by Rhodomanus' fresh Latin translation in a parallel column facing the Greek. In the vernacular realm, only one early modern translation was produced, with Jacques Amyot's French translation of Books 11–17 printed in 1554 in Paris.

Next is the article on the Byzantine historian and administrator Zosimus (fl. 490–510 A.D.), whose only work, the *Historia nova*, covers in six books the history of the Roman Empire from its origins to the sack of Rome in 410. Book 6 ends so abruptly that it is reasonable to suppose that the work was left unfinished, most likely because of the author's death. At the beginning of Book 1 Zosimus juxtaposes his history with that of Polybius: if the earlier historian had chronicled the rise of the Roman Empire, he himself would narrate its decline and fall. Zosimus is famous for his anti-Constantine sentiments. For him Constantine is guilty of numerous private and public crimes; he even goes so far as to declare that the emperor had converted to Christianity only because it is a religion that forgives even the worst offenders. In contrast, Zosimus greatly admires Julian "the Apostate," whose character and achievements he praises in Book 3. Because of his anti-Christian stance Zosimus was not popular in Byzantium. The two most important sources that mention him are the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Evagrius Scholasticus (535/7–after 594) and the *Bibliotheca* of Photius (ninth century). In addition, passages from the *Historia nova* were included in the tenth-century encyclopedic *Excerpta Constantiniana*, as was the case also for Diodorus (see above). Zosimus was unknown in the Latin West until the fifteenth century, when manuscript BAV, Vat. gr. 156 reached the Vatican Library. Angelo Poliziano (1454–94) produced the first partial translation of Zosimus, when in 1489 he included in his *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* (ch. 58) the *Sibyllae oraculum* which was taken from the long digression on the *ludi saeculares* in Book 2, chapters 1–7 of the *Historia nova*. The entire digression was translated by Giovanni Battista Gabia (ca. 1520–82/83) and published by Onofrio Panvinio (1530–68) in his *De ludis saecularibus liber* without acknowledgment (1558). Other passages from Book 2, this time from chapters 29–37, were translated by Pierre Gilles (1490–1555) and printed posthumously in 1561 in his *De topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatibus libri IV*. The first complete Latin translation of Zosimus was produced by Johannes Leunclavius (1533–94)

and issued in Basel in 1576. The edition was accompanied by Leunclavius' *Apologia pro Zosimo adversus Evagrii, Callisti Nicephori et aliorum criminationes*, which defends Zosimus against the accusations leveled at him. This translation continued to be printed throughout Europe for two hundred years. The earliest commentary on Zosimus was written by Friedrich Sylburg (1536–96), who published his *Notationes in Zosimum* in 1590 in Frankfurt. Almost a century later, a Greek and Latin edition of the *Historia nova* with annotations by Christophorus Cellarius (1638–1707) was issued in 1679 in Zeitz. The first full historical commentary appeared at the end of the eighteenth century, when the edition of Johann Friedrich Reitemeier (1755–1839) was printed in 1784 in Leipzig. This edition also included the *Animadversiones, or Annotationes, in novam Zosimi editionem* by Reitemeier's pupil Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812). Complete vernacular translations of the *Historia nova* appeared first in the seventeenth century; a French version was published in 1678 and an English one in 1684. The first German translation was printed in 1802–4.

Procopius of Caesarea (ca. 490/510 A.D.–ca. 560 A.D.) is the subject of the final article in the Greek section. The corpus of his extant works comprises, first, the “trilogy” *De bellis*, describing the military campaigns against the Persians, Vandals, and Ostrogoths of the Byzantine general Belisarius (ca. 505–ca. 565 A.D.), whom Procopius accompanied as an advisor and secretary; second, the panegyric *De aedificiis*, which praises Emperor Justinian's public activities and catalogues the major constructions of the empire; and finally, the *Arcana Historia*, which has become Procopius' most famous work because of its colourful and often scandalous depiction of the private lives of Justinian and Belisarius and their wives Theodora and Antonina. Even though Procopius was well known in Byzantium, the Latin West became truly acquainted with his works only in the fifteenth century. Parts of the *Vandalic* and *Persian Wars* were available to medieval Latin readers – who never knew that they were reading Procopius – through the ninth-century translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius of the eighth-century Byzantine work the *Chronographia* by Theophanes Confessor. The *Gothic Wars* also entered the Latin world anonymously, when Leonardo Bruni (ca. 1370–1444) used Procopius extensively, sometimes almost verbatim, but without acknowledgment, in his *De bello italico adversus Gothos*, which began circulating in manuscript in 1441. Christophorus Persona (1416–86), whose *De bello Gothorum* was first printed in 1506, was the first translator to acknowledge Procopius' authorship. After Persona, Raphael Volaterranus (1451–1522) produced a partial translation covering only the Persian and the Vandal Wars, and Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538–1614) translated the entire work, but his draft translation (now in the Royal Library in The Hague), was never published. The translations of Persona and Volaterranus were eventually combined, and continued to be printed together until the nineteenth century. These Latin translations also formed the basis of the earliest Italian translations, which were published be-

tween 1544 and 1547 by the Venetian printer Michael Tramezzinus. In the late sixteenth century the *Wars* were translated twice into French, in 1578 and in 1587. The first Latin translation of Procopius' *De aedificiis*, by Franciscus Cranveldius (1485–1564), appeared in 1534 and the second, by Arnoldus Vesaliensis (ca. 1486–1534), was printed posthumously in 1538. The earliest Italian translation of the *De aedificiis* was printed by Tramezzinus in 1547, but in contrast with the *Wars*, this translation was based on the Greek original. One scholar, Theodoricus Adamaeus Sualleberg (ca. 1470–1540), produced a set of predominantly geographical scholia on the *De aedificiis*, the sources for which were the works of Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Ammianus Marcellinus, Agathias, and most importantly, Stephanus of Byzantium, the sixth-century author of the *Ethnica*. Theodoricus' commentary was printed in 1537. Despite its present notoriety, the pre-modern reception of the *Arcana Historia* appears to be negligible. It consists basically of the translation and commentary of Nicolaus Alemannus (1583–1626), printed together in 1623 in Lyons.

Dares Phrygius is the only author treated in the Latin section of the volume. His enormously popular, albeit fantastic, history of the Trojan War was known in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance under the title *De excidio Troiae*, and even though the text presents itself as the diary of an eyewitness and survivor of the legendary conflict, its creation is now generally dated to the fifth or sixth century A.D. Despite the fact that no Greek version of the account is known, it is believed that the Latin text is derived from a Greek antecedent, most likely composed sometime between the first and third centuries A.D. In its transmission Dares' *De excidio Troiae* was often paired with another spurious eyewitness account of the Trojan War, the *Ephemeridos belli Troiani* of Dictys Cretensis. These two texts are indeed complementary, since they present the opposing views of the two warring sides: Dares of the Trojans and Dictys of the Greeks. The *De excidio Troiae* often circulated with a letter by the purported translator of the work, the Latin biographer Cornelius Nepos (ca. 110–ca. 25 B.C.), who supposedly discovered the work in an Athenian archive; this claim was of course an historical fiction. Dares' account is dry and factual, consciously de-mythologizing both Homer's poetic rendering of the story and Virgil's idealized treatment of Aeneas. Ancient sources made practically no reference to the *De excidio Troiae*, but in the Middle Ages it was widely used and repeatedly copied. Interest in the work starts with Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* in the seventh century, after which the text would appear in various contexts. In the early Middle Ages it is mostly found in universal chronicles that strive to establish the Trojan origin of the Frankish *gens*. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it enjoyed wide dissemination, being often copied together with Geoffrey of Monmouth's popular and equally fictional *Historia regum Britanniae*. In this phase the *De excidio Troiae* was repeatedly subjected to continuation, elaboration, and even versification. Finally, in the later Middle Ages, Dares' fame grew exponentially, since his account provided inspi-

ration for a large number of vernacular appropriations, especially romances based on the “matter of Troy.” The uncritical belief in the truthfulness of the *De excidio Troiae*, so typical for the Middle Ages, began to wane in the early modern period. In the age of humanism doubt over the authenticity and credibility of Dares (and Dictys, for that matter) was expressed very early by Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), but only in the seventeenth century was the *De excidio* unmasked as a fake by famous scholars such as Joseph Scaliger, Caspar Scioppius, and Gerardus Vossius. Yet the learned discrediting of Dares did not prevent the *De excidio Troiae* from being printed repeatedly between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The longevity of Dares’ popularity indicates that he was valued by both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance not only as an author, but also as part of the entire corpus of knowledge dealing with pagan history. The earliest editions of the *De excidio Troiae* appear in 1472, one in Cologne and one in Venice. The other incunable printings date to 1478 (Rome and Lyons), 1498 (Leipzig and Messina), and 1499 (Venice). The most influential edition of the *De excidio* is the one printed in 1541 in Basel. It was prepared by Albanus Torinus (1489–1550), whose work, despite protestations voiced by the English antiquaries John Leland (1503–55) and William Camden (1551–1623), helped perpetuate one of the major confusions regarding Dares, namely, that he was the author of the poem *Iliados* (in reality written in the late twelfth century by Joseph of Exeter), and that Cornelius Nepos was the translator of this work. The medieval commentary tradition on Dares is represented by ps.-Bernardus Silvestris (fl. early 12th century), the “Anti-Dares” glosses in Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 880 (12th century) as well as the so-called Paris Commentary in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 15015 (late 12th century). In the early modern period, notable annotations or more substantive commentaries were produced by Raphael Volaterranus (1451–1522) and Albanus Torinus (1489–1550), John Dee (1527–1608/9), Georg Henisch (1549–1618), Josias Mercier (ca. 1560–1626), Samuel Dresemius (1578–1638), Caspar Barthius (1587–1658), John More (fl. 1675), Anne Dacier (1645–1720), Ulrich Obrecht (1646–1701) and Samuel Artopoeus (1659–1713), and finally Jacob Perizonius (1651–1715). The first vernacular translations appeared in the sixteenth century, when the *De excidio* was translated into German (1536), Italian (1543 and 1570), French (1553), and English (also 1553).

Volume 11 also contains *addenda et corrigenda* on the Latin writer and collector of literary *exempla* Valerius Maximus (fl. 14–39 A.D.), first presented in Volume 5; the Roman satirist Petronius (27–66 A.D.), first studied in Volume 3; the Latin poet Martial (38/41–102/104 A.D.), first examined in Volume 4; and the late-antique Neo-Platonist and rhetorician Martianus Capella (fl. late fifth–early sixth century A.D.), first considered in Volume 2 and later updated in Volumes 3 and 6. The original articles on these authors have been brought up to date in various ways. All contributions add a large amount of essential new bib-

liography. In two cases (Petronius and Martial) newly discovered commentaries are brought to light and discussed. The *addendum* on Valerius Maximus is especially useful in elucidating some confusing issues of attribution among the Renaissance commentaries, while that on Martianus Capella advances our understanding of the manuscript transmission of the oldest glossing traditions.

Finally, in addition to the three traditional indices (i.e. the Index of Manuscripts, the Index of Translators and Commentators, and the cumulative Index of Ancient Authors treated in all *Catalogus* volumes), CTC 11 also contains an Index of Ancient and Medieval Authors and Works discussed in the present volume.



The Editorial Board would like to acknowledge with gratitude all the people who have contributed to the publication of Volume 11. We thank the authors of the articles included in the volume whose expert contributions continue to make the *Catalogus* one of the most useful resources for reception studies in the world. We also express our gratitude to the readers of the individual contributions for their invaluable suggestions for improvements. At the final stages of the preparation of this volume we are thankful for the editorial assistance and thoroughness of Dr. Laura Napran.

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Latin Language and Literature at Princeton University, who served as an Associate Editor of the CTC between 1999 and 2012. His successor as Associate Editor is Julia Haig Gaisser, Eugenia Chase Guild Professor Emeritus in the Humanities at Bryn Mawr College. Thank you, Bob! Welcome on board, Julia!

for the Executive Committee

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